

A Worker Looks at the World

By ERNEST ETTLINGER

IN spite of our boasted civilization, the conditions under which the Human Race still live are that of the Jungle. Force is in the last analysis the deciding factor, and those who can muster the greatest battalions are the rulers of the world.

Nationalism and Reaction are sweeping the world as never before, and we see a situation which is unequalled in the world's history. On the one side the forces of proletarian revolution have been checked, on the other side the alliances of the various capitalist powers have been shattered by their divergent interests under the stress of the competition for control of the world's market. In making a review of the dominant capitalist interests, it would be well to analyse the political and economic currents in the important nations, and their relation to the general international situation.

Germany.

Germany, economically, is disintegrating rapidly under the force of the French invasion of the Ruhr. The mark today is practically worthless and the cost of living is constantly soaring to higher levels. The position of the German masses is pitiful. We have the spectacles of a people who in 1914 enjoyed a fairly high standard of living, and who are today reduced to conditions where actual starvation is constantly menacing. And yet in spite of the misery and poverty prevailing among the masses in Germany, there has been no real co-ordinated revolutionary outbreak. Here and there, under the constant stress of existence, riots have broken out but they have all been crushed with a ruthless hand. And the recent change in government is due more than anything else to a feeling of hopelessness among German capitalists with the Ruhr venture, and a hope that the Stressemann government would find some way to negotiate a settlement with the French. In Germany among practically all classes a bitter hatred prevails against France, who is looked upon as the arch enemy which is slowly destroying the culture and civilization of Germany. And it is this intense national feeling which is one of the great bars to a workers' revolution in Germany, although the economic conditions would indicate that such a revolutionary outbreak is inevitable.

In Germany as in most parts of Europe, there is no hope, only a bitter hatred against all foreigners. In the Ruhr region, in spite of the bitter anti-French feeling, the economic situation is so distressing that at the end of May, a wave of strikes swept that region, led by the Communist and Syndicalist forces. The immediate effect was an increase in wages, but this has long since been wiped out by the fall of the mark, and the rising cost of the necessities of life. With the cessation of passive resistance in the Ruhr, and the increasing misery on all sides, the stage is set for a bitter struggle for power between the German Fascisti and the Communists as to who should control the future of Germany. The trend on the world stage today tends toward Fascism, and it is highly possible that the Fascist coup d'etat will be successful unless the forces of class conscious workers are sufficiently powerful to crush the Fascist revolt.

France.

France is in the meantime, planning to become the dominant capitalist power in Europe. Today she possesses the largest army and air fleet in the world. By her system of alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, she has consolidated her position tremendously. Her present policy is to stay in the Ruhr until she has satisfied her aspirations, which, when viewed in the light of capitalist policies, means the political and economic control of the rich industrial region east

of the Rhine. And yet in spite of France's ambitious political and economic aspirations, her financial position is far from being enviable. Financially she is practically bankrupt, and she is continually facing a deficit in her budget, which she balances by issuing vast amounts of paper currency. Thus the value of the franc is forced lower and lower. The Labor Movement of France seems powerless to seriously effect the policies of the government, and is split up into two factions, one element being reformist and the other revolutionary. The Communist Party of France, while showing some strength, and having considerable influence among the more advanced section of the workers, is yet too weak to overthrow the French capitalist class. The government today rests mostly upon the support of the peasants, who, due to peculiar circumstances, are faring fairly well, and are quite willing to support the reactionary and chauvinistic policy of the government.

Italy.

In Italy the Fascist Government having ruthlessly smashed the labor and revolutionary movement is proceeding with its plans of reconstruction. The government has been successful in pushing through its electoral reform bill through terrorism and intimidation, and thus is secure in power for another five years, unless overthrown by an armed uprising. In spite of the fact that Italy is a paradise of capitalist reaction, the economic and financial conditions have not improved greatly since the Fascist revolution and the lira is still falling. The foreign policy of the Fascist regime has of late been revealed by the demonstrations made against both Greece and Yugoslavia in true Fascist fashion, and has for its aim control of the Adriatic. Italy is faced by the combination of nations to the East of her known as the Little Entente, and in order to retain a balance of power, Italy is seeking an alliance with both Hungary and Bulgaria.

England.

As far as England is concerned to-day, her prestige in Europe is on the wane. Between England and France an intense hostility exists due to the differences between their aims in the Ruhr and their viewpoint on the general European situation. England needs a restored Europe for her products, and the activity of France is seriously hindering the economic restoration of that continent. This hostility will in the future probably culminate in war, and once more Britain's noble heroes will be called upon to roll the Frenchies in the mud in the name of humanity, and democracy. England, feeling herself isolated, is turning towards the United States and hopes to reach an understanding with that country. Financially, England is still strong, and the value of the pound is almost at par, but economically there is stagnation, and unemployment on a tremendous scale has existed for over three years. In the Near East Great Britain is actively trying to consolidate her economic and political position, and her ultimatum to Russia a few months ago strengthened her in that region. At the present time she has arrived at an understanding with the Turkish ruling class, to mutually exploit the oil regions of Asia Minor, for the benefit of the human race, and incidentally, the British and Turkish ruling classes. As far as the masses of the British workers are concerned, they are living in poverty and misery as in the days of yore, in spite of the fact that England was to be a country fit for heroes to live in. The labor movement, however, is somewhat recovering from the blows dealt it in 1921 and 1922, and amalgamation among the various unions in order to strengthen them is under way, also a great organizational campaign is now being carried out under the banner of the General Council of the Trade Unions. The trend among the British Workers is towards political action, and the prestige of the British Labor Party is constantly on the increase, although its program and leadership is frankly reformistic, and

merely seeks to substitute a Labor Government for the present Unionist Government. In its program and platform it has again and again stated that it does not aim to abolish the capitalist system, but merely to remove some of the obvious defects of Capitalism.

The United States.

The United States is faced by an entirely different situation than the rest of the Capitalist powers. The class struggle is yet, still in its infancy, and has not, except superficially, manifested itself on the psychology of the masses. The onslaughts of the capitalist class on the trade unions, are beginning to create conditions that in the near future will probably mean the growth of a political party expressing the aspirations of the industrial workers and the mass of poor farmers.

Industrially and economically the United States is still advancing rapidly and, from a productive and financial point of view, is the most developed of all capitalist countries. In spite of the intense exploitation of the mass of the workers, the U. S. still offers to its slaves a comparatively high standard of life, a standard which is immeasurably higher than that received by the workers of the other countries. It is the farmers of America who at the present time are the greatest sufferers of capitalist exploitation, and the past four years have seen them sink further and further into the morass of poverty. While ostensibly owning their little patch of land, they are bound body and soul to the capitalist class.

At the present time a so-called business boom is sweeping the country which has resulted in more or less steady employment, and increased wages in some trades.

Politically and industrially the American capitalist class faces the future with confidence, supreme in the belief that the destiny of the world rests with them and their heirs and that America will be the future ruler of Capitalism, just as Rome was ruler in the ancient world.

Japan.

Japan at the present time is concerned exclusively with her expansion in Eastern Asia. The Washington Conference has somewhat checked the Japanese ambitions and at the present time, due to the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese treaty and the recent fearful earthquake, Japan's interests will be turned to internal reconstruction and development. Japan is a rapidly growing industrial country, in spite of the lack of raw materials, and the economic depression which has existed since the early period of 1920, but her hopes rest on her ability to eventually absorb the potential richness of China and make that country a vassal to her aims. But between China and Japan there stands the power of the U. S. whose aim is to prevent Japanese expansion in Asia, and between the two countries there is a clash of interests which meet in China. Viewing the psychology of the Japanese and American masses, war would be extremely popular in both countries, and under the slogans of democracy, supremacy of the white race, banzia, etc., the workers of both countries would cheerfully slaughter one another.

