



WESTERN CLARION



Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 887. NINETEENTH YEAR. Twice a Month VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1923. FIVE CENTS

Nuts for the Cracking

ECONOMIC conferences, peace conferences and war conferences, armies of occupation and armies of unemployment. Counter-revolutions and near revolutions. Home Rule for Ireland and the same rule for Europe. Budgets that do not budge-yet. Debts that won't be paid and debts that cannot be paid. Prosperity for the master and misery for the slave.

The yellow press at the present time is giving prominent display space to debts due one country from another; every magazine you pick up has an article dealing with it from various angles, and it is the most important subject that the respective nations have to deal with at the present time. It would take up too much space to give the figures of the various countries that are in debt to one another, so we will take the largest creditor nation, which is the United States of America, and show in what proportion the various countries are indebted to her, and also the foreign investments of the United States. The debts, according to the figures before us, are so colossal in comparison to the wages the worker gets, that it makes him gasp and sometimes forget what he owes to the grocer on the corner. But seeing he does not settle up on the Saturday he is rudely awakened on Monday by the collector; then there is some tall figuring to be done so that he can get past till next pay day.

Now if the average worker would try and draw comparisons of how he gets his living, "that is the wage system." What he has to do to get wages, what he does with them and the position he is in before and after receiving them. Apply the same method to the debts of the various countries and you will find them in a similar position to that which you have often been in yourself.

A lot of people are interested in those debts, as they are the creditors. And a whole mob seems to be interested in them, supposing that if they were paid, the amounts would have to be extracted from their bodies. You get 15,000 Germans demonstrating in New York city against the French entering the Ruhr, and demonstrations in the Ruhr district itself against the imprisonment, arrest or deportation of members of the master class or their apologists. The Labor Party of England are opposed to it, and all Britain's colonies, and the Hearst papers in the U. S. A. Last but not least in opposition to present French policy you have the artful hypocrite David Lloyd George. Well, I don't blame him, but it is amusing to see the workers demonstrating in their choice of masters. The press throughout the country protests vigorously as to the methods used by the French in collecting reparations, and the dear people of the U. S. A. are applauding it to the echo. It is a shame, they say, to attack a crippled nation; while at the same time every city in the United States is getting its supply of zear gas, also instructions how to use it, and masks for self protection.

At the beginning of the world war, every nation engaged promised its last man and its last dollar. By this time most of us are aware of the heavy casualties, and some even wondered how the last man proposition did not come true. But our object here is to deal with the dollar, as it came last, and is first and foremost in all matters so far as debts are concerned. America won the war, won the markets of the world and won the hatred of every nation in

Europe, in spite of Hoover's political relief administration. If you can concentrate your mind for a few minutes on the following figures re the investments of Americans abroad you will be subject to shock. Europe and the continental powers don't know where they are at. Foreign investments since November 14th, 1918, classified according to countries, are here reproduced from "The Nation's Business," the official organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, published in Washington, D. C.:

	Gold
Great Britain	\$278,179,000
Canada	296,282,000
Australia	25,351,725
France	330,825,000
Italy	25,000,000
Belgium	107,500,000
Switzerland	67,000,000
Netherland	57,270,000
Germany	220,000
Norway	33,690,000
Sweden	25,000,000
Denmark	90,000,000
Czecho-Slovakia	21,500,000
Jugo-Slavia	25,000,000
China	5,500,000
Brazil	190,000,000
Argentina	78,095,000
Chile	46,500,000
Bolivia	24,000,000
Uruguay	13,500,000
Dutch East Indies	100,000,000
Dominican Republic	6,700,000
Cuba	5,000,000
Philippine Islands	12,035,000
Hawaii Islands	1,850,000
Total, Gold	\$1,865,997,725

The foregoing list is not complete as the amount to China should be eleven millions and Chile should be sixty-four millions. But it is close enough for any one to see the position of America to the other countries even since the war was declared finished. Now let us glance back to that period when democracy was at stake in the year of our Lord 1914, and view the standing of the four greatest powers in relation to each other so far as investments are concerned. We find them occupying the following position: Foreign investments, Great Britain 20 billions; France 8 billions; Germany 5 billions and America 3 billion; these are the approximate figures. Now at the present moment of writing America has close on 9 billions invested abroad, and that amount is exclusive of the money loaned to the Allies during the period of the war. Germany's debts are wiped out; you may also say the same of France as her foreign investments were principally confined to Russia, and those days are gone for ever so far as Russia is concerned. Great Britain, according to Sir George Paish, Britain's leading economist, is still a creditor nation to the extent of three billion dollars in foreign securities. So we find a complete reversal so far as their former positions are concerned.

Next let us take into consideration the loans granted by the American Government to the Allies during the war, which, with defaulted interest now reach the enormous figure of eleven billions of dollars. And the largest debtor nation on the list is Great Britain with a sum of \$4,760,000,000. And of course, by the way, she is the only debtor nation that is trying to arrange plans of how she can wipe out the principal and interest on her war debt to

the United States. Leave it to John Bull; he sure can advertise and get it cheap. Arthur Brisbane of the Hearst policy please note. Following is a complete statement of the war debts owed to the United States by the European and other continental nations, showing the percentage of total amounts per capita, and the yearly amount with interest that the different nations would have to pay if worked out in twenty-five yearly instalments:

Debts to U. S. A. and % of total debt.	If liquidated in 25 annuities at 6 %			
	Owes to U. S. A.	% of total	per capita	Amount yearly
	1	2	3	4
Great Britain	\$4,675,492,101	12.3%	\$6.07	\$280,500,000
France	3,716,514,527	7.2	5.71	223,000,000
Italy	1,850,313,782	10.1	3.02	111,000,000
Belgium	420,263,997	8.9	3.16	25,200,000
Russia	223,374,644	(*)	.10	13,400,000
Poland	146,362,161	(*)	.37	8,800,000
Czech Slovakia	100,988,919	1.1	.44	6,100,000
Lithuania	5,479,791	(*)	.13	300,000
Jugo Slavia	56,593,367	8.0	.30	3,400,000
Rumania	40,186,175	(*)	.13	2,400,000
Austria	25,499,052	(*)	.24	1,500,000
Esthonia	15,388,814	(*)	.50	900,000
Greece	15,000,000	1.8	.18	900,000
Armenia	13,039,178	(*)	.11	800,000
Finland	8,880,266	2.3	.15	500,000
Cuba	8,575,000	9.8	.17	500,000
Latvia	5,519,250	(*)	.20	300,000
Hungary	1,786,986	(*)	.13	100,000
Liberia	28,219	1.8	—	1,000
Totals.....	\$11,328,774,229		\$21.11	\$679,601,000

(* Less than one per cent. of the national debt.

Note.—Column (1) shows the actual debt, principal and accrued interest, owing to the United States Treasury at the first of January, 1922, as reported by the U. S. A. Treasury.

2—Only Great Britain proper, not the British Empire, is listed under Great Britain above.

3—All the foregoing figures are in U. S. gold currency.

Now we have all the latest figures that are published as regards debts, and there is no doubt that they are increasing day by day, as the figures on exports and imports so far as the U. S. A. is concerned are all to her credit. So the gold is still dribbling in to that sweet land of liberty. The main part of the programme now is can those debtor countries pay, and what will be the method of paying? Economists of every hue and shade all the world over have put forward some very flimsy propositions, and they are at their wits end to find some solution for the problem. Britain cannot really pay her share in pound notes, nor can the other countries pay theirs in marks, francs, lire or roubles. The budding financiers who bought a few hundred when they were "cheap" find they cannot even trade them for relief purposes now. There is only one way that they can wipe them out, and that is with gold. That they cannot do as there is not enough gold in existence to pay off the national debt of Great Britain. The next method that is on their minds is having a balance of exports over their imports, and that is foolish so far as the large debt is concerned. Of course there are other factors that enter into this scheme of things that are worth going over. Could the debtor nation get hold of American dollars through other channels, such as immigration remittances, that is, part of wages received by the laborer in America and shipped back to the debtor country. Then there are gifts of money that often go to the debtor country,

(Continued on page 8)

Historical Materialism

BY PROF. A. D. LINDSAY, Chair of Moral Philosophy, Glasgow University.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is a report (from "The Forward," Glasgow) of a lecture by Professor Lindsay delivered at the Metropole Theatre there.

