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FIVE CENTS

## The Baldwin Ministry

BY J. T. W. NEWBOLD.

WHEN in the autumn of last year, the Tory Die Hards overthrew the Coalition Ministry and compelled Lloyd George to make way for a Conservative Government, the man whom they selected as their leader, Bonar Law, was only a stop-gap. He was to act as leader during the period of transition from rule by a continuation of the whole of the forces of big property in land, finance and industry, to rule by the forces of passive capitalism in league with the landed aristocracy and the clique around the King. When Lloyd George resigned office, there went with him those Conservatives who stood for a more aggressive imperialist policy, consonant with the interests of British industry and Commerce, rather than for a reactionary ascending policy defensive of the class rule of the old governing classes of Europe and of America. Bonar Law, persona grata as he was with American high finance was not so friendly disposed towards the imperialist assertiveness of France under its militarist-monarchist leadership. He was comparatively acceptable to the newly enriched land speculators, mining engineers and railway contractors around Lloyd George. They and the supporters of Bonar Law had made Lloyd George Prime Minister of Britain. Bonar Law continued to perpetuate within the new Tory Ministry something of the nouveau riche imperialist tradition of Lloyd George.

He and the Marquis Curzon stood for British self-assertion against France in all that affects the iron and steel trade and for assertiveness against France and everyone else who challenges British expansion in Asia.

The Marquis Curzon, an impoverished aristocrat until his cynical marriage with an American heiress, owed his advancement to his peculiarly intimate knowledge of the Middle East, particularly Persia. His Oriental scholarship and remarkable personal capacity obtained for him the chairmanship of the Imperial Bank of Persia, a British banking company, incorporating a syndicate of creditors of the State of Persia, who, in turn, owed their opportunities in that quarter to the fact that the two principals amongst them were Court favourites and financial friends of the late King Edward viz.—Sir Edward Sassoon and Baron Reuter.

Curzon relinquished his directorship of the Imperial Bank of Persia when he became Viceroy of India. Every high placed Indian bureaucrat has friends in high financial circles and the Marquis Curzon has never been without his share of these useful aids to political advancement. At once, a man of brilliant attainments, of aloof disposition and a boundless ambition he has been elevated from rank to rank in the peerage until now he stands at a level to which no other tool of the imperialists, not even Milner or Balfour or Reading, has been raised. He is a Marquis. There is only one honour that he has yet to gain—a Dukedom.

To whom does he owe his advancement and for what services were his dignities conferred? He owes them to a King, personally and devotedly attached to his cousin Nicholas and his Aunt, the ex-Empress Dowager, fearful above all things of the spread of Bolshevism, never happy unless surrounded by his troops or escorted by our potential Fascisti,

the British Legion i.e., a monarchist organisation of ex-servicemen whose motto is—"For King and Empire."

The Foreign Secretary has had vanity satiated by his King, in order to make him the more willing to serve as a mask behind which the King, the Queen-Mother, the ex-Empress and all the Court clique of generals, admirals and flunkies can carry on manoeuvring opposition to the recognition of Soviet Russia. In this country, the constitutional theory is that the King is not responsible for his actions. It is notorious that the actions of ill-will to Russia are those of the King and the Court, but the responsibility is the Marquis Curzon's.

The Marquis Curzon stands in our political life for unmitigated reaction abroad and at home. He stands for the patronage of Mussolini and the prosecution of relentless hostility to Sovietism or Socialism in any form other than that of the craven and treacherous opportunism of Snowden, Clynes and Thomas.

The menace to the British governing class and the whole property system is not however, as yet sufficiently grave to make it wise for the King, at this juncture, to appoint his mask as his Prime Minister.

The more immediate task is to practice economy in the public finances and to maintain British imperialist prestige, whilst not provoking the active opposition of either France or the United States.

The King and the collection of emigres and sycophants who crowd the Court, may desire to launch the diplomatic prestige and the strained man power of Britain at Moscow and Angora in an endeavour to restore the Danish brood to thrones and dignity in Russia and Greece, but the British bourgeoisie has no such intention of allowing its substance to be dissipated and its mastery over the masses to be shaken on a fool's errand of that character.

Therefore, whilst they may approve the King's patronage of Sir Benito Mussolini and are willing to exploit his inveterate hatred of the "Reds" to cajole Soviet Russia into making more and more concessions to Leslie Urquhart, the British banking and mercantile class has no desire to raise a hornet's nest throughout the entire East by breaking with Russia.

They may be pressed into doing so by their King or fooled into doing so by agencies operating in the press, whether consciously or unconsciously, on behalf of Standard Oil or the Banque de Paris. These latter would utilise a break-off of relations between Britain and Russia as an opportunity for themselves to take Britain's place in Moscow's good graces.

The British bourgeoisie, therefore, has demanded not Curzon, but Baldwin.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin was, until he became a Minister of the Crown, a Director of Lloyd's Bank, of the largest railway company in Great Britain and of the family firm of Baldwin's Ltd. His father and grand-father before him had been successful ironmasters in the Midlands industrial area to the west of Birmingham.

Stanley Baldwin has been more associated with the financial manipulation of his family's economic power. Politically, he has been an attache of Bonar Law, himself an attache of Joseph Chamberlain and the rival of his son, Austen Chamberlain.

It will have been observed that Mr. Baldwin did not include in his Ministry Sir Robert Horne, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Mr. Lloyd George. Sir Robert Horne, there is reason to believe, was asked and refused to take office. The excuse he gave was that his business undertakings would not allow him to do so. Sir Robert Horne was and is a lawyer who owes his advancement in the world of politics to the fact that his father was the parish minister in a mining area (Slamannan) where the all-powerful magnates were the most influential firm of Scottish iron and coal magnates, the Bairds of Coatbridge in Lanarkshire. He was known in business circles in Glasgow prior to becoming a member of Parliament, as "Bairds' man Friday." Lloyd George promoted him from office to office until he became his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Horne was and is a Unionist.

Sir Robert Horne is, now, chairman of the reconstructed firms of Baldwins Ltd. and a director of Lloyds Bank. His group of interests desires a settlement of the Reparations Question and a favorable conclusion to the negotiations in connection with the Russian Trade Agreement. He and they are shrewd enough to realise the foolishness of breaking off relations with Russia and, at the same time, to understand the value of such a threat in making a bargain with Russia.

Stanley Baldwin is, like Lord Derby and other conservative leaders, notoriously friendly towards France and desires a closer political rapprochement which, of course, means an understanding whereby British and French interests shall jointly take over and exploit the Ruhr in lieu of the payment of impossible Reparation claims. As is everywhere always the case, the rentier and other passive elements of the property class are willing here in Britain to enter into negotiations with the foreign banking interests of Paris, in order to drive a better bargain with the industrial and commercial interests of their own country. Sir Robert Horne stands for a prominent British industrial control in an international consortium to exploit the Ruhr. Poincare stands for a prominent French industrial consortium to exploit the Ruhr.

Stanley Baldwin—and, probably, Loucheur—stands for a 50-50 British and French interest in an international consortium to exploit the Ruhr. Since Lloyd George, the Earl of Balfour and their colleagues were sent out into the political wilderness and aggressive British imperialism yielded place to an attitude of "tranquility" in foreign relations, there has been visible a distinct orientation of American and British imperialism towards each other and against France.

In the near East, France, which was the friend of the National Government of Turkey, has been losing influence in that quarter where her economic claims were being countered by those of the

(Continued on page 8)

# By the Way

## A Discussion on the Idea of Violence

Cleveland, O., June 12, 1923

Editor, Clarion:

Dear Comrade,—

While reading "By the Way," in last issue of the Clarion, I was rather impressed by an over emphasis in the writer's zeal to counteract the idea of violence in political change. This animosity towards forceful displacement of a ruling class appears as a reaction to the single-track brains and their romantic, would-be revolutionary call to armed action.

Force, indeed, does not play the important role that these men thought it did. From history's viewpoint, changes in the mode of production and its technique stand in the first rank. Force is but "midwife" between the old and new order.

