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The International Situation

OUTLINED BY GEORGE CHICHERIN

The Concentration and Trustification of Capital

IF I am to sum up the results of my recent observations of foreign affairs, I must first say, speaking generally, that the most important feature of our period is the concentration and trustification of capital on an international scale. In some countries the process of concentration was already greatly advanced. Now we find, behind the scenes of events, a constant motive force consisting of a struggle towards the international alliance of the national trusts, towards the international extension of national trusts and their growth beyond national frontiers. This process of international concentration of capital, is being carried out within the post-war crisis and collapse. Consequently, it frequently assumes degenerated forms, and its gradual progress is accompanied by many morbid symptoms. The ruined and petty bourgeoisie, and the increasingly impoverished bourgeois, intelligentsia plunge into the extremist chauvinism, and create a heated political atmosphere. In France these elements support what is left of the National Bloc; in Germany they join the Orgesh organizations or simply vote for the extreme right! in Italy they form one of the motive powers for the complicated phenomenon of Fascismo. Their furious activity keeps war ever near, and within certain limits, even leads to direct military action. But there is no immediate danger of a new world war: The motive forces of a world war can only be fundamental antagonisms between leading economic groups, and these last have still to undergo a long period of development before their relations become so acute as to provide the possible conditions for a world war. Before the war the situation was different; at that time, large industry supported militarism, while the petty bourgeoisie supported pacifism; but now, large industry is, as a rule, the upholder of pacifism, and the petty bourgeoisie, at least its ruined section, is becoming the main prop of military and ultra-chauvinist tendencies.

Diplomatic life in Western Europe is based on the triangular relations between England, France, and Germany. The Anglo-French world-antagonism is by no means fully developed. And yet this antagonism permeates all present day diplomatic relations. Among the questions at present existing between France and Germany, the most important is that of their economic approach, of the understanding to be reached between the industrial capitalists of the two countries. This interesting example of an endeavour towards international trustification deserves close attention: In the sphere of the reparation question, this endeavour assumed the form of economic agreements regarding payments in kind. But it has much more important aims. The France of today differs very much from pre-war France; developing industrial capital is gaining an ever-growing influence over the politics of the country; it requires markets, it requires the development of economic relations with other countries. Thanks to the treaty of Versailles, France possesses a surplus of iron, and needs material from Germany for working up this iron. Negotiations are already being carried on between a number of French and German industrial undertakings with regard to contracts, trusts, and cartels. These efforts on the part of industrial capital, and its grow-

ing influence, were the cause of France seeking, particularly towards the end of last year, to resume official commercial relations with Russia.

The leading representative of the new policy of French industrial capital is the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, headed by one of France's best economic functionaries, the banker Finali. These elements belong to that political grouping at present in course of development, if not in Parliament, at least in leading French political circles. Among this group one of the most talented French statesmen of the new generation, Loucheur, must be counted; he has connections with the industry of the North.

The Ruhr adventure, which has shaken the political and economic life of the whole of Europe to its foundations, and has also much injured Soviet Russia, who needs economic relations with other countries, is bound up in a most complicated manner with various tendencies within French industry itself. The bourgeoisie of course preserves the customary sacred unity against the national enemy, but already the industrial periodical *Journal Industrielle*, is openly expressing its dissatisfaction with the Ruhr policy. This policy, which leads to the impoverishment of Germany, brings no advantage to France, who is unable to utilize the riches of the Ruhr area without the aid of Germany. The indirect result is, further impoverishment in France, and injury to her industry. The main object of this adventure was to pacify the shrieking chauvinism of the masses. And it is possible that the idea occurred to some members of the governing group, that it would be good to carry out the chauvinist desires of the masses to a point of absurdity, and to prove, by actual demonstration, their utter nonsense; but this would be a very dangerous method of giving an object lesson. The Ruhr question is, at the same time, bound up with one of the most important points of contact between French and German industry. It is a well-known fact that the French heavy industry, possessing the ore of Lorraine, requires the Ruhr coal, and that German heavy industry, if in a lesser degree, requires French iron. Many have been inclined to explain the long planned occupation of the Ruhr by France's anxiety to lay hands on the coke it needs, which coke—it may be observed—she cannot produce without the organizatory help of the Germans. Thus, even the secret report of the chairman of the finance committee of the chamber of deputies, Dariae, which aroused so much sensation when published by the "Manchester Guardian" in November, and was regarded as the clearest expression of France's aggressive designs, recommended nothing more than a preparation for the separation of the left bank of the Rhine from Germany; but as French heavy industry is about to enter into a trust with German heavy industry, even this report goes no further than to demand the retention of the bridge heads occupied in 1921 (Dusseldorf and Duisburg). It is known that the Poincare government, shortly before the Ruhr adventure, prevented negotiations from taking place between the representatives of French and German heavy industry, apparently for fear that control of the reparation question might slip out of the hands of the government. Despite this, the industrial magnates of the two countries opened communication with one another, and the demands

from the French side were spoken of as too high. But though the formation of a trust with German industry can be of no enormous profit to the industry of eastern France, it would wreck other undertakings, for instance those of Normandy. It is difficult for an outsider to form a comprehensive idea of the struggle going on behind the scenes between the various interested groups; a very intimate acquaintance with all the circumstances is required to penetrate these secrets. Even those industrial magnates anxious for a peaceful understanding were not opposed to a trial of strength upon whose results the future division of the spoil would depend. This is of course a mere detail, and in no way alters the fundamental outlook of events for us. To the French militarists it is not a matter of indifference whether or not they gain possession of the raw materials which they imagine to be necessary for a future war between England and France. Industry, for its part, requires in its own interests a peaceful understanding with Germany, but at the same time a peaceful penetration into Germany. Even Schneider went over from the National Bloc to the "centre," and recently supported the policy of a peaceful agreement with Germany. It is possible that this mutual tendency, towards a peaceful understanding will not gain the upper hand at once; it is extremely difficult to find a way out of the crisis if the French government insists on its reparation demands, and if the German government insists on the evacuation of the Ruhr before commencing negotiations. But it is highly probable that the Ruhr adventure will only form an episode in the progress of trustification of the industries of the two countries. So long as the suffering German masses abandon themselves to nationalist feelings, so long will the elements of the right draw advantages from the extremity of the crisis. But at the same time the whole of Europe suffers from the consequences of this adventure.

The intervention of England, or rather the joint intervention of England and America, would lead to an immediate reconciliation, but both powers continue to wait and to observe the course of events. It must be observed that the closer political and economic approach of these two states to one another is one of the most important political facts of today. Under the rule of the present Conservative government, England is taking much more interest than before in the colonies and dominions, and is investing capital in them; still a great number of English banks are closely connected with the continent, and a considerable portion of German economic circles still follow England. In France there is a widespread opinion that England employed a number of skilful manoeuvres, forcing France to take the Ruhr plunge, and is now leaving France in this difficult situation with the intention of gaining time until England can play the role of the laughing spectator. The same Frenchmen would not be at all surprised to hear that England had simultaneously instigated Germany's resistance.

The Ruhr question, as also the Lausanne conference, increased the estrangement between England and France to actual hate, although as world competitors they are highly dependent on one another. There is no doubt that the breaking off of the Lausanne

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Italy and the Fascisti

By R. SINCLAIR

THAT there is a power in Italy which is greater than the government itself, is shown clearly by the events that have occurred in the past few years. At the present moment of writing the intelligent members of the working class in Italy are suffering the tortures of the damned.

In order to get an outline of Italy and its people, let us go back to that period in 1914 when the war "for democracy" began. Italy is a kingdom of southern Europe whose shores are lapped by the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Italy has an area of 110,688 square miles, which supports a population of 36,120,118 people, and in order to show the density of population, it is approximately 327 people per square mile. These figures were compiled in 1915. Italy, with one-fourth of its population, devotes its whole attention to the land, so we may assume that it is an agricultural country. When the war started in 1914 Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, and when the cry for blood went forth she took a neutral stand. But being on the main route of commercial enterprise and naval energy, she soon succumbed to the wishes of the British agents and entered the ring on the side of the Allies in 1915. So by a series of secret treaties Italy was aroused, pushed into the trenches, and kept there by a minority until 1919.