(To be continued in next issue.)

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LEOKIE.

NOW READY

Preface by the author.

132 PAGES.

Per Copy, 25 Cents.

Ten copies up, 20 cents each.

Post Paid.

The Defeat of England and America in the Ruhr

By I. AMTER.

THE Ruhr adventure is generally considered exclusively the property of the French and Belgian government, with the implied support or toleration of Great Britain and Italy. But the fact is that America has had very much to do with the whole enterprise, both tacitly and more lately openly.

It has long been known that two American groups of bankers were directly interested in the Ruhr occupation. Harriman has been sitting with Schneider-Creusot, while Morgan has aided his ally, the British Government. The occupation, with its resultant passive resistance on the part of Germany, has been a severe blow to British trade. It is true that the seizure of the collieries by the French and the shifting of all coal supplies and all coal mined to French mills has compelled Germany to make large purchases of coal in England. Hence the increased mining in England, which has meant further profits for the British mine owners and considerable work for the miners. But Germany has been one of England's best customers. The decline of the mark and the consequent closing of the German market has been a serious matter to English industry. Hence the British have been greatly interested in an early settlement of the Ruhr question.

Furthermore, the French occupation has given France every excuse for continuing to expand and strengthen her military establishment, much to the despair of the British nation. The result is that officially it is admitted by the British Government that there is no government in Europe that militarily can compare with France at the present moment.

Not being able to interfere, the British Government has been obliged to seek assistance. This aid she sought from the American government. The settlement of the British debt—which is said to have "sent a shiver down the spine of every Britisher"—nevertheless was excellent business. For several decades there has not been keen sympathy between England and America. The economic antagonisms, the sympathy of the American people with the Irish in their struggle against British imperialism, have tended to create a chasm between the two nations. America was convinced that she won the war for the Allies—and should be duly rewarded for it. The huge debts which the Allies owe America have acted as a lever for American interference, openly or covertly, in all European affairs. But the divided attitude of American finance on the Ruhr controversy has kept the American Government from taking active part in the matter.

The advances of the steel industry of France, and particularly the strengthening of the military arm of the French Government, especially in the aviation department, have raised great apprehensions in the minds of America capitalists. Hence the appeals of the British Government have not been in vain. The "friends and associates" of the Great War have separated. England did not and could not agree to the plans of the French in the Ruhr nor to the method proposed by the French Government for the settlement of the German reparation question. Poincare indicated clearly that he would go ahead regardless of British opinion: France was in the Ruhr to stop until she received adequate guarantees. Recognizing her weakness and helplessness, England declared she would make a separate proposal, which she would submit to the Allies—and to the United States Government. The American Government had to make a decision—it made a Morgan decision. American unity was established—and England and America decided to co-operate. An alliance was formed for the presentation of different demands and forms of settlement.

France was not to be intimidated—particularly since, in the negotiations, the "inveterate foe," the Germans, were open to persuasion. The German industrialists of the Ruhr—Stinnes, Thyssen, Krupp and Co.—recognized that a complete victory of the Allies—not over Germany, but over themselves—would cripple themselves and German industry. Hence for months they have been negotiating with Loucheur, Schneider, de Wendel, and Creusot—and came to an arrangement. French and German industry were to co-operate, and a government favorable to such co-operation was to be put in power in Berlin. The cries of the Nationalists and of the Communists have been too much for Cuno, who is a weakling. A strong man was to be installed, a man favorable to a concern composed of these Rhenish and French magnates—if not openly, at least silently.

How was this trick to be performed? Very simply. The demands for the resignation of Cuno were growing; the time for his retirement and for a Stinnes man to be put in his place was approaching. The demands of the workers grew louder and their meaning became clear. Cuno was forced to resign—and Stresemann became the Chancellor. The coalition of the French and German industrialists economically has been extended to the political sphere. France is victor.

Hence, despite their combined debts against France, despite their overbearing economic power, despite the semi-acquiescent attitude of Italy, and the disgruntled stand of Belgium, England and America have been defeated in the Ruhr. French bayonets will remain in the Ruhr; the British proposition will not be realized: France has established her hegemony over Europe.

True, politics is not conducted in this pristine manner: there is no such thing as a complete supremacy of one nation. France will finally have to compromise: but France will determine the extent of the compromise and not England and America. In all probability, an Inter-Allied Commission will be appointed to determine the fate of Germany. Germany will probably be reduced to the status of a colony, the same as Austria has been. French guns will remain in the Ruhr: the French air fleet commands the world. The occupation of the Ruhr which very belatedly England decided to pronounce illegal, will become "legal."

America has been highly interested in the whole matter of the Ruhr, but the occupation of France and England with this problem has given her a free hand to gain power elsewhere. The Western world, the Near East, where America has successfully concluded a treaty with Turkey, and the Far east (China), where America has found sufficient excuse for intervention, have furnished fields enough for immediate exploitation. Hence the American Government hesitated about intervention in Europe. Declining export trade and the need of the German market, which has always been one of the most valuable for American industry have forced the American Government to act. The determination not to become "embroiled in European affairs" has become a dead shibboleth: Business needs it and the American flag follows business. As a consequence the "influence of the United States was put squarely behind the efforts of Premier Baldwin to force France to an accounting of her stewardship over Germany." But it came too late—France established herself and, with the aid of Stinnes' political power, rules Germany today.

Her rule will be short-lived—not because of the superior power of the Anglo-Saxon Allies. It cannot last because of the impasse into which capitalism has advanced, its inability to stabilize the market and finances and to feed the workers, and the

new rising tide of revolution. France went further in preparing for her domination. She knew that a coalition with Stinnes would arouse the German masses and increase the influence and power of the Communist Party. Hence she prepared all the border States. The raids on the Finnish Communists and the suppression of the Finnish Labor Party; the raids on the Lettish Communists; the repression against the Communists of Poland; the attacks on the workers of Hungary—all show a preconcerted plan to have the French vassals ready for action against Germany.

Irrespective of the turn that events will take in Germany—England and America have been beaten. France is the master for the moment in Europe.—"Inprecorr."

NEGATION AT ITS HEIGHT.

BY WILL BAYLISS.

CURRENT time is the concentrator of human activities and experiences, both old and new. Time is the smelter in which they are refined, and necessity is the mould in which they are shaped in accordance with society's needs.

Society's needs are prescribed by its respective economic interests. Economic interests, since civilisation appeared among mankind, bears indelibly the "hall mark" of a class nature.

By the intensification of expropriation, which acquired a madness in the period of transition from Feudalism to Capitalism, and which has that form of character increased many fold, until today, expropriation borders a maniacal form in its application. The mania is much more perceptible in these enlightened days than in the days when the workers could scarcely read or write, when news travelled slowly. Today news flashes quickly, and sweeps the world into a terrified or a delightful mood. It is conducive to quick thought and action. Its chief function is to serve the expropriators. International interests thrive upon inventions which contracts the world into an even smaller compass.

By the socialising of production; the concentration or intensification of capitalist private property, which, by the way, negates individual ownership; the international character of its executive, (cabinet ministers), the line of demarcation, showing the class nature of society is intensified.

The expropriation by the rising capitalist class of individual private property into capitalist private property formed the basis of what Marx termed a "negation." The negation of that negation is a product of developed capitalism. It is a direct result of socialised methods of production. Such a condition of production must inevitably terminate in social ownership. The social character of production constitutes the negation relative to capitalist private property which is the means it uses for the purpose of exploitation. The same characteristic—social production—forms the basis of a common wealth; their relation then becomes a positive one. Social production, plus social ownership, equals production for use and what is commonly called Bolshevism; respectable socialism; or the ideal, common wealth. "The transformation of scattered private property into capitalist private property is, naturally a process, incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already resting on socialised production, into socialised property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

When the mass understands the meaning of class society, then will the awakening be. Then will the chains of slavery loosen, and the progress of society move in a logical or rational manner. Speed the day when scientific knowledge will be used to supplant the uses made of that medium in these days of maniacal expropriation; exploitation, waste, imperialistic crime, and other atrocities which are resultant of vested, and would-be-vested capitalistic interests.