It was remarked that "As to the future, he is a bold man who predicts. But it can be laid down that there is no particular outcome pre-ordained" True. Still, if events are not "pre-ordained," it does not prevent us from learning the lesson history teaches. We know that so far, no ruling class has yet given way without a fight, and we have no sound reason to hold that the future has such a surprise in store that we may give up the struggle against the ruling class before they are defeated. The capitalist surely will not turn over his wealth to the working class unless he is compelled.

There is no denying the necessity of reaching the mass of the working class, not with pet nostrums, whether they are co-operative banks, government ownership, industrial action, parliamentarism, or force, etc., but with the fundamentals of Socialism and a proletarian interpretation of events. Yet, we should not forget that we do not ordain the sequence of events.

To ensure common action, there must be unity of purpose and reasonable agreement as to methods of procedure. It can be safely said that there are no two minds alike. In the development of the working class mind towards Socialism, we must remember that the individual reacts in different ways and degrees to varying stimuli. Economic, social and political conditions are not of even tenor anywhere.

The emphasis of an anti-force sentiment is rather out of place if we know that even when we get the great majority on our side, though previous to working class rule these are all socialist (strictly speaking, a thing practically impossible) there remains yet the not to be ignored antagonist: the remainder of society—the bourgeoisie, its apologists, still deluded workmen and farmers.

Though historically force is a secondary factor, the actual struggle demands that at times it be given prime attention. And while abstractly (and abstractedly) shouting for violence will no great harm to our movement, to go the other extreme will do no good.

"Examining the concept, you will see that the thought of cataclysm involves also thinking of inertia—in nature, the rigid crust of earth;" when an earthquake occurs, it appears to be a sudden thing; The suddenness, without apparently any direct causation permits us to term the event a cataclysmic one. This does not do away with the fact that after careful examination, we find causation. The cataclysmic effect is the result of one of two opposing forces breaking the resistance of the other. When the break does come, it comes with greater force the more formidable the opposition.

And so in political revolution. They appear suddenly. Yet a variety of interacting causes are tending thence. Fundamentally, it is the result of the opposition between social production and capitalist appropriation. The latter acts as a fetter on the former

"Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the

material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic, in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."

The social revolution is not cataclysmic, far from it. It marches onward even while fettered by capitalist property relations. It tends to slow down it is true. Yet it moves. When the powers of government have been torn from the hands of the master class, the proletariat frees the forces of production from its obstacles, but there is no break in social development. The latter does not start anew where it stopped. It simply increases the pace.

Not so, at a given point, with political transformation. The ideas of the mass corresponds with a given social and political development. But the ideology of a given period is that of its ruling class. However, the working class attains its own ideology independently of the bourgeoisie and is impelled by conditions going from bad to worse. The struggle takes on a critical aspect. The political rule of the bourgeoisie emits its death rattle and expires at the hands of an advancing proletariat. Here is a break. Where formerly the state functioned for the capitalist and hindered the progress of social development, now it works for a working class and furthers social evolution.

Changes, no matter whether they are social, political, economic, or earth crust, have their antecedent connections. But, there is a difference between the quietly changing technical basis of society under capitalist guidance and its culmination: a no longer enduring proletarian onrush against the mainstay of its slavery.

BERNARD TAMARKIN.

\* \* \*

AT this writing I am unable to find a copy of the Clarion containing my article which gave occasion for Comrade Tamarkin's letter. I think, however, that my reply will repeat in the main my previous contentions on this issue raised, with some further remarks conceived to strengthen my argument. A few words before I begin my reply. I realize that among thinkers upon any issue, general agreements, however close they may be, only are possible, partly because of the difficulties lying in the scope and complexity of the social problem and partly because each as an individual has necessarily his own personal angle of vision and strives to reason as objectively as he may. Therefore I myself do not for that reason lay down the law as the final word, though convinced of the rightness of my argument, just now at any rate. My purpose is to raise thought and discussion so that we may all learn from each other's contribution to discussions. Therefore I am more than pleased to have drawn Comrade Tamarkin into a reply to myself.

I still remain unrepentant in regarding as worse than futile any dependence on violence of the scope of civil war as a means of putting into effect revolutionary aims. I maintain this attitude because I have taken account of other than merely military considerations which are involved in such a struggle within the highly dependent populous city-civilization of our modern national communities. Those who think lightly of civil war in these communities have not, I think, given much thought to consequences, and perhaps are not aware that of all kinds of warfare civil wars are always the most bitterly and atrociously fought. Moreover, the life of modern communities hangs on a thread. We live under a credit economy international in its arterial ramifications. Production languishes where credit is impaired, or ceases where it stops flowing. Under stimulus of the world market production for exchange with a view to exchange of products with foreign communities has resulted in all communities, both local and national, being dependent upon each other. A break in this traffic of goods on credit

between one community in which a revolutionary civil war prevailed, and all the others, would bring starvation to millions, and the more highly developed the community economically and thus more dependent on its foreign relationships, the worse would be the plight of its people. Russia's experience would in them be magnified manifold where they have no vast peasant economy to fall back on, which saved the Russian people from even a worse fate. If, during the war, Germany was cut off from foreign markets and supplies, at least there was unity within her borders for organizing a self-supporting economy of a kind. But an economic blockade and civil war would soon destroy a modern community. The military means of today are without example in mobility and destructiveness. Our comrade seems to resign himself hopefully, even if regretfully, to the prospect of civil war when he says that "We do not ordain the sequence of events." I, myself, however, see no hope for the revolution, but rather see the destruction of the communities in such a prospect.

True enough our powers are limited for averting such calamity, nevertheless it is our function to influence the course of events along as rational ways of procedure as possible. Having assumed the responsibility of propagating revolutionary ideas and building up and stimulating disposition and sentiment for social change, I hold that we also assume the responsibility to those we so influence and to society at large, of locating and pointing out both the dangerous and futile and the alternative constructive ways and means of change. When Comrade Tamarkin points to the lessons of the past without also mentioning the lessons that might also be got out of a study of the present social situation for what is in it, he leads me to think he fails to give it its due importance. But it is vital that we should study the present because the nature and forms of changes are always determined by the facts of the immediate present in which the changes occur. Arguing for the fact of progressive small changes in history, my remarks on the concept of "inertia" as used in conjunction with the cataclysmic theory of change, which Tamarkin refers to, were no denial of the principle of causation, having reference only to the grosser inertia of nature compared to human inertia and to the danger of the terms originated in describing phenomena applied to the phenomena of social change. In regard to the continuousness of change, I am inclined to agree with a suggestion I have read somewhere that the conditions of our kaleidoscopic modern life are influencing the human race more and more into a habit of looking for change. The complex nature of modern social life, however, may make great organizational adjustments even more difficult and seems to point to better chances for smaller ones.

I am convinced that any proposals for drastic and far-reaching social changes must have the support of an immense majority of the people to be put into effect, and that the proposals would fail if a considerable minority were not willing co-operators in the change, would still fail even though the minority felt themselves too weak to risk the chances of civil war. For a revolutionary or a labor party in power on the strength of a mere majority or even a fairly large majority to attempt to put into effect such large-scale changes would be suicidal. Coercive military power can not change wholesale, settled, habitual ways of life nor create the dispositions and habits of thought necessary for the extended co-operative life of the commonwealth of the future. Military power, as with economic power, does rest finally on the fact that the people agree, on the whole, with the purpose for which those powers are exercised. And with anything less than that agreement military power would be ineffective for change. The matter is somewhat different when military power is used in maintaining a status quo to which people are habituated than it is in changes

that must be, in any case, largely experimental and entail the abandonment of accustomed ways of life and interests by large strata of the population, and the adoption of unfamiliar ones and perhaps some temporary hardships.

