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Oil and Turkey

A Study in Capitalist Organization

BY H. W. MARTIN.

BEFORE the war, the world's oil industry was dominated by the Standard Oil Company of America (the S.O.C.) and the Royal Dutch Shell Combine (the R.D.S.) Both these trusts have a capital of well over £200,000,000, and are better organised and more unscrupulous than most big business concerns. Naturally they pay an important part in international politics. Since the war a third oil trust, the Anglo- Persian Oil Company (the A.P.O.) has come to the front in politics. The majority of its shares (55%) are held by the British Government. These three trusts are the chief combatants for the world's oilfields.

The S.O.C. has its home and foreign political departments. Also General M. W. Macdonagh recently left the War Office to become "political adviser to the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co. Ltd., one of the R.D.S. companies" (Oil News, 16/9/22).

The American Government tried to fine the S.O.C. 29,000,000 dollars and has made two attempts to dissolve it. The S.O.C. did not pay and has grown stronger than the American Government so that today, to quote an Oil journal, "the S.O.C. has hitched the American Government to its cart, so that S.O.C. interests are national interests."

Now the British Government introduced a regulation, 30 B.B., according to which no British Oil company might pass under foreign control. The R.D.S. depends on the British Navy to defend its far-flung interests, but as only 40% of its capital is Shell and 60% is Royal Dutch, it is a foreign trust. Still when it wanted to absorb the Mexican Oil Company, a British company, the British Government had to suspend regulation 30 B.B. till it was effected.

At the beginning of the century some German geologists found that the oilfields of Turkey were among the richest in the world. As they were diplomats as well as geologists, they drew up two reports, "one to their own Government in which they referred to the splendid opportunities presented by the oilfields, and the other to the Sultan's Government in which these opportunities were said to be somewhat scanty." (Oil News, 4/11/22). Abdul Hamid, however, was also a diplomatist and managed to obtain possession of both reports, so "he had the revenues from Mosul transferred from the State to his own Civil list," (Oil News, 4/11/22). R.D.S. and the A.P.O. became interested in this region, and finally the "Turkish Petroleum Company" was formed in which the German share, 25%, was held by the "Deutsche Bank," while the remaining 75% was held by the British companies. Then came the Great War, with Churchill's "side shows," and British troops occupied oil fields in Russia, Palestine, Persia, and Turkey.

After the Armistice Turkey was deemed to have ceded Mesopotamia and Palestine to the Allies under the treaty of Sevres.

"On that theory mandates over Palestine and Mesopotamia were issued to Great Britain. These mandates, however, have not been recognised by Turkey, which did not sign the treaty." (Oil Engineering and Finance, 6/10/22).

The mandate for Armenia was refused by Britain, France and America. There is no oil in Armenia.

The position was becoming rather complex, for in the secret treaties revealed by the Bolsheviks, Tsarist Russia, Britain and France had already divided the Near East to their own satisfaction, and according to the Sykes-Picot agreement, signed by Asquith and Briand during the war, France was to have a sphere of influence in Mesopotamia which included the oily parts round Mosul.

Of course all these events had no connection with British policy, for did not a British premier say that not one square yard was to be added to the British Empire, and has not Mr. Bonar Law said, "I am amazed at being told what a huge territory we got out of the war." (Daily Herald, 23/5/22)!

After the war, France owed both the R.D.S. and the S.O.C. enormous sums, which it could not pay.

So, armed with its bill for £5,000,000 the R.D.S. proposed to the Clemenceau Cabinet, that it should "co-operate in the plans of the French Government in the management and exploitation of any petroleum interests which might be reserved for France by the Peace Treaty." (Delaisi Oil, p. 61).

Now France was getting into difficulties, for, to quote a French author, "The Emir Feisul was pushing the Senegalese battalions of General Gouraud towards the Syrian coast." "The strangest part of it all—and everybody knew it—was that the power of Emir Feisul depened upon the arms, the money and the support of our good friends the British." Then Lord Curzon said, "Sign the agreement with the Royal Dutch, and you shall have Syria." M. Millerand accepted. Immediately Feisul was left to himself. Thus the triumphal entry of General Gouraud into Damascus was paid for by the abandonment of all our (French) oil resources." (Delaisi Oil. p 62)

At the San Remo conference, Mr. Lloyd George reminded the French, that in the annex to the Sykes-Picot agreement, it was stated, that "all British pre-war concessions should be integrally respected by the French Government in the regions of Mesopotamia, submitted to French influence."

The Turkish Petroleum Co. had such a pre-war concession for the oilfields of Mesopotamia, so according to the San Remo agreement: (7) Mesopotamia. "The British Government undertake to grant to the French Government or its nominee 25 per cent of the net output of crude oil at current market rates." "Or in the event of a private petroleum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oil fields, the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of 25 per cent. in such company.

This agreement was signed by J. Cadman and P. Berthelot, on the 25th April, 1920.

These gentlemen were not premiers, or even foreign ministers, but oil experts.

The agreement was "confirmed" on the 25th April, 1920, by D. Lloyd George and A. Millerand.

As the A.P.O. held half the shares in the Turkish Petroleum Co., it is not surprising that Sir Charles Greenway, its chairman, regards Mr. Lloyd George as "the greatest of all our British Premiers." (Petroleum Times, 2/9/22).

The Emir Feisul was transferred to Mesopotamia, and set up, after the slaughter of thousands of Arabs, as the king of Iraq, while the Greeks kept Kemel and his army busy.

Things did not go smoothly: America found she had a pre-war concession passing through the Mosul oilfields, "secured largely through the influence of Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester of the United States Navy" (Petroleum Times, 4/9/20).

To quote an oil journal, Oil News, 27/11/20, "it is evident that the United States of America at the instance of the Standard and possibly other important groups, are not going to take the Mesopotamian situation lying down," so Mosul oil was discussed at the Washington conference, but at Genoa and the Hague it was eclipsed by the Russion oilfields as the chief bone of contention .

France, also, was not going to be denied her share of the pickings and sent M. Franklin Bouillon to make a pact with Kemel, and as one journal said, "The situation is not improved by the knowledge, that Emir Feisul, placed in his position by us, and subsidised by us, wants us to clear out." (Evening Standard, 18/8/22).

Then Kemel wiped up the Greeks and was left with a victorious army free to reconquer Mesopotamia.

This was awkward; troops and gun boats were rushed out to Turkey, Britain appealed to her Allies, France and Italy, to strengthen their forces in Turkey, but both France and Italy replied by withdrawing their troops already there, and Britain was left isolated without a friend.

Then, horror of horrors, victorious Turkey threatened to nationalise the oil, and to quote an oil journal, "Not only American concerns are vitally affected by Near Eastern nationalisation projects, but French interests under the San Remo agreement are concerned likewise. The nationalisation idea is apparently spreading rapidly in the East. Roumania was reported recently to entertain some such idea, Soviet Russia has long proclaimed it to the detriment of America, British and other oil interests in the region of Baku and Batoum, which are not so very far removed from Turkey, where the nationalisation germ has most recently sprouted." Oil, Engineering and Finance (6/10/22).

A hurried secret conference of oil bugs was held in London. "These included British and French as well as American and perhaps others. The American oil representatives asked for participation or representation on a certain basis, which cannot be disclosed." (Oil News, 18/11/22).

This was followed by the Lausanne conference, where the American observer, Mr. Childs, demands the open door policy, or as one journal describes it, "a demand for an 'open' oil pipe, with at least one end running into the Standard Oil's reservoirs" (Daily News, 28/11/22).

America's financial position gives her an advantage over her debtors, Britain and France, so "Mr. Childs established the position of the United States in plain and unambiguous terms, which he said do

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Clarion Mail Bag

THE hungry printer has visited us with his wrath and curtly asserts that we are "over-set" already and that eight pages can't hold any more, even of that high-and-dry philosophy these queer people—Clarion readers—feast upon. A printer's head is full of "points," "lines," "ems" and "picas," and that's about all. However, we must accord with his rule and abridge our ambition for space, and it wont do either to be too "uppish;" it is somewhat like being cheeky with the landlord when you're behind with the rent, and this climate is not that of Palestine.