I want to discuss tonight the doctrine of economic determinism. It is in itself a doctrine difficult and abstract enough. And to save us from needless difficulties, let me begin by saying that I don't want to discuss the general or metaphysical doctrine of determination or freewill. That is a subject the discussion of which Milton assigns to the devil in hell with eternity before them.

My subject is simple, more concrete, and more practical. It is the doctrine that there is a relentless necessity about the development of economic conditions—that in economic history we see a development which the will of no one can effect, which comes about by the necessity working out of blind laws, which we cannot alter or change but only classify. It is sometimes called Economic Determinism, sometimes Historic Materialism.

The best statement of the doctrine is in the preface to Marx's "Critique of Political Economy." You will find it printed at the end of Engels' pamphlet on Historical Materialism, published by the Socialist Labour Party.*

The doctrine as stated in that passage and in Engels involves two assertions, connected but distinct. The first is that economic development proceeds according to inevitable, necessary and predictable laws. "The material transformation of the economic conditions of production can be determined with the precision of natural science," says Marx. Engels and many of Marx's followers have tried to show how various stages in the development of production and exchange have illustrated in their evolution this necessary predictable law. According to them, if we had enough knowledge we could in the light of this theory predict the future development of economic conditions with the same certainty with which astronomers predict eclipses).

That is the first assertion, economic determinism in the strictest sense of the term. It is not a view peculiar to Marx. The individualist economists of the early nineteenth century held it, talking as they did of the iron laws of political economy.

The second, and perhaps more striking, assertion is that this scientifically predictable economic development is the only real factor in social development.

The ideals that men have—that they believe in and work for; their moral notions, their political aspirations, have, according to this view, no independent reality, they are simply the reflexions of the automatic reactions to the facts of economic necessity which determine our whole existence.

We find statements in Marx that express with uncompromising bareness this historical materialism or Economic Determinism in its full sense. It is a theory which claims (1) that economic development can be foretold with scientific accuracy, because it is not the product of the living will. (2) That economic development determines all other forms of social activity.

Now, here is a case of doctrines whose power lies in union. "How happy could we be with either were t'other dear charmer away." For, say, only the first doctrine were true—that economic developments worked by laws not to be modified by human will. Well, we get on after all, very well with a great many forces and activities, the laws of whose nature is not to be modified by human will. We cannot alter the habits and nature of electricity by any known amount of human will or thought, but we can control largely the part electricity is to play in our social life. We can use it more or less;

* See also "Capital," First Nine Chapters (Vancouver

we can introduce it here and exclude it there. Its use to society in a sense depends on our being able to count on the invariable laws of its nature. If, then, we were faced merely with the inevitableness of economic development we should still feel masters of our fate, inasmuch as we might control our social activities and control the amount and place of economic activity in the social scheme; use it as we use electricity.

If again the second only were true—if economic development controlled all other social activities, but were itself controllable by human will, we could at least feel our problems simplified. Once we attended to the economic problem and set that right, all else would be added to us, since that controls all other social activities.

But if you must accept both doctrines unmodified, what they come to is this:—

Will cannot determine or change economic development.

Economic development determines all the rest of social life.

Therefore will determines, and can determine, nothing in your life.

Socialist ideals and individualistic ideals alike are ineffective—mere mirages—fallacious reflexions of necessary economic changes!

I am not here tonight to attack or to defend Marx. But let me say before passing on that though there is a very striking statement of this theory in Marx to which I referred, it is not at all certain that the theory in its rigid form was permanently held by him.

Engels said at a later date, that "when anyone distorts our statement so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement, into a meaningless, abstract, and absurd phrase."

What Marx was really after, can, I think, be seen by his repeated contrast between scientific and Utopian Socialism. He was insisting that ideals must spring from actual facts and actual possibilities, that the source of all successful action is an unprejudiced survey of all possibilities of the situation, that if we would make society what it is capable of becoming, we must first learn to know it as it is. That is a lesson that all idealists have to learn, and a very important one. And the Socialism of Marx's time was perhaps especially in need of it. Action to make things what they might be, must be preceded by knowledge of what they are.

I think myself that that is what Marx was really after, but, as I say, I am not concerned with Marx but with the theory.

Now, notice in the first place what a depressing and deadening theory it is, if you hold it consistently, if you really hold that our wills and purposes, even our collective purposes, are nothing—are not a real factor at all. How ill that suits with the idealism and the mutual self-sacrifice which is so evident in the Labour movement. Even if your economic determinism is optimistic, as the Marxian is, even if it tells you that the mechanical processes of economic change are bringing about a state of affairs when all man's wants will be satisfied; do you think man would really accept that at the price of having to hold that his will is completely ineffective, that his purposes are not really his but the mere reflection of mechanical causes? I don't believe that for a moment. Determinism has sometimes been an inspiring creed when it has been allied with religion. Our forefathers were inspired to do great things by believing that they were the instruments by which God worked out his purposes in the world; but can anyone be inspired to action by believing that he is the passive instrument of blind, purposeless, economic force?

But the fact that a theory is depressing and dead-

ening doesn't prove that it is untrue. Let us begin by noticing how it has an obvious appearance of truth at first sight.

You know the American story of Rip Van Winkle, the young man who had a magical sleep in a cave, and, after sleeping for 50 or 100 years—I forget how long—woke up to find everything changed and unfamiliar. Well, imagine a man to have fallen into such a magical sleep in, say about 1770, and to have slept for 100 years—or, if you like, longer—and to wake up either in 1870 or 1920. He would be dumfounded at the change that had come over the country. Imagine him put down in an industrial district of Lancashire, and suppose he felt he simply must find out what had put it into the heads of people to change the beautiful green Lancashire he had known into that great sprawling mass of drab, ugly brick; or suppose him to go into a modern factory and contrast it with the kind of handiwork he had known. Wouldn't he begin to say: What has put it into people's heads to make England like this? You can imagine him asking men and women he met if they liked the country to be like that, or if they liked factory production, and he would mostly be told: No! they didn't. "Then why on earth have you made this change?" he would say. But to that question he would get no answer, and if he persisted and went from the common people to the people in power, he might find some people more pleased with what had happened than others, but he would never find the man who had done it. They would all have to say: It has just grown up, or steam power has done it. And if by another miracle you could suppose him to go gradually back in time till he got to 1770 again, he would never find anyone who had willed the state of affairs that has come into existence. He would find that people had all sorts of purposes—good, bad, and indifferent—and had often achieved their purposes—but for this whole transformation of England with which we suppose him concerned, he would find no author. If he met an economic historian, he would perhaps be told that the whole thing began with the discoveries made in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century, with the inventions of Watt and Arkwright, and we may imagine him saying: "Well, I knew James Watt before I fell asleep in 1770, and he was a decent fellow, but I am sure he had nothing like this in his head. He was interested in improving machines, but no more." So long as he asked the question, Why? he would get no answer to any effect.

And so he would find most people agreeing that this stupendous change had just happened: had been willed and intended by nobody. So he could easily come to think that these economic changes have come about independently of will, and must be due to some blind necessity outside of man altogether.

These are the facts that make men speak of economic determination. They find themselves part of a great new system of industry over which, as individuals, they have no control: which seems to have no author, whether hero or villain—which has been wished by none, and which weighs with irresistible force upon their lives.

Now, notice this further curious fact. Our imaginary Rip Van Winkle might well say in reflecting on all his experiences: "The funny thing about this period is that it has been one in which men have laid enormous stress on the freedom of the individual. This tremendous change has been accompanied by a gradual cutting away of all restrictions on economic freedom. Men have insisted on making themselves free, and they find themselves in chains to an economic system." I think that the economic historian would support this paradox and say that the economic interpretation of history applies much more forcibly to a time when economic relations are

uncontrolled, to a time of free economic competition, than it does to earlier periods of history when economic relations are closely controlled by custom or tradition. This is the seeming paradox of modern industrialism.

There are the facts we have to reckon with. The question is as to their interpretation, and there are two methods of interpreting them: the one which says that human will does nothing—that economic forces are blind and uncontrollable, and the other that the blindness of the result—which can't be denied—comes from the way in which people act—a way which can be changed and corrected.

Now, if you said to Rip Van Winkle that human will does nothing, he would say, if he looked unprejudicially at the facts, "Oh, nonsense! In all this period men have been setting purposes before themselves and have very often achieved them; couldn't find anyone who willed the whole thing, but I can find lots of smaller—more limited purposes—which men did set before themselves, which they did achieve. The whole thing has been willed by none; but will has been operative all the time, and isn't it possible that the whole result is the accumulative effect of all these limited wills, and may it not be corrected if we can somehow correct the accumulated results of our limited wills by combined action in the light of a common purpose.