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor: _____ Ewen MacLeod

SUBSCRIPTION:

Canada, 20 issues _____ \$1.00
Foreign, 16 issues _____ \$1.00

902 If this number is on your address label your
subscription expires with next issue. Renew
promptly.

VANCOUVER, B. C., OCTOBER 16, 1923.

ADVERTISING THE PORT.

VANCOUVER'S little business men have long since gone on record as favoring any policy which would bring this fair city all the advertising and publicity it might be able to get. Good roads for tourists' automobiles, tourists' auto-camps, harbour facilities for shipping, grain elevators, dry docks, reduced harbor dues, reduced grain rates, a welcome to all who may have investment to make or money to spend, and a rigorous cross-country warning to all other unfortunates to stay away. The beauties of the surrounding area of Vancouver have been encouraged as the theme in every advertising huckster's song and story, all to the end that one day Vancouver shall be a port as great as any other, anywhere.

But bad advertising comes with good, and the working population has to be taken into the reckoning as something otherwise than just part of the scenery. Just recently the street car company's employees managed to secure a few cents an hour increase without a strike, and now the longshoremen have broken the advertizing picture by striking for a similar few cents, which action has incurred the anger of the little business men and those whose philosophy consists of "Watch Vancouver grow," because it happens that a stop on the waterfront means a stop in grain shipments through the port. The boss blames it all on the Reds in the union.

Well, now, the great big world outside of Vancouver houses quite a few reds and our little business men should know that there is no important business centre on the map without them nowadays. It simply completes the advertizing picture. And then again, there are a few Reds outside the union also whom the boss finds it somewhat hard to interview.

Anyway, it is always funny to see the boss disregard his own much respected laws in time of a little labor trouble, and to read the record of his petty hypocrisy. The matter of a strike is a test over the volume of the grub pile and the working conditions under which it is earned. The boss knows that; the worker knows that; everybody knows that—excepting, apparently, the public. Who is the public anyway?

ENCOURAGING SIGNS

IT is quite common to see all sorts of argument and discussion in the socialist and labor press nowadays on the decline of radicalism, the set back from the spirit manifested a year or two ago in working class ranks. We observe that the A.F. of L. convention at Portland, just ended, has set its seal of disapproval on every utterance which tended to voice any sort of policy for labor out of the mud-rut-groove in which it has been set for over forty years. Labor Congresses have recently acted in the same manner in England and in Canada.

Now we suspect that this is simply an expression of the general attitude of labor itself in these English-speaking countries toward matters affecting general working class conditions. All hope seems to be relegated to the beyond. A year or two ago labor was on its tiptoes, expectant. Today, labor shows disappointment and is overwhelmed in ap-

athy. The Socialist movement is affected likewise and concerning working class educational activity we constantly hear it said: "Oh! what's the use!"

This we consider to be a showing of disappointment over something. Some proposition or other has not proved up to what the now disappointed ones considered to be a prospect. Education is not entirely decried, but it is denounced as too slow, monotonous, and unrewarded an activity to be interesting. There will be no argument needed to press home this statement, nor need the point be labored. Labor meetings, socialist meetings, communist meetings—all sorts of working class meetings are now "somewhere to go" when the weather is bad and nothing entertaining is to the fore. And working class journals! The labor journals in general would be suspended one and all if they did not find support through mass union payments for subscriptions. Likewise our own case. We have been going behind now for a long time in finance for Clarion support. We have not been surprised that the Clarion should have had to worry about finance, under the prevailing circumstances. But we are of the opinion that the working class mind has now a tendency to shake off its apathy and to recover something of its realistic balance. In such a case our voice is likely to gain a hearing.

The winter season approaches and the time is on hand for winter work in educational class work, propaganda meetings and so forth. As usual, the preliminary work is done by those who carry on, in season and out. The time is here to break down the barriers of indifference and to get into the old-time stride. People have to have it proven to them that they can't remain indifferent for ever. The way to do that is to demonstrate the worth of the Socialist Party work and the need of its continuance.

As to the Clarion, readers will be pleased at the effort toward financial recovery this issue. As usual again, the effort comes largely from those who realize the need of continued educational work and who have not surrendered activity to the wave of apathy lately so popular. Their efforts must gain support and encouragement, and that rests with the reader. We are of the opinion that the support will not lag so much now as hitherto. Not often do we prophesy. Don't let us fail.

HERE AND NOW.

Following \$1 each: J. Johnston, J. Woods, T. Dorill, W. P. Black, J. Jenkins, T. Shaw, C. Steen, H. Adie, J. Ross, C. Luff, A. H. Russell, G. Crow, J. Dennis, R. Brown, H. J. Whitechurch, C. Bowie, J. H. Richardson, A. Manson, T. Hughes, Mrs. G. Korlann, H. Asson, Walter Wilson, G. Gemmell, J. Jardine B. W. Sparks, F. Creer, J. F. Knorr, J. J. MacDonald, C. B. Robertson, P. Mytton, H. Carlisle, J. E. Palmer, J. R. Lawson, E. Antijuntti.

Following \$2 each: J. Cadwalles, D. Balnave, H. Maitland, Jas. McLennan, Dr. Hawkins, J. H. Greaves.

J. Cunningham \$3.

Following per Sid Earp—W. Steen, \$1; H. Gazeley \$1; C. Page 50 cents.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 29th September to 12th October, inclusive, total \$51.50.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

J. Ross \$1; H. J. Whitechurch \$1; D. Baluave \$2; D. W. Anderson, New Zealand (collected) \$4.27; G. Gemmell \$1; J. J. MacDonald \$5; A Friend \$5.

Following per Sid Earp:—C. Martin \$1; S. Earp \$1; E. Higham 50 cents; C. Steen \$1; E. Burns 25 cents; W. Steen \$1; E. Sollis \$1; A. Sollis \$1; W. Wickwire \$1; D. Burge \$1; F. Locke \$1; H. Adie \$1.

Above, Clarion Maintenance Fund donations received from 29th September to 12th October, inclusive, total \$30.02.

LOCAL (VANCOUVER) No. 1.

Local Vancouver meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at Rooms 12 and 13 Flack Block, 163 Hastings St.,

West. All members are urgently requested to attend the business meetings of the Local, to take an active interest and part in its work, and in general to dispel the prevailing apathy.

Propaganda meetings on Sunday evenings are now under way and every effort is necessary to help the comrades responsible for the arrangements in carrying them forward.

The Local has appointed a committee to arrange for a social and dance to be held in the near future. Success depends upon general interest. Step in and take an active part.

FOLLOWING THE LEADER

Years ago, when we lived on a farm in the country, my father kept sheep. And there was one peculiarity in the sheep psychology that I remember very well.

The sheep were kept in a lot at night and turned out on the prairie during the day. Instead of a gate, the lot had what were called "bars." These were wooden pieces extending across the opening one above another, and were pulled to one side when the sheep went in or out. Sometimes, in their eagerness to get out, the sheep would begin their activities before all the "bars" could be "let down." The sheep nearest the opening would jump over, and the rest would follow. Before many had passed, the remaining "bars" would, of course, be taken out of the way. But every sheep in the flock would jump at that particular place in imitation of those in front, even though the obstacle were no longer there.

This copying instinct is a survival of the past. It originated in different conditions from those in which civilized sheep live.