Comrade Goudie, as usual, is the first arrival in his (gracious) majesty's mail since last issue. He sends us a Burns poem, "The Divinity of Blunders," in which the religious credulity of mankind is set forth and special emphasis laid on the schemes of the priestcraft.

"To gull the mob and keep them under
The ancients told them tales of wonder,
A pious fraud, a holy blunder, a rainbow sign,
An earthquake or a blast o' thunder were held divine
By those whose faith to swallow doses,
A wondrous story nothing loses.
Are proof as plain o' sleight o' hand is,
As Herman Bosche's leger' main."

Subs. from Ontario and Manitoba, but nothing contentious or disputative this time. Subs. from Saskatchewan also. We have not had a word from Harry F. Smith since away back, until now, and now he is not communicative. J. J. Egge, Humbolt, promises us an article to come, covering the advantages for improved method in propaganda that might follow from co-operation with other bodies in touring speakers. Very good. We await the plan of campaign.

A sub. from Geo. F. Ritchie, Mecheche, Alberta. Alfred Jorgenson has succeeded Com. H. H. Hanson as secretary of Local Equity, and sends subs. and C. M. F. contributions. We don't suppose H. H. has died of frostbite or abandoned hope, or Com. Jorgenson would have told us. Roy Reid sends subs. and C. M. F. donations from Luscar, collected from the comrades there. It would appear to be the case that each copy of the Clarion finds a community of readers on the prairie, and it is apparently taken us a kind of general text book. Huxley once described himself (in a contentious period) as a sort of "maid-of-all-work and gladiator general for science," and, somewhat in the same way the Clarion reader arms himself with the family-journal on the prairie and serves as a consulting agency for all manner of "prying curiosities" in the questions of interest to intelligent men. W. H. Exelby of Calgary Local corrects our statement in last issue that he has succeeded Com. R. Burns as secretary of Alberta P. E. C. On the contrary, Com. Burns is still secretary of the P. E. C., and Com. Exelby is secretary of Local Calgary. We regret the error and have nobody to blame but ourselves, which is not very convenient(and not altogether usual).

A sub. from A. C. Stopp, and one from J. C. Budge, Edmonton. Budge thinks the Clarion is the best educational journal on the North American contin,-ent,—but why be so restrictive in the matter of areas? However, contrariwise, R. M. Alexander in sending sub. and C. M. F. donation says: "A Journal of Current Events, History, Economics and Philosophy is all very well for Highbrows like yourself and others, but no good for the rank and file whose support as readers and subscribers you—and we—want. Make the Clarion for the mob, the mass, the submerged, etc., and you will get readers and subscribers. So don't kick, ye brainy ones, if short of dollars. Come down to the level of the big bunch whose dollars are needed."

Now here's a man ("the professor" we used to call him) who has the weight of several generations of apothecaries behind him. He can read a drug store prescription in any text, from Bablyonic cuneiform to the Seaman's Medical Guide. He dispenses pills, peuks and physics to the physically unwilling and has a forlorn estimate of the working class standard of intelligence, judged from that angle.

But what will you have, if not History, Economics, Philosophy and Current Events? The people who need our material are not even yet in the dilemma provided for the donkey of the medieval Schoolmen, a donkey stuck between two inviting haystacks and dying of starvation through indecision as to which to tackle first. Our great donkey, however, has not yet taken the notion to tackle any. He does not know the nature of the problem facing his kind. And, besides, concerning the certainty of readers and subscribers following in battalions upon a policy of coming "down to the level of the big bunch," the observable facts do not warrant any such conclusions. We could name right off the reel a score of labor and Socialist papers of various complexions, a perusal by anybody of whose pages will never give rise to any dangerous brainstorm. Positively simple! And what do we find? We find that they are one and all threatening to abandon the earth if they don't get more subs and get them quickly,—that is, those that are not up to the scratch in sporting news, or favorites among the guessing fraternity.

Then what is the trouble? Well, on the one hand, with prevalent unemployment the dollar and the working man are strangers. That accounts for "non-support" of the labor press in general. On the other hand, and this applies to us, any writing that is charged with any sort of reasoned doctrine, or enough of it to be useful, is "hard to read." The average untrained mind can follow with interest a narrative, fictitious or historical. But let it be interspersed with analysis and the general interest is not sustained. Yes, sure enough—and we cannot emphasise it too strongly—we are "short of dollars," but after all the first need is readers. If we had dollars rolling in by the handful, a big circulation, and no readers, we could find no reason to be joyful. And then again, we are of the opinion that the socialist movement itself needs educating. It should keep abreast of current findings and current thought. Every event should provide for it instruction. It should be prepared and able to analyse every momentous happening and should be able to draw reasonable conclusions from international events, political and industrial, from time to time, for working class information. Besides cataloguing information it should strive to engender the reasoning habit, aided by historical understanding, so that as far as may be the path it treads shall be free from needless obstruction. It should welcome challenge to its opinions wherever that may come from, and it should be prepared to meet its responsibility. It must have an appreciation of the effects of alliances or breaks of one sort or another among the governments, and it must be able to render itself of some use to the working class in laying bare the reasons for such, and that not alone in general but in particular terms. There is a great deal more that might be said, but we had in mind the fact that the Clarion is seemingly found to be of considerable use in just such matters, not alone among general readers but in editorial offices where its interpretations are something of a guidance, and that through such channels it reaches a wider circle of readers. Knowledge is departmental, and human interest, so far as subjects of interest to individuals are concerned, is departmental also, in readers and writers alike. The several Clarion writers have their decided writing interests, and the readers have their decided reading interests also, which is as good as can be. And, before we forget, it is worth mention that we hate the term "highbrow" and we hope we'll never deserve it.

Comrade MacPherson of Wimbourne says the class there is worth the effort. The young students are showing results in study and interest. Mac himself finds the day too short to cover all the activities incidental to farm life and general meetings,

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THE NEED OF STUDY.

SOME of our readers disapprove of the attitude of writers in being too scientific with their contributions to the Clarion. Many articles are deemed to have no bearing whatever on the emancipation of the working class.

When a member of the working class enters the realms of sociology with the view to assist in placing society on a higher social basis than what at present exists, he cannot possibly confine himself to the surface of the subject. When capitalism required to have better communication with the world by laying the cable across the Atlantic the surface of the ocean was well known, but the obstacles that were to be encountered with at the bottom of the deeps had to be surveyed. Hence the harnessing of the ship "Challenger" with three scientists on board. The chemical composition of the ooze when raised to the deck of the ship made known to mankind the composition of the structure of the great chalk beds of the earth, also the production of a chart for the laying of the cable.

In order to steer the helm of the state into the proper channel the workers must have a chart of the Ocean from the surface to the bottom when they will lay their cable that will convey the message of working class emancipation without deception.

What has been long kept hidden from us is now easy of access, and what is more elevating to the worker than a little knowledge of the world in which we live? Our minds become more occupied with the deeper things of life instead of indulgence in foolish, speculative thought. Science has carried us over from the ancient field of philosophy and cast before our vision the modern spectroscope that directs light waves of our planet through its mechanism. From the spectrogram we view the various coloured rays that reveal a given element of a far off planet that has its counterpart on the earth. No matter what element is found on earth, the same exists on other stars or suns. To learn of our earth and other planets revolving on their axis around the sun is an achievement that thrills the worker and creates the impulse for still deeper thinking. The colour waves on the spectrogram not only reveal the element, but supply us with the knowledge that each color wave is a mass of minature suns or atoms, with miscropic planets or electrons, revolving around the atom just like our planets around the sun.

The worker enters the coal mine and returns with a load of coal. When brought in contact with the rays of the sun the coal shows different colors indicating the stored up energy of the sun on plant life. Crude oil sailing on ponds or streams gives us the same result. Germany is a by-product extracting nation. Aniline oil, producing various colors for dyeing cloth, is a German product taken from coal. On cutting ice we again discover the electrical phenomenon in a beautiful transparent form. Our brain activity rises from the arth, and we gaze up into the unknown piercing through an atmosphere of dust particles producing a blue tint that otherwise would be unpenetrable darkness. We think of the almost incalculable distances between our earth and the source from which our movement have been directed. Science says that if a man died today his "soul" would, at the velocity of light, 186,000 miles a second, take 10,000 years to reach "heaven," in the milky way.