Let us take a simple example where you can see how a result which none has willed comes about as the result of limited wills and can be corrected. If there is a fire in a theatre, men sometimes rush and block the doorways and crush one another to death. That is not a result which anyone has willed, yet it is quite easy to see how it has come about. Each man acts for himself regardless of what the others are doing; but the fact that all are doing the same thing is to produce the deplorable result which no one has willed.

The remedy is simple. It is not merely that people should cease to think of themselves, and should only think of others. If people believed that the one thing desirable was to be unselfish, and let other people go first, then no one could ever get out of the theatre. Mere unselfishness will not do. The remedy is organised combined action, in order to get people out of the theatre as quickly as possible. That needs some unselfishness, because people have to be got to agree to go out in the order that is best, not for themselves individually, but for the whole crowd. It needs, above all, this combined action in the light of the whole situation. Economic conditions are the accumulated results of millions of individual actions with limited finite purposes. Individuals cannot control or change them by acting individually, because they are caused by the combined results of individual wills.

In so far as you substitute common action, inspired by some common purpose, and directed by knowledge of the facts, you can cure the blind results in exactly the same way as you can cure the blind results of the theatre panic.

What is wanted is knowledge and combined action.

And, now, if Rip Van Winkle will look back again at the period he will see firstly that there is a real relation between the free unregulated character of economic relations and the general blind result—that the apparent paradox is really a case of causal relation; and (2) that as men became aware of what was happening, they began to take control—to take common action—to regulate in all kinds of ways the blind results of economic forces. And isn't this just what Socialism stands for—knowledge and common action?

We find some confirmation of this view in Marx himself, for at the end of the very passage in the "Critique of Political Economy," from which I have quoted, he refers to the end of the class struggle as the end of "the prehistoric period," seeming to imply that once blind and unregulated conflict ceases, and the community as a whole takes control of economic conditions, history will really begin, because then for the first time, by his view, man will be the controller of his destiny.

THE DOUGLAS "SCHEME."

COMRADE Peter T. Leckie, having noticed evidences of anxiety on the part of Com. McNey concerning Peter's present temperature, writes to say he has not reached the obituary avenue yet and has no special prejudices in flowers. As a matter of fact the irrepressible Peter has been recently engaged in tilting a lance (so to speak) with the editor of "The Ottawa Citizen," the latter being a disciple of Major Douglas. Here follow some remarks addressed by P. T. L. to the editor of "The Ottawa Citizen:"

THE REMEDY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

Editor, Citizen: Senator Robertson's statement.—In your editorial of Tuesday re above, you set forth the following remedy for unemployment, etc.

"Prices would be regulated as outlined in Major C. H. Douglas' latest economic work, 'Credit-Power and Democracy,' by the ratio of total national production to total national consumption. In Canada, the minister of finance, or other responsible authority, would ascertain from the Dominion bureau of statistics that the value of total national production last year amounted to 7,000 million dollars. In the same period, total national consumption would possibly amount to 3,500 million dollars. This ratio of 2 to 1 would determine prices. The minister of finance would issue an order to the retail merchants that all Canadian-made goods should be sold to the immediate consumer at half-cost. The difference between price and cost would be made up to the merchant by an issue of treasury notes or bills from the Dominion treasury."

Being interested in the social problem, I would ask a few pertinent questions arising from the above paragraph.

If the consumer could buy all commodities when sold at half price, which is the real wealth, what could the merchants buy with the treasury notes or bills issued from the Dominion treasury, to make up the difference between price and cost?

Anyone who has studied the history of legislation endeavoring to fix prices knows it to be a history of failures.

Here is the dilemma, I find myself in on this subject: If prices cannot be fixed as history proves, the merchants' grant of treasury notes to make up the difference between price and cost will increase prices just as the treasury notes did during the war. On the other hand, concede that prices can be fixed and the consumer buy all the commodities at half price, what is left for the merchant to buy with their treasury notes granted by the government? —PETER T. LECKIE, Bronson Ave., Ottawa.

To which the editor of "The Citizen" replies:

Treasury notes at the present time are used for financial credit purposes. They would furnish new credit facilities just as effectively under the scheme outlined by Major C. H. Douglas. Does Mr. Leckie doubt the capacity of modern industry to supply the increased demand for goods when demand is stimulated by the new issue of credit notes.

The Douglas scheme does not propose to fix prices. There is a difference between fixing and regulating. Prices would be regulated by supply and demand, automatically. When total national consumption only amounted to half of total national production in a given period, price would be half of cost. When consumption tended to equal production, prices would rise in strict proportion. When production increased, prices would fall likewise in strict proportion.

Comrade Leckie thinks this is not a very good "showing" for a man who is an expert on the Douglas "scheme," and he says:

"Mr. Leckie does not doubt the capacity of modern industry to produce goods to meet any demand made by new issues of notes. But the rub is that if the consumers or workers were benefited by the reduction of prices to half their cost as stated in your first paragraph, the real wealth being all consumed, the treasury notes issued would have a call on immediate production and we would be, in military language, 'as you were.'

"You say prices would be regulated by supply and demand, as if that law did not work now; and this very law would most certainly raise prices with the issue of treasury notes to compensate the merchants for cutting prices in half.

"The last part of the editor's note regarding rising and falling of prices is just what goes on under the present system."

P. T. L. says the Douglas "scheme" is gathering adherents from the business element, not so much on account of any soundness it possesses but because they are carried away with the idea of freeing themselves from the financial interests who levy a heavy toll in return for credit advanced. Comrade Leckie seconds the recently expressed request of Com. D. MacPherson that "Geordie" review the Douglas proposals and outline their worth or otherwise.

A PRACTICAL UNDERSTANDING FOR THE WORKERS.

BY SID EARP.

IN attempting to interest the members of the working class in the only issue which requires their serious attention, and that,—in the question of their release from the servitude imposed upon them by the laws and usage of Modern Capitalism, it is somewhat of a puzzle as to how best to approach and convince them of the truths of scientific Socialism. One thing appears to be certain: the mere presentation of a revolutionary creed, however lurid and forcefully worded it may be, meets with little success; rather is it a dismal failure in so far as results are considered. And that is the method of practical men. According to their immediate economic condition, allowing as well for temperamental factors, so do men view any new idea that is presented to them.

Also, when it is clearly understood that under existing social conditions, the process of gaining a livelihood is purely one of free competition, one with another, the apparent failure of the revolutionary movement to achieve any importance in the affairs of mankind, will be realized. Viewing the simple facts of working class life, what is the popular desire? Employment: work of any kind, however degrading and useless it might be; failing which, the cry for a pauper's dole. True it is, that in every land there are small groups of workers who realize the hopelessness of gaining satisfaction in this way. But it is little they can do in bringing to light or understanding, the real and fundamental task before which mankind must sooner or later sink his incidental problems. The nature of that task is the establishment of social life upon a new basis of administration, whereby the material requirements of all those who partake in the needful work of the world will have social assurance. This possible form of administration, in which, if it is given some consideration, can be perceived wide scope for those fettered constructive faculties within the human mind, awaits one thing before it can become a reality. It is no less than the general and practical realization of the social nature of modern forces of production. By their failure to grasp the significance of this item, Modern Society is writhing in torture, mental and physical.

This of course, seems a weighty proposition to talk about, and is so completely foreign to ordinary working class thought that small notice is taken of it. Nevertheless, in those minds uncontaminated by the revolutionary jargon which is usually accepted as revolutionary thought, it does not go without acceptance. And in this there comes to the revolutionary movement a mighty support.

The Socialist position is not popular among the workers, and the cause of this is not difficult to find. It demands more than enthusiasm for a political programme. It requires a persistent study into human relationships and a knowledge of those social forces before which civilization must break or bend to conformity. But the acquirement of an understanding such as this does not possess any commercial value; and moreover, in that market where the sale of human energy goes by the term, employment, it is likely to prove a handicap. In Capitalist Society, an admittance of the truth "Knowledge is Power," carries with it much reservation; it depends upon whose interests are to be served. However, there is no occasion for glooming. One by one the institutions set up to assist mankind in his attempt to live by selling things, are falling into disuse, and his gods are tumbling all around him. In so far as the working class are concerned, their noses are still very close to the grindstones of industry; downward is their gaze. Later and strangely, will the wheels surely slacken and cease revolving. In that day perforce, their gaze will shift, upward and around; and the pathway of mankind will take a sharp and sudden turn. May we be at the turning.