Sheep are mountaineers. They came from the highlands. In their pre-domestic existence they lived in flocks, each flock being led by a wise old ram of experience and courage. These flocks were often pursued by wolves and other animals. The sheep escaped, not by hiding or fighting, but by flight. The life of the flock often depended on the skill and faithfulness with which the members of the flock copied their leader. And the practice sheep have of following and imitating their leader was no doubt acquired through the necessity, when pursued, of leaping over the same chasms and rocks that their chief and those in front of them leaped over, whether they could see the reason for it or not. Those who did this survived in the struggle for life, and those who did not do it went down or were destroyed.

The copying instinct is, therefore, of great use to a species living as sheep lived in their wild existence, but of no use to them since they have become lowlanders. The instinct to follow the leader exists in all animals that live in flocks and herds. It is useful in most of them.

At the Chicago "stock yards" advantage is taken of this copying instinct of sheep by having a trained ram lead the sheep to the slaughter. The sheep have the nature to follow the ram, and when they arrive at the killing place the ram steps aside and escapes, to lead another flock a little later. This is an instance where the leader-following instinct in sheep is of use to men but not to sheep. Hogs and cattle do not have this instinct; and they have to be prodded and whipped by men to get them to the killing place.

J. H. MOORE.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY

THEATRE ROYAL

SUNDAY, 14th OCTOBER.

Speaker: J. HARRINGTON

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

The Politics of Capitalism

By J. T. W. NEWBOLD

(Continued from last issue)

HITHERTO, we have been concerned with the earlier phases of British capitalist politics, phases which, however remote they may appear to be and however alien to our present-day experience, nevertheless left us a heritage of difficulties and endowed us with institutions, traditions and vested interests which, to this day, reinforce with stubborn relentlessness and an appearance of hallowed endurance, the mushroom tyrannies of industrial capitalism. Now, we must come to the nineteenth century, which witnessed not only the completion of what is known as the Industrial Revolution; i.e., the conquest of production by the machine and the resulting subordination of the human agent to the accumulated creations of social labour, but, also, the political triumph of the owner of the machine. That victory, won after a prolonged struggle against the owners of land and the vested interests of the Old Colonial System, the Services, and the East India Company, brought about a striking change in the attitude of mind of the industrial capitalist class towards all those institutions and ideas which it had formerly assailed with such vehemence and indignation.

Liberalism, which had been the political creed of the manufacturers during their rise to economic supremacy within the social system, began to evaporate as soon as that supremacy obtained for them the political and social status which they had harbored as the privilege of the landed interests and their official representatives. The enthusiasm which they had displayed for breaking down all barriers of caste and all bulwarks of conservatism; their ardent championship of oppressed minorities and of backward races; their passion for freedom of conscience and of enquiry; their antagonism to the hereditary principle in government, to domination and to patronage, whether in Church or State, all these began to wane as soon as their forms of wealth secured social recognition and they won political power for themselves.

It had early enough become apparent that the new employing class however generous its sentiments and however eager its efforts to liberate the West Indian negroes, was not prepared willingly to grant freedom of combination in Trade Unions, to further the passing of the Factory Acts, to extend the Parliamentary franchise to the workers, or thereafter, to encourage direct Labour representation on public authorities. Exceptions, of course, there were, but the capitalist champions of Trade unionism were extremely rare before the passing of the Second Reform Bill in 1868 gave to the members of the growing craft and trade unions the right of voting at Parliamentary elections. Again, the opposition to State interference and public enterprise which the middle class politicians professed did not long cause them to run counter to capitalist requirements in such services as police, education, public health, post office, telegraphs, etc. What opposition they raised was directed more against wasteful expenditure and irresponsible (i.e., upper class) control than against the continuous infringement of the principle of laissez faire. Their agitations against the Corn Laws, against Church Rates and Tithes, against Land Laws and Royalties, were not promoted so much by the belief that "God gave the land to the people" as by their conviction that there was no reason why they as capitalists should give a slice off their profits to anybody else. Tariffs on foodstuffs and raw materials; Navigation Laws, restricting the free import of goods at the lowest freightage; Protection, increasing rents and, hence, the price of land, all increased the cost of production and subtracted from the share of surplus-value which should have gone to the capitalists. Taxation for the maintenance of the Empire, the Army and the Navy, bit heavily into their net profits without

appearing to give them in return anything of commensurate advantage. They could sell cotton hardware and other manufactures just as well in foreign countries as in British possessions. The more sources of supply they were free to choose from, the cheaper could they produce and the more money could they make. It was not really sordid. It was merely common sense. Common sense from their point of view, of course, but not from the point of view of the cotton growers, cotton brokers, landowners, farmers, and the naval and military classes who continued to think after the manner of their fathers in the preceding period. To these, the triumph of the "Radicals" meant "the end of all things," that is—the end of all things fashioned by their most moral and constitutional forefathers to promote the interests and to express the ideology of their class.

His Holiness, Free Trade.

The manufacturers, whether engaged in making articles of consumption or means of production, perpetuated the political ideals with which the landed and mercantile interests, had, themselves, set out and which they had moderated on their accession to power during the 18th century. They brought these ideals once more into national prominence, in a more pronounced and, apparently, more sincere form, a form of ideas which had become principles during the generations when the farmers and small shopkeepers (the ancestors of this class), found therein the natural expression of their interests and inclinations. They had come to politics with the ideals of their past, with their prejudices and their aspirations, resolved to mould the national life on their own pattern, and to reshape the economic policy of the State so as to promote the interests of their class, which naturally seemed to them synonymous with the interests of Humanity. They had desired freedom to utilise the new contrivances, by means of which it had become practicable to increase the very limited powers of manufacture; freedom of access to the land as the storehouse of minerals and the treasury of food, and freedom to exchange the products of industry. They desired equality of opportunity without let or interference from without. They wished to increase their wealth from the superfluity of others, and give of their surplus to supply the others' need. Such being their desire, their motto became, in varying notes of expression—"Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite." Peace appeared to them to be the great ideal. War was just a great disturbance of the world, holding up all their business, ignoring all their concerns, waged between those who would, in any case and whatever the issue, be sure to oppress them or burden them with taxes.

So they thought, this new capitalist class, at the outset, and in the first stages of the Industrial Revolution. For quite sixty or seventy years, continuous improvements in technique—in the manufacture of textiles, in the application of power, in the raising of coal, in the fabrication of iron, in the construction of machinery, and in the improvement of the hitherto execrable means of communication, enabled the manufacturers to balance supply and demand, production and consumption. Capital never lacked, for any length of time, some outlet, some means of expression. It was a long time before "output" failed to find a market. British capitalists had the world market almost entirely to themselves. The gravest problems, in the first half of the 19th century, were how to obtain cheap and abundant raw material for the machines and cheap and abundant food for the "hands." Hence, the Anti-Corn Law League.

From Cotton to Coal and Iron.

All through this first period the manufacture of textiles continued to be the most influential industry. Out of its needs for better means of ob-

taining raw material, fuel, machinery, and marketing the product, came the canals and the railways. These latter, for the first time, brought the landowners into alliance with the industrial capitalists and united accumulated rents with accumulated profits in new forms of capital, such as railways, coal mines, and iron works. Hitherto, the older social class had had no direct share in industry. Even in woollen and linen manufactures its interest had been remote from the process of manufacture. The ideas of the landowners had no influence within Textile Capitalism. When cotton had taken the place of wool as the chief textile that form of capitalism had become completely divorced from the reactionary and conservative forces in the nation.

The railways, as such, attracted the landowners and, by their demand for iron and coal, as well as by the indirect stimulus they gave to this demand by increasing enormously the volume of trade, led owners of rich and extensive mineral properties to develop these for themselves or else to join with capitalists in forming joint stock enterprises to exploit them. The Duke of Devonshire in Furness, the Marquess of Bute in Glamorgan, the Marquess of Londonderry in Durham, the Earl of Dudley in Staffordshire, the Earl of Fitzwilliam in Yorkshire, and the Earl of Ellesmere in Lancashire, were conspicuous among their peers in the acumen which they showed in developing the mineral wealth of their lands, but they were not unique in this respect. The landowners were not all content to draw royalties and charge way leaves. Some of them chose to become industrial as well as agrarian capitalists.