From this period till the present it is of great importance to those members of the working class who holler for action. The working class of Italy were fully informed through the press and all their organizations that the war was one between England and Germany. Also, the lies that were given publicity of the German and English agents did not fool them. But that power which lies behind the scenes accomplished the trick, and although there were bodies of workers who took a determined stand their efforts were of no avail, and they that had so earnestly shouted against war in 1914 reversed their position in 1915. Maybe this was "tactics," but all through the war the revolutionists were busy, propaganda was their weapon, and various writers have remarked how the Marxian Socialist was the dominant factor in the army. He explained things to the peasant that was in the ranks, because what he said was in relation to what the peasant knew was real. There were lots of "Socialists" in the regiments but most of them were patriots. The Caporetto affair was laid at the door of the radicals and it was common knowledge that the regiments were filled up with several thousand of the munition workers who had taken part in the Turin revolt. So the concentration of these men at Caporetto as a punishment was very unfortunate, as the results indicated, and there are many other events that happened during the war that are worthy of recording, but space forbids.

In the fall of 1919 Italy's foundations were shaken by strikes which occurred in all the vital public institutions, also in factories and other industrial occupations. Barracks and forts were attacked, while army magazines were blown to the winds. Shipping was at a standstill, so the industrial and agricultural life of Italy was completely paralyzed. The national flags were replaced by red flags on town halls and on all labor headquarters. They had their working class tribunals and their laws, which were branded as red, and there is no doubt there were factors in Italy working for industrial control of all industries under the form of a workers' republic. And events have since transpired in Italy which have completely upset their calculations on that line.

The war and its finish had thoroughly aroused the ire of the workers; returned soldiers were laughed at and openly insulted on the streets. To be a patriot in Italy at this period was a target for the humorists. In fact Italy was in the hands of the

working class to a large extent. Italy, like other countries had a large middle class; conditions did not look too rosy for them, and they were being forced into the position where they must save themselves. What they were promised in the shape of spoils did not materialise. So the Italian Imperialists set about to gain their ends. There were in existence in Italy a small body of men who had been soldiers and officers in the regular army, that were organized for their own mutual protection, and yapped of patriotism in order to get it. This body was called the Fascisti, which takes its name from the fasces, or bundle of rods tied together, used by the officials of the old Roman Republic as symbols of their power in imposing law and order, and all other fancies which they desired.

To this organization all the efforts of the imperialists were concentrated; all their hopes, energy and bank accounts were placed at the disposal of this body. That the early activities of this body were clothed in secrecy there is no question, but it is not, as is commonly expressed, an organization that was born to destroy Bolshevism, Socialism, or any other isms. It was a movement that was subsidized by the strong imperialists of Italy as an army for foreign expansion. They knew the characteristics of the Italian people, also the weakness of its government and the changing attitude of working class organisms, "even though some were labelled Communist and Socialist." And last but not least they knew that if Italy was to remain on the board as a world power she must as a nation expand. So the overthrow of the government, gaining political control for themselves, and the inauguration of a foreign policy on a large scale for Italy was their object. They also knew the conditions that existed in the Balkan States and that after they had got over their skirmishes they would need materials.

The expansion of Italian imperialism first gained its strength in the Fiume affair, where one of its high priests D'Annunzio, another of the "slogan" exponents, was in charge. Italy also played possum with the Turk, and while planning to secretly land troops in Smyrna the British forestalled them and landed Greek troops ahead of time. So, to make a long story short, Italy needs coal, iron and food, and she can give in return wine, fruit and chemical products, and the most important of all, labor. In order to make the one balance with the other she must get control of the eastern shore of the Adriatic, so all the mystery about the Fascisti is easily explained. It is the illegitimate child of the middle class.

As the organization grew they came into conflict with other organizations. So to offset them they turned to one of the cast-offs of the Socialist party for advice and help against his former comrades. Mussolini the traitor now enters the stage. He is a braggart and an opportunist of the worst stamp; inflated with his own vanity he proceeded for a price, the premiership of Italy, to destroy the foundations of all working class movements. So in the destruction of libraries, print shops, co-operative organizations, Socialist and other workers' headquarters, he showed for what purpose he was bought by the imperialists of Italy. And from this point the domestic life of Italy was attacked by the Fascisti.

The Fascist movement was a spectacular affair; the youth of the country were attracted to it by its black shirts, Roman salutes, its brass bands and parades. There were also the punitive expeditions against the radicals, with all expenses paid. This was great sport for Italy's young men, full of vigor and energy. The holding of Fiume was a rallying point for membership; this was their inspiration, and how the slaves rallied; They who in the past cried "Viva, Italy," on to "Viva, Lenin!" were just as enthusiastic in their cries of "Viva, Mussolino!" It was a movement where the young men were pro-

vided with a means of letting off steam, and exsoldiers in the hope of being provided for joined in large numbers, for in civilian clothes there was no halo of heroism, but in a black shirt excitement was offered, food and money supplied, and their bestial appetites often could be appeased. Now they have the "women Fascisti!" It also took care of all the returned officers, in arms, ambulance, aviation and supply, who were like a whole lot more, out of a job. Then the unemployed began to join it in large numbers, also for a job.

All the reactionaries of Italy were behind it. First it was anti-Catholic, then anti-Monarchist, but when it took on that tendency its foundations began to shake and it threatened to drive off a large body that was supporting it. In order to remain intact it soon renounced both of these ideas and became "Pro," as witness the "hero" Mussolini when he was called to Rome to become Premier, "I am loyal to the house of Savoy, and to the Monarchy of Italy, and your Majesty's most obedient servant." Also, when he selected Professor Gentile, who was a Clerical, for Minister of Instruction Mussolini's words were, "I am a Catholic and an admirer of the power of spirit." So the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde character is amazing when you read all the capitalistic brayings about this new and glorious order that has arisen in Italy. The organized Fascisto Syndicate unions grew so strong that when the workers of Italy declared a nation wide strike in all industries, the Fascisti was able to break it inside of 24 hours in the summer of 1922. Drugged by their success they went still further, deposed legally elected members of City Councils from their seats, entered barracks, helped themselves to everything they could lay their hands on while the police and military forces were spectators, "and they were the forces of law and order." Then they marched on Rome, and when the Fascisti entered the King was there waiting to receive the victorious mob, with a job for Mussolini.

The "Outlook," in commenting on this characterized it as "Italy's school boys' Coup D'etat," and Mussolini's success as "a splendid moral for the moralists." After the gaining of Political power, see to what ends the Fascisti went. Forced farmers and landlords to employ members of their unions and evicted those who did not belong, also acted as rent collectors for the landlords against the No Rent league. The method was Castor Oil and a beating. It opposed strikes of any kind, forbade meetings of Socialists and such parties, wrecked every thing of a working class nature. The young men of Italy are full of patriotism, but in it lies their strength and also their danger. It is an army of the mercenary type, it is a danger to the middle class itself; the ever increasing force of its own numbers will ultimately wreck it.