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

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1923

A REVIVAL OF LEARNING?

AT the present time in socialist circles, and especially socialist study circles, there is prevalent something of a tendency toward reconsideration of the concept of social change as agreed upon in the light of socialist understanding, and it is the pleasant duty of the Clarion to welcome the spirit of serious enquiry in such matters. Events, as they have transpired in the world at large in recent years, have given impetus in the general mind toward broader enquiry into social relationships, all of which, no doubt, has a tendency toward a comprehension by society at large of the nature of the troubles that beset it as a social order. In this process of recurring events, ideas change in unexpected places. If the events are weighty enough to upset the smooth running of the social machine, then the machine runs somewhat out of gear and ideas are subject to change accordingly. If events move rapidly, ideas are the more likely to come quickly under amendment, and this applies to all who are affected—even to the socialists.

There can be no doubt that the present world of socialists has been provided with enough material, since 1914 to date, to encourage unrest in all avenues of settled opinion. This has been apparent enough, as the present unsettled condition of the various socialist schools of thought bears witness, to say nothing of the dismemberment of the several sections of the movement in general. All parties are or have been affected, including our own.

The past few years have occupied the socialist movement—we are using the term broadly—in internal strife, mainly over policies and tactics to be considered as means toward an end, and even there almost all parties in dispute have betrayed sufficient inconsistency to encourage enquiry into method, as method is applied in the socialist world of thought. The Socialist mind has been seriously disturbed into analysing its own aims and objects, its manner of approach toward their attainment, its immediate possibilities and limitations and the weight and influence of the forces that bear upon its progress. In all this there is a tendency to go back to the books and see if there has been anything taken for granted over-hastily; to see if the socialist case is sound or if it has been properly considered and understood, or if its outline needs extension.

Happily, the S. P. of C. mind is not immune from disturbance. We say this in full view of any who may think us overly well satisfied with ourselves or who are ill enough acquainted with us to think we are devoted to constancy for its own sake, or as an everlasting creed. We sense a sort of "revival of learning" in our own ranks and we are glad to see it. It appears in a questioning attitude, manifesting inquiry into the doctrine of the class struggle, the limitations of the materialist interpretation of history, the revolutionary concept of sudden social change, the socialist point of view, and so forth and so on, all to be confirmed, amended or recast. All well and good.

Now there should be usefulness in the serious discussion of such matters and it is unlikely that discussion is all confined to one area. If it is not prevalent throughout the country then it should be broadcasted through the Clarion columns so that

it may reach all corners. If it already prevails throughout the country then the Clarion columns should be the medium wherein the various points of view are set forth to be exchanged all around.

So to begin with we ask for whatever may come along of interest in these matters. It is to be supposed that from interesting discussion there should come interesting manuscript. There will be those, of course, who will excuse themselves under the plea that they can't write or they can't spell. They will be the critics. Let's have the argument, spelled ill or well.

A word as to space. Space, we suppose, will accord with the readers' likelihood of sustaining interest in the subjects discussed, or of our own judgment under the circumstances. We are not disposed to welcome overlengthy manuscript. We trust to the writers' appreciation of our limited size, and of the fact that in a bi-monthly journal interest on one topic under discussion is hard to sustain for very long. Our remarks above, hastily recorded and in which we have scarcely had time to dot the I's and cross the T's need not at all serve as a pattern, either in subject matter or in presentation. It appears that there is a tendency to reconsider everything, the S. P. of C.'s viewpoint included. Very good. Write it down.

COMMERCIAL "DEVELOPMENT."

SOME time ago I read in a commercial horticultural paper an article dealing with the enactment of laws for the protection of certain species of Polypodium and some climbing ferns, to prevent their eradication by commercialisation. Those natural greens were valuable to the trade for us in table and wedding decorations, as well as other floral work, and therefore eagerly bought up when offered for sale. With a growing demand, prices stiffened. Higher prices caused a more active search for the plants. Nobody thought of replanting them. They decreased in number. The supply fell off, prices rose on account of this and at last those gems of Nature were threatened with extinction. An insignificant fact, you will say. It may be; but not so if viewed from the viewpoint of the economist, not to mention the lover of nature or the artist. It shows too plainly the ultimate result of commercial development of the natural resources. If there would have been no profit in gathering those plants they would have been left undisturbed, a source of joy and pleasure to scientists, artists and lovers of nature for generations to come. The loss of dollars and cents cannot express this; the damage done is irreparable, a heavy price to pay for greed of profit, for commercial "development."

Another instance: When I worked in London, a Hindoo somewhere in the Himalayas discovered a spot where *Lypridium Faivisanum* grew plentifully. The plant was not one of the most beautiful lady-slippers, but extremely rare and valuable for breeding purposes, I mean the production of new and improved varieties of *Lypridium*. My employers paid a good price for them and got eventually more than they wanted in this deal. The plants had sold before discovery of this new habitat for several guineas and could be bought, when I worked in Chelsea, for about 2s and 6d. If the Hindoo would have sold them in the open market prices would have dropped to zero. So "our firm" had to buy them to prevent this. Our friend in the Himalayas made good money out of this but in time he was able to kill the goose, that laid the golden egg,—to eradicate the plant. If there would have been no profit in it, he would not have "developed" the natural resources of the Himalayas, the *Lypridium* would yet beautify the valley in which it was found.

I promise not to make this entirely a lecture on gardening, arts and similar matters of lofty ideals; but before proceeding to more practical matters I would like to point out a few other facts that have to deal with commercial "development" in gardening. The rose was originally grown on account of its perfume. In fact most people associate roses with the sense of satisfaction to their olfactory organs. But take the modern rose. Where is its smell? We florists have developed the form and size of the rose and to that have sacrificed its

smell. Furthermore we have weakened its vitality. We have developed it commercially with a view to profit, to profit alone. Take fruit trees. We have developed their bearing capacity to such an extent that their vitality has been seriously weakened and they fall much easier victims to insect pests and diseases than formerly—again commercial development, production to sell, production for profit.

All this might appear far-fetched and trivial to the casual observer, and for this reason I will come closer home and illustrate commercial "development" with matters familiar to most Canadians. A short time ago a howl of rage was going through the press about the way the wicked Jap was exploiting Cascara bark and exhausting local natural supplies of it. He was only doing the same thing our lumber barons are doing to the cedar forests, the pulp trees and other timber limits. He was commercially "developing" the natural resources of the country. He was exploiting them, without regard to posterity, because it was profitable for him to do so.

Of late the world has been crazy with oil fever. If one can believe the papers the countries with oil deposits will be tremendously benefited by the commercial "development" of the natural resources. Their "development" meant to Mexico only political revolutions and civil strife. At last salvation seems to make its appearance there and with the giving out of the oil, let us hope, Mexico—will be left alone without enjoying the blessings of "commercial development" and civilization.

What commercial "development" did to the Buffalo is too well known to need special mention. Within a very short time a valuable supply of food, the chief sustenance of the Indian before the advent of the white man, disappeared from this continent. People are trying to replace them with cattle, but it will be a long time before a strain of cattle is raised that is so adapted to withstand the rigors of the climate of the prairies, as the late lamented Buffalo was. Only another victim of merciless exploitation for profit, or as our chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade like to call it, "commercial development of the fur and meat trade."

On the Pribiloff islands, off the coast of Alaska, is the home of fur seals. They have been the cause of considerable friction between Canada, England, Japan, Norway, the United States and other nations, for capitalist groups in all of those countries wanted to "develop" the commercial assets that those seals carried along with them. There was just as intense rivalry between those groups of capitalists to get the hides of those animals as there is about the energy contained in the hides of cheap labour. Their commercial "development" meant profits to the capitalist. It meant considerable discomfort and threatened ultimate destruction to the seals.

Let me conclude with a few remarks concerning the B. C. fisheries. When the white man came to this coast, salmon was plentiful in the streams and rivers of this country.

At the bottom of the present "scarcity" lies commercial exploitation, greed for profit or "commercial development" of the natural resources, as our merchant princes would say. The fisherman is not to be blamed for the destruction wrought; it is the damnable system of production for profit, "commercial development" of natural resources.

From press reports it seems that my remarks regarding the salmon hold good for halibut too. Clam beds have vanished through exploitation for profit and crabs and lobsters will without doubt be eliminated on account of the same causes.