I have contended in a previous article, that the order of change is one of gradualism, made inevitable by the inertia of social habit and the technical difficulties and other considerations involved in economic reorganization. As it happens, it is just this taking up of the smaller issues of immediate economic needs as first things first, of which history is so full, which makes it difficult for the reactionaries to unite upon a single issue as important enough to plunge their communities into the waste of civil war while yet the numerical strength on their side might warrant them taking the risk. Providing the drift of social necessity continues against them, their support among the population will continue to become weaker. In such a posture of things it would be folly for the progressives themselves to precipitate civil war to gain their ends. Their policy should be to avoid it and to continue to appeal to the people on the basis of the practicality of their proposals, and to look to it that those proposals constitute attacks on the institutions and privileges of the parasitic exploiting class and aim for the transference of social powers to the community from private control. In accordance with the principle of causation, such small institutional changes become the formative factors in the social environment, strengthening disposition to a co-operative social life and inculcating habits of thought that would become in turn fresh levers for further change. Measures conceived and put into effect along these lines, the spreading of knowledge on the social problem, an advance in the economic organizations of the working class to a more and more clearly defined purpose of using their power and influence on behalf of revolutionary change, the transition may be a comparatively peaceful one, and certainly more constructive because the great masses of the population have been won over rather than coerced over to the side of change.

"The pious wish of a humanitarian." I hear some one say, and I might retort in kind. But when the charges of psychological motives have passed back and forth and the smoke of battle clears away, there still remain the merits of the question of the ways and means of change in this 20th century china shop of a fragile civilization. Like the metaphorical bull, primal instinct battling there would make sad havoc.

As a lead to other phases of the subject I pose the question, Can human nature be changed? Let me answer by quoting from a review of Professor Ogburn's "Social Change," a book published by B. W. Huebner, New York, which I recommend: "Professors Ogburn and Josey find, in common with the so-called 'culture historians' that man's native endowment is not nearly so elaborate, or so determinate as the last twenty years have assumed. For them the world's accumulated culture is the important factor in 'human nature' and social relationships. Man's original endowment is but an undifferentiated framework upon which education, acting through the community life, hangs the culture of the ages. Human nature cannot be changed; at least not greatly. But that is a matter of no consequence. Civilization can drape the same original human nature with amazing varieties of culture. These differences in culture arise out of the variant factors that have surrounded any particular race in its development of its culture. These factors are geographical, climatic, material; accidental contacts with other peoples and the accidental selection of certain results for survival; the slow accumulation of the ages. . . . Man (considered socially) is not a biological being, he is a cultural being. His history is not determined by putative instincts, but by the accumulated realities of his culture. If he were primarily instinctive he would remain essentially stationary. But culture breeds more culture. Humanity grows, progresses. Culture invents new forms of culture. The steam engine invents the steamboat, and the steamboat invents the ocean liner. Arithmetic invents algebra and algebra in-

vents the infinitesimals." So, if we include in human nature his acquired social habits or culture, the human nature is always in process of change while ever native instinctive dispositions are subject to modification according to the character both in kind and amount, of the material and non-material culture.

The faith in violence as a sovereign remedy seems to me to rest on a faith in instinct, as though it were reasoned that self-preservation or group need dictates in all times and conditions the same unvarying responses. But how much of what was once decided by physical combat is now referred to arbitration or the show of hands. Such conduct does not always follow from fear of legal penalties, often its cause is sheer habit inculcated by a common heritage or custom. After long and strenuous agitation, much distress in the manufacturing districts, a potato famine in Ireland and discontent everywhere had brought about in 1846 the abolition of the corn laws in Britain, favoring the landed and agricultural interests, those interests, though a novice in considerable section of the population, either in influence or numbers, submitted nevertheless to a public opinion massed against them. The act was felt at the time as a serious blow both to the agriculturists and the aristocratic landlord class and was generally recognized as a political triumph of the manufacturing interests. It is worth noting that a Tory ministry, the party of the landed interest, introduced the bill, though in doing so they lost a considerable portion of their following. The bill was passed by the support of the Liberals. What mixed motives inspired the Tory ministry, fear of growing discontent at home and fanned by revolutionary outbreaks on the continent, the identifying of their well-being with that of the community as a whole or whether their Toryism was moderated by interest in the manufacturing industry and cheaper bread for factory slaves, it would be hard to tell, but they lost office at the next election for their pains. Since those times a close approximation to a universal franchise has been established in most countries and restrictions on the formation of workers' economic organizations largely abolished. At any rate the franchise is extensive enough to gauge the opinion of the masses and for them to obtain control of the political means of the state in constitutional ways formerly not at their class's command. These ways are here as part of the historically developed mechanism of modern social life. But, so far, sufficient numbers of the working masses have not yet tested that mechanism in behalf of revolutionary change—not being ready.

In the meantime, the active elements of the working class movement, like all minorities, have the task of education and agitation to gain a majority support and the working class the benefit of such influence on the policies of the political state as their representatives on public bodies may be able to exercise. Passive resistance, boycotts and strikes are other weapons in hard pressed need against the tyranny of exploiters and the indifference of unheeding majorities.

Before concluding I think I should draw attention to one other cultural feature of the peoples of highly developed modern communities which differentiates them from the peoples of other times and more archaic modes of life. Comparatively, the people of this day and date are an opinionative people beyond precedent. Consider the teeming city life and the consumption daily of printed matter, newspapers, magazines and other kinds of literary output bought outright or circulated by the libraries, much of it having an educational and propaganda intent. Consider the "movies," the theatres, the broadcasting machines, the 'phone, the telegraph, the phonograph, the fashion of dealing with public questions from the pulpit, the bench and the forum, the speechifying at Rotarian banquets, Boards of Commerce meetings and during electioneering campaigns. Consider the schools, colleges and universities. Consider the vast amount of travelling by motor car, train and boat. In olden times there was comparatively little travelling, the small local communities were self-centred, the people illiterate. News and views about events

and personalities and movements in the outside world percolated slowly, in small amount and of little detail into their stagnating life. Now it is flashed in telegraphic despatches from the ends of the earth to every community, enormous quantities of it; significant and insignificant, relating to trade and commerce, politics, science, social affairs and every conceivable subject under the sun. Willynilly we are constantly prodded into opinion. This is a cultural situation in which we are kept mentally on the jump and opinion blows among the population in gusts and great gales. The moral is that unless the revolutionaries have this opinion with them they will find it against them in instant, active, positive forms. When the issues we raise are at stake there are few indifferent neutrals in modern life.

I am no pacifist, neither is my animus against the concept of violence due to any consideration for the feelings of the ruling class. It arises from a desire for the successful forwarding of the social revolution. The boyish talk of violence in connection with social change closes the ears of large masses of the population against the arguments for our cause, creates hostility where it does not create cold indifference, and thus gives both opportunity and excuse for Fascism. Out of that, reaction may triumph as it has triumphed many a time in history to the undoing of civilizations and may do so with this one. The intent of the program of revolutionary socialism is the improvement of the lot of man. Watch then, that we ourselves are not among the agents of its defeat.

This reply to Comrade Tamarkin puts the promised article on a Labor Party out of the question for this issue. C.

#### MR. DOOLEY ON PROSPERITY.

Yes, Prosperity has come hollerin' an' screamin'. To read th' papers, it seems to be a kind iv a vagrancy law. No man can loaf anny more. Th' end iv vacation has gone f'r mann'y a happy lad that has spint six months ridin' through th' country, dodgin' wurruk, or loafin' under his own vine or hat three. Prosperity grabs ivvy man be th' neck, an' sets him shovellin' slag or coke or runnin' up an' down a ladder with a hod iv mortar. It won't let th' wurrudd rest.\* \* \* It goes around like a polisman givin' th' hot fut to happy people that are snoozin' in th' sun. "Get-up," says Prosperity. "Get up, an' hustle over to th' rollin' mills: There's a man over there wants ye to carry a ton iv coal on ye'er back." "But I don't wan to wurruk," says th' lad. "I'm very comfortable th' way I am." "It makes no difference," says Prosperity. "Ye've got to do ye'er lick. Wurruk, f'r th' night is comin'. Get out, an' hustle. Wurruk, or ye can't be unhappy; an', if the wurrudd isn't unhappy, they'se no such a thing as Prosperity."

## ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JULY 16, 1923.

## GUNS AND HUNGER.

**T**HE Nova Scotia provincial and the Dominion authorities alike seem anxious to avoid responsibility for assembling troops in the Nova Scotia strike area, and they appear to be equally anxious to avoid the responsibility of ordering them out. But all officials of these governments involved assert that they are willing the troops should be withdrawn by proper procedure and by whatever department has the proper authority. In the meantime they remain, apparently expecting and perhaps hoping for trouble.

The wages of the miners in the employ of the British Empire Steel Corporation were cut 37½ per cent in January 1922 and there has been unrest ever since. By the end of last year the wage scale had come to something like 20% below the 1921 rate, the 1921 rate being aimed at by the miners' organization but resisted by the company, the latter being sustained by a display of force, and the miners weakened by the hunger process.

It is quite a recognized practice, now widely followed by those whom we may describe as the excitably hopeful reds, to exhort strikers everywhere to resist the oppressor, rely upon mass action, down the reactionaries, and so forth,—all familiar stuff and well meant as a moral sustainer. The condition the Nova Scotia miner is interested in at the present time, however, is the resumption of the 1921 rate and he considers good or ill the slogan or catch cry, whatever it may be, as he judges it will help to restore that condition. The rest is liberty in the abstract.

In their fight the miners have certainly recruited the sympathies of all workers in Canada, including even the Executive of the Trades Congress. There remains out of sympathy with them Mr. Lewis, Int. President of their own organization, the U. M. W. of A. It is an index of this man's sympathies that on the complaint of the Corporation's president that the N. S. miners had broken their contract he admonished them by wire before consulting their side of the case which charged broken agreement against the company. Such like proceedings breed only the extremism in the union which Lewis & Co. would rather see blotted out. In the meantime two of the district officials of the union, Livingstone and McLachlan, have been arrested and are now on bail. The respect given to these men by the miners of Nova Scotia seems to be as wholehearted and unanimous as it is well deserved, considered, at any rate, from the standpoint of sincerity as workers' representatives.

It will be recollected that Marx wrote in 1851: "Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented by outworn institutions from satisfying itself. The want may not yet be felt as strongly, as generally, as might ensure immediate success; but every attempt at forcible repression will only bring it forth stronger and stronger, until it bursts its fetters." The government of Canada will do well to economise in the matter of military display. There were troops in Nova Scotia last year, which settled nothing. It is well to note too that personal arrests of miners' spokesmen, with advice concerning amendments to the criminal code, do not at all dull the aches where

there is not enough bread and butter to go around. The government still palavers about locating the responsibility for the ordering of troops to the strike area, and wonders at whose behest they were sent. Our first guess is the British Empire Steel Corporation. No palaver about them. Their driving force is profit production and by the rules of the game they know that stomach hunger, if not appeased, looks more reasonable under the gun.

Force never settles anything we know, but it seems to prevent some things from being settled.

## HERE AND NOW.

We count our blessings Here and Now more in sadness than in anger. We conclude that our form of cajolery in the effort to shake up the financial paralysis in Clarion readership need cause no competitive anxiety to Dun Limited.

There is but one ray of hope. We were asked the other day what was meant by Here and Now,—from which we gather that we have not made ourselves clear. Here and Now means Clarion Subs. When that explanation had reached the understanding of our enquirer he hurriedly departed. And he took his dollar with him.

Of course, we know very well that the psychologists have the intellectual Right of Way these days, and one of these days the behaviourists will get round to a study of why Clarion readers don't interest themselves sufficiently in Clarion subs. This is really of more importance than the difference between the herd instinct and the fox trot.

Our financial totals, however, considered as a magnitude, are of no importance whatsoever. Argument can be built up on anything but on that there is no room for dispute. To wit:—

Following \$1 each: H. Kersten, W. Smith, J. Wedin, G. W. Davidge, T. Richardson, H. Arnold, E. G. Birch, R. Watt, J. Emery, C. Lestor, J. Chrystal, J. C. Blair.

J. Mackenzie \$3; S. R. Smith \$5; Fred Harman \$5.

Above, Clarion subscriptions from 28th June to 11th, July, inclusive, total \$25.

## Clarion Maintenance Fund.

W. Smith \$1; E. Rhodes \$1; J. Chrystal \$1; W. Ridout \$2; J. Wedin \$1.04; W. Welling \$3.85; St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie) \$9.50.

Above, Clarion Maintenance Fund contributions from 28th, June, to 11th, July, inclusive, total, \$19.39.

## PICNIC—VANCOUVER

By all accounts the last picnic gathering was the occasion of enjoyment all around. The next is on the order sheet for July 15th.

**Directions:** As before, assemble at noon at Kitsilano Beach. Women bring sandwiches and cake only. Tea, coffee, ice cream and fruit will be provided by Local No. 1, and a collection taken to defray expenses. Sports for kids. Community singing will be a feature.

## THE MOULD OF PSYCHOLOGY.

BY WILL BAYLISS.

**T**HERE is much talk and there are various opinions upon the importance or otherwise of psychology; especially relative to the changing of capitalist society to a form of society commonly termed "the social commonwealth." That too much importance can be attached to this condition of mind—a psychological class consciousness—is impossible. Too little importance is often the rule. A class conscious worker has the necessary psychology, and is—providing he or she understands why class consciousness thrives—ready for the revolution. There are, however, other class conscious people, these, ranging from the bourgeois-minded slaves to the big financiers. The latter are class conscious because their interests demand it. There are others in this class whose interests—though ranging to a very small proportion relative to the big financiers, create a capitalistic psychology. But it is very mys-

tifying when we consider the bottom dog; the propertyless proletariat; the dependent many who, though living on the verge of starvation still remain, psychologically, slaves possessing in sufficient quantity their master's interest; so much so that, when masters quarrel, they are ready to defend the particular interests of the master class.

Why is it that the workers are so slow in grasping the reflex idea resulting from international socialised production? We have to admit that production is already socialized to a great extent. That is, the basic commodities are social products of an international character. To mention a few producers, the farmer, transporter, quartz and coal miner, coke burners, smelter men and steel workers are absolutely necessary in the face of modern production in order to produce steel rails. Steel rails are, you see, a social product. Catalog in your mind almost anything and the social nature of its production process will at once become apparent. Then why is it the average worker still retains a bourgeois psychology,

To be brief, there are many reasons, but, a few only must suffice. First: Experience is a sure road to travel, and the customs which grow out of experience are hard to overcome. Second: Experience is an untried path and commends great caution. It has a mighty influence, not only upon production, but upon the social outlook of the life of society. It supplies the capitalist class with weighty problems which have culminated in the modern army of unemployed. Every experiment, scientifically applied, swells the germ of communism. The soil is always enriched by the application of experiment. To counter-balance the effect of social production upon the minds of the workers, an intensified class education is necessary. Third: With the expansion of trade and the application of machinery to production, the worker has been ruthlessly separated from the means of production. This tendency, which is ever widening, should cause a distinct difference of interests between owners and non-owners of the means of life. It would, but again the forces at the master's command are set in motion. To keep the workers busy thinking about anything besides their real position in society, the larger concerns patronise and encourage all sorts of hobbies. They range from Sunday schools to prize fighting. Everything is commercialised, even music, literature, art and all kinds of sport; this in order to occupy the minds of the workers during the time they are not employed. It is an important part of the modern slave's education because of the time limit of employment per day or week. Were we working twelve hours per day there would be no need for recreative stunts. All these things have a great influence in the building up of the psychology. To undo the effect of these mighty forces is a task not alone for men, but for conditions; in fact, man plays but a small part in changing, by teaching the psychology.