Socialism is the next step in the ladder of human development, when the working class will be responsible for the building of the superstructure. A knowledge of the methods used in the different social systems for the wellbeing of those living within is necessary; production, transportation, and exchange is the force behind the Capitalists, driving them into the field of Astronomy, Geology, Biology, and Sociology. Socialists will be compelled to begin where the Capitalists left off, and the more knowledge the workers have of the different branches of science, the better they will be equipped to direct the new social system. Speed the day.

GEO. PATON.

The Standard of Living

PART II.

A Standard of living is a definite thing, as definite as any other symbol of weight or measure. That it is vague in social definition, is only because it is vogue in social concept. And it is vague in social concept because to advance the purpose of class dominion it is overlaid with the verbal fatuity of class metaphysic. The confusion of social classes and the gradual shading off of their differing standards of life produces the overlapping indeterminism of imaginary condition. Hence the inanities of social misconception acquire substance, and the abstract adventures of speculation, reality. The clear cut and divergent economy of the two social economic classes is lost sight of—is even denied existence—even when their operation, in a drab and dingy world, forces their fateful consequences into immediate relief. The premises being so unclear, it is impossible the conclusions can be certain. Certainty can exist only in the realisation of actual fact. It is much too plain a figure to consort with the phantasisms of egoist preconception.

That is why there is such "to-do" about the improved standard of modern living. Being (now) the product of the merchant and manufacturing classes, it is evolved from their conditions of life; and expresses, more or less actually, their living conditions. As they are—or were until very lately—the real ruling class of the world, their concepts of life are engraven on the world. They naturally express the conduct and condition of life as they find it and, as naturally, strive to perpetuate a condition of life which, to them, is good and comely. As they are the possessors of the necessary means of life, to them accrues the advantages of that possession. As the owners of socially produced wealth they exchange that wealth for, and in, the products of the world, which constitutes the "higher" standards of life; and revel in a condition of life and welfare that is forever barred to the proletarian producers of that wealth. As they see, they think: as they find, they believe. Hence logic and argument are of little avail, while the actual fact of commercial life appears to operate in a direction contrary to the trend of the argument. It is only in the strangulating toils of the Capitalist economic, when the centralisation of wealth provokes the distribution of impotent poverty, that sure conviction can be forced upon the social mind.

Economically, the distance between wealth and poverty is precarious. But socially, the difference is wide as the poles apart. The class standard of life is by no means a measuring rod of the common standard of living. This is obvious enough when we get behind the class vagaries of social distinction. Then we see the two socially distinct and opposing classes of political society—the ruler and the ruled; the owner and worker; the master and slave. Then it becomes apparent that the living conditions of each are governed and determined by separate standards, and amenable only to its own special circumstances. Amidst the social chaos of petty distinction and the deceptive equality of legal investiture, we can see the prime law of capitalist economy distributing to ownership the usury of social production, based on an ancient standard of life and labor; and giving to dispossessed labor the competitive market price of modern commercialism, based on ancient concepts of individualist labor and ownership. That difference wholly and completely vitiates any communion in the life standards of modern society. The legal equalities of capital are the legal enactments of a class whose concepts and aspirations had birth in the petty production and irksome restrictions of handicraft labor; whose social equalities are the distorted reflexes of the "naturalism of the physiocrats" of revolutionary times; but whose commercial practice—the purely commodity production, and private ownership of machine industry, wholly negatives and destroys the social concepts of their nativity. Ancient inheritance, legal fiction, social equality, natural freedom, linger anaemically, side by side with the lusty giant of the greater industry; but the complete political dominion and economic necessity of the latter entirely preclude whatever advantage once derived from the former.

Thus the concepts of life and living, of a dominant class, whose ideation is the preconcept of class interest, and whose greatest good is the figment of commercial prosperity, do not, and cannot, represent the actualities of general society. Their concepts are the stimuli of self preferment; the crude image of a parasite prosperity whose roots plunge down to the deeps of a broken and degraded society and whose artificial welfare is the sapped life of exploited humanity. Their "self-made" exemplars of industry are not the normal index of social opportunity, nor their chosen figures of success the average lot of common life. They look on failure—and appraise their higher superiority; on the wrecks of misapplied energy,—and commend their greater sense or responsibility. Their standards of life, drawn from the abnormal conditions of commercial exploitation, and whose day is already done, are not coincident with the sub-normal issues of the world of production, whose forces are gathering to the climax. The hazy notions of liberalist idealism reflect the competitive conditions of class society as grotesquely as the mirage reflects the scenery of its occasion. In science and art; literature and education; comfort and security; in craftmanship and ideal; in aim and interest, the two classes are wholly divergent. Their science is but the paid handmaid of trade and technology; their art the vulgar imitation of dead symbols. Their literature is the flattery of "success"; their education the perpetuation of Dominion, Their craftmanship is the standardisation of cheap—and yet cheaper—production; their ideal the eternity of trafficking in contented slavery. Their aim is the suppression of all that militates against commercial supremacy; and their interest the corruption of all whose necessity or training has rendered them fit subjects for prostitution to the ulterior purposes of class. While in all those things the objective of the awakening society of socialised purpose is the exhaustive analysis of the actual relations of existence, the endowment of that analysis to the further service of society, the subordination of material to man, and the vivification of talent and art in the realities of living life.

However, we do not stress political corruption, or social servility. They are both products of time conditions. Primarily, they are social elements. They become moral equations only secondarily, as they obtrude themselves more and more insistently on social altruism. And as such we must accept them. And accepting them as such, we strike directly at their abolition in the abolition of their generating cause.

But living standards are not engaged by class tests. Their validity is residual in social welfare. Not "rescue work," or charitous philanthrophy, or uplift crusades, but the normal satisfaction of the common needs and aspirations of common life in its day and generation. To the extent that they fail in this, they fail the whole purpose of social life. And the extent in which social satisfaction is gratified merely through class necessities is the measure of social, and its subsequent expression in moral, degradation. For as class interest becomes more imperious, social life becomes more abject. And as imperiousness invariably begets violence and oppression, social life is laid under heavier burdens of service, and further sacrifice of its attenuated desires. If living standards do not express, over the general society the magnitude of social potentiality, they are implicit witness to a society in "bondage," and therefore of a society whose standards must continue to fall with the constantly lowering levels of bondage. If living standards are but the vagaries of "ranting sentimentalism" in brief liasance with fashionable philanthropy, if they are no more than the echo of interested suggestion, or the catch cries of office, or the calculating polemic of political purpose—if they are no more than this they testify to the colossal failure of the social organisation. The social organisation of society is the socialisation of the means of life. That is its meaning, its obligation, its incentive. And because, in the chaotic workings of unguided time and its consequent generation of egoist duplicities that incentive has been voided and defeated, we face the necessity of revolution, i.e., the retransformation of society in the perfect likeness of pristine intention. To be real, the life standard must be social, general, equal. To be true it must be not merely theoretically purposive, but purposively complete. If it is not, it is but an image of class obsessions, a shadow of an ideal whose visionary is yet entangled in the animalism of fortune hunting.

Thus it is the living standard falls; existence becomes more precarious; security more unstable; social life more distraught and impossible. The potentialities of life flow in more and more on the lords of ownership; less and less on the slaves of production. Gradually the evils of the social system are accentuated; continually the operation of its necessities are more vigorous and confined. The production of wealth, whose intention carried with it the certainity of existence, now carries with it the certainty of destitution. The material of resource, once inviting to opportunity, is now a threat to existence. The individual labor of ownership, once social, that originally existed, has developed into its complete opposite: the private ownership of social labor. Stage by stage with that development, changing and fluctuating with fugitive waves of circumstances, modified and reconstructed by the driven needs of time, the standard of life has been fashioned; its substance determined by the social facilities of production; its ethic and benefits governed by organised conventions; its concepts widening as the world widened with the social movements of man. Now modern society confronts a barrage of social usuage, which can afford a normal standard of life only to the supervisory directorate of ownership, progressively disallowing to the disciplined wealth producers the meagre pittance of competitive wages.