At the same time that the landowners were becoming industrialists, the more prosperous industrialists were beginning to invest their enormous profits in mining royalties, iron works, coal and salt mines, and engineering, railway and harbour schemes. The Houldsworths, of Nottingham and Lancashire, became coal and iron magnates in Lancashire; the Peases, of Darlington, became coal masters in Durham and iron-stone owners in Cleveland, railway promoters at Stockton, and engineering capitalists at Newcastle; the Brights, of Rochdale, became great shareholders of the L. and N. W. Railway. Five great Manchester merchants capitalized Bolekow Vaughan and Co. Other Manchester magnates assisted the coal and iron masters of Sheffield, Ebbw Vale, Furness and South Yorkshire.

(To be continued in next issue.)

MANIFESTO

of the
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
(Fifth Edition)

Per copy.....10 cents

Per 25 copies.....\$2

Post Paid.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Obey that impulse and subscribe for the
WESTERN CLARION
Address P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.

Enclosed find \$.....
Send the Western Clarion to:

Name

Address

CANADA

DA

S

Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Fifteen.

VICTOR HUGO tells us that "On December 1st, 1851, Charras shrugged his shoulders and unloaded his pistols." Charras had assumed the task of protecting his country, and was the last to be convinced that it was safe. A few others who lacked pistols but still had doubts were looked upon as fools. On the following morning Charras and a couple of hundred more were arrested in their beds, and Paris awoke to the fact that another revolution was accomplished. The evidence had been carefully weighed, and the verdict duly rendered, that no man would be so criminal, even had the power been at his command, to set aside the duly declared will of the nation. In fact Napoleon himself had said just four days previous: "If I wanted to do wrong I could not." He had the day before questioned a number of Colonels "each one by himself," and all had declared the army was solid for the Assembly. So we have here another case of man's need of Divine guidance.

This conspiratory revolution went through without a hitch. The troops told off to defend the Assembly were removed during the night, and replaced by dependable ones; the proclamations to be posted declaring the dissolution of the Assembly, were taken a few hours before dawn, to the printers, and distributed in small parcels to the typesetters, who, in spite of the fact that their copy was so skilfully selected as to hide all meaning, worked each man with an armed soldier on each side of him.

Everyone famous as a barricade captain had a guard waiting to arrest him at the proper moment, as had the Generals, and Assembly Guardians (Questors) whose influence with the army was feared. A group of ragamuffins whose scholarship had suffered the same neglect as their apparel were at hand to post the proclamations. Another group of ragamuffins, who had suffered in neither of these respects, were at hand with bundles of francs in case any military commanders should have a conscience sufficiently virile to be still insistent upon being heard after the promises and wine, which had been used to debauch them. Hugo tells us of one whose hesitation made him the immediate, happy and unrepentant recipient of one hundred thousand francs. A strong argument we must admit, but one quite outside the power of a working class revolutionist to advance.

Hugo we remember in 1848 making passionate appeals to the working class to refrain from violence. In 1877, after the Germans and death had placed Napoleon beyond the power to harm, he wrote "The History of a Crime." Its purpose was to record the dastardly crime of Napoleon III. It does more than that; it actually reveals the dastardly cowardice of the ruling class. It does so with the same childlike innocence that the medieval monk confesses in his conflicts with beautiful females, the real nature of his pious meditations.

The Paris of 1789, of 1830, of February and June, 1848, could surely be reckoned on to forthwith end the aspirations of such a clown as Napoleon III. Hugo goes abroad and inquires how the people feel. He is told they are dazed. "Workmen read the placards, say nothing, and go to work. Only one in a hundred speaks. It is to say 'good!'" Michel de Bourges asks him what he will do. He replies "Everything." Well, we shall see. In a debate between these worthies gathered to decide upon action, Hugo was for action at once. Bourges argued "The people must be given time to understand, to grow angry, to rise . . . If we were to march immediately straight upon the troops, we should only be shot to no purpose, and the glorious insurrection for Right would thus be beforehand deprived of its natural leaders—the representatives of the people." (The emphasis is our own).

They proceed to take soundings; in the streets crowds of people commence to gather, to express resentment; it is the hour when the workers have reached the factory and are busy at work. The hour when the tired business man appears on the scene. "Oh, this looks better," said one of the counter-revolutionists, who had wandered around sadly all morning noting "the apathy of the masses."

They reach a point where a larger crowd is assembled; "many working men in blouses" are there, soldiers come marching; the crowd calls "Long live the Republic." Hugo is recognized. They cry "Long live Victor Hugo."

They ask his advice. "Tear down the seditious placards and cry long live the Constitution." "Suppose we are fired on?" "Then hasten to arms." Singular is it not, that Hugo and his friends, having the same number of hands and lustier tongues, could not have initiated this most revolutionary activity they now advised a few "young working men" to engage in. However, Hugo makes a speech and ends with these words: "Citizens, you have two hands; take in one your **Right and in your other your gun and fall upon Bonaparte**" (Emphasis is again ours.) Advised by a tradesman that he would be shot, he tells them his death would be a boon, "if the justice of God could result from it." But an even greater sacrifice would at that moment be required, seeing that God's Vicar on earth was having the devils own time in Italy, trying to save the last remnants of world-wide temporal power enjoyed for a thousand years by his mighty church. Without doubt God's attention would be drawn south-east of Paris.

Hugo's words brought deafening applause, and he was sorely tempted "to carry off all that crowd and begin the battle," but Charamaule pointed out the crowd had no arms, the soldiers were but two paces off and the artillerymen were unlimbering their pieces. It was a strong argument. Hugo acted upon it. But he still thought such a moment might have brought victory, and asks posterity—was he right or wrong? For our part we are no more able to answer correctly than he, but we can hazard the opinion that he was very funny.

There was always the chance in those days of soldiers going over to the people, but what a chance! Just imagine the impudence of this man after his actions in 1848, contemplating the assault of an army, with an unarmed crowd. However, they hailed a passing cab and left the crowd, and the golden moment, to the soldiers. They then tempted to hold a session of parliament, and were forcibly thrown on to the streets. The Judges met to order impeachment proceedings, and suffered a similar degradation.

The parliament met again at one of the town halls, to declare a republic, but during the discussion the cry arose: "Beware of the Red Republic!" However, the Republic was declared, the boulevards were ready; were the Faubourgs? Three hundred representatives of the people, quite a little army in itself, on their lawful business, were then ordered to leave by "a young spark" who pointed to the bayonets behind him. And they left,—for gaol.

There still remained at large over a hundred members of parliament who were prepared to save France at all costs. They met in the Popincourt district, which had made a desperate stand in June, 1848. They represented "Truth and Justice! the supreme and sovereign power, the People incarnate—Right!" A formidable aggregation without doubt. They decided to set up a government in the Faubourg St. Antoine, another district famous for its revolutionary determination. "Thence in the midst of the dauntless throng of workmen of that great district of Paris, enclosed in the Faubourg as in a

fortress, being both Legislators and Generals, multiplying and inventing means of defence and attack, launching proclamations and unearthing the pavements, employing the women in writing placards, while the men are fighting, we will issue a warrant against Louis Napoleon," etc., etc.