Mussolini and his party have openly preached hatred of England on account of her Greek policy, and England looks with disfavor upon the Fascisti. The Fascisti intend to change the constitution, and the following is the policy of its government: (1) Strict economy and a balanced budget; (2) The farming out of public utilities to private companies; (3) Lowering the taxes on capital and increasing the taxes on the peasant and workman, and suspending the right to strike. Wilson delivered a speech in Rome, Jan. 3rd, 1919, and this is what he said: "My heart goes out to the poor little families all over this great kingdom who stood the brunt and the strain of war, and gave their men gladly to make other men free and other women and children free. These are the people and many like them to whom after all we owe the glory of this great achievement." It is enough to make Salt Peter turn a somersault. How they praised the Italians before; what are they doing now? They well know the atrocities that are committed on the Italians, but they will not whisper. Castor oil

could be used to good effect at home, they say. It is only the workers that get the doses, why should we object? But when some of the mouthpieces of Capitalism are arraigned and sentenced to death for their counter revolutionary activities, how they holler. But there is one thing they forget, and that is in Italy the organisation is getting so top heavy that in order to exist they will have to give Castor oil to one another and there is where the danger to it lies.

Socialism will go forward, there is no doubt. The inculcating of knowledge is desired. All the barriers placed against the Socialist movement that is the only natural salvation for the race, must fail. The way is open for all to learn those drawbacks that exist, so far as our slavery is concerned. The Fascisti may be formed here under a different cloak, but fear it not as it is only a temporary check so far as progress is concerned. Educational work must be carried on. Enthusiasm for a cause will never win it alone. Billy Sunday Communists may bark, but "facts is facts," and they are being realised more day by day. A movement that is built on the solid rock of knowledge will go a longer way to accomplish the world's revolution than slogans and tactics of the Mussolini order. Watch Italy and watch her well, as the only order that exists in that country that can save it from chaos and anarchy, even with all the handicaps against it, is still on the job and doing the work.

COMMERCIAL ART.

A Letter From An Artist

A RECENT article on "Commercial Development" showed (with apologies) how destructive to the cause of Art, is production for profit; backing up the statement from the writer's own experience.

Here, along somewhat similar lines, is further proof of the evils of Capitalism, in that respect.

For nearly twenty years, the undersigned (who also holds a London, Eng. Art Teacher's Certificate), was a lithographic artist and, in that capacity had worked in jobs ranging all the way from beer and whiskey labels to linoleum catalogues and medical plates. Limited opportunities for employment and the exacting and wearing nature of the "profession" have, for over ten years, caused him perforce to earn a meal ticket otherwise.

But at one period of his career he was engaged on a bastard kind of litho. work, turning out photographic halftone picture postcards of various kinds. The firm he slaved for and which extracted the last amount of labor-energy by a "bonus" system, over and above the necessary weekly product, was located north of the British river Tweed; and, as it was in the pioneer stage, the artistic staff consisted only of himself, an apprentice and a foreman. One of the cards which, to start with, he was engaged on, was a halftone colored reproduction of a famous picture by Thomas Faed, entitled "A Highland Mother," and represented a Highland Scotch woman suckling her child. There was nothing wrong with the picture, and yet one of the old man's sons, with not a quarter of the grit of his father, the founder of the business ordered your artist to paint a strong wipe of color, the same tint as her dress, over the woman's breast, in order to hide the immodest operation!

However, soon the business increased with mushroom-like rapidity and many more artists and girl colorists were taken on. Of course, a market had then to be maintained for their products. Now, it did not take the manager long to figure out that nothing succeeds in selling effect like something that panders to humanity's sexual lusts. Accordingly, your artist was set to work on a series of (lowtone) photographic halftone (and more than half undressed!) bathing-girl cards; and these, as it was not his concern what use his purchased labor-power was put to he proceeded to litho-color.

However, they proved to be just a bit too strong to be acceptable for some of the more "respectable" retailers. It was then—on the principle of "it's a pity to waste it"—that a way out of the difficulty

(Continued on page 4)

Marxism and the Servile State

BY J. CONLAN.

WHITHER are we drifting, to Socialism or the servile state?

In some people's minds there still seems to exist a grave doubt as to what will be the outcome of the present state of affairs existing throughout the capitalist world especially in Europe.

They seem to realize that the chaotic conditions now existing are proof of the utter inability of capitalism to function usefully, that such a system has become a fetter upon the progressive development of mankind, and yet, when they read of the sufferings of the masses in Europe and do not hear the joyful sound of revolution, they become pessimistic and are prone to fall into a position of doubt.

This is exactly what the Bourgeois press is seeking to accomplish. To begin to create a skeptical feeling in the minds not only of those ignorant of the teachings of Marx and Engels, but also in the minds of those young enthusiasts who have drifted into the movement within recent years. Some of these now speak as though socialism is not inevitable, but that there is the possibility of something else taking its place. Questioned on this something they say, benevolent paternalism or an industrial slave state, or servile state or some other fancy name.

Were we to ask them what would be the foundation of any of these systems, I think we would put them out of court. Paternalism had its day in Germany under Bismark. If ever a servile state existed it surely existed there and accomplished wonders, but just the same it did not save the rulers of Germany, neither did it stop starvation and hunger from visiting the workers who had been cajoled into licking the hand they supposed was feeding them and for whom so many nobly gave up their lives. But in spite of all, the German worker is suffering just as acutely today as is the proletariat in other countries where capitalism has a stranglehold.

This is not to be wondered at as the "State Socialism" of Bismarks was nothing else but an attempt to offset the growth of the real baby, and to raise the state to the position of a fetish with "Willy" at its head.

In this he was ably assisted by many of the petit bourgeois intellectuals of that country, who captured the S. D. P. and have seen to it, that it should henceforth serve the interests of the Fatherland, which means the capitalists of Germany, and not the workers. Today it is still trying to pull against the ever-growing volume of an adverse tide in an effort to save capitalism but it is doomed.

Just so long as private ownership of the means of life survives, so long will they play a losing game. They may juggle phrases of Marx as they will, they may call themselves socialists in an effort to gain the support of the masses, but the fact that they do so, is an admission that they see the inevitability of socialism, that to come out in the open as supporters of capitalism would mean their elimination. They realize that conditions have reached a point where the masses can see the necessity for a change, and the masses in their ignorance of what really constitutes socialism have voted into power the wolf in a sheep's lining, and still they see that they are no better off than before.

Why is this? It is because there has been no attempt to socialize the machinery of production, and to introduce production for use instead of for profit. The old evil still remains, also all the old miseries.

The present lethargic condition of the German workers is due to the fact that they think Socialism has failed instead of the reverse, namely, Capitalism under its new cloak. They are now in nearly the same frame of mind as the early Christians in the days of the Roman Empire and for the time being may have given up the hope, excepting of course an ever growing minority.

We ourselves must see to it that the gospel is carried on among those near to us and by so doing help to dispel the doubt that still lingers in the

minds of many.

We must at all times point out to the workers the function of the state. To break down the Fetish that still exists among them in regards to the afore-said instrument of oppression, for an instrument of oppression it surely is.

Frederick Engels put it clearly and consisely when he said, "The State is tantamount to your acknowledgement that the given society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has broken up into irreconcilable antagonisms of which it is powerless to rid itself."

Exactly! The only way that these antagonisms can be eliminated is by the proletariat seizing political power and abolishing the cause, i.e., private ownership, and this, Marx says is inevitable.

In the wind-up of the first chapter of the Communist Manifesto he says: "The advance of Industry, whose involuntary promotor is the Bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

Surely that is plain enough for anyone to understand, no doubt is expressed here, and if anyone understands Marx and remains by his teachings—they also will possess no misgivings as to what is to follow capitalism.

The longer capitalism lasts, the more numerous become the proletariat and the more the very existence of the mass is threatened. Finally, and I don't think anyone, who understands the least thing about the evolution of society, will deny it, revolutions do occur and that the class in power during such stirring times are swept away and a new class takes its place.

Marx has well pointed out how the various classes in the past have been eliminated until under capitalism there are but two classes left who must sooner or later come to grips.

The victory of the proletariat in no way presages a servile state as its object is the socialization of the means of livelihood which automatically does away with classes as such only exist on a property relationship.