Social standards, then, not class standards, are the vital determinants of activity. A standard of life merely subservient to class interest abrogates itself by its own enforced restrictions. By the law of its developing economic it drys up the stream of its life, and subverts the purpose and function of society, whose objects it once served. In the process of this development, it separates a continually increasing minority from the needful means of life and satisfaction; submerges a growing number in the abyss of social desolation, tightening the living conditions of general society; rendering a riotous luxury and imperious power to a lessening few, and lowering, notch by notch and by every expedient of social trickery and political force, to the frontiers of the intolerable, the subsistence status of the many.

The development of this process is the development of the particular economic of society. If we understand the fundamentals of that economic we can direct our efforts, undeviatingly, to the known cause of social inequality and political subserviency —the private ownership of the social means of life. Without that understanding we do but flounder in the quagmires of political reform, distracted by every impulse that stirs its turged waters; and attracted by every device that flickers, like a shooting star across its treacherous waste of darkness.

But the energy of thought, like all cosmic energies, follows the line of least resistance. And it would seem that until what Marx calls the "expropriation of the expropriators" has been accomplished, i.e., until the possibilities of capital have

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BY THE WAY

IN these notes, as they appear from time to time, it is my habit to incorporate much matter rightfully belonging to some one or other eminent in the domains of science or scholarship, but which may not have its sources indicated. A worker with little spare time or surplus of energy must needs resort to the specialists for the science he desires to bring to his fellow-workers; and the matter of acknowledging sources I regard, in my case, as one not primarily of ethics but of expediency—whether naming the source will be of use to the reader or not. In short, on occasion, I am an unabashed plagiariser of other merit's writings and ideas. If pushed on to the defensive for this practice, I might claim some slight share of ownership in them on the grounds of my ability to recognize their value, and that all knowledge is a social product anyway. I make this confession partly to forstall charges of stealing and, partly as an encouraging hint to hesitant writers shivering on the brink before plunging into the columns of the Clarion; mainly, however, I hope thus to inspire readers with more interest in what I, properly speaking, merely write, when not my undistinguished self, but some one eminent in the world of thought may be the creative intelligense behind some note.

* * * *

I see that the Clarion circulation is on the increase. Good! But weary not in well-doing! To new readers I say: Get the habit of reading the Clarion! because, besides being informative and educative on matters touching the social problem and its solution, it is also a mental dicipline in the scientific habit of mind. At first, no doubt, you may find the reading hard going if a study of the manysided and complex social problem is a new experience; but stay with it. If the masses of the people are to play a determining and constructive part in social change inevitable in any case, either for good or ill, it will only do so because it has been previously disciplined into some increased capacity for sustained mental effort. So, to every one interested in working class education I say: Keep the good work going! To those discouraged because they feel the insignificance both of their efforts and the limited, because definite, aim and purposes set as guides to present action in comparison with the totality of the social conditions desired, let me quote the encouraging words of Professor Dewey: "From the standpoint of its **definite** aim any act is petty in comparison with the totality of natural events. What is accomplished directly as the outcome of a turn which our action gives the course of events is infinitesimal in comparison with their total sweep. Only an illusion of conceit persuades us that cosmic difference hangs upon even our wisest and most strenuous effort. Yet discontent with this limitation is as unreasonable as relying upon an illusion of external importance to keep ourselves going. In a genuine sense every act is already possessed of infinite import. The little part of the scheme of affairs which is modifiable by our efforts is continuous with the rest of the world. The boundaries of our garden plot join it to the world of our neighbors and our neighbors' neighbors. That small effort which we can put forth is in turn connected with an infinity of events that sustain and support it . . . . "

Last issue I wrote of the enormous force of lag in social change, attributing it to the enduring quality of social habits. Two issues ago Comrade Harrington, in his article on "Revolutions, Political and Social," must have also had this factor in mind in saying that when—"we hailed the political revolution in Russia as the promised land we did not then realise that greater struggle was yet to come." I myself think that the major part of that struggle lies deeper than intriguing capitalist interests, domestic and foreign, or the technical difficulties of economic restoration and communist reorganization. It lies in the masses of the Russian people who are still possessed by the old concepts, loyalties and ways of doing things. That is why, as Harrington says, socialist education is still necessary in Russia. Changed ideas registering the material conditions of the modern twentieth century world are the leverage for changing and modifying traditional social institutions. But let us not be deluded into thinking that as yet in this world's history the process of such change is a rationally ordered one. New imperious necessity often clashes with old habit and may triumph, even if only temporarily. The hope of the future in a rationally ordered progress lies in the power of education to free the human race from the tyranny of habit and necessity both. Here is another quotation touching the question of change:

"Political and legal institutions may be altered, even abolished; but the bulk of popular thought which has been shaped to their pattern persists..... Consequently as a rule the moral effects of even great political revolutions, after a few years of outwardly conspicious alterations, do not show themselves till after the lapse of years. A new generation must come upon the scene whose habits of mind have been formed under new conditions. ..... Where general and enduring moral changes do accompany an external revolution it is because appropriate habits of thought have previously been insensibly matured. The external change merely registers the removal of an external superficial barrier to the operation of existing intellectual tendencies. (Dewey in "Human Nature and Conduct.")

Such intellectual tendencies for the removal of capitalism are present but not yet in sufficient force. Capitalism remains, primaritly, not because the rich have refused to sanction social change, but because "the steadfast poor are again postponing their day and patiently supporting the superstructure of what is so much less than a civilization."

* * * *

Perhaps only postponing it. New habits of thought, it is true, are maturing, insensibly under the discipline of material force and conditions of the environment, and under the influence of education. Yet there are forces in the environment which, while uncontrolled in the interest of society as a whole, sweep the world on into the path of destruction. Everywhere, thinking and observing people can see the benefits accruing from cooperation; and everywhere they see the destructive evils of a competitive life based on private control of society's produtive powers. Hence the ideal of an extended cooperation through social control in the spheres of production and exchange of material wealth gains headway. "Every ideal is preceded by an actuality; but the ideal is more than a repetition in inner image of the actual. It projects in securer and wider and fuller form some good which has been previously experienced in a precarious, accidental, fleeting way.. Cooperation or destructive competition, which shall win? There are forces in man as well as in the environment. Let us rouse them in behalf of a cooperative social life!

I confess, these notes are not taking the shape I had in mind when I commenced sending them in to the Clarion. Too much philosophy perhaps. Yet we should see the world of things all in fragmentary fashion without it. A philosophy is needed to see life whole, to link things in relationship and to draw out their hidden meanings or social significances. However, with more practice I may do better. As to the Clarion circulation .....!!!

C.

CLARION MAIL BAG.

(Continued from page 2)

and is reduced to writing "after the family and the rest of the live-stock have gone to bed."

Subs from Oscar Erickson of Fernie and a charter application with eleven signatures from Comrade Orchard, of Kamloops, B. C. Comrade Orchard expresses appreciation of the efforts of Comrade Lestor (who is now in Vancouver), as also have the comrades in Calgary.

Several subs from the U. S. A. Billy Welling again and Com. C. McMahon Smith, both from California. Also a word from Jim Bone, Idaho. Comrade Hoey, with a further sub. list, wants to know what we do when somebody wants the address of a Clarion subscriber,—do we furnish it? Apparently there are some who think the address of any Clarion subscriber is accessible to whoever may ask for it.

Now suppose that someone we did not know, personally or by reputation, asked for the address of a subscriber in Florida. We would send the enquiry to the subscriber in Florida and notify the enquirer that we had done that. But suppose John A. McDonald (for instance) wanted to know the present whereabouts of Ambrose Tree, we'd tell him, and that post haste. It's a consiberable time since we fell asleep in a presbyterian church—so there you are Larry.

* * * *

Might as well, while we are scrambling for space, make sure of entry of the details of our footing in finance, and so here we introduce—

HERE AND NOW.