We must assume from this that they were really peeved. Hugo tells us that he became intoxicated with his own ideas when making this speech, but, becoming suddenly sober he arrayed the odds against them: An army of one hundred thousand, six thousand cannon and all munitions in apple pie order, enough to invade Russia. On their side, a thousand men, six hundred muskets, about two thousand cartridges, not a drum or bell, to sound assembly, or tocsin, nor any means to print proclamations. On the one hand, "An army and a crime; on the other, a handful of men and Right." No matter, these dauntless warriors were bent on blood. But they had made their calculations minus the human element; and so, owing to a severe lapse of memory, no one appeared to be clear at what hour they were to meet and erect this formidable government "in the midst of dauntless workmen," and the fruits of so interesting an experiment have yet to be determined. When Hugo got to the Faubourg St. Antoine, Baudin had been killed, the barricade taken and the district was in the hands of the army. When an attempt had been made early in the morning to summon the "workmen" to arms, the half-hearted enthusiasm of the sovereign representatives of "the People incarnate" had dissolved the first emotional response; some had held up their hands in a manner sufficiently eloquent to draw from the "workmen" expressions of contempt, and the sorry business ended more heroically than it began. After the crude barricade of a few overturned vehicles had been raised, two companies of troops appeared, seven of the representatives approached the troops unarmed. It seemed for a moment as though they would be successful in winning them over, when some of the barricade defenders mistaking the hasty movements of the troops for an attempt to capture the representatives, fired, and a soldier dropped wounded; the angered troops swept the barricade in a moment, and it was all over.

They were not discouraged; proclamations were written, outlawing Napoleon, Jule Favre, the unspeakable creature who, seventeen years later was to play no notorious a part in the suppression of the Commune, and who, after the fall of Sedan, had said to the workers of Paris, "Citizen working men, you made the empire you can unmake it," was one of the authors of these heroic documents with which these warriors sought to subdue an army.

One man, Emile de Girardin, owner of Le Presse, opposed their blood thirsty designs. He indeed, and we are speaking of 1851, advocated a general strike. The proclamations, however, did arouse and centralize the latent feeling against the usurpation of power, but the great working class districts were silent; they remembered too well June, 1848, and besides Persegny had, by the arrest of all those who were known as barricade chiefs, deprived them of recognized leaders. The struggle broke out in its full strength on the 4th, but it was the struggle of desperate men who desired to do something. Without arms, without a plan, without co-operation; something to compose a poem about, but a valuable lesson, shibboleths and rhetoric, however endearing to emotional souls, are but indifferent weapons in warfare. Sixteen thousand troops soon proved that in the real world where men meet men, discipline, organization, and munitions are factors of no mean importance. Though in the shadow world, where phantoms of the mind counted, and no matter how bloody the fray, victory always rests with the

(Continued on page 7)

An Unusual Friendship

By FRANZ MEHRING.

(Concluded from last issue.)

He therefore undertook the study of the Slavic languages because of the "consideration" that in the next great clash of national interests, "at least one of us" should be acquainted with the language, history, literature, social institutions of those nations with whom there was some likelihood of immediate conflict. Oriental troubles led him to the oriental languages; he steered clear of Arabic with its four thousand roots, but "Persian is a veritable child's play of a language"; he would be through with it in three weeks. Then came the turn of the Germanic languages: "I am now buried in Ulfilas: I simply had to get rid of this damned Gothic: I have been so long carrying it on in a rather desultory manner. I am surprised to find that I know much more than I expected. I need one more book, and then I'll be absolutely done with it in two weeks. And then for Old Norse and Old Saxon, with which I have long been on terms of half-acquaintance. As yet I have absolutely no paraphernalia, not even a lexicon: nothing but the Gothic text and old Grimm, but the old fellow is really a brick." In the sixties, when the Schleswig-Holstein question came up, Engels undertook "some Frisian-English-Jutian-Scandinavian philology and archaeology," and when the Irish question blazed up, "some Celto-Irish," and so on. In the General Council of the International his comprehensive linguistic accomplishments were of great value to him; "Engels can stammer in twenty languages," was said of him, because in moments of excitement he displayed a slight lisp.

Another epithet of his was that of the "General," which he earned by his still more assiduous devotion to the military sciences. Here also he was satisfying an "old predilection" at the same time that he was preparing for practical needs of the revolutionary policy. Engels was counting on "the enormous importance which the partie militaire would attain in the next commotion." The experience with the officers who had joined the revolution in the years of rebellion had not been very satisfactory, and Engels declared that "the military rabble had an incredibly dirty caste spirit. They hate each other worse than poison, envy each other like schoolboys at the slightest mark of distinction, but they show a united front against all civilians." Engels wanted to arrive at a point at which his theoretical remarks might have some weight and might not merely expose his ignorance.

He had hardly gotten established in Manchester, when he began to "plug up military science." He began with the "simplest and most rudimentary things, such as are asked in an ensign's or lieutenant's

examination, and are therefore assumed by all authors as already known." He studied everything about army administration, down to the most technical details: Elementary Tactics, Vauban's system of fortification, and all other systems, including the modern system of detached forts, bridge construction and fieldworks, fighting tools, down to the varying construction of carriages for fieldguns, the ravitaillement of hospitals and other matters; finally he passed on to the general history of war, in which connection he paid particular attention to the English authority Napier, the French Jomini, and the German Clausewitz.

Far removed from any shallow attacks on the moral folly of warfare, Engels sought rather to recognize its historic justification, by which effort he more than once aroused the violent rage of declamatory democracy. Byron once poured the phials of his scorching rage over the two generals who, at the Battle of Waterloo, in the character of champions of feudal Europe, inflicted a deathblow on the heir of the Revolution; it was an interesting accident that made Engels, in his letters to Marx, outline historic portraits both of Wellington and Blucher, which in their small compass, are so complete and so distinct, that they hardly need to be altered in a single respect to make them fully acceptable to the present state of advancement of military science.

In a third field, too, in which Engels also labored much and with pleasure, namely, in that of the natural sciences, he was not to have the opportunity, during the decades in which he accepted the bondage of commerce in order to afford free rein to the scientific investigations of another man—to put the finishing touches to his own labors.

And this was really a tragic lot. But Engels never wailed about it, for sentimentality was as foreign to his nature as to his friend's. He always held it to be the great good fortune of his life, to have stood by Marx's side for forty years, even at the price of being completely overshadowed by Marx's gigantic form. Nor did he consider it to be a belated form of satisfaction, to be permitted, after the death of his friend, to be the first man of the international workers' movement, to play the first violin, as it were, undisputed, in this movement; on the contrary, he considered this to be an honor that was too great for his merits.

As each of the two men was completely absorbed in the common cause, and each made an equally great sacrifice to it, although not an identical sacrifice, without any disagreeable reservation of objection or of boast, their friendship became an alliance which has no parallel in human history.

REACTION.

(Continued from page 1)

philosophy which goes back, in date, for a quite considerable time; and as a philosophy is only a summary of experience, advocate of an ancient condition. Hence we inherit the brick of reaction. But a date has no kinship with reaction. The ancient workers were just as wise, and as worthy, as the modern—and a deal better organized. And it would be derogatory to compare some of them with the brilliant labor leaders of today. But condition is relative. To what? The cause which occasions it and with which it is indissolubly associated. And that cause? In the particular case, the social relations of capitalist production. The S. P. therefore—the expression of historic materialism—advocates the philosophy which explains those conditions; conditions which generate capitalist life, and the power of capitalist dominion. Moreover, since the explanations of those conditions are not accepted, and yet cannot be disproved, it follows logically from the terms of historic materialism that the propaganda of social education must still be carried on, on one

hand, and on the other, it is ridiculous to ask society, and folly to attempt to force it, to accept a social system of which quite markedly it does not approve.

