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FIVE CENTS

An Economic Survey

BY E. VARGA

THE economic year 1923, the fifth since the end of the world war, has not brought with it the expected consolidation of Capitalism on a world wide scale. Neither has the crisis of Capitalism been overcome in this year. During the year, it has also become very apparent that at present there exists no uniform capitalist world economy, with a uniform conjuncture and with the alternation of boom and depression which is so characteristic of the capitalist system. While the first half of the year witnessed a boom of great intensity in the United States, the economic life of Europe, with minor fluctuations in the individual countries, remained constantly in a state of crisis and depression. This is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the sum total of unemployed in Europe at the end of 1923 was greater than at the end of 1922. This separation of world economy into various parts, each of which is passing through its own course of development, makes it impossible to present a unified picture of the economic situation of the whole world. It is necessary to consider each division separately.

America

In the entire picture of the capitalist world, there stands out with special prominence, owing to its special development, America; by which we think particularly of the United States and of Canada. The South American States present in many respects a somewhat different picture. As we have already mentioned (*) the economic situation in the United States experienced a big trade boom in the first half of 1923. This boom culminated about April and May. At that time the production reached a level which was about 25% higher than the best of the past years. In the middle of the year the boom subsided, without it coming to a crisis. Production and the whole economic life of the United States and Canada continue on a fairly good level, without so far showing any clear signs of an approaching crisis. We do not wish to say that this crisis will not soon arise. In accordance with the general experience of capitalist production, this should be the case in the not distant future, but so far as we can observe, there are no objective visible signs at present.

Of special interest is the fact that this boom in America is based entirely upon the demands of the home market. Of special significance in this respect is the fact that the foreign trade of the United States, in the period when the boom was at its height, that is the months of March, April, May and June, had a surplus of imports which is very exceptional in the history of the United States. With the decline of the trade boom this changed, and from July on, America shows once more an active balance of trade resulting from a large reduction in imports and a small increase in exports. This points clearly to the fact that, precisely on account of the end of the boom within the country, it became necessary to purchase less abroad and to sell a larger amount to foreign countries.

The Connection with the European Economic Situation.

As we have already stated in a former article, it

(*) See Clarion January 2, 1924.

was a matter of decisive importance for the fate of the old centre of the world capitalist system—for Europe, whether the boom in the United States would exercise its influence upon the stagnating business of Europe in such a manner that a trade revival would also come to Europe. To express it in another way: Is the trade boom of America capable of spreading to Europe and resulting in a trade revival for the whole capitalist world? This question which could not be answered six months ago, now appears to permit of a negative answer. The crisis in Europe is like nearly every crisis in capitalism, a question of markets.

The American trade boom could only have succeeded in stimulating Western Europe if the adverse balance of trade for the United States were a permanent thing, that is if the United States, for a long period, had bought more from the world market than it sold. The increased importation of the United States consisted only for a very small part of the products of European industry (iron, building material) and consisted for the most part of raw materials which were bought in other parts of the world. But the increased purchase of raw materials in these countries and the decreased export of the products of American industry, if it had lasted some time, would have enabled European industry, which is suffering from lack of markets, to have placed its products on these markets. With the change in American foreign trade this possibility disappears. Thus Europe finds itself in the same economic situation as it was in before the boom in America. The paths of American and European capitalism seem to have diverged for a long time to come.

The United States continue to draw not only goods, but actual gold in large amounts in return for its surplus exports, and for the interest upon its capital which is invested in other parts of the world. In the last eleven months of the current year the United States had an effective surplus import of 261 million dollars in gold. The amount of gold in possession of the Treasury Department and the state controlled note banks increased from 3,473 million dollars on December 1st, 1922, to 3,771 million dollars on December 1st, 1923. The total amount of gold present in the United States now is estimated at 4,168 million dollars which is an increase of 120% since the beginning of the war. The United States now possesses already one half of the gold in the world which is estimated at about 8,500 million dollars.

The export of gold which was announced by Hoover for the year 1923 did not take place. The question arises: what chance is there at all of the European capitalist states returning to a gold currency if the United States continues on the same scale to suck up gold out of the whole world and to concentrate it in its own hands. If the same process continues for another twenty years the remainder of the world will be absolutely stripped of its gold reserves. The fact of the piling up of the half of the gold supply of the world in the United States is symbolical of the transfer of the centre of gravity of the world capitalist system to the United States, which has already come about.

The Development of European Economics.

In contrast to the high American trade prosperity, the economic situation in Europe has, on a whole, become worse rather than better in the course of 1923. An improvement of the economic condition has taken place in the neutral countries, on a small scale in France and Italy and, in the last quarter, the first signs of a better conjuncture are showing themselves in England.

But this improvement in the economic situation of the surrounding states has been bought at the price of the almost complete cessation of business with Germany. The occupation of the Ruhr destroyed the production of this district which is the most highly industrialized in the whole world, and the ending of passive resistance has, up to the present, altered nothing. As a result of the violent change in the fixing of prices, the stagnation has extended over the whole of Germany. At the end of the year there was about 3½ million unemployed in the whole of Germany, including the occupied territory and several million more on short time. One does not need to be much of a prophet to foresee that at the moment when the Ruhr and the whole of Germany begin to produce again, the state of the markets in the surrounding states, France, England, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia will once more become very bad.

The fundamental problem for western Europe consists in the question of liquidating the over-industrialization which proceeded during the war period. To reduce it to rough terms, it means that there are one hundred blast furnaces too many in Europe. Or to express it in another way. Is it possible for the industrial states of Europe: England, Germany, France (since the end of the war), Belgium, and Czecho-Slovakia to feed their populations by the export of manufactured articles and the import of food and raw materials? The decision of this question depends upon the ability of the world market to absorb industrial products. As, however, a great industrialization took place during and after the war in the younger capitalist lands, and especially in the British colonies, and as China, which appears to be the only land which is suited to the extension of capitalist production, cannot be colonized for the time being owing to political reasons, while, in addition, Soviet Russia is no longer accessible for capitalist expansion in the old style, there exists little prospect that the economic situation of Western Europe can be regenerated upon the pre-war basis. The feeling of this impossibility shows itself before all in the economic and political chaos in England.

The English Problem.

The question of the fate of Western Europe: whether it can re-establish itself upon the pre-war basis, confronts England the most sharply, for it is the country which had developed the furthest in this direction. The economic and political events of the last three months in England demonstrate most clearly the embarrassment of the English bourgeoisie, who are usually so clear in their views and conscious of their aims. All possible economic and political tendencies cross each other. One group favored the creation of an independent British world empire, which would bind the colonies and the moth-

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AN ECONOMIC SURVEY.

(Continued from page one)

er country into a unified economic territory by means of preferential tariffs. The carrying out of this idea would have led to the high duty upon food imported into England, because only in this way would it have been possible to grant the colonies a preference worth considering. The realization of this plan broke down upon the resistance of the British consumers who, at the elections, rejected the moderate tariffs which had been decided upon at the Empire conference upon some articles, and thereby rejected the whole conception of a self-contained British Empire.

The second group, which is chiefly represented by the large English industry, wishes to restore the competitive power of English industry in the world market by means of a policy of inflation. As a matter of fact, a not insignificant depreciation of the pound has actually taken place in the last few months.

A third group represented by the commercial interests and the Labor Party, holds that it is still possible to ensure the food supply of England by the export of industrial articles, if peaceful economic conditions once more reign in Europe itself. How the restoration of a normal capitalism is possible, has so far only been announced in quite general phrases.