THERE is not a great deal to tell. We remember the story of Gilbert's Lord Chancellor, engaged in haranguing himself in the court of chancery, and who was so overcome that he distinctly perceived a tear—a sympathetic tear—glistening in his own eye. In order to avoid any such situation we make haste to transfer the emotion to the reader:

* * * *

Following $1 each: W. Fleming, A. Clark, Miss Williamson, Mrs. Steen, L. Robertson, G. F. Ritchie, J. D. McNeill, J. R. Shields, H. F. Smith, R. Towle, A. Sumner, J. C. Budge, J. Gandy, R. M. Alexander, C. M. Smith, Mrs. G. Korlann, J. F. Maguire, A. Mackie, A. C. Stopp, E. Williams, C. Butt, A. C. Cameron, J. Dennis, Billy William, F. E. Creer.

Following $2 each: D. G. Smith, A. E. Faulkner, O. Erickson, L. Hoey, J. Allan, J. C. Bloomfield.

W. P. Black 50 cents; J. G. Smith 50 cents; A. Jorgenson $3; J. C. Blair $3; Wm. F. Welling $4; Roy Reid $5; Frisco Labor College, per J. Knight, $9.60. Clarioi subs., from 14th to 28th Feby., inclusive, total $62.60.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Following $1 each: Miss Williamson, Mrs. Steen, R. M. Alexander, J. Price (per L. Hoey), Marshall Erwin, Tom Erwin.

H. Myers 25 cents; E. G. Kermode $2; Local Equity (per A. Jorgenson) $5; Collected by Roy Reid $10; Dave Lewis $10.

C. M. F. receipts, from 14th to 28th Feby., inclusive, total $33.25.

ATTENTION—CALGARY

SUNDAY 18th MARCH

Speaker: AMBROSE TREE

Subject: THE PARIS COMMUNE

AT THE EMPRESS THEATRE, 8 P.M.

Regular Sunday night propaganda meetings at 8 at Local Headquarters, 134A 9th Avenue West, Calgary.

Economics class every Thursday night at 8, conducted by A. Tree. All welcome. No charges.

Reforms for Farmers

JULY 1st 1923 is important because then expire the charters of Canadian banks. These charters are granted for ten years and are renewed at the end of each ten-year period, thereby permitting the revision of the Banking Act at fixed dates, in any manner that experience of its working makes desirable. The Act, therefore, will be reviewed and the charters extended by the Dominion Parliament and, as a result, numbers of those who have either fallen or are ready to fall in the prevailing crisis, are eagerly awaiting the coming of a Messianic Banking Period of Monetary Relief from their grinding anxiety and misery.

These people are the Reformers who rave about banking "strangle-holds" and who are hopeful that something "Progressive" is going to be done for them by their chosen ones; and that will, still, moreover, leave their Capitalist system standing; for Socialism—of which they know next to nothing—they both fear and detest; because Socialism means (peaceful or otherwise) a Revolution.

Now, quite alive to this danger state of expectancy and as an antidote thereto, the various banking companies have just issued a booklet—"Banks and Banking"—which has been freely sent to every publicist and every species and calibre of editor, irrespective of what small town "rag" he lords it over. The booklet is well, clearly, factfully and logically written and in our opinion, quite attains its objective, which is to prove that the Banker is not the "villain of the piece" ill-informed farmers and others hold him to be; and that no monkeying with Banking Acts can really lift out of the economic ditch those who now so deeply and hopelessly lie therein.

Replying to one of its opponent's charges, the booklet states, "It is complained that the banks do not compete; a statement at variance with the fact; and that local rates of interest on loans are uniform. So is the local price of wheat. Money cannot be loaned nor wheat sold profitably below cost." This reminds us that the late Daniel de Leon, the American S. L. P.'s Pope and idol whom they celebrate by annual birthday meetings and by bronze busts and author of an absurd and illogical pamphlet called "Anti-Semitism," totally denied that money was a commodity. This was in 1911, in answer to your contributor's question, which answer has since been permanently embodied in his pamphlet "Money." That answer, however, was only partly true. As Dietzgen and also McMillan (see "Origin of the World") point out nothing is absolute; only formal logic and metaphysics recognize the rigidly absolute. Again, our Comrade Peter Leckie quotes Marx, issue of last 16th October, on "Money as a Commodity" —which further reveals the flaws in De Leon's Marxian knowledge.

To another charge that banks occupy a privileged position, the booklet replies: " . . shareholders are required by law to protect the depositor. Shareholders must pay up an amount equal to the par value of their shares when the assets of an insolvent bank are not sufficient to pay depositors in full." And again: "The bank shareholder has to take his chance like anyone else, but unlike the farmer, the bank shareholder has a penalty imposed on him if his business is mismanaged, because if the resources of the bank do not suffice to pay its debts which are the deposits—he is compelled to put in as much more capital. His liability is a double one. And properly so, for the reason that parliament gives his business (the bank) certain privileges, and requires in return that he give special security to his creditors."

But it may be that the booklet is so "cleverly" written that it imposes on one. It may be that "Progressives" are furnished with some more or less effective "comebacks." However, as it stands, this is doubtful. Depressing the booklet may be to Reformers, but to us Revolutionists it is a veritable message of inspiration and hope. As the "Good Book" tells us, with belief and faith all things become possible. We Socialists talk about evolution, and that universal three-phase principle, the Negation of the Negation upon which we **deduce** the inevitable coming of the social revolution. If all this, however, is merely talk, if we have neither a real belief in, nor the courage of our convictions; if we accept premises and reasons, yet balk at, refuse, shrink from or vomit up the conclusions flowing from these premises; what then are we more than the unregenerate heathen and Gentiles?

Therefore, it is excellent for us to have this latest assurance that no amount of free or cheap monetary hand-outs can remedy the hopelessly outworn system of society known as Capitalism. Socialism, and Socialism **only**, can do that!

So, for the strong corroboration of the revolutionary Socialist policy that this booklet gives us, all hail to "Banks and Banking," especially as it is distributed "with the compliments of the Canadian Bankers' Association" to which honorable body we Socialists also, with the deepest appreciation and gratitude, return **our** highest and most sincere compliments and thanks!

"PROGRESS"

Emigration from Various Angles

THERE is unemployment in Great Britain—a very serious situation, because it gives the workers leisure, and causes them to think, to grope for the reason of their misery. It forces them to look conditions in the face, to analyse them, to search for the root of the evils they are suffering from. Mostly they do not know what is at the bottom, what makes their existence so hideous and galling. Neither do their employers. Their love of gain blinds them to the obvious. They attribute unemployment to a falling off of the demand for the goods they sell, a tightening of the money market, but it would be against their interest to dig deeper, to find out where those oceans of misery originate. Neither does the government know—at least not officially. It is up to the cabinet and dependant duffers to find a remedy if they can—a remedy that will leave the profits of the ruling class untouched, if possible increase them.

There are various ways to achieve this result, temporarily at least. Often a war is desirable to decrease unemployment. It means feverish activity as long as it lasts, besides giving a pretext for suppressing free speech and press. Besides, the slaughter of a few million people would reduce unemployment to some extent. However, this reduction of men competing for jobs would have a deleterious effect on the cost of production, for because of reduced competition for jobs the workers might demand higher wages. Furthermore a war might be lost, as the bourgeosie of France found out to their sorrow in 1870, of Russia in the Japanese war, of Germany in the late big conflict. Even, if won, a war might be expensive, as the victors of the Boer war found out. It is most disagreeable to pay more than 100 cents for $1. A war is too risky. The handing out of doles would mean increased taxation with no net results but the creation of an army of loafers. This would not be safe besides being unprofitable. What else then can be done?

We have an empire bigger than there ever was, with billions of feet of standing timber, millions of acres of land suitable for the raising of grain crops or for grazing, and vast supplies of oil. Gold and silver hide in the wilderness; without limit is the harvest of the sea. It only takes human labour to make all this available for the world's markets. Truly a stupendous field for profitable investments. It only takes human labour, but it must be cheap labor,—and in England there is unemployment. There is idle capital, hungry for profits, insatiable in it's greed for gain; in Canada as well, and in Australia or the parched veldt of South Africa.