To again quote the Communist Manifesto, referring to the proletariat: "If, by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

No separate classes, no servile state.
No servile state, no slaves.
No slaves, no masters. No masters, equality.
Equality, Socialism: This is what Marx teaches us.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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THE SOCIAL CONTROLLER

LIKE the poor, the idealist is always with us. And again like the poor, it is mighty hard to separate him from his social preconceptions. "Oh," he tells us, "you fellows are all theory; you talk of the anarchy and chaos of society and its method of production, but what have you in its stead. What kind of system have you got? Show me how you are going to run your society? Give me some detail of your administration? Let me see your plan of things?" etc. All of which objections are, each and severally, but variants of the "great man" ideal. To argue on such a basis is, perhaps, like charging quixotically at windmills, but, we'll have a tilt at it anyhow.

What is society? A community of people, organized in a certain form, for certain general purposes, common to all. What are the purposes, the manner of organization?

What is the prime object of each individual within the social group? Surely the preservation of existence. And is not this the precise object, the constant endeavor of the collective community? The preservation of its existence as a society? To preserve one's life, therefore, means and implies access, free and at all times, to the necessities requisite to maintain life; and society is organized around those same means of life—organized in the manner that at the given time affords the greatest security of access to those necessities.

But, just as each individual in society is a growth, a complex from pre-existing conditions, and developing in accordance with the laws of his being, so also is society itself a growth, a resultant of prior conditions, expanding as its accompanying social necessities determine. Furthermore, each individual in society not only obeys the law of individual being, but moves and acts in harmony with the society which conditions him; so also is society subject to the law of its being—the economic, flowing automatically from the ground whereon it rests—and conditioned by the time-circumstance of physical evolution.

Out of this mighty drama of evolution has man been brought forth; dowered with the heritage of the past; circumscribed with present need; potent for future triumph. Struggle was his heritage and his necessity. It was the law of the ages. But struggle evolved co-operation with his fellows—thereby were the means of his life more secure. But co-operation involved divisions of effort, and divisions of effort is the fount and source of class society and its inevitable class struggles.

But what is the co-operation and division of effort but a society and its particular form of organization? Primitive? True; but native to its time and potent with the savage splendor of capitalist society. Who among those primitive men conceived the concept of society? Who gave it organization and function? Who sketched its plan of action? All—and none. Out of the needs of the day was it evolved; in harmony with the needs of the

day did it grow; and in accord with its overshadowing necessities and its initial economic did it bring forth new co-operation, new division, new concepts of relationship of man and his tools, of nature and her supplies, and these in turn, motivated with a greater impetus for fresh and further modification.

Evolution signifies change. A change from one form, or state, to another. A growth that, out of its inevitable development, induces, or creates fresh manifestations of matter in motion; conditioned by prior action; modified by and influencing the immediate present; and extending that influence into the inscrutable future; action and reaction, in and of and by the majesty of cosmic law. It is not like a piece of man's machinery, all the parts in existence requiring only to be pieced together. Nor yet like a telescope, containing everything in the beginning, having but to be drawn out to show its full potency. It is growth and development; ancient manifestation giving place to the new, cause producing effect, effect passing into new cause. It is, in brief, change and its law.

Man and society are parts and products of this same evolutionary process—or rather manifestations of the same thing. Man in society is not an individual, "being a law unto himself alone," but a unit, a component, an equal essentiality of the entire social body. He is not dependent upon his own efforts alone for salvation of life and its necessities. In conjunction with social effort does welfare and maintenance accrue to man. His relationships with man and nature are neither conceived by himself nor entered into of his own volition. "Willy-nilly," like the blowing of the desert wind—do these things come upon him—are they thrust upon him. Themselves the fruit of causation, the climax of historical development. Neither does man produce society. On the contrary, society produces man, and the historical condition confronting that society determine the form it assumes. The stimulus of material condition evolves new concepts; a change in the material condition, gives rise to new ideation. The urgency of the need is dynamic to action; the circumstance of the moment giving it direction.

Thus nature acts on man. His life and the necessities of his life, his nature and its character, his mind and its ideals, are fashioned, modified and determined by the irrevocable limitations of environmental conditions. But man also reacts on nature—in harmony with those conditions. (Necessarily, or he must perish.) He acquires experience, i.e., he learns nature's methods by action; he gains knowledge of the manner of operation, applying them—and fabricating the means of application—to his needs; giving them direction, to his advantage, with greater skill as experience is increased. But nature is always dominant, always the power supreme. Man suspends no law, neither makes, mars, breaks nor turns aside. By pitting one force against another he fashions a new security of existence, and this new balance of forces becomes the motive source of new—and unfathomed—modifications, in ever widening cycles of complexity.

Social organization has followed social organization, through historic and prehistoric time—coming into being, maturing and passing away. Not because of man, or myth, but because necessarily they rested on a certain foundation, and the economic conditions produced from that basis, generated conflicts and disorders within the body of society that, growing with its growth, shattered the bonds that prevented the further growth of social necessity.

Historic development has, again, brought us face to face with social change. Who shall determine its form and direction? Let us ask a far simpler question, and answer who can. Who can gauge his own individual life condition one year from now? And why not? Because we do not possess the data to make the calculation. Neither can it be done with society, for the same reason; we know not the infinity of causes bringing the fore-doomed change. Because the evolution of the social organism is a complex of social forces—economic, moral, intellectual—unfathomable.

Thus is the idealist broken on the wheel of his own questioning. Trained in the school of the classicist, he interprets the new in terms of the familiar

old; seeks, with the vanity of egoism, to impose his volition on the invincible order of the cosmos. The society of the future is for the children of the future. We function in the present. It is our business to show the nature of the social process, and the necessity and cause of its change. Not only is that task great enough, but it is the limit of our powers. Let us "prepare the way." Let us educate whosoever will listen; the capitalist system will supply us with an audience.

And we may rest assured that, when the condition of change is fulfilled, when the hour of social deliverance is at hand the social body, under the impulse of impelling need, will take the direction that the historic condition determines, using the methods its circumstances allow, taking form by its imperious requirements, trampling all opposition underfoot with the deliberateness of eternal law. R.

COMMERCIAL ART.

(Continued from page 3)

was readily found. All that was necessary was to cover the practically nude bodies of these (as they were called) "Pebbles on the Beach," with a reasonable number of red-spot patterns. This done, lo and behold! they were again sent out supposedly adequately clothed and it is presumed, in their right minds!

Of such is the nature of Art when dominated by Capitalist conditions. When we see the Socialist movement or its leaders, native or foreign, slandered and caricatured by highly paid artistic hirelings of the Capitalist press, this bathing-girl incident will throw a flood of light on the why and wherefore of their mental productions.

Another point. At odd times the writer has secured orders for pictures, and as like a number of artists and due to both physical and economic conditions, he is a bachelor, these pictures have had to be painted in "rooms," some of which, in winter are none too well heated. And as further, they cannot be painted by artificial light, they must be done on Sundays and holidays, after working nine hours a day and six days a week at his main source of livelihood. Inasmuch as doctors say that amusement, exercise and fresh air are necessary to life, it may be realized what a strain art production is under such conditions.

The average "Bohemian" artist is in no position to paint pictures without payment, however moderate, therefore. But the vastly higher standard of wealth and permanency of residence under Socialism will remove this present day obstacle. Moreover, art will then be genuine art, and not, as today, the bread and butter prostitution of the bathing-girl or anti-Socialist brands!

"EX LITHO. ARTIST."

HERE AND NOW.

WE have done a little better this time than last, but not so well, we hope as next. It is something of an axiom in our chosen Littanay that "Everything is constantly changing." The custody of matters "Here and Now" has, in the past year or so occasioned in us grave doubt. Our faith will come under reaffirmation with a change for the better, expressed monetarily, and that without loss of time.