A fourth group has finally accepted the consequences of the derangement of the world capitalist system and advocates emigration, development of

English agriculture, and Malthusianism; which means it has already abandoned the struggle for the winning back of England's old position in the world market.

Thus we see a complete chaos in England's economic policy and, as a probable consequence, a further independence of the English colonies from the mother country, which is the very opposite development to that which is desired by the English imperialists.

France and the Reparations Question.

France finds herself in a similar situation to England, with the difference that her agrarian basis is more extended and healthier, but on the other hand the position of the state finances is incomparably worse. The occupation of the Ruhr territory has brought little alteration in the fundamental questions of French economics. On the one hand the possession of the Ruhr assures the French heavy industry the necessary supply of coal and coke, but on the other hand the question arises as to where France will find the market for the full production of the French and Ruhr heavy industry. The natural market for the Ruhr industry is unoccupied Germany. France cannot therefore cut off the Ruhr industrially from Germany, as in that case French heavy industry would be destroyed by the competition of the Ruhr. All the fine plans for the participation of French capital in Germany will, in the event of their being carried out, not alter the common problem of English, French, and German heavy industry, i.e., the lack of markets. It is specially characteristic for the present decay of Capitalism

that French heavy industry wishes to attain its market by a long and systematic restriction of the export from the Ruhr, that is, by an externally enforced limitation of production of the industry of the Ruhr. Instead of finding consumers for the increased productive powers by the extension of the capitalist markets, it is sought to throttle competition by political measures and to restore the balance by reduction of production. Thus we see the scarcely concealed effort of the French capitalists to sabotage still further the production of the Ruhr, to keep it within bounds which correspond with French "national interests."

The occupation of the Ruhr has ended in this way with a temporary political victory but not with an economic strengthening of France. The rapid depreciation of the French franc in the past few weeks is proof enough for that. This depreciation is still proceeding. If, however, confidence is once shaken, the depreciation can easily reach the same dimensions as in Germany. The continually sharpening antagonism between France and England will also render futile the conferences of experts which began early in 1924. France, who is being badly hit by the depreciation of the franc, will still endeavour to make good the loss at the expense of Germany. With the disappearance of the hopes of an international loan, the stabilization of the mark will also fall to the ground. The chaos in Europe will become still greater and will drift with all speed towards a solution through war. The prospects of the restoration of "normal" capitalism in Europe in the year 1924 are of the remotest.

—"Inprecorr."

Environment and Education

A SCHOOL TEACHER'S POINT OF VIEW.

BY F. W. MOORE.

THE education of the people is not only a work of art, but it is the greatest work of art in the world, since on it the development of other kinds of art depends. Education should therefore have in it a centre of vision—a particular feature on which all minds could be concentrated, such as an attempt to develop the best average type of citizen, meaning by the best average type of citizen one who, by reason of his knowledge of his relationship to society and to the world at large gleaned from the view-point of economic determinism ought to be able (with others of his class similarly endowed) to regulate the policies of his representatives in parliament so that they might, compatibly with the development that automatically takes place in industry and machinery, bring about the best conditions, first for the continued instead of the intermittent operation of the world's machinery, and secondly for the setting free, in the interests of humanity, the most tremendous power on earth, "the strong minds, the cunning hands and cultured brains," referred to by Whittier, the very thought of which implies potential ability in productive effort in science, art, literature, discovery and invention, to which our present attempts in that line are but as a drop in the ocean—that potential ability, the dormancy of which was so eloquently mourned by Gray in his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard."

It is the liberation of these forces that we particularly refer to in the use of the term "Education"; but we might add that the setting of them free, lies not so much in the lack of ability to appreciate life on a higher plane as many people suppose, but rather the woeful lack (amongst the poorer classes) of those cultural influences that to a greater or less extent pervade the enviroing atmosphere of more fortunate people, and that form the very quintessence of those factors that go to create a taste for intellectual self-development, such as would inspire men with ambition, to seek as soon as possible that materialization of the conditions

mentioned above. If we glance for a moment at the biography of any of those great men, who in their youthful days were fortunate heirs to conditions fraught with refining influences, we should find this point particularly emphasised in the analysis of those forces that had so much to do in making them what they were: and if in connection with this we enquired how far our system of education goes towards bringing about a similar result in the ordinary citizen we could answer truly that its effects on humanity in general are bound to be meagre in proportion, in the first place, to the indifference to the law of economic determinism that is characteristic of historical textbooks, and secondly in proportion to the inequality of opportunity to take advantage of the higher institutions of learning that characterises the condition of the poorer classes of society, an inequality that may not be noticed by many people, but that becomes obvious on analysing the effect of environment on the great majority of the youth of Canada today.

We mention Canada as a whole, since, in looking for opportunities to improve our condition, we have lived in the East, Centre and West of this great Dominion: moreover the complaints appearing in the interprovincial press, from time to time, would lead one to imagine that the evils which we shall presently discuss in connection with British Columbia have a national, if not an international vogue. We shall however in treating of environment confine our analysis to conditions in the province just mentioned: but to understand its import would be impossible, if we sought to examine its effect without knowing the nature of the subject acted upon: and the subject being boys and girls, a cursory introduction to them at this point will no doubt be excusable. They are, as we all know, the children of loggers and professional fishermen who follow farming as an avocation, and who are in no way fundamentally inferior either physically or mentally to those of any other class of society in the land. No small percentage of these excel in various kinds of achievement: it is only a little while ago since several members of one family on their way to school in a boat, got overturned in deep water, when even the youngest

(a girl of six), than whom it would be hard to find a brighter child in the province, swam to shore and with others appeared at school in a change of clothes in less than an hour. In many districts the local gossips would find material in such an episode sufficient to satisfy the desires of an epic poet, but here the question of tardiness alone was considered worthy of notice. The brothers of this girl think as little of diving twenty feet under water as they would of eating breakfast: no wonder the performers of such piscine exploits are distinguished by the name of "Finns."

Another country girl who is equally adept in the water succeeded in winning one of the first prizes in the Art Department of the Vancouver Exhibition of last year, while others still won the admiration and applause of a concert audience by excellent productions of serio-comic sketches, piano solos or folk songs that literally "brought down the house" in the full metaphorical meaning of that term, and inspired many of the audience (amongst whom were strangers from boats in the bay); to declare in quite a spontaneous manner that they had "often seen worse on the stage."

The great majority are as intellectual and capable at the end of the common school course as any other children of the same standing anywhere. They are equally fitted to advance along the higher paths of learning. We know of one school of forty pupils and eight classes, than which none contains a greater proportional supply of splendid brain-power, but—sad to relate—like the unused water-power that might be had from the Falls of Niagara, it must go to waste from lack of opportunity. One might say that we have universities and high schools open to all, yet shutting them off from public use, is an invisible closed door, like the glass that allows the fly to see the outside world, but incidentally destroys any chance he might have of finding his way through the window.

The key to that door, apart from the possession of wealth, is the desire to open it, and probably most people will admit that that desire is born of environment. If they claim it is the result of heredity, we reply that heredity itself is the result of enviro-

onment. It only remains therefore to consider some of the circumstances that go to make up the environment of an ordinary thirteen-year-old boy or girl of today. We choose that age as belonging to the critical period when the germs of desire for a higher education ought to be fully developed, but in no country place—and we doubt very much if the same cannot be said of most urban districts—does the environment embody conditions of affinity by means of which this germ of desire might be more fully developed: on the contrary quite the opposite seems to be the case. There is absolutely no attempt made to furnish that kind of social service that would supply the rising generation with the means of pleasurable self-improvement. There is no community-house where children and parents might foregather in the long winter evenings to engage in amusements according to their respective ages, or to take part in social functions which might be at the same time interesting and enlightening, while to the children there would accrue that special advantage of being able to enjoy their games, and still remain in close proximity to that responsible supervision that is so necessary to a desirable development.