Fourth: The complexity of modern society to the average worker is somewhat of a mystery. Having been taught nationalism, it is very difficult to grasp the international significance of capitalist production. But although the character of production plainly dictates the form of society best suited to it, there still remains a contradictory element, and that is the form of private ownership. The ownership title of the means of life is THE weapon or mould which shapes society in all its aspects. It does not, however, succeed entirely. There have always been, ever since civilization appeared, men who have spoken the truth and analysed the activities of society. In the main, however, it succeeds in moulding the necessary psychology for its existence. The problem becomes more difficult in the declining stage of society. At this stage, in this age, Imperialism is the ideal force brought to bear upon the minds of British workers. It will succeed for a time, and bring us a point nearer the Commonwealth. The conflict between social production and private ownership will become, under Imperialism, more acute. Markets diminish as international capitalism expands. Unemployment spells stagnation and bankruptcy. To counter-act the evil of real starvation on an international scale will be the task of modern capitalism.

# Census Analysis

BY C. STEPHENSON

IN a spare hour spent browsing in the magazine section of the Vancouver Public Library I happened upon a digest of the last Canadian Census (1921) returns in the April "Edinburgh Review." The author of the digest, J. A. Stephenson, a Canadian journalist, is a frequent and well informed contributor of articles on Canadian public affairs to various journals, both in America and Great Britain.

As I remember, his digest seemed principally made to show that in Canada, as elsewhere, our modern civilization exhibits a marked trend in population to herd together in towns and cities. The significant, portentous feature of this trend is that in many countries, the cities are growing at the expense of the country; there is an absolute decrease in their rural populations. Some of the provinces of Canada, principally the older settled ones, exhibit this feature. The last census shows the rural and urban populations as now equal, with an absolute increase in both, though the increase in the urban since 1891 is out of all proportion greater than the growth of the rural population. This shifting movement of population has in it many points of interest for the Socialist student of the social problem. I therefore made the following abstract from the article in question, as, though worth it, it was, with the author's running commentary upon the statistics, too long for the limited columns of the Clarion. One more matter before I proceed with the statistics. Now that the census returns have been published and issued to the libraries, I think it would be a good thing if some one would make a digest of the population by vocations and occupations, the comparative standing of such groups to each other and places of location in the distribution of the population. The daily work day habits and interests of life are the great formative factors of habits of thought. And we sadly need such exacting statistical data on the population in Canada to use as a basis for our theorizing upon the problem of social change in this country. I suggest the Clarion management donate a prize to the best effort along some such lines as I have mentioned(\*) Now for the population statistics. All comments, except one initiated for myself, are the author's.

Total population, 1871—3,689,257; 1921—8,788,483; increase, 5 million, or over 238 per cent. Ontario and Quebec have greatest increase: Quebec, 98 per cent by fecundity; Ontario, 80 per cent. by immigration.

## Shifting of Population From Rural Life to Urban

1891—3,296,141 rural to 1,537,098 urban: 1921—on a parity, 4,435,710 rural and 4,352,733 urban: greatest change in Quebec: city of Montreal greatly developed: water powers for electrification and pulpwood resources have given rise to scores of little industrial towns: rural population declined by 304, and urban increased by 355,725. In Ontario, since 1891, rural population has declined 70,000; today's standing is—rural 1,226,379; urban 1,707,283; yet today, with increased local market and superior transportation facilities to both home and foreign markets the agrarians are probably worse off than ever—mortgaged to the hilt (C.S.). The author here digressed into an argument against the eastern policy of protecting factory industries by tariffs, quoting Sir Robert Giffen to the effect that the growth of an urban civilization is possible without factories. The author further credits this au-

thority with calculating that a purely rural population will demand a complementary urban population of professional men, artisans, people engaged in transportation, finance and distribution and other auxiliary types of at least half its own number. In his digest the author lumps Manitoba and Saskatchewan together because Winnipeg, largest city of the West, is the distributing and transportation centre for both provinces: Manitoba and Saskatchewan—rural, 887,054; urban 480,241; Manitoba's urban population mainly in Winnipeg, 200,000 out of 261,616: of its towns only Brandon exceeds 10,000. New Brunswick's and Saskatchewan's rural population still double urban. In British Columbia rural population shows distinct sign of growing, two-thirds of immigrants choosing rural occupations. Nova Scotia shows, he says, depressing tendency to industrialism: In 1891 only 17 per cent. classed as urban, in 1921, 43.34 per cent; rural population has declined in 30 years 75,000 or 20 per cent. New Brunswick has an alarming decline in farmers, partly balanced by people engaged in lumbering and allied trades.

## Numbers of Chief Stocks—1921

British	4,869,000
French	2,452,782
Austrian	107,671
Belgian	20,234
Dutch	117,506
Finnish	21,494
German	294,636
Greek	5,740
Hebrew	126,196
Italian	66,769
Polish	53,403
Russian	100,064
Scandinavian	167,359
Ukrainian	106,721
Other Europeans	59,312
Chinese	39,587
Japanese	15,868
Syrians	8,282
Other Asiatics	2,177
Indians, North American	110,596
Negro	18,291
Unclassified	24,705
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,788,483</b>
British	4,869,000

Foreigners 3,919,483

(J. A. S.) No attempt was made to enumerate separately people of American birth. There must be several hundred thousand of American birth. But many of them are descendants of Canadians. In taking the census natives of U. S. are treated exactly as native Canadians, and asked to record their own racial descent. Majority of American born therefore come under the classification of British.

British stock in the decade between census taking has increased its preponderance from 54.1 per cent of total to 55.4 per cent.

\* \* \*

British stock one-half English origin, remaining half Scotch and Irish. Of the latter, one-half from Ulster.

\* \* \*

The census returns do not bear out Asiatic scare in B. C. Total Chinese and Japanese, 55,455 roughly 50 per cent. more than figures of 36,795 in 1911: East Indian population declined half in decade: Jews increased 75,681 to 126,000; Dutch more than doubled, 54,986 to 117,000; Germans declined from 393,320 to 295,000. Much of decline ascribed to descendants of German emigrants finding it useful to conceal racial stock owing to prejudice due to war. Native born Canadians account for three-fourths of population—78 per cent., the British born 12 per

cent, and foreign born 10 per cent. In B. C. British born are strongest, 31 per cent. of total. The foreign born, due to steady invasion of American farmers, reach their highest percentage in Alberta, where they are 30 per cent. of the total.

In Ontario the emigration of factory workers and artisans has brought the British-born element up to almost 20 per cent. Two of the largest hives of British born are Centre Winnipeg and East Calgary. They return the only two Labor members in the Federal house.

**Largest Cities.**—Montreal, 618,000; Toronto, 521,000; Greater Montreal, 700,000. No other city has attained 200,000 mark, but during past decade Ottawa and Hamilton have joined Winnipeg and Vancouver in the 100,000 category. The aggrandisement of large city has not proceeded at same pace in Canada as in U. S. In 1920 U. S. had 25 per cent. of population in cities over 100,000, but Canada only 18.87 per cent.

Under the terms of the British North America Act, a redistribution of Federal seats must follow each census. This will register a shift westward of political power. By the Act it was arranged that Quebec, for the purpose of electoral arrangements, should be the pivotal province of Dominion. To prevent the growth of an unwieldy House of Commons, Quebec was given a perpetual quota of 65 members. The electoral unit is thus determined by dividing the population of the Province of Quebec by 65. The unit thus obtained in last census was 36,283, as compared with 30,818 in 1911.

Nova Scotia will lose two members, but is putting up a strong fight for amendments to the Act. Other provinces, including Prince Edward Island, have saving clauses. There is a provision that no province must have a smaller representation in Commons than in Senate. P. E. I. has four in latter house and thus is entitled to the same number in Commons. Ontario ought, according to figures, to lose one member, but escapes under another clause. The four western provinces gain between them a total of 12 members. This will likely benefit the Progressive Party. The protectionists are apprehensive of a dangerous increase of free trade influences at Ottawa, and as a counterpoise are demanding that the unit of rural representation be brought up to the same level as the urban. Hitherto all parties have accepted the principle that the electoral unit for rural constituencies should be appreciably smaller than the urban, and as a result the six cities of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Hamilton and London with one-fifth of the population have today one-tenth of the membership of the Federal House. The rural members who control the situation are unwilling to give up their advantage, but in the end probably some compromise will be reached.