Following, \$1 each: Fred Harman, Sam Buch, J. MacDonald, J. Ramsay, P. Tripp, F. Cusack, J. Harrington, A. McInnes, W. Grant, D. Holliday, P. A. Askew, A. Lellman, R. Kirkman, P. W. Dunning, J. A. Moore, W. Miller, R. Inglis, Tom Erwin, E. Jahnman, G. Campbell, J. Robertson, H. Grand, G. Bowden, N. Odey, A. Patterson, R. F. MacKenzie, J. Lidgerwood, A. C. Roga, R. Sinclair, D. Oliva, J. Schulthers, H. O. Hansen, S. Arrowsmith, W. R. Lewin, O. Erickson, G. Douglas.

Following \$2: Leo Andell, J. Whitbread, Albert Dinkfalt, M. Stafford.

J. F. Smith \$1.25; Millerton Library \$2.92; Geo. Donaldson \$13.

Above, Clarion subs from 29th March to 12th April, inclusive, total \$61.17.

By the Way

OUT of the wordy wrangle in the Vancouver press over the action of some students at our Western University on the occasion of the visit of Sir Henry Newbould, British poet and empire missionary, a point of view has emerged worth noting on the function of education. The point of view is concisely put in the extract from the Vancouver "World," quoted in the Clarion editorial of last issue. "It is a matter of simple common British honesty that a state-aided institution should not teach nor encourage nor countenance anything subversive of the principles on which the State is founded," says the "World." That dictum has been the refrain of most other of the criticisms levelled at the students, and so full of assurance of its inherent logic are the critics that merely to state it is considered to close argument. "We pay the taxes for the upkeep of educational institutions," say these business-like bourgeoisie, as who should say, "is it not in the bond that we who pay the piper call the tune." Education, forsooth! Well and truly did Carlyle note the "cash nexus" as permeating the concepts of relations in bourgeois society. So, according to the critics who take the stand referred to, the comparing of received ideas with modern experience is forbidden, i.e., thinking is taboo in our educational institutions, seeing that practically all of them depend on the aid of the State and the endowments of the wealthy. Students are to be mimics not reasoners, not experimental thinkers but mental automatons who memorize the economic and political formulas and social shibboleths of orthodoxy, to become the standardized products of the training mills, called educational. Evidently it is thought that the ultimate of progress is reached and the millenium here.

Only those blinded by ignorance and narrow interest would set limits to education and thought, seeing that education provides the only means to orderly social change. They would carry on the policies of the privileged classes of other times and places whose outcome, as history attests, were social miseries and disorder, ending in catastrophic revolutions marking where pent up social forces had burst the bonds of rigid custom and institution. The reactionaries might have some rationality behind their conduct if social changes were due solely to the arbitrary choice and free will of men. But they are not. Social changes are, at bottom, in the nature of adjustments enforced by new material conditions of life brought on by prior changes in the state of the industrial arts, to the functioning of which, in the interest of life and well-being, old customs and institutions have become obstructions. So that though conscious understanding of causes of social trouble be retarded through the suppression of education and free thought and the tides of change dammed back, mankind still continues to learn, in unconscious, blinder fashion it is true, and mentally shift to a fresh scheme of "common-sense" standards and outlook on the world. It shifts by force of the suggestion of a new environment, i.e., by force of habituation to the new conditions of productive life. Man is the mirror of his environment. It was surely a true remark of someone, that "the history of man shows him to have learned by habituation rather than by reflection." But that way has meant an unhappy and turbulent progress; it has on occasions meant the destruction of civilizations and a fresh start again from the primitive base line of barbarism.

History shows the interest of privileged classes as standing in the way of social change when change threatened special privilege. The possibility of introducing small changes in the interest of progress were lost forever and social affairs drifted until

they drifted altogether beyond human control into a regime of accident, waste and distress. Rather than that, the method of trial and error, we Socialists desire that mankind learn through ideas, so that as knowledge increases, progress may be consciously worked out more and more evenly and continuously. We hold the need is for free intelligences in view of the inevitability of change.

So we say the responsibility for the social evils and disorders that attend on belated change must fall on those who demand that the powerful agency of the State and private wealth be used to restrict education and stifle enquiry. While it is true that taken in the mass it would be Utopian to expect the bourgeoisie to realize their social responsibilities in that respect because they are the creatures of the objective conditions of their social environment, nevertheless responsibility enters in concerning the future. In holding it up to them, our scheme of judgment of blame and praise is part of the objective conditions which enter into their habits and into the habits of those strata of the producing classes impregnated with bourgeois concepts. So may the more fanatic, at least, and ignorant elements of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois minded lose support and thus the young generation escape, in some degree, a destined petrification in the schools.

As a Socialist, I may, no doubt, be justly charged with having partizan designs in this matter of education. Let me, then, quote a great educationist, a recognized authority. Speaking of the rigid character of past customs and its unfavorable influence in the formation of habits in the young, he in part says:

"We come back to the fact that individuals begin their career as infants. For the plasticity of the young presents a temptation to those having greater experience and hence greater power which they rarely resist. It seems putty to be molded according to current designs. That plasticity also means power to change prevailing custom is ignored. Docility is looked upon not as ability to learn whatever the world has to teach, but as subjection to those instructions of others which reflect their current habits. To be truly docile is to be eager to learn all the lessons of active, enquiring, expanding experience. The inert, stupid quality of current custom perverts learning into a willingness to follow where others point the way, into conformity, construction, surrender of scepticism and experiment. When we think of the docility of the young we first think of the stocks of information adults wish to impose and the ways of acting they want to reproduce. Then we think of the insolent coersions, the insinuating briberies, the pedagogic solemnities by which the freshness of youth can be faded and its vivid curiosities dulled. Education becomes the art of taking advantage of the helplessness of the young; the forming of habits becomes a guarantee for the maintenance of hedges of customs."

I can not resist giving another extract from the same author for the benefit of any chance one who may read this who thinks he is patriotic because he opposes change.

"We realize how little the progress of man has been the product of intelligent guidance, how largely it has been a by-product of accidental upheaval, even though by an apologetic interest in behalf of some privileged institution we later transmute chance into providence. We have depended upon the clash of war, the stress of revolution, the emergence of heroic individuals, the impact of migrations generated by war and famine, the incoming of barbarians, to change established institutions. Instead of constantly utilizing unused impulse to effect continuous reconstruction, we have waited till an accumulation of stresses suddenly breaks through the dykes of custom.

"It is often supposed that as old persons die, so

must old peoples. There are many facts in history to support the belief. Decadence and degeneration seems to be the rule as age increases. An irruption of some uncivilized horde has then provided new blood and fresh life—so much so that history has been defined as a process of rebarbarization. In truth the analogy between a person and a nation with respect to senescence and death is defective. A nation is always renewed by the death of its old constituents and the birth of those who are as young and fresh as were any individuals in the hey-day of the nation's glory. Not the nation but its customs get old. Its institutions petrify into rigidity; there is social arterial sclerosis. Then some people not overburdened with elaborate and stiff habits take up and carry on the moving process of life. The stock of fresh peoples is, however, approaching exhaustion. It is not safe to rely upon this expensive method of renewing civilization. We need to discover how to rejuvenate from within. A normal perpetuation becomes a fact in the degree in which impulse is released and habit is plastic to the transforming touch of impulse. When customs are flexible and youth is educated as youth and not as premature adulthood, no nation grows old."—(Prof. Dewey in his "Human Nature and Conduct.")

What vistas those closing statements open up before us of progressive and continuous social development, were their truth but universally recognized. Men would not be, as those priests in Russia are, mentally stranded in an age when ecclesiastical power was struggling with the civil state for supremacy.