Here the boys, who naturally enjoy contests, might learn by example of the powerful weapon concealed in the proper use of English: here the girls might be led to suspect that music and eloquence would add far more to their attractiveness than mere ability to do what every grass-hopper can do—jump around in a ball-room: for be it known that the only available social function by means of which the children can get away from the eternal round of the monotony of home experiences is the dance: that is, they are solely dependent for recreation at the tender age of twelve or thirteen on those pleasures mostly associated with the maturity of the adult: nor indeed could we conspire to deprive them of this one oasis in the pleasureless desert of their social experiences. We are not decrying dancing in itself; nevertheless a person must be stupid indeed who is unable to realize the abiding effect on the education of a pupil whose attention is chronically diverted from her studies by frequent opportunities to glide around publicly in terpsichorean triumphs of fancy draperies—opportunities in themselves of a sufficiently harmless nature but by virtue of frequent repetition having a tendency to divert the mind from any nascent desire for a higher culture that might under a different environment have a chance of developing into a purpose, finally fructifying into an accomplished fact. How could a girl's brain develop normally under such circumstances? We are referring to no particular girls; the condition is general and the victims of such circumstances are widespread.

We ask how the brain could have any opportunity to develop when metaphorically speaking, the prepondering thought incidental to the pleasures of the "two-step," like the cuckoo usurper in the sparrows nest, must oust the legitimate occupant "Ambition" and impress on its foster-parents the guardianship of an offspring whose influence must necessarily be felt in the next and perhaps the following generations. How can we expect, under these circumstances, to develop integrity in a citizen—meaning integrity, completeness of character and education compatible with the necessity of being able to exercise political judgment in a manner referred to at the beginning of this article. How could we expect to develop so capable a citizen from the hybridous child-woman, eating the Wellsonian monster-producing food of the gods embodied in the modern dance-hall environment of our coast children? How indeed could we expect anything better to evolve under these conditions than an uninteresting specimen of a woman-child, whose mental growth was arrested at the age of fifteen and whose ambition in her old age is often characterized by an uncontrollable desire to ape the appearance of girlhood which she at length realizes she never experienced. But why should we, mere men, trouble about the political future of the gentler sex? The answer is simple in the extreme. Women have the right of the franchise. They have therefore the power to delay progress. They can do as much as a

man to make this earth a heaven or a hell: therefore the education of the woman-child is of momentous importance.

It is also quite possible that in some ways she might be more useful than man. We take it for granted that St Paul knew the power of her tongue when he said that he would rather live on the housetop than under the roof with a brawling woman. What a weapon for good or ill that tongue might be if directed by a cultured brain! What an instrument it might become in heralding the gospel of the brotherhood of man! Too bad, the girls have not a better chance! and in this lamentation we might include the boys, who are equally unfortunate in their surroundings.

We taught at one school where every boy in the country smoked and chewed except the children of the parents who informed us on the others, and as each set did this in turn, the situation took on a serio-comic aspect, but although our conventional conscience impelled us to punish a culprit or two whose guilt could not be gainsaid, yet there always remained the doubt that if we ourselves, in the romantic days of early youth, were wandering around in quixotic fashion in quest of adventure, and had no other means of satisfying our ambition, we might succumb to the temptation of trying conclusions with Master Nicotine when presented in cigarette form by youths who might have appeared, from our very juvenile view-point, the incarnation of glorious manhood. It would matter not to us that they were Third-act adventurers on the world's stage—adventurers "full of strange oaths" yet not "bearded like the pard" provided they could, like the British Columbia youth, shoot flies with tobacco juice or circulate cigarette smoke through lungs and nostrils preparatory to an exhibition of ring-making that to the small boy appears a great work of art. We are afraid that under these circumstances our untutored mind which according to the law of biogenesis was still joyfully savage, would perceive in these acts indications of a splendidly developed manhood, that would make the temptation to follow the example of its possessor ten times more seductive.

We might well ask what chance these boys had to develop a taste to make use of the higher institutions of learning: these boys, whose playground was the king's highway and whose sources of information and inspiration emanated from hobbledoys whose inexperience of the world had not yet taught them to take life seriously. What chance of success had such boys in comparison with the fortunate ones that were heirs to a better environment? Yet we may safely assert that there exists amongst the children of the poor every factor that goes to make a delightful humanity. In them is the historical germ of justice and equity that, if fed on economic determinism, would in one generation be the means of stamping war from the face of the earth. This colossal benefit would accrue automatically on the establishment of the Industrial Government of the world incidental to which the rivalry for the advantages between nations would vanish and with it the cause of all war.

We shall bring this article to a close by a quotation in which the author uses the viewpoint of an intelligent neolithic man to ridicule the position of the reactionary with regard to the necessity of an alteration in human nature before great institutions can be materialized amongst us. It will also apply to those who imagine that the nature of the poor must be changed before their children can take advantage of the higher institutions of learning when in reality the taste for culture is implanted through the instrumentality of environment and has nothing whatever to do with a change of nature.

Neolithic Wisdom.

"To his neolithic neighbours who were startled and surprised

Said he, 'My friends in course of time
We shall be civilized
We are going to live in cities
We are going to fight in wars
We are going to eat three times a day
Without the natural cause
We are going to turn life upside down
About a thing called gold.

We are going to want the earth,
And take as much as we can hold,
We are going to wear great piles of stuff
Outside our proper skins.
We are going to have diseases and
Accomplishments and sins;
Cried all before such things can be
You idiotic child:
YOU MUST ALTER HUMAN NATURE
And they all sat back and smiled
It was a clinching argument
To the Neolithic mind."

Development of Society

THE diligent student of Socialism and the labor movement, is by no means bewildered because of the social chaos in which the world finds itself today. Neither does he feel altogether disheartened on account of the collapse of the so-called socialist movement. Marxian economics clearly emphasizes that the capitalist system will only disappear with the abolition of private ownership in the means of production. This proclaims the necessity for industrial revolution. The basis of capitalism is private ownership, consequently the basis of socialism, its antithesis, can only be social ownership; as can readily be seen one excludes the other. Industrial revolution can therefore project only one demand, namely, the socialization of industry and all the agencies of production. Such a demand, however, is not only in accord with the tendencies and dictates of social evolution but also voices, at the same time, the special class interests of the proletariat and can therefore only emanate from that social layer.

In gentile society production was a communal function carried on for the benefit of all; political society was incompatible with the tribal method of doing things, therefore the latter had to give way and the political state arose upon the ruins of tribal society. Changing economic interests made necessary the change from tribal to political society.

Political society was first formally established in ancient Greece in the year 594 B.C., and eighteen years later the same thing happened in Rome under the leadership of Servius Tullius. The state from the first was an instrument of oppression and repression. The enslavement of a people by Rome was made possible only by the superior and well organized resources and the disciplined army of the conquerors. The economic foundation of Rome was predicated on organized slavery, and even the classic period of letters and art in Greece and Rome, that period of splendour, was reared upon the backs of bent and toiling slaves.

Slavery eventually gave way because another institution proved itself more in harmony with social evolution and progress. In Feudalism or the age of serfdom we note the unlimited power of social control vested in the feudality. By virtue of land ownership the feudal lord was placed in a position where he was the arbitrator over the life, happiness, and the economic well-being of his serfs.