And lo and behold! Posters cover the fences, immigration agencies are opened, exhibitions arranged, the Church Army and the Salvation Army commissioned to lead the dupes into the promised land or rather the lands of promise unfulfilled. There is unemployment in England! Let us pray, prey on the miseries of the starving.

Quite a change for the immigrant; the golden wheat fields of the prairie, the sight of the glowing peaches of the Okanagan, the healthful odour of the pines and the mountain air—and he has found work, a job. True, he is not getting the same wages as the native born, but he realizes that he does not know conditions in the land. His heart is full of joy. He found a job and he blesses the damnation army and thanks the Lord from the bottom of his heart, until he knows the ropes. He does not realize that he is made a catspaw of, to lower the standard of living of his fellow workers, until he asks for a raise in wages. The tailor from Petticoat Lane would be about as useful in a lumber camp as a lumberjack or roadworker on the stenographer's desk of John Wanamaker. He is not the only pebble on the beach, for in England there is unemployment. The employer wants cheap labor, so as to make as big a profit as he possibly can. The immigrant finds himself shamelessly taken advantage of. He is where he is wanted, helpless, unused to the customs of a strange country. He is apt to grasp that the boss did not want him, to give him a lift, but, only to profit by his labours. The system that kept him in misery in Europe does the same in Africa, the same in Australia, the same in Canada. Emigration did not solve the problem for him. If anything, it accentuated his misery.

Well, that did not worry the English capitalist.. That fellow is out of the road. "I will not have to pay for his funeral," would be about the summary of his thoughts. However, every lane has a turning. Less competition in the labour market means a smaller supply of labour power and therefore better wages. His competitor across the seas has got now cheaper labor and has also a cheaper supply of raw material. So he can undersell him in the world market, which forces him to reduce his output with a resultant loss of profits to him. Now it is up to him to emigrate—if he can—to buck competition in a foreign land, against the man who knows conditions; by no means a very inviting task.

Regarded from the imperial viewpoint the emigration policy is of doubtful value. It is claimed that blood is thicker than water; but porridge is thicker than blood. In the fight for markets, in the scramble for food, clothing and shelter, people are quite apt to forget history.

Is the man who was, under false pretenses, lured into a strange country by the prospect of bettering himself, apt to become enthusiastic about being continually exploited and profiteered upon? No flag that stands for exploitation of humanity can mean anything to him, but utmost loathing. There is only one good can result from this emigration policy: the realisation of the worker that he is exploited wherever he goes, no matter what his creed or color, the realisation that the system of production for profit must give way to production for use; the realisation of the unity of interest of the working class the wide world over; the realisation that, no matter where he goes, if he does not leave his shackles behind, he cannot be free. When he realizes this, he will stretch forth the hand of friendship to the fellow worker across the Pacific, the Baltic or North sea or English Channel and forget the artificially nourished and fanned flame of hatred which helps to forge the chains of his enslavement. He will welcome the fellow worker to his shore, help him to free himself and be helped by him in the overthrow of capitalism.

Revolutions, Political and Social

By J. HARRINGTON.

Second Article.

THE term revolution is generally associated with all manner of excess, and an exhibition of the most inhuman and bestial acts known to man. As a result, an inhibition against the advocacy of revolutions arises in the average mind, as strong as that which exists in regard to human sex relations. That the normal activities of peoples exhibit acts of brutality which far transcend any recorded of revolutionary periods is a fact of which evidence is too abundant. For unrestrained bestiality the record of mob violence in the United States is without parallel in any revolution. And the records of religious history reveal such wanton cruelty that no revolutionary tribunal or mob has ever been charged with, much less committed. As for bloodshed, more men are killed every month in the year by mine explosions than has been recorded of most revolutions.

We realize that evidence is a small factor in the formation of opinion, but we are not insensible to the fact that it has some weight: that ideas which have been absorbed by reading, association, and teaching, might be modified by calling attention to facts which in themselves are obvious enough but entirely overlooked.

The French Revolution is the example par excellence of revolutions, and calls up pictures of September massacres and promiscuous guilloutining; to it the average mind reverts when dicussing revolutions. This is quite reasonable, when we realize that the average mind has no recollection of any other revolution, excepting of course the Russian Revolution, which, in its broad aspects resembles the French.

That France had other revolutions as drastic as that of 1789 wherein no more suffering was experienced than would naturally follow an excessive gorge of rank sausage and cheap wine, does not form part of the intellectual furniture of the average human mind. And yet such is the record of history, that in 1851 Louis Napoleon overthrew a republic and established an empire without any fuss or fury. Being President of the Republic he of course had exceptional opportunities to lay his plans, which, when put into effect and the revolution carried through, found sanction in the minds of the most influential of the nation, and if not accepted by the majority, did not sufficiently disturb them to cause any active resentment.

Between this revolution by conspiracy and the "great" French Revolution there is a vast difference in historical sequence and in social consequence. Preceding the revolution of 1789 every Frenchman of intellectual standing had been subjected to insult. For the most part, the fruits of their intellectual labor had been burned by the common hangman, and they were deemed fortunate who were merely beggared by the loss of property; many lost their liberty too. Though it must be noted, and noted well, that the prison terms meted out to these pioneers of thought, were not nearly so savage and senseless as has been experienced by humbler soldiers of progress in that free-est country on Earth, the United States —"at this time", as the American orators say. But we might take that up later. While the intellectuals of France were being goaded into fury by stupid insults and unwarranted violence, the commercials were being reduced to bankruptcy by loss of colonies, excessive taxation, and all manner of petty annoyances, if not downright robbery.

The records of this period portray a condition bordering on desolation, which might well prompt the speculative mind to enquire into the causes which prevent mankind from putting an end to such monumental misery when the means are so ready to hand. But all they asked was a mitigation of their wrongs, and an alleviation of their misery; this being denied, they undertook active measures to secure them and, having once broken with the past, each new situation, each attempt to deny them their very humble demands, took them further and further from their original objective until they ended by decapitating their king, an act which all Frenchmen execrated in the English scarcely more than a century previous..

Briefly then, we find that the attitude of the monarchy forced the French people to extreme measures, and at that point the monarchy had practically no power. The revolution might have been as bloodless as that of England in 1688 had the other European powers not interfered.

The social revolution, however, progressed, and found full expression under an Emperor in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, who overthrew the republic, with riduculous ease, although at the time in such a frenzy of fear that a child might have overcome him; he succeeded, and restored all the political evils which were the cause of so much righteous indignation a few years previous. That mankind will surrender tamely all that years of heroic strife and terrible sufferings have secured is not uncommon, but in the case of France it is so pronounced, and presents one of these apparently unsolvable riddles of human behavior so forcibly, that we are compelled to linger, and examine it more closely than we had previously planned.

In the first place Europe was then and for some years after, populated by peasants. The industrial age had commenced in England, but had scarcely touched Europe. What is perhaps quite as important as the absence of the machine, though not generally noted, the potatoe had not been accepted by the French, and so the relatively expensive food demanded more land per family than today. This peasant was by the revolution freed from the handicap tolls imposed by feudalism on the serf; he had his land free from rent, and providing foreign armies did not march over his fields, his post-revolutionary condition was all that he had ever hoped for. To the peasant, the vast majority of the people, the revolution had brought salvation. The armies of Napoleon had secured him against foreign invasion and his entire future promised prosperity. Looking back over the misery of pre-revolutionary days, and the uncertainty of the revolutionary period itself, we can realise that this peasant who had scarcely been touched by the propaganda for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity which had enthused the city population, and having experienced what the city workers certainly missed, an enormously increased measure of prosperity, would readily acquiesce in any possible stabilization of his conditions, regardless of disputes about sovereignty. The city workers, depleted by years of strife or mobilized in victorious armies, disgusted with eternal squabbles about principles, were also ready for peace. And while Napoleon assumed all the prerogatives of a king he also assumed the the traditional labors of a king, and as the immediate result of his usurpation was an increase in the prosperity and glory of France, there remained but few to challenge him in the name of freedom. And after all, however much we may idealize the word, freedom means nothing more nor less than comfort. We have yet to learn of a people possessed in a marked degree of comfort and security, instituting a rebellion in the name of freedom. And we have many examples today of people actually living under onerous restraint, who are loud in the praises of their free institutions. You can fool all the people, all the time, providing you feed them.