While the political power of Quebec has shown a relative decline in the last thirty years, French Canadians have found some consolation in the trickling of their stock into other provinces. Election experts calculate that today French Canadians control almost one-third of the 245 Federal seats. But the most striking phenomenon has been the growth of the political influence of the west. In 1882 the four provinces sent only 11 members to Ottawa; by 1904 their contingents had risen to 28; but to next parliament there will come 69 members from the territory lying west of the Great Lakes. Fear of a prospective majority for the west inspires many people in Eastern Canada.

(\*) We shall be very glad to have such a digest, and recognize its need. The "prize" suggestion, so far as monetary worth is concerned, is a hard one to entertain. We are very sure, however, that the same measure of appreciation accorded on behalf of Clarion readers to Com. Stephenson's efforts here await similar industry from any other. As "The Plebs" folk say: "You get your reward in heaven." —(Ed. Clarion.)



# Revolutions : Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

## Ninth Article

**A**FTER the invasion of the Palais Bourbon by the Luxemburg Assembly and the brief hour of dictatorship we found the proletariat deprived of their leaders, and it might be just as well to state that French revolutionary governments always housed themselves in the palaces of their kings. The Palais Bourbon, though never a favorite home of the Bourbons, houses today the French parliament. The Luxemburg Palace, a much older building, was the home of the Medici queens of France, and is today the meeting place of the French Senate.

Following the fiasco of May 15th, the Socialist Parliament was dissolved, and the revolutionary leaders either fled from France or were imprisoned. The closing of the National Workshops meant trouble, but as Bourbon, Orleans and Buonaparte factions were always ready to seize a chance to enthrone their king, the Palais Bourbon Assembly had to select a military hero who had not been purchased by any of the three contenders. The "National" staff had already contributed generously to the government, having monopolized the best jobs. Even its duelling bully, Sergt. Major Thomas, who was to find a place in history some eighteen years later (shot by the Commune), found his services in demand. The "National" now contributed one more saviour of society. One of the editors, Cavaignac, had a brother who was sergeant major in the African army. The paper and its hirelings boosted this old savage who, even for a sergeant major of the line was notoriously bad, into prominence, and he was appointed general, then given command of the National Guard, and later became head of the entire military forces of France.

The mobilizing of an army which could be trusted under all circumstances was his task. And with the utmost care Cavaignac proceeded. The National Guard was considered safe, being composed of the business and professional classes. The Guard Mobile was doubtful, being largely recruited from the down and out section of the working class. It was also feared that the National Guard of the working class districts might go over; perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say it was feared they would not. Finally the troops were located, armed, prepared and at their stations. In fact Cavaignac had purposely removed the army from the most dangerous sections of Paris, to insure an uprising of a desperate character. The government protested in vain, their timid souls could see nothing but folly in making the business so hazardous. Cavaignac, however, was master of the situation and of them at whom he snarled and sneered, but went his way regardlessly. To him the only consideration was that the uprising should be a real one. And his only fears were that the army would not be required. The savage deliberation of this affair, common enough too, in history, and quite capable of being repeated, should never be lost sight of by the workers. The entire machinery of the government was in action; perhaps a hundred and fifty thousand disaffected workers in Paris, with a few scattered thousands in the provinces, without arms, without organization, without leaders, have been engaged but four weeks since beating each other with clubs and stones (May 15th, the closing of the Workshops had brought the workers into one camp). Against them the government had fifty thousand troops of the line, the National and Mobile Guards another hundred thousand, armed to perfection, organized and drilled to the minute, with leaders of long standing, and all France to draw on for reinforcements; small wonder the martial gentlemen entertained doubts of a genuine insurrection. The entire situation on June 22nd should be included in the intellectual furniture of every worker. A very significant feature is the entire absence of those flamboyant war cries gener-

ally found among revolutionists whose ardour decreases the nearer the revolution approaches, who chant meaningless phrases and plan retributive vengeance, usually upon members of their own class; who take great satisfaction from the noise they make, and mark revolutionary progress by its volume.

The members of the Luxemburg and the delegates of the workers in the National Workshops issued a proclamation on June 18, before the closing order, but during the period when chaos reigned. When, as eye witnesses relate, they were wheeling dirt from one pile to another and back again, the events of the past month had not been lost on them. We give only a part:

".....Reaction..... scatters gold abroad. Beware friends! Wait, wait but a few days more, with that calm you have often shown and wherein lies your strength. Have hope for the times have come; the future is ours; do not encourage by your presence demonstrations which are 'popular' only in name; keep clear of these stupidities of a past age.

'Believe us, listen to us; nothing is now possible in France but the Social and Democratic Republic.

"The history of the last reign is terrible. Let it not be continued. There must be neither emperor nor king. Nothing but Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Long live the Republic."

This was issued three days before the workers going to draw their relief money were confronted with the order to starve and be damned. Four months previously they had established the Republic, arms in hand. They had been induced to surrender their power, and after a few very generous concessions had received endless rebuffs, much humiliation, and little else. They had a knowledge of their power, the recollection of the July days of 1830, of the February day of 1848, when, with the National Guard they had made their will felt, not thine, oh lord!

Of the June insurrection very little can be learned from proclamations, writings, or reported speeches of the proletariat; their leaders were, as we have already stated, either in hiding or in jail. In one proclamation, issued perhaps June 22nd but undated, the fact that "... we, trusting in their word abandoned our barricades. In four months, what have they done? They have broken their word, and not fulfilled their promises," is noted.

The demands outside of "A Social Republic," were very conservative. And as both Marx and Engels remark, they were not clear what a Social Republic meant. A second proclamation, dated June 26th, the day of defeat, gives no added information. It states that in "defending the Republic we defend property," probably an answer to the war-cry of the Party of Order. It demands "the Social and Democratic Republic"; calls on the workers to give support to the battle wherein so many have fallen. The childish comments of the Press of that period offer no information. We had, if we never have anything else, the Winnipeg strike as proof that the Press is the most worthless source of information extant on matters relating to labor troubles.

The French bourgeois were prepared then for a few hours' disorder. Victor Hugo arose on the 20th of June and counselled the workers to cause no further trouble. He accused the government of creating vagabonds and lazzaroni out of the virtuous Parisian laborer, demanded that Socialists cease preaching anarchy, pointed to the prosperity in London, stated that capital fled from Paris (how familiar all this sounds), in face of the fact that the workers were being deliberately goaded to revolt, but we shall see this same rebel later, in another role.

On the 21st, after the proclamation, the workers proposed to the government that a monster banquet

be held. M. Marie gave permission, with the sinister comment that a more suitable day or place (opposite the Vincennes fortress) could hardly be named) as a grand review of all the troops in Paris would also be held and they would thus have an opportunity of renewing their acquaintance with their brethren of the Workshops. The banquet was not held. On the 22nd 3,000 men from the Workshops were ordered to leave Paris, meal tickets, and a little money were provided for food and bed. They left in the morning, but before noon a large number returned and demanded to see the Executive. The government allowed four to interview them. Marie, sure of his ground, again cynically goaded them, and when they returned to the waiting, hungry, desperate, and badgered workers they were not in a state to consider consequences. The real earth, old, unquenchable material for a revolution had been carefully prepared and the match was now applied. The uproar following the deputation's report was soon taken up in every part of Paris, and in an hour a mob surrounded the Town Hall. There the matter was openly discussed, and from there they departed to prepare to resist the orders.