But the discovery of America in 1492 and certain other historical factors were instrumental in giving an impetus to economic forces which eventually resulted in substituting feudalism with another and more progressive social system, namely, Capitalism. The change from Feudalism to Capitalism came about not primarily because certain individuals would have it so, but because such a change was made imperative by changing economic conditions. Whatever changes have been made by man throughout the ages have been brought about as the result of material pressure to which man has found himself compelled to yield, often against his inclination.

Socialists maintain that the time is at hand when human intelligence, given direction by economic necessity must rise to mastery over property in the common interest. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the ownership of capital must be brought into a just and harmonious relation with social interests. The ideas of de-

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THE POLITICAL OIL GUSHER

THE nation to the south of us is a great nation. Already commanding respect in its beginning it has since developed great enterprise in its industrial and commercial life, and problems proportionately great in its social affairs. In 1776 revolution was a just condition because feudalism stood in the way of liberty and equality and the new democracy sought to prescribe its own destiny, to elect its own representatives, to frame its own laws, to reshape civil institutions and to substitute the democratic voice in the management of public affairs in place of the exclusiveness of the feudal office. Thus in the new state fraternity must follow liberty and equality of opportunity, no room being left for quarrels, excepting quarrels as to the most efficient method of effecting the happiness of all in which all might engage. And all did, while the conditions lasted upon which the new constitution was built. The tradition maintains itself still and some elements in the population appear to consider the principles applicable today otherwise than in the schoolroom, as witness the constant tide of guests flooding American jails, all in the pursuit of happiness. The principles still obtain recognition in the law if not in fact.

At the same time the tradition has its uses still in public life. How else could the politicians in Washington so confidently expect to stir up popular resentment against the malpractices of those in high office if they were not certain these men were held to be representative of the people and that as such they held high public esteem? Even Daugherty. Overnight, certain "citizens of substance and weight" have incurred the ire of certain others more or less so. Thus, concerning the present political oil gusher Senator Borah says that in American public life there has never been a situation more humiliating or demoralizing, and Senator Walsh says public confidence—so essential—is so shaken that the structure of government rocks upon its foundation. Even McAdoo says the situation is more dangerous than Bolshevism, and Daugherty asserts that justice will be done, which is quite likely. All of which is bad business.

It is bad business because ordinarily government operates on sound business principles as now conceived and upheld in public esteem. Representative government is at fault, therefore, not in operating in the best interests of the organized "captains of industry and finance," but in permitting its minions to operate in the dark clandestinely in favor of one corporate interest as against another—all without notice. The common working people are held to suppose it to be an injustice that the navy oil reserve has been encroached upon, yet the navy at its best is a protector of big business of the native American brand and a guarantor of its vested interests at home and of the security in which it may make excursion abroad. The business interests have not been last to see the principle of "self-help through mutual aid," and apparently Daugherty and Co. have taken on, in their eyes, the complexion of the anarchist.

We are not to be outdone in Canada by the great republic. British Columbia has its Commissions of Enquiry regularly over the malpractices of some-

body in public office. It has one now sitting whereby the pot is enabled to call the kettle black. Likewise in Newfoundland where the ex-Prime Minister seems to have been quite ambitious. The fault appears to lie in restricting liberty in the equality of opportunity. Hence the howl of the rival parties of the old order and their reliance upon public judgment in turning the offenders out. No morality exists independent of its own stage in the development of society. The morality of nowadays lies in sound business management and the fraternity of politics is broken or cemented by that rule. But the danger lying in these perpetual investigations is that the people who suffer the "management" may see a breakdown in the machinery and set up something more to their own liking.

LOCAL VANCOUVER

This is just a reminder that the celebration of the fifty-third anniversary of the Paris Commune will be held at Oddfellows' Hall, 5th Ave. and Main Street, Tuesday 18th March. Dancing 9 p.m. until 2 a.m. Tickets are (for men) \$1 and (for women) 50 cents. Be there and be early!

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

"Progress, 50c; Roy Reid, \$10; R. Heilinger, \$2; W. B. Bryce, \$1; T. A. Lessey, \$5; W. J. Kennedy, \$3; H. Dosch, \$1; St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie), \$8.

Above, C. M. F. receipts from February 29th to March 13th, inclusive—total, \$30.50.

More Marginal Utility

By F. J. McNEY.

WHY economics ever was called the "dismal science" I never could understand. Anyhow, the theory is a fallacy, and I am sure everybody will agree that there is nothing "dismal" about the science of economics as it is presented by "Clarion" scribes, including myself and my friend "Kid" Morgan of the University of British Columbia, whatever our shortcomings may be in other respects. And right here I wish to state that I hold no grudge against the youth on account of his criticism of my article on "Marginal Utility," even if he did swipe a few paragraphs to give me the spanking I deserved. In fact, I consider myself under an obligation to the "Kid," because if he had not criticized my article I would have had no excuse to elaborate further on the subject, and there are a few points that I forgot to mention the first time. Furthermore, the theory has a peculiar fascination for me and I enjoy worrying it like a pup with an old sock.

As F. C. pointed out in his article, "Acquiring a Reputation," ever since Jevons first stated that "Value depends entirely on utility" the theory has remained a "doctrine of value," and its function has been to furnish an excuse for refusing to admit that labor applied to the natural resources of the earth produces all values. But even the disciples of Jevons themselves could see that the theory as he stated it would never hold water, so they improved it by putting a "scarcity" bottom in it and now it won't even hold beans let alone water.

If a commodity can possess no value unless it is scarce, it would be interesting to know whether it is the scarcity of commodities or the spots on the sun that are the cause of industrial crises and unemployment. We are told that the main proof of the fact that there is a scarcity of all commodities at all times is that the great majority of the people cannot get all they need of the necessities of life. In this connection let us see what Frederick Engels has to say on the subject. On page 118 of "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," speaking of industrial crisis, he says:

"Means of production, means of subsistence, available laborers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But 'abundance' becomes the source of distress and want, because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital."

Judging from the above it would appear that old Fred was as great a dreamer as I am. In fact he was greater, because he asserted that in every industrial crisis there is an abundance of practically all commodities, while I merely assumed that if such were the case, according to the marginal utility theory of value, those commodities would have no exchange value whatever. In other words, if the marginal utility theory were correct, it would be impossible for an industrial crisis to occur. And I think it will be granted by everybody, that Fred had read the "Old Master" even if I have not.

Another thing I forgot to mention in my last article on the subject is that, according to the marginal utility theory, we are always buying and selling on the margin but the margin rises and falls according to the degree of scarcity, that is we are continually skating on the thin ice of scarcity, not coming down to it from upstairs some place as the "law of diminishing utility" might make it appear. The said law is merely a kind of gravity that keeps us from flying up in the air and paying five or six times as much for a thing as it is worth, just as scarcity keeps us from getting it for nothing.

When it comes to explaining the marginal utility theory, the capitalist class economists don't do it. "Kid" Morgan in his article gives a fair illustration of how they deal with the subject. Here is part of what he says:

"The exchange value of a commodity cannot be greater than its marginal utility, because no one—not even you—would pay more for a commodity than it is worth; nor can the exchange value of a commodity remain below the marginal utility, because this would assume that people desiring additional needs would neglect to offer for them what they would be worth."

All of which is equal to saying that marginal utility and exchange value mean one and the same thing, and in that case we don't need the term marginal utility at all. Further on the "Kid" tells us that "cost is important," and he finally admits that "labor produces all values."

Now "all values" must include exchange value, and if labor produces all exchange value why is it necessary that a commodity must be scarce to possess exchange value? Right here is where the shoe pinches; the marginal utility theorists don't and won't admit that "labor produces all values." That is why they try to explain exchange value by the marginal utility theory.