As a social revolution is impossible until the social community desires it, it is impossible to exert any action without power, means, support and organization, which could subvert and overcome the consciously conceived desires of society. And although the capitalist technology has changed and the capitalist economic has expanded, the social ideation has not. It still clings, as man and society alike have ever done, to the woned habitat of yesterday. Social ideation does not necessarily—and does not usually—change step by step with the precessional processes of production. Until the changed technology has developed its corresponding change in thought, the social mind, and through it the social organization, is not consciously perceptive of the change. Hence, not having visualised the sources of the conflict going on in its midst, it appreciates no occasion for change, and cannot formulate the means for its accomplishment. And

although an active and intelligent minority exercises an influence, vastly disproportionate to its numbers, still no minority can bind together in unity a social mass, partly unconscious of decisive purpose and partly resistant to the ideal. In other words that society is not moved by high theory, but moves itself by the common work-a-day vision of practice. Consequently, we submit that the charge of reaction is as futile as it is visionless. And because of its own visionlessness—doomed in the movements of man.

Look at the press of this ragtime "socialism" for proof. What are its projects for the advancement of social conditions and the progress of man? Leagues of Nations, subsidies for unemployment, fair trading, nationalisation, proportionate taxes, graduated reform, sliding scale living, Oriental exclusion, reasonable tariffs, empire immigration, factory acts and brotherly love, milk for children, minimum wages for women, labor for adults, pensions for the old, homes for the indigent, union made goods and boss made unions. Government inspection, housing and sanitation, shorter hours, living conditions, fair wages, demands, petitions, resolutions by the billion—anything but the one issue, social control of the social means of life. The one and only solution for social peace and social prosperity. The opposite of which, capitalist ownership and production for profit, prevents, and will for ever prevent, the frothing demands of their confusion.

It is this laborite "socialism" which casts its evil notoriety on Marxian reality. It is this hybrid between anarchy and Liberalism which has begotten working class imperialism. It is this wild catting of promise and advertisement by "labor leaders" that nullifies the efforts of the workers for unity, and turns them away in disgust from the political circus of the "one steppers." It is this false socialism that led the workers into the trenches, and left them to wallow in the blood of their kind while its prophets secured place and preferment and safety at home. And is again preparing the board for the same game. In the inevitable reaction that has overtaken it, it has divided the workers internationally. It has flung one section into reaction, looking for the grace of God and the new Messiah of labor; the other into the vain speculation, that out of its hopeless miseries the working class will be hurried into definite purpose, or flabozzled by aggressive directness into the Canaan of freedom. It did not happen so in Russia. It has not resulted so in Poland or Austria, miserable though they are; and in Germany, in the direst straits of destitution, the Communists themselves were compelled to oppose it! And in no other country is there the least stirring of movement. Beware of it comrades, it is a dangerous theory. (To be continued)

REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

(Continued from page 6)

dreamer, these means of murder are of less importance than an exalted ego, or a borrowed revolutionary phrase.

In the Boulevard Montmartre the troops mowed down the crowd with less compunction than a farmer mows wild oats; and still Paris, revolutionary Paris, did not rise!

The night following this slaughter, and the next day, December 5th, saw an end of the fighting. The Republicans maintained the troops were drunk and kept well supplied, which was no doubt true, but which incriminates rather than absolves them.

The fact of the defeat lies in the mutual fears entertained by the inhabitants of the boulevards and the Faubourgs. The middle class knew victory would bring them face to face with the Red Spectre. The workers knew they were victims in 1848 of that self same dread.

Outside of Paris a few uprisings were speedily suppressed, but after the thousand or so bourgeoisie who had been killed or wounded on the Boulevard Montmartre, there was little more fighting. Many thousands were transported, and their prosperity came in with all its glory, and the revolutionary period of politics came to a close. And the social revolution dawned.

Correspondence

STOCK-TAKING IN APATHY.

Editor Clarion:

I recently attended a "mass meeting" called under the auspices of the Workers' Party-cum-Fed-Farmer-Labor-Party. There were exactly 32 present, including the speaker, who is an national organizer of the combined parties.

Looking at the meagre crowd, half of whom were in opposition to the organization the speaker represented, I could my mind back to other days when the same building would be packed on a similar occasion.

The speaker at the conclusion of his address announced that there would be no questions or discussion, as he recognised the fact that incompatible differences of opinion existed among his audience.

After three years of Communist policy, here was a spectacle. Thirty-two people turn out to hear a member of the Ex-comm. of the Third International!

During my travels in search of the elusive job, I have run across many ex "revolutionaries." Most of them have a highly developed "martyr complex." They informed me, that they have quit making sacrifices (mostly vicarious) and that they are going to look out for themselves. As it they had not always done that very thing!

If hugging the stoves and "flopping" in the reading rooms of working-class organizations comes in the category of sacrifice, then I am willing to admit that there have been many victims. The same sacrifice could be made in Salvation Army hotels—if permitted.

One individual informed me that he has "quit the revolution." Moreover he had a solution to the workers' problem, that is: "Do nothing." Nevertheless, he could not overcome a long established habit. That is, to talk. The answer to the question "What is Life?" over which Marx pondered deeply before he replied: "Struggle," and which perplexed the encyclopedic mind of Spencer to the end of his days; was simplicity itself. "Life," quoth the philosopher, "is eating and drinking." What profound sapientia! surely a diet of coffee and to which this philosopher has an obligatory partiality is not the stuff out of which life is made.

"Canst thou believe thy living is a life, so stinkingly depending?"

Then there are the hot-foot revolutionists of yesterday, who now have jobs.

They give you the hush-hush and wagging finger if the boss is around, or lest the neighbours find out they aren't respectable.

To all appearances the movement has reached another "after '49."

That is, a period comparable to that which ensued after the revolutionary days of 1848; concerning which Harrington writes so lucidly.

In this swamp of apathy, in which we are engulfed, it is up to those members of the working-class who realize their "stinkingly dependent" condition and who do not oscillate between the revolutionary jag and total abstinence, to support the organs of working-class education.

If our interpretation of "materialism" is in error; then we err in good company.

A sinicure in a Prussian University meant "life of eating and drinking" for Marx. A life far beyond that ever enjoyed by our wage-slave so wise of today.

Did Marx reject the offer for something less substantial?

It would seem so. Perhaps he was all balled up on "materialism."

FRANK CUSACK.

FREETHOUGHT AND BACKBONE.

Editor Clarion:

I was interested in reading your "Atonement" article* not only on account of its attitude towards false religious, but also because it appeared at the time of the celebration of the Jewish New Year and Day of Atonement fast therein hinted at, and to which article my attention was directed by a Jewish Socialist friend who, like myself, is also a convinced freethinker.

In the town where we both are located, there is a large enough Hebrew population to support a synagogue, the members of which are all immigrants from non-British countries and whose nationalism and religious beliefs are strong, owing to the pogrom conditions that prevailed in their native lands. But my friend, like the Jew mentioned in your article, being British born and emancipated in manners and views, the rumor spread among his foreign-born compatriots that he was Jewish only on his mother's side and that his father was a Gentile; and that even his mother was quite lax in her religious observances.

In a subsequent conversation with one of the local

* See Western Clarion, Sept. 17th, 1923.

Jewish merchants, arising from his having been given your article to read my friend had pointed out the error of this rumor and in proof of the orthodoxy of his mother, had shown him a letter just received from her in the Old Country wishing her son a Happy (Jewish) New Year. This so tickled the merchant that, just after the great fast, he referred to the message in another conversation with my freethinking friend. However, by this time, another letter had arrived from his mother and which he also showed the merchant. But this missive from an intelligent, well-read and broad-minded woman, did not please him so much because it stated that she had been listening to another of a series of (English-spoken) Unitarian addresses, which impressed her as follows: "Yesterday I again went to church and heard the clever minister give a wonderful address on 'In tune with the Infinite' (by R. W. Trine). It was splendid and all the time I was wishing you were there to enjoy it. The service too is satisfying and sends you away with a feeling of pleasure that unfortunately is lacking in our Jewish services."