The government brought up its troops to commanding positions, the National and Mobile Guards being covered by regular troops, but enough scope was allowed the workers to organize. The night passed in noise and excitement, but in peace. The morning of the 23rd the drums called the National Guard to arms (general assembly), at nine o'clock the Faubourg St. Antoine, famous in revolutionary history, had erected a barricade; later a company of the National Guard passing down Port St. Denis encountered a barricade being built, and the first shots were fired. After being driven back twice the barricade was carried. But the bourgeoisie were to learn that independently of the word weavers who had been the accredited leaders of the workers, a determined and desperate campaign had been planned, loop holes had been cut in all the houses and walls had been cut through, so that as one barricade was lost the retreat to another was covered by a hail of lead from the upper storeys of the houses. Large quantities of arms had been obtained and a few companies of the National Guard in the proletarian sections had gone over to the workers. The Guard Mobile, made up of the lowest section of the workers, the slum proletariat, of whose fidelity grave doubts had been entertained, remained faithful to the government, but before night fell the vastness of the task was apparent, and Cavaignac was proclaimed dictator. Troops and artillery were rushed to Paris, and Europe breathlessly awaited the news. The 24th dawned and the barricades levelled the previous day had all been restored. The workers had also seized some cannon during the night, and women and children had been busy making bullets for the muskets. By evening Cavaignac announced that the situation was well in hand; the morning of the 25th gave him the lie.

The Archbishop of Paris attempted to stop the slaughter. He proceeded in his sacred vestments to the barricades in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and directly in face of the firing, walked up to the insurgents. Firing ceased, but while he was speaking a shot was fired and he fell wounded in the groin. No one that we have read accuses the workers of this act; he was picked up by them and hurried to a house behind the barricades, where he died. The fighting continued and the dead and wounded assumed the proportions of a decisive battle between nations. Three generals of the regular army were killed, a record, so far as our information goes, and certainly beyond anything the later war records.

On the 26th the heavy artillery had reduced the barricades and houses of the last survivors in

(Continued on page 7)

# The Story of the Evolution of Life

BY T. F. PALMER.

THE story of Adam and Eve, our supposed first parents, was almost universally accepted throughout Christendom until the day of Darwin. The legend of the creation of plants and animals contained in the Book of Genesis was, until the year 1859, received as the inspired utterance of "God" by all save a few exceptionally thoughtful men and women. But with the progress of scientific discovery in many departments of Nature, this time honoured tradition was seen to be untrue.

The deepest of all the students of animate Nature was Charles Darwin who, in 1859, after prolonged and patient reflection over the problems presented by the world of life, at the age of fifty, submitted to the judgment of mankind the results of his stupendous labours. These results were published in his now world-famous volume the "Origin of Species."

The testimony of all the various branches of science to the truth of the new evangel which Darwin, his fellow-workers, and disciples, made manifest to men, produced a revolution in human thought which is certainly without parallel in the history of civilisation. Although Darwin and his adherents were denounced, hated, and bespattered with evil reports by clergy and laity alike, the large browed author of the "Origin of Species" serenely continued his enquiries, and in less than half a century the entire educated public was prepared to acknowledge the truth of the theory of evolution. When Darwin died in 1882, his body was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey, where he lies by Newton's side; his statue was placed in our magnificent British Museum in Bloomsbury, and it now occupies the seat of honour in the main staircase of the more recently erected Natural History Museum at South Kensington.

Our object is to state, in clear and easily understood language some of the arguments, and to submit a few of the very numerous evidences of the truth of the doctrine of modified descent. Some of these most remarkable testimonies are met with in the remains of extinct plants and animals discovered in the rocks. Those rocks which yield traces of past life are termed stratified rocks, and consist of substances which have been slowly laid down by the action of running water, or through the influences of the atmosphere. Embedded in these, are found the remains of the animals and plants which lived in the period when they were formed. The fossils preserved in these rocks carry us back for many millions of years, in most cases to times before men, apes, birds, or even mammals, such as the dog, elephant, ox, and horse had come into existence. In the rock record we are able to trace, to some extent at least, the marvellous changes in the living world which have been proceeding from the dawn of life to the day in which we dwell.

This treasury of vanished life is far from complete, but as the years roll by, very many of the gaps in the geological deposits are being filled in, and every new discovery lends added support to the vast array of evidence already possessed relating to the transformations that time and circumstance have wrought in the plant and animal domains.

Nor need the imperfection of the geological history of the earth's past population awaken astonishment. The vicissitudes to which the earth's fossil bearing crust has been subjected have blotted out so many priceless records of the past that it is perhaps surprising that our information is so great. And, above all, when we are reviewing the imperfection of this record, we must remember that vast volumes of the earth's history lie buried fathoms deep below the level of the sea, and that huge masses of our rocks have been so transformed by the ceaseless action of running waters, and the internal movements of the globe itself, that the simplest and most primitive forms of life have entirely disappeared. Again, the preservation of the earliest modes of life has been prevented by the perishable

nature of the substances of which they were composed. The plants and animals which first appeared on the planet's surface consisted of soft materials and even in later and more solid organisms, as a rule, only the harder parts such as the wood and seeds of plants, and the bones and shells of animals have survived in fossil form. Moreover, thousands of feet of sedimentary strata are practically inaccessible to the seeker after fossil remains, as these rocks lie so deep below earth's surface. Yet, fragmentary as these fossil relics are, the light they throw on the story of life's progress leaves no reasonable doubt as to their real meaning. Considering the extremely small percentage of our planet's deposit so far examined, and the richness of the results already obtained, we may confidently await future discoveries as certain to furnish much fuller evidence than at present possessed.

The facts so far gleaned from the rocks establish the general conclusion that there has been from the genesis of life to the present period a gradual and upward development of organic forms. When Darwin propounded his theory, his critics seized upon the admitted absence of many links in the chain of development as the most powerful objection to evolution. Many of the links then missing have since been found, and all the arguments originally urged against evolution have long since been abandoned. But it was said that at least some instances of transmutation in plants and animals should be forthcoming, and eminent scientists in several parts of the world began to explore the rocks for the demanded evidence. In this they have succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations, and scarcely a season now passes without important and far-reaching discoveries being brought to light.

As already said, the hard parts of organisms are those most likely to be preserved. Horns have been found in abundance, and these appendages characterise animals that chew and cud—the Ruminants. The sheep, the ox, the antelope, and the deer are well known representatives of this group. The distant ancestors of these animals were without horns. Now, at a later stage, in what are termed Miocene Times, there lived, as their remains prove, antelopes possessed of puny horns; and these horns have been shown to have increased step by step among the ever increasing species of antelopes, from that far distant period to our own age. Evidence even more conclusive concerning the progressive increase in the size and shape of horns is provided by the deer family. In the early part of the Miocene Period the deer were quite destitute of horns. A little later, small two-pronged horns had been evolved, and arising from these, deer with three-pronged horns were developed, while in the still later Pliocene Period, deer bearing four-pronged horns came into being. Next in succession appeared deer with five-pronged horns, while in the deposits of our own Norfolk forest beds, the horns of deer as stately as those of living forms have been unearthed. The ancestral history of the stag is not yet so complete as the early single-horned form remains to be discovered, but the consecutive stages of development from an ancient two-pronged stag to the richly spread antler of the modern stag have been demonstrated from remains recovered from recent deposits.

Among other excellent illustrations of progressive change, Professor Le Conte adduced the evolutionary growth of the tails in fishes. The tail fins of fishes are of two kinds. Some possess even lobed tails, while others carry appendages of an uneven form. The even tail is found in our bony fishes such as the mackerel and salmon, while fishes with uneven tails like the sharks and others, are far more ancient in origin. In the modern bony fishes the backbone ends where the tail begins, and this organ is spread out like a fan. Now with the primitive sharks and strugeons, in whose bodies cartilage occupies the place of bone, this cartilage is prolonged through the back fin or tail to its extreme end, tap-

ering to a point. It is significant that the modern bony fishes with even tails betray their ancestry by passing, in the course of their development from the young to the adult state, through a condition in which their tails resemble those of long extinct ancestral species. There are solid reasons derived from the study both of the fossil records, and the development of living fishes from the egg stage to maturity, to satisfy the scientist that the tails of fishes were first vertebrated and even, and then some assumed the uneven form we find in the shark and others, while in the later and more specialised fishes the tail is composed of fin rays which extend beyond the termination of the backbone. The facts revealed by an examination of the fossil remains with those disclosed by the studies of embryologists, who watch the growth of animals from their procreation to their birth, suffice to prove that this forms the true story of the fish tribe. As Le Conte puts it: "The family history is repeated in the individual history."