In conclusion, I wish to remind everybody that I am still an ignoramus looking for information, and with that aim in view I am going to ask a few questions. In the first place I would like to know where the market is located in which demand is always equal to the supply, and where goods are always sold at a price that will "find purchasers for all the goods?" In the second place, granting that the first proposition is correct, why is it necessary to withdraw goods from the market at all?

It would seem that if demand is always equal to the supply, and that goods are always sold at a price that will "find purchasers for all the goods," there would never be any goods left to withdraw from the market. In the third place, if "exchange value and price are not to be explained by reference to the law of value," what must we refer to in order to explain them?

Now there must be some "Clarion" readers and writers who have opinions of their own on this subject, and I would like to see comment from all sides! And don't be afraid of hurting my feelings; criticism rolls off me like water off a duck's back; remember, I always admit that I may be mistaken.

Socialism, Revolution and the Law of Chance

BY GEORGE HORWILL, B.Sc. (Econ.)

Editor's Note:—This article is taken from "The Socialist Review" (London) Oct.-Dec. 1921. It will be seen that the author is an adherent of the policies of the I.L.P. Nevertheless, the article should stimulate thought and is inserted here to that end.

THE law of chance, or the mathematical theory of probability, is little understood outside those sciences, such as biology and statistics, where it is specifically applied; yet it is of enormous importance to the general student of social problems, because all policies and plans for social regeneration are tacitly built on assumptions as to how mankind will act under given conditions. Many of the wild schemes floating in the intellectual atmosphere of some of our Socialist, but much more so in our religious, organisations, would never have gained the weight they have, had all their advocates been acquainted with the known laws of chance.

The laws of chance are not uncertain as the word chance might imply: under the requisite conditions they are as certain in their operation as any other law in mathematics. If a well-made coin be tossed at random, the chance that it will drop "heads" is obviously one in two. If the coin be tossed 50 times the chance that it will drop "heads" is 25 times. In practice it would seldom fall "heads" exactly 25 times, but would tend to fall near that number. But if the coin were tossed 100,000 times, the number of times it would fall "heads" would only deviate from 50 per cent. by a small fraction, the limits of which can be found; and if it were tossed 1,000,000 times the fraction would be so small that it could safely be neglected without affecting the result to a perceptible degree. Hence, when we are dealing with millions of people, or their death rates, birth rates, measurements, the law of chance will freely operate providing other conditions, such as freedom from bias, are present.

It is, of course, in the matter of bias that the greatest difficulty is experienced in applying the law of chance to social problems. In throwing dice, for example, there is no specific influence at work (if the dice be properly made) to make any particular number come to the top, and the law of chance will freely operate; but if one side is weighted the results will be greatly affected. Hence, in such matters as death rates, we shall find different bias according to the poverty or wealth, housing conditions, trade, of the different districts. Allowance, therefore, has to be made. This however, does not prevent an almost exact knowledge of death being known in actual districts, and calculations based on it are made by insurance companies. A general idea of the law of chance can be obtained from Professor Bowley's introduction to Part II. of his Statistics, and possibly the most readable book on the subject in Venn's Logic of Chance.

I now propose to apply the law of chance, in a general manner, to a few of the questions in which the Socialist movement is interested. I do not pretend that exact measurements can be made, but indications can certainly be drawn from the data we have as to whether the chances are great or small, and when the chances of a thing succeeding are very great it is scientifically sound to base a policy on it, and when very small it would be ridiculous to act on a gambler's hope of success. I will take a few headings.

(1) Can a church, or the rich, solve the social problem? There is a widespread notion in the churches that society can be saved by the individual practising Christianity. Obviously, if all practised the command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," the social problem would cease to exist, everybody with two coats would impart to him that had none, and poverty would vanish. However much we respect the doctrines of the Nazarine, we are bound to real-

ise that the chance of Christians doing this is so slight as not to be worth serious consideration; that we can assert from the world of experience that the number of people who actually practice giving all they possess to the poor is probably less than one in 5,000,000, and that the chance of changing society by this means is therefore the same. This is, of course, taking an extreme view of the logical requirements of the Christian faith, but the chances of changing society by similar, if less drastic, methods are little greater. It is useless saying how beautiful society would be if only people would do this or that when the law of chance, adduced from actual experience, shows plainly that they will not do it.

Again, some people place an undue importance on the possibility of getting rich to realize the benefit to mankind of the Socialist solution. In practice the number of wealthy people who abandon the ideas and interests of their class to advocate the Socialist cause is comparatively small. In some "samples" which I collected I found them to be roughly five in 5,000, or one in 1,000. Assuming that this is a true proportion in a very large sample there would be one chance in a thousand of society being reorganized on Socialist lines if the movement were strictly confined to an appeal to the rich—an absurd proportion on which to base a policy. If our policy were based on the numerical chance given above we ought to spend 999 out of every 1,000 parts of our energy in appealing to that somewhat indefinite quantity, the working class, for there are 999 chances out of every 1,000 that the Socialist commonwealth will be brought about by the workers and not by the wealthy.

The problem is not really as simple as this, even if we define clearly who is a worker, for the quality of the rich who leave their class has also to be taken into account. The Socialist movement in its early stages depended for leadership largely on the upper or middle classes. The influence of Marx, for example, cannot be measured by a number one. The brain of the wider Labor movement even now has a considerable portion drawn from people who can afford a university education. Nevertheless, after making allowance for all this, the chance of Socialism being realized by any force except that contained naturally in the broad working class is not less remote; indeed, a partial reason for the presence of some of the middle-class brains (especially in the Labor Party) is the fact that the greater Labor movement can afford to pay for them.

(2) What chance has a Socialist policy of succeeding? We have to estimate the chance of a majority accepting ideas at present propounded by a minority, and what form they must take. First, let us consider mass opinion. We shall find that there is comparatively little difference in the outlook of the mass of the people. They approximate to a mean in matters physical and mental, only a relatively small number departing, to any extent, from it. For example it can be shown that the vast majority of adult males do not deviate more than three or four inches from the mean height of 67½ inches. In weight, though the curve is "skew," there is a "mode" of 145 or 146 lbs. round which the bulk of weights range. In intellect the same result appears. An approximate measure of knowledge and intelligence can be obtained by the number of marks students obtain in an examination. Where the number of examination entrants has been large enough to enable the law of chance freely to operate, the number of marks gained by each student has been tabulated, and the curve representing this invariably conforms to a curve technically known as the curve of error; i.e., there is a certain number of marks round which the bulk of students range, only a minority deviating to any serious extent from the aver-

age, and this majority becomes smaller the farther it is from the average.

From this data we may conclude that the bulk of people are on the same physical and mental plane, and therefore the chances are great that any movement in approximately the same way, that real progress is only possible when the new conceptions can be imbibed by the bulk of the people—in short, that the chance of success is only great when movements are mass movements, actual or potential. Further, the chance that the actual social organization can, for any length of time, be beyond the limits of the intelligence of the great mass of people is very small. Ideas cannot necessarily be put into operation because a minority believes in them, even if that minority seize power. The limit of power of any governing class is narrower than is usually thought. Lenin, wiser in compromise than his disciples here, realized that a nationalization of land decree was, at the moment, far beyond the capacity of the Russian peasant, and in consequence suited his land system to Russian conditions.