This destruction of the means of human subsistence will have to cease. Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade and other agencies advocating this "development of natural resources" will have to be eliminated. It is up to the worker to do this, to replace production for profit with production for use, or he will be eliminated himself.

H. KERSTEN.

Note: In our last issue the article "Emigration, from various angles," should have borne the name of H. Kersten.—(Ed.)

By the Way

THE eighteenth of March is the anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871. On that date, in the year '71, governing elements and administrative functionaries, the exploiters and auxiliary parasites down to the last pimp and prostitute had fled the city of Paris upon which a part of the everywhere victorious German army was advancing. Though thus left without customary authority and leadership, the masses of the people in Paris exhibited wonderful initiative and resourcefulness. They immediately decided to defend the city and elected new leaders and administrative bodies, and declared a commune of the people. When official and parasitical France and official and parasitical Germany heard of this they immediately dropped their mutual quarrel to join forces in the face of what both instinctively knew was a common enemy. The inarticulate masses, become articulate with a new social idealism and displaying an unaccustomed and portentous initiative, was a menace to the common interests of the upper classes and must be stamped out. Such malignants were everywhere and had better be taught a lesson; and now—or perhaps never!

So, a few days of unequal and sanguinary struggle over the barricades and the Commune fell. Then pitiless massacre, in which neither the appeal of women, of infancy, or hoary age, of sickness or wounds, was respected, while those who escaped found themselves in every land still fugitives from bourgeois hatred or the victims of bourgeois justice. Much water has run under the bridge since then and the working classes of all countries are learning, learning. The world, that sees history not as the record of a process but as a succession of isolated events, says that the Communards failed. We know the Communards failed—from that point of view. Yet by their action, their ideals, hopes, aspirations for the Great Society were sent down the years to us, in a tradition of heroic sacrifice, to reinforce our own. Thus even the very grave of such failures releases living forces for the final victory of the producing masses. After all, it is true that the things of the spirit are the really durable things of life. And on this anniversary, thinking of the Communards of '71, we shall all be moved—to honor our brave.

By association of ideas, I suppose the Russian revolution was brought to mind when I wrote the notes above on the Communards of Paris. Brooding over the two events, I wondered, particularly in the case of Russia, how much of divided councils, endless argument, jealousy, disappointment, indecision and consequent loss of valuable time, when crucial problems pressed to be dealt with, might have been avoided if long before the revolution the task ahead had been narrowed down, in the general Socialist mind, into an aim, definite, limited and plain, instead of as it was in most minds an ideal, vast, vague, "dim as dreams": if the difference in nature and function between aims, and ideals had been apprehended—

I shall get kicked out of the Party if I am not careful on this subject of plans. But here goes! I find great objection to the idea of setting definite and plain aims for the future among Party members. It is a practice considered futile to the point of viciousness. Much of the objection, I admit, is on valid grounds, but some of it I think is due to a prejudice which our school of social theory has inherited.

Historically, Marxian or Scientific Socialism, as a body of scientific theory originated as a revolt against the utopian theories of such early Socialists as Fourier and his Socialist or Communist colonies. Nevertheless, there are plans and there are other kinds of plans. Man is a planning animal anyway; you can't stop him. When the Russian revolution came it found everyone with a plan of reconstruction ready-made, so to speak, vague, no doubt, but

perhaps all the more pernicious for that. Communism they called the plan. When what actually resulted in Russia did not correspond to the plan they soured on the revolution and all its works, and called them "the same old capitalism."

That plans fail to materialize, often in detail and sometimes in general features, is no valid argument, it seems to me, against planning, but rather one for better planning on sounder grounds. Be that as it may, at least this much may be granted, that general discussion of such plans would eliminate the more absurd. How we may have to suffer from such absurdities witness Russia under the Communist experiment.

I have in mind, not inaugurated policies, wise or unwise, but divided councils, obstruction, etc., because so many people were in the way with plans in their head based only, or mainly, on mere certitude. Even in its extremist phase the Russian experiment fell far short of what many ardent communists would have instituted could they have swung the policies of the Party in power. Action, one way or another, was the outcome of an internal struggle between different elements within the Party. It may be said that subsequent events justified the policies adopted. Which may or may not be true, though I would like to point out that that may be only another way of saying that what has happened has happened. You can justify anything that way. Just so Hegel is accused, perhaps unjustly, of justifying the German State: "All that is real is reasonable, and all that is reasonable is real." The power knowledge gives us, however, is the choice of various alternatives for future action. So the proof of the wisdom of particular policies lies not altogether in the fact that they are in force or that they are having a measure of success. A better knowledge might have produced even better policies. We are laid under no compulsions by our determinist theory to bow down and worship what is, merely because it exists—even under a Socialist regime.

I am now approaching my point, if any. I think, then, that Socialists are at fault when they make no clear mental separation between their ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and the definite, limited aim of transferring control of economic powers from private hands into the hands of society as a whole.

The Co-operative Commonwealth, Communism, the Great Society or whatever you may name the ideal is not something we can plan and therefore can not make it an aim. In its nature the ideal is a matter of emotional appreciation, an appreciation of life's values. Broadly, the ideal society may be conceived of as one in which human beings shall find themselves free for continued growth, rising through revaluations to new appreciation of life's possibilities. Wrought into the texture of our lives the ideal is an inspiration, an emotional appreciation that can not be intellectualized, planned or aimed at. Therefore we should not allow the ideal to abstract us from the practical affairs of life living in it, adopting it as a compensatory dream-world for the evils of the present. By understanding this nature and function of the ideal we keep it in its place while we aim at some point in space, a little island in an infinite sea: aim at some obstruction to the realization of the ideal, which will follow in the natural course of events if the concrete definite aim is reached.

To illustrate: When a man is hungry he sets about procuring a meal and eats. What he is really doing is removing an obstruction to continued life activities. But the practical man takes no thought of that, keeping his attention on the immediate aim.

Our attention, as Socialists, should be concentrated on the immediate aim of transferring control

of economic powers to the community, a limited, definite aim in which are all the elements of plan and which is to act as the key to open the doors of opportunity in an ideal society not susceptible of being planned. So I see it. C.

Clarion Mail Bag

BY SID EARP

IN our survey of world affairs during the past few weeks, we feel that it is no exaggeration to admit that the study has developed from ordinary interest to intense fascination. Evidence of a distinct change in political thought in England is now clearly apparent, which no doubt, in the very near future will be productive of some remarkable situations. Although the existing order of social life is not seriously challenged, in so far as the private appropriation of wealth socially produced, is concerned, there is certainly a healthy and rapidly increasing demand for drastic reform measures. And now the policy of those who go in the name of Labor, is due to become popular and eminently respectable. So is it, that in silken hose and braided coats, with cocked hats and smirking faces, the representatives of Labor are already dining with the Royalty of England. For our part, we humbly confess to feelings of envy. Not so much do we crave for Royal associations, although we imagine the experience would be pleasing enough at that. At least they would not bore us to death by talking about work. But for once in our tortured life should we get a whack at some real grub, and thus are we envious and unashamed in the baseness of our desire. It may not be recorded in history, but assuredly it is our experience that all true and worthy revolutionists are good eaters—also ambitious drinkers. For this much are we glad, and if in due season we also get our legs under the royal dining table, our royal appetite at least should command approval and kindly indulgence. "Pass the pickles, Duke!"

In the meantime, it is our pleasurable duty to read the letters from the real men of the working class in our vast Dominion, and these are the avowed revolutionists. Few are their friends, and many their enemies, and our part is to give them, not maudlin sympathy, but practical support. The welfare of the common people in Canada, as in all other countries, can only be advanced in accordance to the degree of their knowledge of the workings of capitalism, as a social system. Let us then direct our efforts to the building up of a movement with a clear-cut revolutionary message to the working class.

Letters received since last issue are few in number, and do not require much in the way of comment. Winnipeg is represented by a brief note conveying good wishes and some financial support for the Clarion.

Two short letters come from Fiske, Saskatchewan, one of which concerns the mailing of the Clarion, and the other containing a dollar sub. Three dollars for subs. also come from Sovereign, Sask., Writing from Eyebrow, Sask., Com. T. Foulston makes very favorable comment upon Geo. Paton's recent article in the Clarion. He also sends in a sub. and promises to get a few more.