Since the beginning of the 19th century France has had many revolutions, but they did not alter the economic status or interfere with the property relations, and neither Napoleon nor the restored Bourbons dared to interfere with the new-found property of the peasant. We wish to particularly emphasise that for years preceding 1789 propaganda of an extensive and intensive character had been carried on. All the intellect of France combined to attack the political form of government. Religion, King, and nobility were held up to ridicule, and while the demand for the abolition of these institutions was voiced by few, they came to be held in general contempt and whatever restraint they formerly possessed over the masses was weakened. In the darker moods of the mind, which the prayer book calls envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness, we are apt to forget our moral instructions

The force of this restraint, "the divinity that doth hedge a King" was beyond question; it appears in many places even today, but its power is gone. It departed when Napoleon peopled the towns of Europe with fishermen. It lingers, but the democratic Royalty of today, top hatted, frowsy looking tradesmen, can never inspire the awe once commanded by the distant resplendent warriors in a superstitious age. That awe had to be overcome, and was, by a series of events and by propaganda.

Political revolutions arise in general from dissatisfaction with the form of governments. When social changes become imminent, necessarily the forms of government lagging far behind bear heavily on the attempts of mankind to meet the altered conditions of life. A changed method of producing the means of life such as resulted from the exploitation of America, Africa and India, was bound to come into conflict with the political forms which had developed around a producing medium which was largely local and almost entirely individual. Such were the conditions which the European merchants and manufacturing towns of 1521 encountered and so the Roman supremacy had to go; such were the conditions which confronted the English, American and French people in the 17th and 18th centuries, and so political revolutions heralded the social revolution. In those countries where the social development lingered, the political forms had an opportunity. The Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns were disposed of with less trouble than is sometimes experienced in getting rid of a labor union President. And as with the two latter no property was threatened, little trouble followed the stampede of these descendants of a hundred kings. And as to the Romanoffs, for a few months Russia was accorded the fullest measure of praise, but,—however, the but will have to keep till we get further into our story.

Socialist Party of Canada

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

March 4th. Speaker: J. HARRINGTON.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY.

Questions. Discussion.

On a Piece of Chalk

By THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY

(Continued from last issue)

There is more curious evidence, again, that the process of covering up, or, in other words, the deposit of Globigerina skeletons, did not go on very fast. It is demonstrable that an animal of the cretaceous sea might die, that its skeleton might lie uncovered upon the sea-bottom long enough to lose all its outward coverings and appendages by putrefaction, and that, after this had happened, another animal might attach itself to the dead and naked skeleton, might grow to maturity, and might itself die before the calcareous mud had buried the whole.

Cases of this kind are admirably described by Sir Charles Lyell. He speaks of the frequency with which geologists find in the chalk a fossilized sea-urchin to which is attached the lower valve of a Crania. This is a kind of shell-fish, with a shell composed of two pieces, of which, as in the oyster, one is fixed and the other free.

"The upper valve is almost invariably wanting, though occasionally found in a perfect state of preservation in the white chalk at some distance. In this case, we see clearly that the sea-urchin first lived from youth to age, then died and lost its spines, which were carried away. Then the young **Crania** adhered to the bared shell, grew and perished in its turn; after which, the upper valve was separated from the lower, before the Echinus became enveloped in chalky mud."

A specimen in the Museum of Practical Geology, in London, still further prolongs the period which must have elapsed between the death of the sea-urchin and its burial by the **Globigerinae.** For the outward face of the valve of a **Crania,** which is attached to a sea-urchin (**Micraster**), is itself overrun by an incrusting coralline, which spreads thence over more or less of the surface of the sea-urchin. It follows that, after the upper valve of the **Crania** fell off, the surface of the attached valve must have remained exposed long enough to allow of the growth of the whole coralline, since corallines do not live embedded in mud.

The progress of knowledge may, one day, enable us to deduce from such facts as these the maximum rate at which the chalk can have accumulated, and thus to arrive at the minimum duration of the chalk period. Suppose that the valve of the **Crania** upon which a coralline has fixed itself in the way just described, is so attached to the sea-urchin that no part of it is more than an inch above the face upon which the sea-urchin rests. Then, as the coralline could not have fixed itself, if the **Crania** had been covered up with chalk mud, and could not have lived had itself been so covered, it follows that an inch of chalk mud could not have accumulated within the time between the death and decay of the soft parts of the sea-urchin and the growth of the coralline to the full size which it has attained. If the decay of the soft parts of the sea-urchin, the attachment, growth to maturity, and decay of the **Crania,** and the subsequent attachment and growth of the coralline, took a year (which is a low estimate enough), the accumulation of the inch of chalk must have taken more than a year; and the deposit of a thousand feet of chalk must, consequently, have taken more than twelve thousand years.

The foundation of all this calculation is of course, a knowledge of the length of time the **Crania** and the coralline needed to attain their full size; and, on this head, precise knowledge is at present wanting. But there are circumstances which tend to show that nothing like an inch of chalk has accumulated during the life of a **Crania**; and, on any probable estimate of the length of that life, the chalk period must have had a much longer duration than that thus roughly assigned to it.

Thus, not only is it certain that the chalk is the mud of an ancient sea-bottom, but it is no less certain that the chalk sea existed during an extremely long period, though we may not be prepared to give a precise estimate of the length of that period in years. The relative duration is clear, though the absolute duration may not be definable. The attempt to affix any precise date to the period at which the chalk sea began, or ended, its existence is baffled by difficulties of the same kind. But the relative age of the cretaceous epoch may be determined with as great ease and certainty as the long duration of that epoch.

You will have heard of the interesting discoveries recently made in various parts of Western Europe of flint implements, obviously worked into shape by human hands, under circumstances which show conclusively that man is a very ancient denizen of these regions.

It has been proved that the old populations of Europe, whose existence has been revealed to us in this way, consisted of savages, such as the Esquimaux are now; that, in the country which is now France, they hunted the reindeer, and were familiar with the ways of the mammoth and the bison. The physical geography of France was in those days different from what it is now—the river Somme, for instance, having cut its bed a hundred feet deeper between that time and this; and it is probable that the climate was more like that of Canada or Siberia that that of Western Europe.

The existence of these people is forgotten even in the traditions of the oldest historical nations. The name and fame of them had utterly vanished until a few years back; and the amount of physical change which has been effected since their day renders it more than probable that, venerable as are some of the historical nations, the workers of the chipped flints of Hoxne or of Amiens are to them, as they are to us, in point of antiquity.

But, if we assign to these hoar relics of long-vanished generations of men the greatest age that can possibly be claimed for them, they are not older than the drift, or boulder clay, which, in comparison with the chalk, is but a very juvenile deposit. You need go no farther than your own sea-board for evidence of this fact. At one of the most charming spots on the coast of Norfolk, Cromer, you will see the boulder clay forming a vast mass, which lies upon the chalk and must consequently have come into existence after it. Huge boulders of chalk are, in fact, included in the clay, and have evidently been brought to the position they now occupy, by the same agency as that which has planted blocks of syenite from Norway side by side with them.

The chalk, then, is certainly older than the boulder clay. If you ask how much, I will again take you no farther than the same spot upon your own coasts for evidence. I have spoken of the boulder clay and drift as resting upon the chalk. That is not strictly true. Interposed between the chalk and the drift is a comparatively insignificant layer containing vegetable matter. But that layer tells a wonderful history. It is full of stumps of trees, standing as they grew. Fir trees are there with their cones, and hazel-bushes with their nuts; there stand the stools of oak and yew trees, breeches and alders. Hence this stratum is appropriately called the "forest-bed."

It is obvious that the chalk must have been upheaved and converted into dry land before the timber trees could grow upon it. As the bolls of some of these trees are from two to three feet in diameter, it is no less clear that the dry land thus formed remained in the same conditions for long ages. And not only do the remains of stately oaks and well-grown firs testify to the duration of this condition of things, but additional evidence to the same effect is afforded by the abundant remains of elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotamuses, and other great wild beasts, which it has yielded to the zealous search of such men as the Rev. Gunn.