(To be continued in next issue.)

## REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

(Continued from page 6)

the struggle when they received Cavaignac's summons to surrender.

"Workers and all who are yet in arms against the Republic; for the last time I exhort you in the name of all that is respectable, holy and sacred to man . . . .

"You have been told that cruel vengeance awaits you. Only your enemies and ours speak thus. You have been told you will be sacrificed in cold blood. Come to us, come as expectant brothers submitting to law: the arms of the Republic are open to receive you."

The white flag was hoisted a few hours later, and the workers laid down their arms.

Following which Cavaignac again addressed himself to Paris:

"This morning the emotion of a struggle was proper and inevitable. Now be great in peace as you have been in war. In Paris I see conquerors and conquered: may my name be accursed if I ever consent to see victims."

Brave words, but how can we qualify the deeds? The insurgents were shot indiscriminately for days, crowded into small rooms, in the sweltering heat, tormented by guards as though they were wild beasts, and the happiest fate awaited them in transportation to tropic penal settlements.

In all some fifty thousand were killed and wounded during the four days' struggle. And after—the workers shot and transported, dying of disease and by suicide, soon solved the unemployed problem. When Cavaignac addressed the Assembly on July 3rd, his eloquence is somewhat subdued, but his sincerity unquestioned. The Minister of Finance would shortly lay before them a series of decrees, some of which were intended to restore confidence in the government's sincerity to, among other things, "afford labor to the operating classes." What princely generosity! What a god-like atonement!

After four months of semi-warfare the final battle had been fought and lost. Not alone were the workers of Paris defeated in that desperate four days' battle; all Europe went to defeat with them. The attempt to seize political power had been forced upon them and they had failed. Had they been successful in that grim strife they would still have had some thirty millions to conquer before proclaiming themselves masters of France. But they did not weigh the matter; they were forced by a series of culminating events to stage that great working class tragedy. And whether we like it or not we find the same circumstances prevailing on every page of history: the onus of battle does not rest with us, but with our masters. And for those supercilious snivellers, supreme in their cheap and unwarranted superiority who exclaim "The dirty swine won't fight," we recommend a review of the history of their class.

Eastern Europe in our next, to follow the events there and see the effects of the disastrous struggle we have very briefly retold.

## THE BALDWIN MINISTRY.

(Continued from page 1)

American concessionaire, Admiral Chester. Behind him was, undoubtedly, denials notwithstanding, the Standard Oil Company. Under the pressure of other circumstances connected with the British debt to the United States, the Government of the latter, was able to induce the British to make concessions of a political character, affecting the financial administration of Persia and to allow the Standard interests a participation in oil tracts in that country.

Meanwhile Stanley Baldwin has been to America and has arranged a settlement of the British Treasury's debt to the United States Treasury and to the bankers of New York. When the United States Treasury has issued script to the New York bankers to the amount of the U. S. claim on the British Treasury, the said bankers will sell these to the investing class of the whole world and the bondholders will have secured a sixty years' claim on the British taxpayer guaranteed by the U. S. government, a claim to be settled not in £ sterling—which may depreciate very rapidly "when Labour rules"—but in gold dollars.

Baldwin has made a contract with American high finance agreeable not only to the latter but, also, to Baldwin's own class, the British section of the international bondholding fraternity. Baldwin has, it is most important to observe, asked to become his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Reginald McKenna, the chairman of the largest of all the British joint stock banks, the London Joint City and Midland Bank. Mr. McKenna has been to America just after Lord Balfour wrote a very displeasing note concerning the British Debt to America. Immediately on his return to England, this life long Liberal, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Asquith's Ministry, went upon the platform of a political meeting addressed by Mr. Bonar Law in the City of London.

Now, passing over the conservative Austen Cham-

berlain, Baldwin has invited and secured as his second in command, Mr. McKenna.

Baldwin and McKenna, the two men who negotiated the contract with the American creditors, are to be the two men to administer "tranquility" in such a way as to assure "economy" and to make sure, not only that the creditors get their money, but that British finances are so re-organized as to ensure that the debtors have the best of the bargain so long as the British bourgeoisie maintains control of the British Government machine. By concerted action alike on the economic and the political planes, the banking oligarchy of this country, has been winning its way back to its former pre-eminence in the financial City of London and the governmental City of Westminster.

The Banking oligarchy is determined to consolidate its power at home and to prepare to assert once more its prestige abroad. Stanley Baldwin is orienting the policy of Britain towards France. This does not mean that either the problem of the Ruhr or the question of the Straits and of Mosul is near to a settlement. What it does mean is, that the triangular contest between Britain, France and the United States for the mastery of steel, coal and petroleum is entering upon another phase. France is in financial difficulties. She is being pressed by her creditors, i.e., by the United States. American steel capitalism has no intention of permitting French high finance to unite the iron ore of Normandy and Lorraine with the coking coal of the Ruhr unless American big business is permitted to enter as a participant.

British high finance knows this and knows that French high finance also knows it. Severally, they are, if weaker in volume of money, stronger in the experience of handling in conjunction money power and state power.

Already in the near East, a British group comprising Rothschild (the ally of "Shell" oil), Schroeder (the ally of Anglo-Persian oil), and Lloyds Bank (the ally of big Indian interests) has acquired from a Swiss bank the reversion of certain German interests in the Anatolian (i.e., Bagdad) Railway, which should, normally, have passed to France.

Following upon this, Venizelos, the political catspaw of Anglo-Hellenic capitalism, has come to an understanding with Ismet Pasha. The latter has waived the Turkish claim to an indemnity.

Britain and France are drawing together in the East. Britain and France will draw together in the Ruhr. Baldwin and McKenna are preparing to keep faith with the United States—just as long as it pays them to do so!—"Inprecor."

## THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

**Editor's Note:** The following essay is contributed by a schoolboy, thirteen years of age.

ONE of Nature's most interesting studies is that of Astronomy, or the study of the stars. That part of the ocean of stars in which we live is called the Solar System. Therefore, what part of space is better to select for study than this?

The great centre of all life and light on the planets (at least on the earth) is the sun. This vast globe is flaming at a mean distance of ninety-three million miles from the earth, and around it the planets, of which there are eight, circle.

All the planets except the earth are named after Greek and Roman Gods and Goddesses, i.e., Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune. The earth is the only one known to be inhabited, although many scientists state that conditions are such on Mars and Venus that life may occur on them.

There are some very small planets, or planetoids, circling around the sun between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter. These planetoids range from ten to about five hundred miles in circumference, and are thought to be the remnants of some planet that may have exploded. But did this planet explode? Maybe. On the other hand, when the vast nebula, or cloud of gas, shrank and became more solid, (the nucleus or centre becoming the sun) these minor planets may simply have been thickening in the enormous cloud, that, when the other thickenings

became planets, they, also, became part of the present Solar System.

But perhaps it would be of interest to some to know how the distance of the sun is ascertained, for the accurate measurement of the distance of the sun is one of the important problems in astronomy, and is determined by triangulation, using the largest baseline we have—the earth's diameter. The planet Venus, at intervals, passes between the earth and the sun, producing a transit. At these times Venus is seen as a black spot on the bright disc of the sun, and by observations taken at the moment the required angle may be taken. Roughly stated; it is by accurately noting the times of the planet first coming in contact with the sun's disc on the one side, and emerging again on the other, (by observers stationed at opposite sides of the base line) the angle produced can be accurately measured.

By the most accurate observations the sun's horizontal parallax — that is, the angle that would stretch from an observer on the sun to the half diameter of the earth—is found to be 8' 78" and the mean distance of the sun is therefore about ninety-three million miles, the difference between minimum and maximum being about three million miles.

ALWYN TWIST.

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## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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