J. W. Douglas writes a nice letter from Anglia, Sask., containing a sub. to the paper and a contribution towards its maintenance. He urges us to keep on with our work, as the Clarion is the only source of information they have in that district. Also expresses much pleasure with the articles dealing with the farmers position, which have appeared lately. An encouraging letter comes from B. E. Polinkos, Seven Persons, Alberta, Local 108.

Comrade Polinkos says the Clarion is better than ever, also that the farm slaves are more willing to investigate our propaganda and listen to our speakers. He considers Lester to be an excellent propagandist, and hopes for another visit in the near future. Also states that they are trying to arrange for a summer tour in that district if speakers are available, and encloses nine dollars in subs. to the

(Continued on page 8)

Revolutions, Political and Social

By J. HARRINGTON.

THIRD ARTICLE.

IN the second article of this series the argument came to an abrupt stop in the closing ten lines. When we sent the manuscript to the Editor several pages were missing, hence the printer makes us say: "In those countries where Social development lingered the political forms had an opportunity,"—to develop and conform, etc. Instead of making a correction we will take up the story at this point.

In the first place, those countries which were destined for a late industrial development had been overrun by France under Napoleon. In attempting to throw off this yoke the feudal lords had made some concessions and innumerable promises, to arouse the only class capable of the task—the workers. When Napoleon was finally defeated, the promises were forgotten and many of the concessions were cancelled. That might have had small influence but for a new policy which developed, particularly in Austria:—The policy of Metternich involved the suppression of every branch or item of human knowledge which was deemed inimical to established authority. Again the intellectuals and commercials were to feel the heavy hand of a few feeble minded autocrats, this time, however, all Europe was affected: Professors, scientists, writers, were insulted and imprisoned, from the most harmless efforts to promote their professions. In Austrian territory a press censor took his station with the customs, and every book and paper was scrutinised to prevent any pregnant matter entering therein. Austria became a land as unknown as China.

The Metternich system, which reduced the newly granted and fear-born constitutions to impotency, was advanced on the pretext of defending the Christian religion and we are certain the Holy Alliance is too well known to all our readers to further delay us.

The first response to this treatment is seen in Paris. The Bourbons, after the Restoration, like the Stuarts in England, had learned nothing from the revolution, and following a series of heavy levies to repay the nobility for the lands they had lost, the constitution was practically annulled. Paris sprang to arms. The King imposed upon the French by foreign bayonets, was a fair sprinter, and carried his head to his grave. The revolution of 1830 was as bloodless as a Carlton Club soiree. The July revolution, as it is called, caused quite a stir in Europe, but the insurrections were all suppressed, and Metternich was vindicated.

From the commencement of the century, France and Belgium (which, by the way, in 1830 had successfully revolted against domination by Holland), had been importing from England every kind of machinery possible, and English mechanics were in demand everywhere. One, William Cockerill by name, had established a machine works at Liege, which exists today under his name; in 1840 these works had quite an output and were selling machines in Holland, Russia, France and Prussia. So that the machine age could be said to be then fairly on its feet. As an indication we offer the fact the Le Creusot, the famous gunmakers of modern France, were at this time employing 1200 men.

The story told of Stevenson's Rocket, when it knocked down the toll gate, and the affrighted toll-keeper stammered out "Nothing to pay," is emblematic of the historic career of steam. Turn from Western Europe to Germany and Austria and we find the old feudal restrictions almost everywhere. 75 per cent or over of the people on the land; almost requiring a dozen of their cities to equal Paris; machines here and there, but no machine plants. A recollection of the fact that when Charles Darwin left the shores of England in the good ship "Beagle," of blessed memory, the city of Berlin had not more than 30 steam engines averaging 13

h.p. each, might enable our readers to estimate the backward condition of eastern Europe.

The ironworkers of Germany anticipated Henry Ford; when they were not making iron they were making hay, and their days before the puddling furnace were not sufficiently long to make their hands forget their cunning at the flail. The land grubbers who worked occasionally in the mill were shortly to be transformed into occasional workers on the land, and but little later to have no more land than would cover their bones when dead.

In the meantime, while the machine was slowly making its way into Eastern Europe, a furious nationalistic fervor had grown up. Italy under Garibaldi and Mazzini fought for national unity and the overthrow of Austran domination; Hungary under Kossuth had a similar task in view; Poland was also hopeful, while Greece succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Turkey. Belgium we have already noticed, and the slaves were everywhere seeking freedom. The poetry and literature of this period abounds with panegyrics and apostrophies to an hypothetical Liberty.

Byron had died in the struggle for Greek liberty (!) but his words: "Yet Liberty, yet thy banner torn but flying streams like a thunder storm against the breeze"—still thundered through Europe. Shelley's sweet voice was stilled, but his "Men of England" roused many a dull spirit. Heine and Freiligrath still spoke, and everywhere a desire to break with the past prevailed.

The peasants were now feeling the competition from the machine-made goods of the West Germany, a country of many frontiers, where goods were held up and taxed, had in 1835 organized the Customs Union, the Zollverein, so goods passed freely and untaxed. The same year saw five miles of railway laid in Bavaria, the first in Germany, despite the solemn warning of the College of Physicians that it would cause headaches to travellers and spectators alike. Aches no doubt were experienced as a result, but the region in which they occurred was about eighteen inches lower, a small matter after all and proof that physicians were not always hidebound and purblind under new developments. This five miles of railroad had elongated to 500 in 1844, and to 1500 in three more short years, which brings us to another part of our story.

The King of Prussia died in 1840, the last of the Holy Alliance; Germany, Marx tells us, had awaited the event and expected from Frederick William the IV. all that had been promised during the stormy days of 1793 to 1812. They were disappointed. Fred had all his father's vices and a few more; he soon dissipated the Royal Exchequer, and then demanded more funds. He sought to restore all the feudal pomp and customs. Pomp and Customs of an age of bad roads and castles on the hill, with a young giant growing daily, in the shape of twin streaks of rust, and a few baby elephants in the form of Mathias Stinnes' tugboats on the Rhine. The Connecticut Yankee was no greater anachorism at the Court of King Arthur.

In his attempts to obtain money he encountered the law of 1820, which placed the power to grant levies in the hands of a Representative Assembly. The Assembly refused the money, and forthwith commenced a struggle between the old forms of government and the new requirements of the machine age. Beside the poetic Liberty of song and story a new intellectual monster had been born, Socialism. Saint Simon and Fourier had been translated into German and Weitling was native to the soil. The erstwhile land grubber, now proletarian, sought to prevent the lowering of his standard of living; this took the form of riots, which were pitilessly suppressed. Then came the famine of 1847, and here we have all the materials for a social conflagration. Extensive propaganda, lack of common

necessities of life, a Government willing and ready to exert "force, force, force, without stint," as President Wilson puts it, and as occasionally happens, no means wherewith to exert it.

Such was Germany in 1848; such was Austria, with a less advanced industrial life. Such, too, was France, with a much more, infinitely more, advanced industrial life. And to France we must now turn. But, as events of great magnitude were to happen within a few months, we had better leave them all sweltering in the ferment for a couple more weeks. This, besides lessening the strain on our readers' minds will add to the interest of the continuity of our story, as the villain still pursues her.

Note: In the last article of this series the word "towns" appears instead of "thrones:"—"Napoleon peopled the thrones of Europe," etc.—(Ed.)

At the time of writing there is a doubt as to whether the next war will break out in the Holy Land or in the Rhineland, but General Sir Charles Townshend, the hero of Kut, thinks the Holy Land has it. He himself is pro-Turk, and tells the readers of the "Sunday Post" (4/2/23) that:

"Mosul is part of Anatolia, and has never formed part of Mesopotamia or Irak, as the Turks call it.

Mosul—as I can personally bear witness—was in Turkish occupation at the time of the Armistice in 1918. We occupied Mosul after the Armistice in the same way as we occupied Constantinople, and we are still there.

I know Mosul, and have travelled over the surrounding district. I really cannot see the British Empire being dragged into a world-wide war for that dirty little town—oil or no oil interests.

By what right did the late Government calmly hand over Mosul to his so-called Majesty, King Fiesul, who could not remain five minutes at Baghdad after the British rearguard had left?"

Obviously a pro-Turk that fellow, a Saracen, a defiler of the sacred places, and without shares in Anglo-Persian Oil!—"Forward."

Socialist Party of Canada

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March 18th, Speaker: C. LESTOR.

Subject: "THE PARIS COMMUNE."

March 25th, Speaker: W. A. PRITCHARD.