Hallam, the historian, states that William the Conqueror, in England, first-separated the ecclesiastical from the civil tribunal. That was in the 11th century. The struggle was long and arduous and often sanguinary while the issue remained in doubt, but the secular power won out. In our day it feels itself so strong that it can afford to be lenient though there are still those advocates of ecclesiastical pretensions who dispute the state's claim to its wide sovereignty. Only the other day, Dr. Clifford, spiritual head of British non-conformity offered himself to the courts as a passive resister against taxation for the purposes of the education act, but nothing terrible happened to him. He and his movement contain no present menace to the state. It is otherwise in Russia. Only a very few years ago the Greek Catholic church was a partner with the civil state, a subordinate partner no doubt, but one still with wide political powers. The Roman Catholic priests who have stood their trial had been intriguing with Poland, a country strong in Roman Catholicism. It is safe to assume from the accounts we have got of the trial that they had other ambitions than saving souls for the faith. They were intriguing, not so much against the Soviet Government, as such but through its downfall they hoped for the restoration to the churches of those powers and privileges in secular matters of which they had been stripped, as they have been stripped in all modern states. As an instance of the encroachment of the civil state, in Great Britain it appoints church dignitaries to the established church and exercises large control over church doctrine and discipline and revenue. And it won its way to that control by virtue of just as drastic methods as any recorded of the Soviet Government, until the church learned to bow to the inevitable. Those priests in Russia had been educated (?) with an eye to the past, not to the present.

In the last issue I said I would deal with "nationalization of land" in view of a bill proposing it be put in effect being introduced into the British House of Commons by Phillip Snowden of the Labor Party. However circumstances have been such in the interval that I have had to postpone dealing with it. I have also come to think that I had better use my space in one issue, the next if possible, in laying down my approach to the subject. I may as well state that I shall not attempt to deal with it exhaustively but merely consider its position among social reforms. I am just a poor philosopher not an expert in social engineering. Good-bye. C.

Revolutions : Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON.

Fourth Article.

THE priest in "Black Arrow" was no doubt justified in his judgment that "There cometh never any rising from below—so all judicious chroniclers concord in their opinion; but rebellion travelleth ever downward from above; and when Tom, Dick and Harry, take to their hills, look ever narrowly to see what lord is profited thereby."

Perhaps so previous to 1879, for as Engels says: "Thanks to the economical and political development of France since 1789 Paris has for fifty years been in the position, that no revolution could break out without assuming a proletarian character in such wise that the proletariat which had bought the victory with its blood did not put forward immediately afterward its own demands."

These, he continues, might be indefinite and confused. Paris working men were directly linked up with the most stirring period of the great French revolution—the end of the Terror and the rise of the Directory. All the foremost men of the revolution had passed away. Robespierre and Saint Just had followed Danton and Desmoulines to the guillotine, and two years later, 1796 the last insurrection of the Communes was overwhelmed. In this conspiracy "Gracchus" Babeuf was the leader, and his manifestoes reveal a fundamental conception of labour's needs; necessarily of course coupled with nature and nature's laws. His analysis, published by the Society of Equals in preference to the Manifesto of the Equals contains such sentiments as — "Nature has imposed on each person the obligation to work; nobody could without crime, evade his share of common labor. Labor and enjoyments ought to be common. There is oppression wherever one part of society is exhausted by labour and in want of everything, while the other part wallows in abundance without doing any work at all."

Some of the military chiefs upon whom the Babeuvists depended were informing the Directory of every move, especially Grisel and all the leaders were arrested. That these doctrines had permeated the masses we know from Babeuf's conciliatory address to the Directory: "Would you consider it beneath you, citizen directors to treat with me as power with power. You have seen what vast confidence centres in me; you have seen that my party may well balance equally in the scale your own; you have seen its immense ramifications. I am convinced you have trembled at the sight." This could be no empty boast. Babeuf was a man of indomitable courage, and sound common sense. The Directory, refusing to treat with them, sent them before the high court at Vendome where they were condemned to death. Babeuf and Darthe stabbed themselves upon hearing the verdict, in open court. They had maintained an undaunted front and greatly impressed Paris even in those days when invincible courage was as common as speech. The followers made one last desperate effort, but without avail; the troops were faithful to the Directory.

We have reverted to this too obscure episode in order to introduce a man, also too little known but of great historical significance to us, an Italian (or rather a Pisan, because Italy was not yet a nation), who while found guilty with Babeuf and his fellow conspirators was merely banished because he was a foreigner. His name was Michel Buonarroti. Returning to Italy he continued in the revolutionary movement, but with the triumph of Metternich in 1823 he was again on the move and found his way back to Paris. About the time Charles X ascended the throne, he wrote his history of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality which Bronterre O'Brien, who translated it into English, says contains the best exposition of his own views. However, we have already seen how startling they were. So that arriving in Paris at a time when all France was in a

ferment, when the last of the Bourbon kings had started upon his career which was to end in revolution directly connected with the great events which closed the 18th century, he had immense influence. When at last Charles the X. sealed his doom by suppressing the press, recompensing the royalists who were ruined by the Revolution, while refusing to admit to the indemnity those of the revolutionary groups who had likewise suffered, and abolishing parliament, Buonarroti was again at the barricades. So much for one phase of the political development. In the struggles of the French people against reaction, a struggle which was peculiar to France and of course England, differing in character from that of the rest of Europe, which assumed a national revolt against foreign interference; the French sought elbow room for development, which was circumscribed by the reactionary Bourbons, vindictive withal, ever with the memory of 1789 before them. The bourgeoisie in their assault upon this reaction constantly appealed to the proletariat.

Let us now turn to the economic development.

The steam engine, we have already noted, had made an early appearance in France but it was not until the locomotive was demonstrated to be the new haulage power that it captured French industry. Rails over which cars were hauled by horses had been laid for some time when the first steam loco. arrived, in 1832. Then ensued a long period of agitation as to who should control the new system of locomotion. There was a strong sentiment in favor of state ownership, which ended in state assistance. By 1848, 3000 miles were operated.

But France had not yet completed her social revolution; revolutions, insurrections, and attempted counter-revolutions, she had in abundance. The workers, whose energy had forced the Bourbons to exile, were not quiescent to the Orleanists, and Louis Philippe, chosen king to save France from anarchy, had anything but a peaceful reign. There were, added to popular uprising of a political character, many riots over wages and hours of labor, besides the attempts by Bourbon and Napoleonic partisans to restore their houses—and repeated attempts at assassination of the Citizen King, of which Fieschi's was the most elaborate, consisting of twenty-five loaded gun barrels, bound together and discharged by a train of power. It will be readily understood then, what a state the bourgeoisie of France were in; every means of prosperity to hand, and the red specter ever present at the feast.

Parliamentary government, to which they must have recourse if they were to be the dominating factor, became daily more anarchic and impossible. Every difference, no matter, how slight, became the occasion of a trial of strength between the rival contenders for sovereignty. Bourbons by the ancient regime, Orleanists by the bankers, Buonapartists by a motley class of adventurers, and parliamentarists by the industrialists, with the communists and industrialists ever-increasing propaganda among the workers, to add to the interest. The king and his advisors, the various ministries he had formed were under the circumstances compelled to restrict that freedom for the institution of which they had been elevated to power, and in 1846 commenced the "Reform Banquets" at which republican sentiment was freely indulged in. Corrupt elections, bribery of government official, and attempts at absolutism were the main matter. The monarchy must go, was faintly heard. Guizot recounts a conversation which took place after one of these banquets in 1847: "Well really," Pagnerre said, 'I did not expect for our proposals so speedy and complete success. Do those gentlemen see what that may lead to? For my part, I confess I do not see it clearly; but it is not for us radicals to be alarmed about it.' 'You see that tree,' replied Garnier-Pages, 'engrave on its bark a mark in memory of this day;

for what we have just decided upon, is a revolution.'

That very night, as it were, the Romans landed on their coast, with King Coal as leader.

It was, sure enough, to use the almost universal phrase of the time, their right and duty to decide, but other forces were to carry out the decrees, and these same gentlemen who could not see clearly now were to realize clearly later, that their power to usurp the fruits of victory would at least be questioned.