Next, the dealer asked him if he had fasted on the Day of Atonement and also commented on the fact that my friend was absent on that occasion from the synagogue. The reply was that, being a very temperate eater and at times putting in, on his own account, a few hygienic 23½ hour fasts, he did not need to abstain on any special Day of Atonement and therefore did not do so; and neither had he felt impelled to attend the religious services, especially as he was working at that time.

At this, and quite in the spirit of our ancestors who used to legally enforce church attendance, the dealer's eyes flashed fire and far more in earnest than in jest, he fanatically cried out "If I had seen you on the streets, I would have pulled you into the synagogue!" Here history repeated itself, for the great Jewish philosopher, Spinoza whom Haeckel acclaims as one of the world's most gifted thinkers, was himself ex-communicated and bounded from the Jewish church because he came to the conclusion that he must reject his traditional religion in favor of his pantheistic philosophy. In this case, the centuries-long persecuted race became themselves persecutors.

A noteworthy point as regards this incident was that my friend had received in return for a freethought equivalent a free consignment from the good Bishop W. W. Brown of "Communism and Christianity" but on which entry duty had to be paid. Feeling that what costs the recipient nothing is nothing valued, these books were disposed of at practically duty cost, namely, five cents each. Now this same merchant on being asked to purchase a copy at that price had eagerly agreed stating that he had heard about the books, and even if they cost \$10 apiece, he would buy one. Yet, when his own religious skin was pricked, how he did squeal! The mark of a man is that he should have enough mental firmness to support his convictions, irrespective of where or to what they may lead him.

It was the want of this quality that caused me to lose further interest in another man here—a French-Canadian Socialist who was brought up as a Catholic. Nevertheless, he liberally indulged in freethought and had a number of copies on hand of "Communism and Christianity," as many of which as I liked he offered me for nothing, stating that he had already peddled them everywhere he could in the district. He also used this as one of the text books in a study class which he organized. Yet, by a mere accident I afterwards found out through a neighbor woman friend of his when I called on her one Sunday to find out where he had temporarily gone to, that he was still attending Catholic church services. This woman must have told the man of my utter astonishment at his conduct, for, next time I met him, he somewhat apologetically admitted the truth of her report. So good fellow as he was, we drifted apart, and I never saw him again.

Now, such tactics will not do. The Jewish layman who doesn't depend on religion for a living, and who, through enmity to and at the expense of Christianity, is a "freethinker" but remains the slave and tool of his own particular brand of superstition; the Protestant or Catholic, etc., who is ditto to each one's rival religions; all such who have not the courage of their convictions, are not, as the French term freethinkers, genuine "esprits forts," which means strong minded people. They are merely weak and unreliable mental invertebrates, and decidedly gaseous too at that; yet not even on a par with what Haeckel dubs the god of the various orthodox religions, for him they conceive as being a "gaseous vertebrate!"

Despite the fact, as your article pointed out, that the material and moral welfare of the race depends on dropping every form of religious irrationality, it is certainly difficult at first to make a clean break with the latter; for, as Marx says, the traditions of the past weigh like an Alp-

on the brain of the living.

However, "practice makes perfect" and should the hoary and horrid spectre of superstition threaten to dominate the mind, it may be that help will come from the buoyant exhortation of one whose soul, before he gained freedom, was steeled and strengthened in the harsh school of chattel slavery; even as the modern revolutionary wage-slave has developed an invincible virility that laughs all the onslaughts of parasitical philosophies to scorn.

For it was Epictetus the Stoic, who advised this antidote against any appearance of the arch enemy: " . . . bring in against it some other fair and noble appearance, and therewithal cast out this vile one. And if thou use to exercise thyself in this way, thou shalt see what shoulders and nerves and sinews thou wilt have! But now we have only wordiness and nothing more. This is the true athlete, he who exerciseth himself against such appearances. Hold, unhappy man! be not swept away. Great is the contest, divine the task, for kingship, for freedom, for prosperity, for tranquillity . . . For what greater tempest is there than that which proceedeth from appearances that mightily overcome and expel the Reason?"

In other words, all ye workers of every kind, whether or not your jobs compel you to exercise your physical muscles; try and develop, harden and strengthen your mental muscles. As a sporting race, you are no strangers to physical culture. Now 'tis time to take an equal pride and interest in, so to speak, mental physical culture.

Dauphin, Man.

A. S.

Literature Price List

Cloth Bound	Per Copy
A. B. C. of Evolution (McCabe)	\$1.15
Economic Determinism	\$1.65
Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen)	\$1.15
Evolution of Property (Lafargue)	\$1.15
Critique of Political Economy	\$1.65
Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx)	\$1.15
History of Paris Commune (Lissagaray)	\$1.50
Ancient Society	\$1.25
Philosophical Essays	\$1.65
Theoretical System of Karl Marx	\$1.65
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism	\$1.65
Socialism and Philosophy	\$1.65
Capitalist Production (First Nine and 32nd Chapters	
"Capital," vol. 1, (Marx)	\$1.00
Vital Problems in Social Evolution	90c
Science and Revolution	90c
The Militant Proletariat	90c
Evolution Social and Organic	90c
Puritanism	90c
Ethics and History	90c
Germs of Mind in Plants	90c
The Triumph of Life	90c
Anarchism and Socialism	90c
F Feuerback	90c
Socialism Positive and Negative	90c
Eighteenth Brumaire	90c
Science and Superstition	90c
Paper Covers	Per Copy
Two Essays on History (C. Stephenson and G. Deville)	5c
Independent Working Class Education	10c
Communist Manifesto	10c
Wage-Labor and Capital	10c
The Present Economic System (Prof. W. A. Bonger)	10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	15c
Slave of the Farm	10c
Manifesto, S. P. of C.	10c
Evolution of Man (Prof. Bolsche)	30c
Causes of Belief in God (Lafargue)	10c
Shop Talks on Economics (Marcy)	15c
The State and Revolution (Lenin)	35c
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)	15c
Economic Causes of War (Leckie)	35c
Civil War in France (Marx)	35c
Eighteenth Brumaire (Marx)	35c
Christianism and Communism (Bishop W. M. Brown)	35c
Psychology of Marxian Socialism	90c
W. A. Pritchard's Address to the Jury, (State Trials, Winnipeg, Man., Fall Assizes 1919-20)	35c
Quantity Rates on Paper Covered Pamphlets.	
Two Essays on History	25 copies 75c
Communist Manifesto	25 copies \$2.00
Wage-Labor and Capital	25 copies \$1.00
Present Economic System	25 copies \$1.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	25 copies \$2.25
Slave of the Farm	25 copies \$1.50
Manifesto of S. P. of C.	25 copies \$1.00
Evolution of Man	25 copies \$2.75
Causes of Belief in God	25 copies \$2.00
Value, Price and Profit	25 copies \$2.25
Economic Causes of War	10 copies \$2.00
Christianism and Communism	6 copies \$1.00
Psychology of Marxian Socialism	10 copies \$2.50
W. A. Pritchard's Address to the Jury (State Trials, Winnipeg, Man., Fall Assizes 1919-20)	10 copies \$1.00

All prices include Postage.

Make all moneys payable to E. McLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

A. J. CO. KV

No 903

Editor expressed revolution once mar prevalent we repro view" (p Russian therein d terver p erican S "Isvestia" interview vember 3

T O si re plied: V soldier a less we a ants and our Govern if the G aggressive monarch come to intervent forward man), th victoriou pen. In vene in too self-making desire w the Ger struggle can say man rev everything gage in German vital an torious a larly is t nation. people a imperiali man wor and fore are also

Answer sia invac the whol Poland, ence. Fr Poland h latter w with Pol flagration the face civilizatio sky, "An ure of v last rema

On th "Certain nder it That is