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On a Piece of Chalk

By THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY

All this is certain, because rocks of cretaceous, or still later, date have shared in the elevatory movements which gave rise to these mountain chains, and may be found perched up, in some cases, many thousand feet high upon their flanks. And evidence of equal cogency demonstrates that, though in Norfolk the forest-bed rests directly upon the chalk, yet it does so, not because the period at which the forest grew immediately followed that at which the chalk was formed, but because an immense lapse of time, represented elsewhere by thousands of feet of rock, is not indicated at Cromer.

I must ask you to believe that there is no less conclusive proof that a still more prolonged succession of similar changes occurred before the chalk was deposited. Nor have we any reason to think that the first term in the series of these changes is known. The oldest sea-beds preserved to us are sands, and mud, and pebbles, the wear and tear of rocks which were formed in still older oceans.

But great as is the magnitude of these physical changes of the world, they have been accompanied by a no less striking series of modifications in its living inhabitants.

All the great classes of animals, beasts of the field, fowls of the air, creeping things, and things which dwell in the waters, flourished upon the globe long ages before the chalk was deposited. Very few, however, if any, of these ancient forms of animal life were identical with those which now live. Certainly not one of the higher animals was of the same species as any of those now in existence. The beasts of the field, in the days before the chalk, were not our beasts of the field, nor the fowls of the air such as those which the eye of man has seen flying, unless his antiquity dates infinitely farther back than we at present surmise. If we could be carried back into those times, we should be as one suddenly set down in Australia before it was colonized. We should see mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, snails, and the like, clearly recognizable as such, and yet not one of them would be just the same as those with which we are familiar, and many would be extremely different.

From that time to the present the population of the world has undergone slow and gradual, but incessant, changes. There has been no grand catastrophe—no destroyer has swept away the forms of life of one period, and replaced them by a totally new creation; but one species has vanished and another has taken its place; creatures of one type of structure have diminished, those of another have increased, as time has passed on. And thus, while the differences between the living creatures of the time before the chalk and those of the present day appear startling, if placed side by side, we are led from one to the other by the most gradual progress, if we follow the course of Nature through the whole series of those relics of her operations which she has left behind.

And it is by the population of the chalk sea that the ancient and the modern inhabitants of the world are most completely connected. The groups which are dying out flourish, side by side, with the groups which are now the dominant forms of life.

Thus the chalk contains remains of those strange flying and swimming reptiles, the pterodactyl, the ichthyosaurus, and the plesiosaurus, which are found in no later deposits, but abounded in preceding ages. The chambered shells called ammonites and belemnites, which are so characteristic of the period preceding the cretaceous, in like manner die with it.

But, amongst these fading remainders of a previous state of things are some very modern forms of life, looking like Yankee peddlers among a tribe of red Indians. Crocodiles of modern type appear; bony fishes, many of them very similar to existing species, almost supplant the forms of fish which predominate in more ancient seas; and many kinds of living shellfish become known to us in the chalk.

The vegetation acquires a modern aspect. A few living animals are not even distinguishable as species, from those which existed at that remote epoch. The *Globigerina* of the present day, for example, is not different specially from that of the chalk; and the same may be said of many other *Foraminifera*. I think it probable that critical and unprejudiced examination will show that more than one species of much higher animals have had a similar longevity; but the only example which I can at present give confidently is the snake's-head lamp-shell (*Terebratulina caput serpentis*), which lives in our English seas and abounded (as *Terebratulina striata* of authors) in the chalk.

The longest line of human ancestry must hide its diminished head before the pedigree of this insignificant shell-fish. We Englishmen are proud to have an ancestor who was present at the battle of Hastings. The ancestors of *Terebratulina caput serpentis* may have been present at a battle of *Ichthyosauria* in that part of the sea which, when the chalk was forming, flowed over the site of Hastings. While all around has changed, this *Terebratulina* has peacefully propagated its species from generation to generation, and stands to this day as a living testimony to the continuity of the present with the past history of the globe.

Up to this moment I have stated, so far as I know, nothing but well-authenticated facts, and the immediate conclusions which they force upon the mind.

But the mind is so constituted that it does not willingly rest in facts and immediate causes, but seeks always after a knowledge of the remoter links in the chain of causation.

Taking the many changes of any given spot of the earth's surface, from sea to land and from land to sea, as an established fact, we cannot refrain from asking ourselves how these changes have occurred. And when we have explained them—as they must be explained—by the alternate slow movements of elevation and depression which have affected the crust of the earth, we go still farther back and ask, Why these movements?

I am not certain that any one can give you a satisfactory answer to that question. Assuredly I cannot. All that can be said, for certain, is, that such movements are part of the ordinary course of nature, inasmuch as they are going on at the present time. Direct proof may be given that some parts of the land of the northern hemisphere are at this moment insensibly rising and others insensibly sinking; and there is indirect but perfectly satisfactory proof that an enormous area now covered by the Pacific has been deepened thousands of feet since the present inhabitants of that sea came into existence.

Thus there is not a shadow of a reason for believing that the physical changes of the globe, in past times, have been effected by other than natural causes.

Is there any more reason for believing that the concomitant modifications in the forms of the living inhabitants of the globe have been brought about in other ways?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us try to form a distinct mental picture of what has happened in some special case.

The crocodiles are animals which, as a group, have a very vast antiquity. They abounded ages before the chalk was deposited; they throng the rivers in warm climates at the present day. There is a difference in form of the joints of the backbone and in some minor particulars between the crocodiles of the present epoch and those which lived before the chalk; but, in the cretaceous epoch, as I have already mentioned, the crocodiles had assumed the modern type of structure. Notwithstanding this, the crocodiles of the chalk are not identically the same as those which lived in the times called

“old tertiary,” which succeeded the cretaceous epoch; and the crocodiles of the older tertiaries are not identical with those of the newer tertiaries, nor are these identical with existing forms. I leave open the question whether particular species may have lived on from epoch to epoch. But each epoch has had its peculiar crocodiles; though all, since the chalk, have belonged to the modern type, and differ simply in their proportions, and in such structural particulars as are discernible only to trained eyes.

How is the existence of this long succession of different species of crocodiles to be accounted for?

Only two suppositions seem to be open to us—either each species of crocodile has been specially created, or it has arisen out of some preexisting form by the operation of natural causes.

Choose your hypothesis; I have chosen mine. I can find no warranty for believing in the distinct creation of a score of successive species of crocodiles in the course of countless ages of time. Science gives no countenance to such a wild fancy; nor can even the perverse ingenuity of a commentator pretend to discover this sense in the simple words in which the writer of Genesis records the proceedings of the fifth and sixth days of the Creation.

On the other hand, I see no good reason for doubting the necessary alternative, that all these varied species have been evolved from preexisting crocodilian forms, by the operation of causes as completely a part of the common order of nature as those which have effected the changes of the inorganic world.

Few will venture to affirm that the reasoning which applies to crocodiles loses its force among other animals or among plants. If one series of species has come into existence by the operation of natural causes, it seems folly to deny that all may have arisen in the same way.

A small beginning has led us to a great ending. If I were to put the bit of chalk with which we started into the hot but obscure flame of burning hydrogen, it would presently shine like the sun. It seems to me that this physical metamorphosis is no false image of what has been the result of our subjecting it to a jet of fervent, though nowise brilliant, thought to-night. It has become luminous, and its clear rays, penetrating the abyss of the remote past, have brought within our ken some stages of the evolution of the earth. And in the shifting “without haste, but without rest” of the land and sea, as in the endless variation of the forms assumed by living beings, we have observed nothing but the natural product of the forces originally possessed by the substance of the universe.

(The End.)

ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

AS in former years, the members of Local No. 1, will pay a tribute to the memory of the working men and women of Paris, who in the month of March 1871 came out in open revolt against the treachery of a corrupt administration.

By reason of adverse circumstances, it is found that the celebration cannot be held until the last Friday of the month, March 30th; but this should not detract from the success of the affair. The Committee in charge of arrangements can be relied upon to do all that is possible towards making the evening bright and satisfying in every way. An orchestra will render classical and popular musical airs, dancing, elocution, solo and chorus singing will also be on the programme. Refreshments, suitable and in liberal quantity will be served. A limited number of tickets have been printed, and are now on sale. Party members are requested to hold themselves in readiness for any light duties on the evening of the celebration, also to assist in the sale of tickets.

Mark the place and the date: Belvedere Hall, corner of Tenth Avenue and Main Street, Friday March 30th, 8 p.m.