Industrial France was at a standstill. But even while these radicals debated the fruits of their action in that leisurely stroll, one part of the problem was being solved. Coal was struck at the pit being sunk at l'Escarpelle. France had been penalized in the steel industry, through having to use charcoal for smelting or to import coke. And here it might be proper to point out, that notwithstanding the brilliant and fundamental labors performed by the French in creating the science of chemistry, (Lavoisier, Bertholet and others), they had failed to keep pace with England and Germany, precisely for this reason, that raw elements were not found in France.

However, the Reform Banquets were forbidden, and this forced the agitation on to the streets. Guizot, the man who had expelled Marx from Paris, declared that no advance toward reform could be expected from the government. "The maintenance of the unity of the conservative party, the maintenance of the conservative policy and power will be the fixed idea and rule of conduct in the Cabinet."

We are strongly urged at times to formulate a social law upon the universal and age old stubbornness with which governments meet great crisis. But this is not the place, and we merely call attention to these vain words by one who had but to speak to be obeyed, but who was shortly to be hunted like a rat. 1847 brought the panic and the famine; all France was dissatisfied with the government. And so came one of those decisive factors entirely beyond man's control. Factors which cannot be engineered and which, if they could, would long await the man whose humanity was so dead that he would command their appearance. As Guizot says: "The storm was in the air, evident both to those who dreaded it and those who were preparing to make use of it."

The National Guard was called to arms by the government and refused duty. Some of the regular army took part in the Reform demonstration. The King was again and again urged to give way; the cabinet advised against it. Duchatel said: "Con-

(Continued on page 8)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

**PROPAGANDA
MEETINGS**

EVERY SUNDAY

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

APRIL 15th

Speaker: A. J. BEENY

**All meetings at 8 p.m.
Questions. Discussion.**

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

(Continued from page 1)

anne conference, is bound to be followed by a period of very active secret diplomacy, and increased struggle between France and England. But the concession-hunters set to work sooner than the governments: The press makes no attempt to conceal the fact that the negotiations of the American Admiral Chester with the Turkish government, with regard to railway concessions and the exploitation of mineral riches, are successfully progressing. And it is well known that the ubiquitous Urquhart is negotiating for large concessions in Turkey. The governments will find that negotiations with Turkey are expensive, that serious concessions will be demanded from them, now that Turkey will no longer permit continuous interference with her laws, and the fettering of her economic life, as demanded by the draft treaty—drawn up by the Entente.

Simultaneously with international trustification of capital, but poles apart from it, there is proceeding the emancipation of the peoples oppressed by capitalism. The numerous delegations of the Eastern nations in Lausanne, saw in the Soviet republic their sole true friend, and this alliance became closer and closer in the course of the Lausanne conference. Many of the native newspapers of the Eastern lands showed the diplomatic success of Turkey in Lausanne to be due to the diplomatic support of the Soviet republic, the presence of whose delegates lent a firm security to Turkey up to the end of the conference. The Soviet republic played its historical part as friend of all the oppressed peoples, all peoples whose existence is in danger, or who are threatened with attack.

The constant oscillation of French policy at Lausanne was doubtless the reflection of anglo-French conflicts in the Ruhr question. Thanks to our attitude, the conviction spread in French political circles, during the course of the conference, that the opening of the Straits for foreign warships, that is, the surrender of the Black Sea to England, would be disadvantageous to France. France, Italy, and Turkey, are all still bound by their previous engagements in this question. But even should the period of diplomatic negotiations with Turkey end with the signing of a general treaty, and should the Straits convention worked out at Lausanne, and which is unacceptable to us, be actually signed, the convention will not exist for long; this is openly stated, not only by a few Turkish journalists, but also by the French and Italians.

The situation is thus one of unheard of complexity, and Soviet diplomacy is also in consequence characterized by great complexity. We must think of the security of our frontiers and coasts, and the means of access to our coasts; we must at the same time combat everything endangering general peace, and be prepared to come to the protection of oppressed and endangered peoples; but we must not forget for a moment our most pressing actual task; the liquidation of the blockade against the Soviet republics where it has not yet been completely raised, and the complete clearing of the way to unhampered economic relations with all countries. We must be constantly on guard, we dare not let a single detail of the daily play of world antagonisms escape us, for there can be no world politics without Russia and her allies, and no international question towards which Russia and her allies can adopt a neutral attitude. —“Inprecorr”

Clarion "Mail Bag"

By SID EARP

UNDER the spell of brilliant spring sunshine and soft sweet scented breezes, we are tempted to open with descriptive verse such as—

Spring is come
The woods awake from their wintry slumbers.
Robes of living verdure take,
Leaves in myriad numbers,—and so forth, etc.

Romance still lingers, weak and fitful in the mind of the wage hound, but the harsh demands of the workaday struggle are imperative and not to be denied. Girt up to the uncontrolled machinery of Capitalism, the speed of which grows ever more intense and cruel in its degenerating influence, it would seem that the attributes of human kindness and social thought are to be utterly destroyed. A feeling of revulsion towards the existing institutions of modern society is, however, gradually manifesting itself. The cultured and professional elements are finding not only a lessening scope for their ambitions, but also a growing menace to their material welfare. In vain do they look and appeal for relief to the politicians. Their trouble is but a phase of a social problem, the solution of which lies in its understanding.

But an individual outlook which poses as national (with remarkable consequences), is utterly incapable of dealing with a problem which overrides national boundary lines. French occupation of German territory has been, and will further be, discussed in a British parliament, and the object of debate will be the conservation of British investments, no more. They do but talk, these politicians. All the doing is done by a wage-working class who are under a misapprehension as to their real identity and place in this modern scheme of things. Thus in the protection of private investments, the question of national welfare comes to the fore, and working class minds respond more quickly to that than any other thing. Mean, colorless lives become vivid with a noble sentiment and death is sought to perpetuate a—lie. To understand society and its method of procuring a livelihood, is to become a revolutionist with a clearly defined objective; the elimination of parasitism. Seemingly a mighty task; but not impossible in an age of stupendous mechanical achievement such as exists today.

It is to be observed that in those pursuits where man has registered an advance, a strictly scientific approach is utilized; it is the method par excellence. But no hymns of praise and adoration are chanted to the skies. It is the work and thought of men that counts, and so it will ever be; even in the struggle for social wellbeing, where at present, weird battle cries and noisy challenging seems to be the chief feature. Practical workers and keen discriminating thinkers are the need of the revolutionary movement; our work is to attend to that need above all else.

The "Mail Bag" is heavy this time, and space forbids lengthy comment on all communications. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Ontario are represented by brief but kindly letters, enclosing moneys for Clarion subs. and the Maintenance Fund. We deeply appreciate the efforts of these distant comrades. A burst of correspondence comes from Winnipeg, where much strife exists within the working class movement. We hope it will soon work itself out and that the factions will cease to concentrate on side issues. Scarcity of employment has caused a number of good men to leave the city, but their value to the movement will not be lost. In those who remain and who are finding a rugged path to travel, we have much faith. Comrade Davidson sends a very interesting letter containing matter for a splendid article. We suggest that he should try his hand at once. Here requests that Beeny write to him.

From Saskatoon, Lloydminster, Pinkham, and Sovereign, Saskatchewan, come cheering words, subs. and help for the Maintenance Fund.

Writing from Luscar, Alberta, Com. Roy Reid
(Continued on page 8)

Still Saving Democracy

THE peoples of all nations stand aghast at the terrible commotion stirred up by the flapping wings of a cynical dragon beating the surface of the globe for a place to land on. The guardians of the plunderbird are again seeking the audience of the robbed, starved and cheated to view the prescribed scenery of Europe amicable to the continuation of our present slavish system. While the capitalist press breaks the news gently, the falcon sharpens its claws to once more tear the flesh from the bones of the working class to fill petrol reservoirs and improve the means of battleship propulsion in order to make war swag more secure.