The data also suggests that in actual organization a policy suited to the capacity of the majority on the upper side of the average, and strictly relative to economic conditions which affect masses of people in the same way, is most likely to succeed, while the ideal of a complete social revolution which all Socialists have as their goal must be consistently preached to the masses until it becomes a part of their mental atmosphere. It is because the I. L. P. has done this by its independent Socialist propaganda in education, that it has become the most powerful Socialist organization, while the clear-cut Socialist organizations, which thought more of exact doctrine and academic purity, are still in the wilderness and likely to remain there.

(3) The chance of Revolution. It is a matter of common experience that the chance of a well-fed person, in fairly good circumstances, wanting to revolt or to use personal violence because of an abstract idea, is slight, and could not be placed higher than one in 5,000; hence, under ordinary conditions the mere preaching of a physical force revolution could never seriously influence many people. At the same time history shows plainly that human action is so interwoven with emotions that passions can be roused in masses of people, and fearful wars and bloody revolutions can be accomplished. We can

(Continued on page 8)

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Faugh a Ballaugh!

POSSIBLY some readers on seeing the above title will be reminded of Mark Twain's courier whom he delegated to bring back a report on a continental European beauty spot, and who returned with an account heavily loaded with a number of strange and incomprehensible words which he explained were sundry Zulu, Red Indian, etc., etc., terms that he had adopted through having noticed that it was considered fashionable to interlard such literature in this way and that; as these were the only non-English expressions at his command, he had been compelled to use them.

However, such is not the "raison d'être" (1) of the above, for it is a Hibernian phrase which, a native Irish lady informs the writer should be pronounced "Foch a Bolya," and means "Clear the Way!" We use it with reference to the present necessity for taking the first steps towards the Socialist work of Reconstruction of Society. It is, besides, quite topical, because not only, as dealt with in another column, is March the month of the Paris Commune, but it also contains the famous "17th of Ireland," or, in other words, St. Patrick's Day. And not alone is the month of breezes thus noteworthy, for it is also—as far as the astronomical calendar goes—the first month of spring.

Now, as the poet reminds us, it is in spring that the fancies of the younger set lightly turn to thoughts of love. But what, though equally true, he does not say is that all of us who have endured the rigors of a genuinely cold winter, emerge therefrom in spring with our bodily condition more or less deteriorated and run down. In some, these disturbances result in boils! As medical science informs us a boil generally arises from a movement to eject poisons out of the system and, when properly understood, such movements afford material for admiration and wonderment, because they are the movements of an army! It is not, however, an army of men; it is not even, though such might be expected, a Red army. It is an army whose units are White blood corpuscles.

As many may be aware, the red color of the blood is due to the presence therein of minute bodies called the red corpuscles. But the blood also contains a smaller proportion of another and larger kind called the white blood corpuscles. The duties of the latter are to march against and, if possible, defeat any poisonous elements whose presence in the blood threatens the welfare of the organism that houses them. The discharges from a boil are, therefore, nothing more than the corpses from a "gathering of the clans" of these useful and intrepid white warriors who have so nobly and willingly given up their lives for the protection of their master or mistress. But although all this must arouse our admiration and gratitude, still it does not alter the fact that, in itself, a boil is anything but a pleasant thing to suffer from so far as the victim is concerned. Hence the picturesque slang expression for annoyance is, that someone feels "as sore as a boil!" In short, therefore, and without any high falutin' nonsense, a boil is simply a Disease!

In that larger organism called society, we find a parallel state of affairs, because whenever it suffers from poisons in its system that constitute a real distress and menace to any or all sections of the community, various movements arise to expel the nuisance or danger, a political or politico-economic army. And just as with the diseased human body, a trifling infection through a slight surface cut may serve to precipitate a boil that actually results from a deeper general impurity of the system; so is it with society. It was the Sarajevo assassination that

precipitated the Great War, but as all of us now know, that murder was merely the occasion but not the Cause—which was economic—of the terrible catastrophe from which the civilized world is still suffering.

By no means the least important of such movements is the Socialist. Indeed, so important and also so fascinating is it that its units are liable to forget that they must not limit themselves solely to the movement—which is merely a means—but that they should get rid of it as soon as possible by rendering it unnecessary when the revolutionary objective has been accomplished. Whatever we take a pleasure in—the master-motive of all living beings—tends to absorb our activities and become an end in itself, in accordance with that universal, subtle and insidious "Bias of Happy Exercise," which the genius of the Scottish race has long recognized and combatted with the pregnant and biting sarcasmic remark, "Aye, ye're daein' fine!" And not only does danger arise from this source, but as each phase of the Socialist movement tends to reflect itself in a special literature and literary organs, and official mouth-pieces, "economic determinism" consciously or subconsciously inclines to produce a certain rivalry of interests manifesting itself in more or less harmful suppressions or half-suppressions of fact that still further create confusion and disunity and postpone the rapid achievement of what should be the Socialist's unswerving purpose.

Such being the case, it is worth while to note the words of the American, Capt. Paxton Hibben, whom his military superiors took action against because of his activities for Russian recognition. Addressing a meeting recently in New York Labor Temple, he said that "A revolution means no more than a ground-clearing; an opportunity to create. If those who have achieved revolution are unable to build anew or unwilling to create where they have destroyed, the fruits of revolution may be lost in great part."

Doubtless, it is a recognition of the practical value of work as opposed to mere speculation that has, on this comparatively New Continent, placed the "good worker" and pioneer upon the honorable pedestal they now occupy as compared with the "intellectuals." Science, too, appears to support that verdict, for Dr. Adolf Meyer tells us that "thought at its very best is only a link in a chain of events leading up to some final achievement. Its real and lasting fulfilment is found only in action. Janet has constructed an interesting hierarchy of mental functions. His study of psychasthenia (mental debility) brings him to the conviction that complete action is the most difficult and highest function. I am tempted to add (continues the Dr.) that completed action is the first essential for rest and for beginning something new. . . . It is lamentable to hear youngsters, encouraged by their elders, refuse to do certain things because they already know how to do them. When doing things becomes less attractive than knowing things, an avenue for disappointment if not for failure, has been opened before the pupil." It is one of the most damning features of this capitalist system, especially in these days of its advanced decay, that however much one may be willing to or actually does work, the opportunity to labor for adequate recompense therefor, fails of materialization.

Yet even if it be true, as Dr. Meyer says, that thought is only valuable insofar as it leads to action, there are distinct degrees of effectiveness whereby it produces its object. In a world based upon materialism (and laziness!) it is, therefore, not surprising that most thinkers should suffer both from their own dislike and incapacity for action and from the treatment their fellows accord them; for curses and persecution have ever been the lot of the mental innovator and action-provoker. Their "trade," in fact, might well be classed amongst the "dangerous occupations."—it is difficult to serve God and Mam-

mon (or selfishness). That certainly was the experience and opinion of one of the world's most powerful thinkers and action-stimulators—Robert Burns, and he thus, in whimsically-regretful form, states this fact:—

"I backward mused on wasted time,
How I had spent my youthful' prime,
An' done nae-thing
But stringin' blethers up in rhyme,
For fools to sing.

"Had I to guid advice but harkit,
I might by this' hae led a market,
Or strutted in a bank an' clarkit
My cash account:
While here, half-mad, half-fed, half-sarkit (half-shirted)
Is a' th' amount."

Of course, in subsequent verses, he showed that he had not wasted his time. And where, as his biography informs us, would Marx himself have "got off at" had it not been for the financial assistance of his more practical and commercial friend, Engels? What the latter was (fortunately!) able to do as a private individual, will be done far better in the future by Communist society.