SID EARP.

Since the above was written, Comrade Harry Grand, secretary of Local (Vancouver) No. 1, has presented the committee with two magnificent art studies (floral) in oils, to be disposed of at the celebration gathering as the committee may decide, the proceeds to go to the Clarion Maintenance Fund. If “market value” may be estimated in relation to art products, its price form in this instance, we should judge, would not fall far short of \$100.—(Ed.)

NUTS FOR THE CRACKING

(Continued from page 1)

such as relief funds and the expenditures of tourists on their joy rides; also the buying of works of art: a case in point lately where J. D. Rockefeller bought valuable tapestries to the value of two million dollars. Then there is the payment of labor by the business interests of the creditor countries, which is given for services in the transaction of such work as brokerage, freight insurance and banking, advertising, and a lot of other necessary evils; "tips" and graft, etc. Or the payment of principal or interest on dollar loans and investments previously made by the investor, which take the form of a triangular operation whereby the debtor can become the creditor of another creditor and receive dollar exchange in return. But the opportunities of getting the dollar are growing slimmer. The two main avenues where the opportunity lies with the debtor nation are always attacked by the creditor nation, and that is in export and immigration remittances. Those are thoroughly controlled by the creditor nation, as is seen in the U. S. A tariff and immigration laws.

All channels and methods are failures; it is impossible for the debtor nations to pay. How will America pay off her obligations to the Liberty loan holders? There is the puzzle. France and Italy have reached the peak. Great Britain is near the top. Taxation is squeezing the middle and propertied classes in these countries, where they even resort to all kinds of tricks to evade taxation. The unemployed are getting greater in numbers, the doles increasing in proportion. In America today the password is property; there is no question that conditions are away above normal yet in this country. How long will it last, none can tell. They have their optimists by the score, but even such reports as the following will not save them; this is an example:—John Smith, a prominent citizen, died today; he had many friends who are greatly bereaved by his loss, but it will in no way stop the revival of business that is expected in the near future or the demand for goods that is reported by the merchant. Of course it does not state whether the buyer is operating on the new refunding plan or not, but this is regular American advertising.

Out of all the swill there are still left some competent surveyors and they are honest to the core. As they say, there is only one cloud on the horizon that endangers capitalism, and that is the collapse of Europe. And collapse she will. The U. S. A. will go down in the wreck along with the rest. The rotten supports are growing weaker day by day. The smash may come at any moment. Anarchy, chaos and starvation may be our future, no one knows. Production for profit has been an utter failure; history proves its inability to serve the people as a whole. Still the future holds all that is noble and grand; our salvation lies there, and the job is worth while. The emancipation of the proletariat is ahead; there is no inside passage. Sentiment alone will get us nowhere, there is work ahead (as Harrington so often explains.) It is a hard task, but it must be done. Our greatest obstacle is ignorance; let us break down the wall that obscures the mass from the liberty that is theirs. The long hoped for day may soon arrive; let us do what we can. Praying for fish never caught them. The road ahead is rough, and the workers are divided among themselves. We must make Socialists; opportunists only cloud the issue, and they have also to be exposed, no matter where the hammer drops. The worker has nothing to lose, but all to gain. Let him investigate, let him learn. Be you his teacher; explain the many contradictions in capitalism to him and when the dawn of the new day breaks let us stand solid as one class with our banner unfurled. Equality for all!

Get interested in the Socialist movement, you owe it to yourself. There are stacks of books written on the various subjects dealing with Socialism; understand them, and prepare yourself for the fight. Knowledge is the fountain of life; possess it and you will have done a part of the task.

R. SINCLAIR.

CLARION MAIL BAG

(Continued from page 5)

Clarion. Good work, boys, we like your style! Write again!

Com. W. Robertson sends three dollars for the Maintenance Fund from Haynes, Alta.

A fine letter comes from Com. G. Beagrie of Swallow, Alberta, containing two subs. He speaks well of Lestor's return meeting and enquires after Frank Cassidy. Writing from Carmangay, Alta., Comrade J. A. Untinen encloses a sub. to the Clarion, and makes brief comment upon affairs in that district. He says the workers show signs of doubt in their ordinary beliefs, and are becoming more susceptible to our point of view. He is trying to introduce the Clarion wherever it is possible to do

Two subs. come from Empress, Alta., also one from Cardston, and a dollar for the Maintenance Fund. Com. Kolden sends a brief note from Swallow enclosing five dollars in Clarion subs. Fine work! An order for literature comes from Botha, and one sub. from Millet, Alberta.

Com. Geo. Donaldson of Stanmore, Local 110, writes for ten copies of the pamphlet "The Present Economic System." A weekly study class has been formed and they have persuaded him to act as instructor. He sends kindest regards to Charlie Lestor.

An enquiry for literature comes from Oxville, Alta., which will be dealt with by the Editor. Writing from Seal, Local 87, Com. Jorgenson sends in a sub., and two applications for membership. A nice letter comes from Com. Orchard of Kamloops, who sends in a sub. to the Clarion and comments upon things in general.

From Northern B. C. Comrade Lindberg sends in an order for literature. Renewal of Clarion subs. come from Sointula and Victoria, B. C., also a literature order from Ocean Falls.

Writing from Lund, B. C., F. W. Moore expresses much satisfaction with Leckie's pamphlet "Economic Causes of War," likewise the work "Structure of Soviet Russia." He also asks for Lissagary's "History of the Paris Commune."

Com. Frank Williams writes to inform us that he is due to leave Des Moines, Iowa, in the near future. Efforts are being made to hold a large meeting in the Labor Temple, at which he is to be the speaker. He hopes that his efforts will result in a local being formed, and also the present study class continuing. Com. Williams is bound for Calgary, where we imagine a hearty welcome is awaiting him. This finishes the "Mail Bag" up to the 10th March.

HERE AND NOW.

WE sometimes think it would be interesting if some enterprising cuss were found, having a sufficiently sound acquaintance with it and born in the duration of time to familiarly describe the comfortable features of the elusive dollar. In our halcyon days—the days of our youth needless to say—we used to venerate the pounds, shillings and pence attainments of Tim Linkinwater, counting-house factotum for the Dickensonian Cheeryble Brothers,—deft, able and willing, and constantly engaged in handling a plentiful supply of all comers in currency,—£. s. d., Spanish doubloons and pieces of eight.

We had ambition in those days and we have it yet, though now grossly adjusted and abridged. Our present ambition is to quit competing with the Salvation Army in the sing-song for another penny, and we are not without hope.

Worse luck, however, we are without the other penny, and worse luck again the penny is multiplied into dollars. We're like Dick Swiveller, who was so sadly sunk in the straits of credit that he had only one more thoroughfare left that he could safely and comfortably traverse. That's us, or we—if you are particular about the "case."

Our "case," however, although in the reader's eye we hope it is an "objective case," is a serious case and not a grammatical case at all. All there is to in that regard is a weak inflection.

Did it ever occur to the reader to look at the number on the address label of the Clarion, sent by

mail? If we had every dollar that is overdue we wouldn't have to howl so much, and it costs two cents to send a postcard of reproach. Look it up and do your own reproaching. Our figures as per the following are staggering. Staggering, we mean, with weakness as they present themselves:

Following \$1 each: J. W. Douglas, C. F. Orchard, H. Lahti, E. W. Churcher, J. T. Stott, H. W. Speed, W. Woolridge, H. Holt, C. E. Scharff, T. Foulston, A. Jorgenson, G. R. Ronald, M. Goudie, G. A. Brown, Walter Wilson, R. O. Robson, John Marshall, T. B. Miles, H. Christians, T. Regan, J. Eslinger, Edwin S. Robinson.

Following \$2 each: H. Dorsch, G. Beagrie, Geo. Zimmer, Fred Harman, F. Cusack, J. Emery, A. Woodhall.

H. M. Thomas, 50 cents; J. A. Untinen, \$1.25; Fred Kissack, \$3; B. E. Polinkos, \$9; C. J. Kolden, \$5. Clarion subs. from 1st to 15th March, inclusive—total, \$54.75.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

"C. S.," 53 cents; J. W. Douglas, 50 cents; R. O. Robson, \$2; Wm. Robertson, \$3; St. John Comrades, per M. Goudie, \$9.

Following \$1 each: Peter T. Leckie, E. W. Churcher, H. Holt, T. B. Miles, A. Woodhall. C. M. F. receipts from 1st to 15th March, inclusive—total \$20.03.

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