Our overlords now pace the floor wringing their hands, beating incessantly the diplomatic brow for some motive that will attract the patriotic mob in sympathy with a certain financial group against another. The display of ship sinking, tea taxing and militarism, with its rigid materialism, are being displaced with the latest design of the relentless Poincare.

When thieves fall out honest people come into their own. Germany, recently "the curse of the world," has its title now transferred to France. The British capitalists shudder at the dominant power of France if she gets possession of Ruhr coal and Lorraine iron. The Labor M. P. delegation to the Ruhr fear the menace of France in the markets of the world which will greatly affect British industry. You workers remember that Germany owned the Ruhr coal and Lorraine iron, and that she must have been a "menace" to British industry before the war. To save Europe from becoming a human slaughterhouse France must be checked. Who is going to check France commercial domination? Who was called on to check the German invasion of the world's markets, and who was called on to defend them? The workers of the world of course! British Labor M. P.'s endorsed the action and who was more familiar with the European situation than the German Social Democrats who voted in block in favor of the German capitalist group against the British and French group?

Various capitalist groups may disagree, but let

the workers of Germany, France or Britain threaten to take charge of the Ruhr mines and Lorraine iron and you will find the capitalist groups cling tenaciously together and bind closely the unconscious workers willing to club and shoot the class conscious workers.

Why should we point our fingers at France "stealing" the Ruhr Valley? What is the difference between the theft of the Ruhr coal and the stealing of the German African colonies or Mesopotamia oil? Why, Japan "stole" the German Pacific islands. Italy swiped the Austrian Adriatic seaports, and Britain pinched all the oil wells she could get her fingers on, along with the German merchant marine, and in wild fury sunk the German fleet. We cannot blame any capitalist group from stealing; it is the rock bottom of our social system. Imperialism is built on the exploitation of labor, and the flying dragon stamps the territory with the right of ownership wherever it is able to light. The shrinkage of fields for further development brings about a strenuous struggle between the different capitalist factions to retain their grip on exploitable possessions. From now on wars will be continually buzzing around our ears, and the function of labor representatives is to free the working class from the dominant power of capitalism. Never mind the interests of capitalist profit-mongers, they are quite capable of looking after themselves.

The fact that German workers resent the French capitalist invasion proves their ignorance of the cause of their misery. Canadians and U. S. workers are employed by all kinds of nationalities that own the means of production and distribution. The sale of labor-power is offered and purchased by French, German, British or Hottentot, so what difference does it make to the wage slave or farm slave who owns the American continent? If we wish to free ourselves from the horrors of war, or a farmer-labor government, or unemployment, we as a working class must learn from a study of Socialist literature the agencies that are responsible for war, unemployment and human misery in general.

GEORGE PATON.

THE CLARION MAIL BAG
(Continued from page 7)

says in part: "I would like very much to hear some of the top notchers of the S. P. of C. analyse and explain the mud slinging contest between the "Worker" and the "O. B. U. Bulletin." We suggest that he look up the Clarion of February 1st, 1922, and read the article under the title "Acrobatic Leadership." We have forwarded a copy of that issue. Thanks for the sub. and donation.

Com De Mott writes from Michichi, Alta., enclosing five dollars to the Maintenance Fund, and a sub. as well. His comments on the column "By the Way" are well taken. From Huxley, Haynes, Carbon, Ogden, Green Court, Whitla and Wimborne come greetings, subs., orders for literature and donations to the C. M. F. Bravo! Alberta!

Com. Geo. Donaldson, of Stanmore Local 110, writes to the effect that interest in our work is growing. He encloses thirteen subs. and an order for copies of "Slave of the Farm." He has been invited to attend a meeting north of the locality in which he lives, and requests that a few "Clarions" be sent for the occasion. Gloom has no place where Donaldson is. Strength and inspiration comes from the like of him.

Comrade Exelby writes from Calgary expressing much appreciation of Clarion writers. He encloses two subs. and promises vigorous assistance in the future. Cusack writes a business letter from Calgary dealing with matter concerning the local. Things are not very bright at present, but no matter. "Lash and stow!" Frank; that's all you can do till the weather clears.

From numerous points in British Columbia letters have arrived showing interest in our efforts, and expressing pleasure with the material in the "Clarion." Subs. also come from points in Oregon, California and Eastern States.

From far away New Zealand a letter has arrived which is as follows:

"IN NEW EALAND"

"My comment on J. A. McDonald's article under the above was more lengthy than I had intended, so I will be brief here. I do not want any argument as Mac suggests, and I have not the least animosity concerning him. Personally, I was pleased with his lectures such as I heard.

In his antipathy for the Labour Party I heartily concur. Still I believe he was prejudiced against the officials of the C. P. and that it was encouraged by the persons he mentions, and others. One of the persons he mentions who advised him against the linking up of the West Coast elements promised to do all he could to further the interests of the C. P. I have evidence of that from more than one source.

That Anderson and Hunt are in the front row of students here goes without saying. But to suggest that the officials of the Communist Party are boneheads or hero worshipers is simply childish.

Most of them have worked together before, why not now? This is my last word on the matter.

Yours, etc.,

ALBERT E. HUNT.

Huntley, N. Z., Feb. 18, 1923.

We have nothing to say regarding this letter, except that equal space will be given Com. J. A. McDonald should he think it advisable to engage in further comment. And that winds up the "Mail Bag" column up to 7th April.

THE COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

ONE of the happiest features of the gathering held by Local No. 1 in commemoration of the Paris Commune, was the attendance of many old-timers who by circumstances are prevented from engaging in Party activities at present. The old guard, from whom the movement has drawn so heavily during the last decade are not lacking in interest and encouragement, neither have they forgotten how to enjoy themselves. From early evening until nearly dawn about one hundred and fifty people put aside their cares and doubting, and revelled in joyous companionship, in music, warmth, and laughter, rich and loud. It was a brilliant re-union of good friends, and a happy augury of future successes.

SID EARP.

REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.
(Continued from page 6)

essions forced by violence from all the legal powers are not a means of safety, one defeat would quickly bring a second. In the revolution there was not much between the 20th June and the 10th August. And today things advance more quickly than in those times. **Events like travellers go by the stream.**" (emphasis ours). The dates refer to 1789: The Tennis Court Parliament, and the Flight of the King.

Louis Phillippe at last decided to abdicate; he was persuaded not to. Finally he decided on a change of ministers. The streets were crowded with determined and excited people, when another accident, again entirely out of man's calculations, occurred. An explosion, the cause of which was never determined was heard. The loyal soldiers, surrounded by a hostile crowd, lost their heads and presuming an attack was being made on them fired into the crowd.

The revolution was on.

The people loaded the dead into a cart, and hauled it through the streets. By day break, Guizot tells us, Paris was covered with barricades.

So far the crowds called only for Guizot's and Thiers' heads, and for reform. The King appeared before them and told them their demands would be granted, but while this was the cry, they were quite evidently determined upon something more, and continued at the barricades or demonstrating before the Tuilleries. Louis Phillippe wished to abdicate but Marshall Bugeaud would not permit it, saying it would demoralise the loyal troops. However, the National Guard went over in a body to the Revolution and the Monarchy was at an end.

But these March days of 1848 were to mean yet more to Europe, so, while Paris is clearing up the barricades, and the spring cleaning is being conducted in the Tuilleries, let us turn our gaze to eastern Europe once more.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada affirm our allegiance to, and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

- 1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
- 2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.
- 3—The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Following \$1 each: Fred Harman, J. MacDonald, Marshall Erwin, A. C. Roga, W. Turner (per Sid Earp).

"Progress" 50 cents; R. Inglis \$2; P. A. Askew \$2; George McLennan, (per M. Goudie) \$3; St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie) \$ 9; From the extra cheerful ones (Commune celebration, Vancouver), \$11.50.

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