Granted, as above said and as a human institution that the more transient, aggressive and controversial literary side of the socialist movement is somewhat vulnerable to certain regrettable disabilities, yet these are by no means so serious as to interfere with its necessary and fruitful functions. Life, we are told, may be defined as a perfect correspondence with environment. If then we become, as Socialists, entirely shut off from every phase of Socialist activity, we will, so far as the movement is concerned, be as dead as a door nail. To avoid this it is essential that we keep in touch with our Socialist environment, not only by studying its various text books and general literature, but also—what is just as, if not more important—by subscribing for its various journals which record the progress and nature of current events. Therefore, as the very least one can do, never let your subs. to Socialist papers run out—if you can possibly avoid it. And by the same token, see that you raise your non-Socialist fellows from the dead and make them "born again" by similarly bringing them into touch with "the living Marx!"

Some people have curious ideas about Revolution; they seem to think it is always an act of blood-thirsty vengeance. It is not. As Com. Harrington recently pointed out, the spectacular and "movie" features of a revolution are merely the trappings and the suits of conflicts, the garb in which they are arrayed, the moral image of a material fact. A clergyman lately asserted, in his Burns' supper address, that the British Labor Government was due to the increasing appreciation of those truly religious qualities of Service and Sympathy with which that poet was so deeply imbued. The "man of God" was wrong in thus accounting for the British workman's change of allegiance from Sport to Spirituality—that resulted from conditions of chronic Unemployment. Indeed, in a state of society that fosters anti-social "trade secrets" and a life typical of the jungle, religion has the same chance of existing as permanent and secure employment, peace or business stability. For those, we require the Social Revolution that removes the obstacles which stand in their way.

Therefore, and to conclude, we repeat the slogan and "the burden o' the sang" that heads this article: "Faugh a Ballaugh"—Clear the Way. And the less "movement" features the process may involve, the better; for it is not "movements" or their literary or official reflexes that are wanted, but tangible practical results in the shape of a clean and healthy Socialist Society wherein a political or economic class war "movement" will have as little chance or need to exist as has a boil upon the surface of the body of a perfectly clean and sound individual.

"PROGRESS."

Revolutions: Social and Political

BY J. HARRINGTON

ARTICLE TWENTY-THREE

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

(Part I.)

WHILE Moltke was talking to de Wumpple in the style of a drill sergeant, Paris rose, and the Second Empire departed with the Empress Eugenie in a closed hack. By the time the Parisians had illuminated the streets and had become fairly soused with Freedom, the Hun was at the gate. We pass over the harrowing details of the siege, which offers us, in our present investigation little of compelling interest, except perhaps, some very fine rhetoric on the gastronomic virtues of such dishes as consomme of bald rat, stewed elephant ears in the mud, baked leg of mule aux grateful, and but for our rooted objections to interjecting reforms into a revolutionary document, we might recite some delicious bills of fare, and give recipes where by indigent idlers might weather the industrial depression very nicely. Rats and mice are plentiful enough and the bones of cattle may be had for the labor of carrying away. We suspect however that in this case hunger was good sauce. However we noted some time back that in 1864 the International was organized and ere the armies left for the slaughter, communication passed between the proletariat of both countries in which the sentiment of brotherhood and fraternity was expressed, and in the cafe de la Renaissance, where Regault, Longuet, and many others were to head the Commune were arrested in 1866, at a committee meeting of the Internationalists.

There was also Blanqui, who thundered revolution in his "The Country in Danger." On Oct. 30, six weeks after the fall of the Empire, he wrote of the bourgeois government which had seized power . . . "1792 saved the Revolution and founded the Republic; the Hotel de Ville is destroying it. Its auxiliaries are all the monarchists who bawl 'Long live the Republic' after they have destroyed and proscribed it for twenty years, while preparing to destroy and proscribe it even more furiously than ever. It is the standard of traitors and chameleons . . . It is the counter revolution." The following day the last army of France surrendered at Metz, and for a time the bourgeois government was in danger of being overthrown. The Hotel de Ville was surrounded by an angry populace, and Jules Favre himself has stated that "on the 31st Oct. the Parisian population, from highest to lowest, was absolutely opposed to us. Everybody thought we deserved to be dismissed."

But there was no alternative force strong enough to take action, and the bourgeois members were permitted to govern Paris. The multitude were united against the usurping government, but hostilely divided against any alternative one. They were not entitled by any law to administer affairs, having seized upon power by virtue of a popular demonstration against the Empire on the Fall of Sedan and the surrender of Napoleon to the Prussian King.

The farce of defending Paris continued to the exasperation of every class in the beleaguered city. And when the elections on February 8th returned a rural majority of distinct monarchist views, Paris and other large towns were furious. As the citizens of Paris had been lead in a series of fruitless and quite evidently deliberately bungled sorties, it became plain even to the most confiding that they were being fooled, and when the government capitulated, it brought all classes together in a patriotic sweeter of enthusiastic madness.

On Feb. 24 a Central Committee from all organi-

zations was elected by the National Guard, and on the 3rd March the National Guard refused to accept a Bonapartist General, d'Aurelles, as their chief. The National Assembly, which had been sitting at Bordeaux made Versailles the Capital of France on March 10th. Anyone who has noted the indignation which follows the removal of a fishery department with half a dozen clerks from one town to another on this continent can appreciate the feeling excited in Paris by such a drastic act. Every petty pedlar and every large land owner felt the world tip on its axis. The annual mob of politicians and heeblers which assemble to make the laws of a country, are not only in themselves good spenders but they are the magnets which draw many others who seek privilege and profit at the head spring of law and order, and who find, in pursuit of their lawful occasion—as the prayer book has it—a need to be lavish.

Paris had scarcely recovered from this shock when she was staggered by the announcement that the moratorium, in effect during the siege, would come to an end on March 13th.

These measures have but little bearing on working class Paris. True, some inconvenience would arise, but not more than they were habituated to and which, while annoying, were matters of too frequent occurrence to create any great disturbance among the workers. But to the bourgeois they meant positive and immediate ruin. Paris decapitated meant ruin in the future. To be compelled, after suffering a five month siege, to meet commercial bills and rents with three days' notice meant immediate bankruptcy. The government was keenly alive to the possibility of trouble and sought to disarm the National Guard. So on the morning of March 18th the cannon was seized, but before they could be removed some women, up before the sun, much before, approached the troops and held them in conversation until the alarm was sounded. This was the last straw. The National Guard had purchased the cannon with their own money; they had refused to deliver them up to Bismarck, and after the many treasons, stratagems and spoils of Thiers, Favre and Co., Paris was justified in entertaining suspicious of treachery when a government attempted to remove these cannon by stealth.

Before going into the struggle between Paris and Versailles it will be well to survey the leading characters of the Commune and their motives and principles. Louis Blanqui, a republican of fierce and uncompromising spirit, with a pronounced class viewpoint, preached the class struggle in season and out. "Twenty-four hours is sufficient time to make a revolution," was his philosophy. He suspected every act of the bourgeoisie and, during the siege of Paris, as during the days of 1848, his voice was always raised against the conflicting trust with which the workers always disarmed themselves in a crisis. Marx says he was the one man who could have given the Commune a head. And in every multitude which thronged the streets of Paris, to protest against governmental treason bourgeois writers "saw the sinister figure of Blanqui slinking on the fringe." Higher praise could not be given! But Thiers was as well aware as anyone of his influence, and he was kidnapped when the Versailles fled from Paris, and kept confined. The Commune offered all their hostages for his single release, but Thiers refused.