When you look at such a collection as he has formed, and bethink you that these elephantine bones did veritably carry their owners about, and these great grinders crunch, in the dark woods of which the forest-bed is now the only trace, it is impossible not to feel that they are as good evidence of the lapse of time as the annual rings of the tree-stumps.

Thus there is a writing upon the walls of cliffs at Cromer, and whoso runs may read it. It tells us, with an authority which cannot be impeached, that the ancient sea-bed of the chalk sea was raised up, and remained dry land, until it was covered with forest, stocked with the great game whose spoils have rejoiced your geologists. How long it remained in that condition cannot be said, but "the whirligig of time brought its revenges" in those days as in these. That dry land, with the bones and teeth of generations of long-lived elephants, hidden away among the gnarled roots and dry leaves of its ancient trees, sank gradually to the bottom of the icy sea, which covered it with huge masses of drift and boulder clay. Sea-beasts, such as the walrus, now restricted to the extreme north, paddled about where birds had twittered among the topmost twigs of the fir trees. How long this state of things endured we know not, but at length it came to an end. The upheaved glacial mud hardened into the soil of modern Norfolk. Forests grew once more, the wolf and the beaver replaced the reindeer and the elephant, and at length what we call the history of England dawned.

Thus you have, within the limits of your own county, proof that the chalk can justly claim a very much greater antiquity than even the oldest physical traces of mankind. But we may go further and demonstrate, by evidence of the same authority as that which testifies to the evistence of the father of men, that the chalk is vastly older than Adam himself.

The Book of Genesis informs us that Adam, immediately upon his creation, and before the appearance of Eve, was placed in the Garden of Eden. The problem of the geographical position of Eden has greatly vexed the spirits of the learned in such matters, but there is one point respecting which, so far as I know, no commentator has ever raised a doubt. This is, that of the four rivers which are said to run out of it, Euphrates and Hiddekel are identical with the rivers now known by the names of Euphrates and Tigris.

But the whole country in which these mighty rivers take their origin, and through which they run, is composed of rocks which are either of the same age as the chalk or of later date. So that the chalk must not only have been formed, but, after its formation, the time required for the deposit of these later rocks and for their upheaval into dry land must have elapsed before the smallest brook which feeds the swift stream of "the great river, the river of Babylon," began to flow.

Thus, evidence which cannot be rebutted, and which need not be strengthened, though if time permitted I might indefinitely increase its quantity, compels you to believe that the earth, from the time of the chalk to the present day, has been the theatre of a series of changes as vast in their amount as they were slow in their progress. The area on which we stand has been first sea and then land, for at least four alternations; and has remained in each of these conditions for a period of great length

Nor have these wonderful metamorphoses of sea into land, and of land into sea, been confined to one corner of England. During the chalk period, or "cretaceous epoch," not one of the present great physical features of the globe was in existence. Our great mountain ranges, Pyrenees, Alps, Himalayas, Andes, have all been upheaved since the chalk was deposited, and the cretaceous sea flowed over the sites of Sinai and Ararat.

(To be concluded)

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WINNIPEG, MAN.

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Business meeting ever yWednesday at 8 p.m. Economics Class every Monday at 8 p.m. Correspondence invited. When visiting Winnipeg visit the Local Headquarters at 530 Main Street.

Editor of The Western Clarion,
Nanaimo, Vancouver Island
February 24, 1923.

Dear Comrade:

It was with sorrow that the comrades residing in this section of Vancouver Island have learned of the painful death of the youngest son of our esteemed comrade Arthur Jordan.

As is customary with coal miners on their return from work, they bath. Comrade Jordan having returned was standing within a few feet of a tub containing boiling water; reading a letter which his wife had handed to him. The little boy of two years was playing in an adjoining room, when his mother turned to the cold water tap. Looking back towards the tub she saw the child backing towards it and called a warning to his father to catch him. The father almost succeeded, but before quite reaching him the child fell in the tub. Although the child was drawn out instantly, it was too late. The child died from the effects of its injuries five hours later.

Funeral services were held on Feby., 15th, at the McAdie Undertaking parlors when addresses were delivered by G. Moore, James Lister and T. A. Barnard. Owing to the depth of snow and conditions of the roads the burial did not take place until Feby. 23.

Comrade Jordan has been known for the past fifteen years for his zeal and activity in the labor and Socialist movement in Canada and New Zealand. Previous to this sad occurrence Com. Jordan had been chosen by the miners of the island to attend the enquiry at Cumberland into the recent mining disaster at that place.

We bespeak the sympathy of his comrades and fellow workers wherever Com. Jordan and his family are known.

New Zealand labor papers please copy.

A Nanaimo Comrade.

OIL AND TURKEY.

not recognise secret treaties or agreements." (Oil, Engineering and Finance, 2/12/22).

After the oil scandal at Genoa, the oil bugs became more cautious in their tactics.

Sir Henri Deterding of the R.D.S. and Sir Charles Greenway of the A.P.O. were known to be "lurking in the purlieus of Lausanne," but could not be observed at the conference, until the Turkish typists were examined "in several of whom striking resemblances to eminent oil magnates have been observed." (Daily News, 21222).

Yet a further complication has appeared, for "Mr. Untermeyer's mission is to urge upon the Lausanne Conference the claims of the twenty-two Turkish princes and princesses to oilfields estimated to be worth over £200,000,000 sterling. The presentation of these claims is said to be financed by American and British citizens." (Oil News, 9/12/22).

It is as well to watch the intrigues of the oil magnates closely, for to quote a French author, "To ensure success to their vast designs they are capable of fomenting revolutions in Mexico, or sowing civil war in Asia; to crush a competitor they are willing to set fire to Europe and the world." (Delaisi Oil, p. 81).

—The (Irish) Workers' Republic (London).

THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

(Continued from page 3)

been thoroughly exploited, we will not—we cannot follow the straight path of direct expropriation. Because, the straight road is the road to political supremacy, the road of revolution. And whatever its actual journey may prove to be, its entrance is threatening in the extreme. The process of evolution—of growth, maturity and change—is a passionless and deliberate movement. Like the "hound of heaven" it goes, unhurrying, and unperturbed. The elements of comfort and satisfaction are wound and woven into the very fabric of society. They are the beat of its heart, the throb of its life. They are derived from its time-needs. They are interlinked with the heritage of yesterday, and interfused with the woven hopes of tomorrow. And until those hopes have proven abortive, and that heritage a vanity, till the customs and laws and institutions formulated, deviously yet unmistrustingly, from and in the darkness of development, which control the present with the prestige of the past have proven clearly their ineffectiveness and incapability for the continued furtherance of human welfare, society cannot but continue in allegiance to customs and institutions which have been the provident interpreters of its progress.

Consequently, the road of revolution is open only to society as a whole. no single section, or party, unsupported by the time spirit of development, may venture with impunity upon its unrelenting ways. And every such appeal, however lofty its motive, is not only a menace to the proletariat who alone possess the incentive to action, but is also a sacrifice to the right of might which is in supreme control of the machinery of suppression. Society as a whole will follow that path, not by force, nor by theory, nor by appeal, but only when, by force and by theory and by appeal, by every impulse and influence of experience and education, the prime cause of its continual trouble, its deepening sorrows and gathering miseries have been forced ineffaceably home on its consciousness. In working for that understanding we are working parallel with the forces which are hastening that consciousness. That is the short path to victory, and the crucial test of (present) activity.

When that consciousness has ripened we shall have a new ordering of social affairs; different concepts of life; and a social standard of living. With its coming, the unsociable society of class and its concomitant aggressions of profit shall vanish away. And the twin standard of life, like its twin associate in morality, shall perish in the natural probity of natural living, in the social equity of understanding. For, in the triumph of economic freedom lives the flower and fruit of the accumulated experience of the ages; the awakening and fertilisation of the accrued faculties of the mind; and the actualisation of the exponential potentialities of man. And although we shall never see it, we shall know that in the risen day of its wisdom that society shall be secure; and whatever its problems may be, it shall bow no more to the graven gods of night and the visionless idols of power.

R.

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, factortories, 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.

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