To him the Revolution was above the object: let the unknown future provide its own midwives; sufficient unto the day is the task thereof. What part he might have played, with the Revolution accomplished in Paris, we cannot say, but his followers played a sorry one, nor were they very numerous. Cluseret perhaps best represents the opinion and motives of the majority and also, so far as we are able to judge, had the clearest insight into the problems which confronted the Commune.

He declared that the leaders were too visionary and entirely controlled by impossible ideals. When faced with a practical problem they sailed clear over it into the air. And in his opinion the workers lacked intelligence or, at any rate, displayed but little; for an intelligent working class could easily effect their emancipation. He was bitter in his jibes at the monkey stunts of the officials in gold lace and Red Sash. Rossel, who succeeded him as Minister of War, especially incurred his resentment for his love of dress and parade, though he freely admired his ability and courage. But he frankly protested that Communalism and not Communism was his reason for combatting Thiers and his government. And this precisely was the reason the vast majority went into the fight. Occasionally, around the 18th of March, some rattletrap revolutionist full of good intentions and false information undertakes to rave about this epochal event, in which the hopes of a historical mouther combine with the ignorance of a rotarian to make the Paris Commune a class conscious effort to establish communism. The documents left by the Central Committee, the Proclamations of the Commune, the writings of the chiefs prove the exact opposite. So far we have shown briefly that the people of Paris, far from seeking a revolution, were goaded of Paris, far from seeking a revolution, were goaded by a series of unbearable affronts and outrageous betrayals into taking up arms against a usurping government which had no more legal right to rule than had the Central Committee. And all they asked was, the right to manage their own affairs, which London and Manchester possessed. Even Milliere, who sets forth the class nature of society and the evolutionary basis of history on that principle, and declares that the proletariat alone could save civilization, demands the Communal Council.

"Hence," he says, "the difficulties of the Communal Council. We have to face the questions of the organization of the Commune under the most unfavorable conditions possible, which make a good solution unattainable. Influenced by political preoccupations of the Government's enmity to Paris men's minds are not disposed to establish justly the principles of natural right which should regulate the relations of the Commune, a social unit, and the Nation, a political unit; and by the mere force of circumstances the Communal Council has to have unwilling recourse to measures which in ordinary times would be outside its sphere of action. . . Either the Versailles Government must be induced to recognize and sanction by law the rights of the Commune or the antagonism must be stopped by the substitution of the present Assembly whose particular mandate has practically expired of a Constituent Assemble whose mission will be to establish the basis of political and administrative organization in France on strong republican and municipal institutions."

Written in the closing days of the Commune this sufficiently shows the real nature of the revolt, but as the bourgeois writers have it, the sinister figures of Blanqui, shirked in the background, and Paris, armed and victorious, with the International regulating to some extent its policy, the Master Class, with a clearer insight into its fate than the workers ever show decided to blot it out in blood.

But we have been so long in the preliminaries, which we consider necessary to an understanding of the Commune, that we must ask for another issue to deal with the events.

ALBERTA NOTES.

S. P. of C. Local Calgary, No. 86.

Economics Class held every Tuesday, 8 p.m.

History Class held every Friday, 8 p.m.

Both at Headquarters, 134a 9th Ave. West.

Propaganda Meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Empress Theatre, Calgary.

SOCIALISM, REVOLUTION AND THE LAW OF CHANCE.

(Continued from page 5)

go further and say that economic conditions will often force revolutions; that, given conditions of starvation sufficiently acute, the chances of revolt are so great as to be almost certain. If unemployment in Great Britain were sufficiently widespread and unrelieved by maintenance grants, revolution would almost certainly come whether Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Arthur Henderson were in power. But I would remind those who desire a physical force revolution that all human experience shows that, as soon as the government compromised and granted large enough doles (I refer strictly to English conditions), the chance that the back of the revolution would be broken would be great; that the traditional leaders (Trade Union leaders, local councillors, parsons, middle-class "sympathizers"), a reflex remember of the normal mass intelligence, would throw their whole weight for law and order after the compromise was made; and that the chance of a minority even gaining power by revolution among such a nation of compromisers would be so slight as not to be worth serious consideration. The chance of evolving a reorganized society by stabilizing conditions at every stage in its growth, and manipulating a solution to every grievance such that its application will lead clearly in the direction of a co-operative commonwealth, and at the same time satisfying the masses immediately so as to establish a bond of intellectual sympathy between them and the Socialist ideal—the chance of this is obviously much greater than that of a whole people, unprepared and undeveloped, accepting suddenly a brand new Soviet Socialist Republic at the distastefulship of a minority, even if that minority performed the nearly impossible task of seizing power.

Whatever policy any party adopts it is always based tacitly on the chance of its success, hence the laws of chance, the certainty or uncertainty of their operation, ought to be consciously analysed.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

(Continued from page 3)

moeracy in rights, of brotherhood among men, of equality in rights and privileges, and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience and knowledge, given impulse by material development, are steadily tending. All the conditions in civilized society seem to indicate the imminence of a mighty, a fundamentally revolutionary change. The precursors of that change are already in existence. They appeared with the coming of the machine age. The age-long struggle of the classes, has not only reached a positive degree of intensity, but on the part of the workers has taken on at least a semblance of being intelligently directed.

And so we must come to the conclusion that materialism has been the dynamic or motivating factor in human history. "God" has never taken a positive part in shaping the destinies of man, and is therefore eliminated as a factor. A thousand telescopes have swept the heavens, looking billions of miles into space without finding any trace of him; "Creation" as far as we know had no beginning; there was no Eden at the morning of existence; life did not begin with sinning against God, and there was no serpent to tell man the truth. He learned the truth on the road of experience.

No social system ever disappears before the laws of historical materialism have decreed it so; it is true in this process the human mind plays a part of importance, but the material factors are in reality the start, which give the mind the impulse to investigate, to penetrate and to try and find a solution. There must be an harmonious co-operation between idealism and materialism; but the materialist factor is the more important directive factor of the two, and when might shall finally become sufficiently educated and organized and strong to enforce the right that by every sense of justice belongs to the workers of the world, these workers will, through

the new form of government, take over for society, and carry on the management of the means of wealth production to which everyone must have access in order to live. And finally centralization of capital will have proceeded to that point where, as Marx says: "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach that point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The expropriators are expropriated,"—then will be the time when the working class shall have achieved its historic mission: the emancipation of the world from divisions and conflicts. In the enjoyment of the full social product of their labor all the people of the world will enter upon a more exalted plane of thought and conduct, and a higher civilization with its accompanying institutions will prevail.

JOHN LOHEIT.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY

THEATRE ROYAL

SUNDAY, MARCH 16.

Speaker: J. HARRINGTON.

Subject: "The Paris Commune"

All meetings at 8 p.m.

Questions. Discussion.

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.

HERE ARE NOW.

WE'RE a little better than our last appearance, Here and Now, though not much. We observe one esteemed contemporary displaying mast-head signals for subs. and seductively offering one's choice of 15 strawberry plants, a "village blacksmith" butcher knife, 12 bulbs or an account book. These, says the journal, are the reader's reward. Now our reward offerings are contained in the quality of the reading matter in these columns. Everyone a prize-winner—who subscribes. That's all you have to do—to subscribe. Simple. Help distribute the prizes by getting more readers. And while you are at it see that your own sub. is not in delicate health. These robust ones are registered since last issue:

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Following, \$2 each: W. Woolridge, S. V. Valisco, Geo. Aspden, W. J. Kennedy.

Frisco Labor College (per J. K.), \$9.60; R. Heilinger, \$3; F. W. Moore, 25 cents; T. A. Lessey, 50 cents; D. J. Sullivan, 25 cents.

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