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WESTERN CLARION

A ... EVENTS

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An Antiquary's Log-Book

By JONATHAN OLDBUCK

THE 18th OF BRUMAIRE

A comrade asks me to explain the meaning of Marx's title "The Eighteenth Brumaire." Any decent history of the French Revolution will give the meaning of the phrase. To those not well acquainted with French history the title is somewhat bizarre and undoubtedly puzzling, more especially to those who have merely read extracts from or references to the book in question. It is certainly not a brilliant title for a popular book, however clever the aptness of the phrase to the subject matter might be. Who but a specialist in history would bother to carry in his mind the circumstances of an event that happened on a particular date which none but a student of a particular field of history knows anything about? This especial 18th Brumaire was November 9, 1799, when, by means of intrigue and conspiracy, the creatures of Napoleon Bonaparte, alleged representatives of the French people in the "Council of Ancients," succeeded in removing the seat of Government from Paris to St. Cloud and in pitchforking the arch-plotter himself into the post of military dictator. It was the first important political preliminary to his assuming the Emperorship, and the first nail in the coffin of Republican Government. After the fall of Napoleon the Bourbons returned to the throne of France. In 1848, however, a revolution drove Louis Phillipe into exile and a somewhat similar set of circumstances as those which operated in 1799 gave the Bonapartists an opportunity of imitating the coup d'etat of Napoleon the First. This was accomplished on December 2, 1851, and in due time Louis Napoleon became second Emperor of the Bonaparte dynasty. Marx gave his masterly analysis of the situation the title of "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon."

As Clear as Mud.

I can imagine some young readers exclaiming, "But what on earth is a Brumaire?"—after the manner of the young lady's query, "What are Keats?" As the repetitions occur in books, historical and romantic, of 18th Brumaire, the Law of Prarial and the Insurrection of 9th Thermidor, etc., etc., it will perhaps be a service to the movement generally if I explain not only these terms but the mystery of the calendar altogether. One is apt to get confused on the question of dates if one isn't aware of the various changes which have been made in our reckoning of time. For example, Charles 1st was beheaded in January, 1649, but at that time the new year didn't begin until March, consequently we read in contemporary accounts of the execution that he was beheaded in the year 1648. Again, the Bolshevik revolution took place on November 7, 1917, but at that time in Russia it was not November 7 but October 25. Russia, having brought her calendar into line with the western countries, now uses the same date as we do and celebrates the anniversary of the Revolution on November 7. Let us see if we can clear things up a bit.

The Calendars of Antiquity.

Many of the ancient nations, such as the Jews, divided the year into twelve lunar months, adding a thirteenth every now and then in order to accommodate it to the seasons. The Egyptians, who were celebrated for astronomy, made their year consist of twelve months of thirty days each adding five supplementary days at the year's end. This is interesting, as will be seen later on. Solon the Greek (B.C. 594) altered the month's length to twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, introducing an intercalary month occasionally to restore equilibrium. The Romans had a year of 304 days long, but in the time of Numa two extra months named February and January were inserted every second year. Later on these two months occupied different positions, January coming first. During the period known as the "Decemvirate" (B.C. 452) the arrangement was monkeyed with again, and nobody knew exactly where they were. The time calculations became insufferable. An individual in power could abuse the calendar at will by knocking out days or inserting them to suit his election arrangements. This led to fearful corruption, whole months being filched from the "calendar" by autocrats to suit their political ends.

Enter Julius Caesar.

Julius Caesar, "the foremost adulterer of Rome," reformed the Roman calendar. He probably had as much to do with it as Lord Carnarvon had with the discovery of Tutankhamen. Sosogines was the real time-merchant. He made a scientific discovery, to wit, by taking a definite point on the path of the sun it will take the sun 365 days, 5 hours, and nearly 49 minutes to return to that point. Therefore that is the sun's true year. The thing to do was to try and get the "civil" year to keep in step, "as the sayin' is," and to keep on keeping in step. All years cannot possible contain the same number of days if the point at which the year commences remains fixed, so Cæsar decreed that every fourth year should be a "leap year" containing 366 days while every other year should contain 365. In Numa's time the vernal equinox occurred in March, but in the years of confusion it happened any time. Caesar next restored the vernal equinox to its correct position by adding another two months to the calendar. Thus was born "July" (Julius) and "August" (Augustus) and "the last year of confusion" saw the beginning of the Julian calendar. The Julian year began on January 1, B. C. 46. The first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth and eleventh months all contained thirty-one days. The others contained thirty each except February, which only had twenty-nine. Every leap year one day was added to February, which made it thirty days long like the rest. This was a sensible kind of arrangement, but it didn't last. When Augustus (adopted son of Julius) began to reign he objected to the month named after him being one day shorter than the month named after Julius. His despicable egotism was the cause of the present idiotic arrangement. To make August thirty-one days long he annexed a day from February and stuck it on to August. February became twenty-eight days long and has remained so ever since. Caesar's attempt to reform the calendar was splendidly scientific, but it had one drawback. The civil year still remained faster than the solar year by eleven minutes and fourteen seconds. This amounted to one day in 128 years, so in the course of a few cenutries—centuries filled with the bitterness of Christian sectarian bigots disputing the correctness of certain dates for the celebration of religious festivals—the calendar again became a laughing stock. In the 16th century the vernal equinox was occurring perilously near the beginning of the year and fresh calculations were rendered necessary, in consequence Pope Gregory XIII. ordered them to be made.

Gregory's Mixture.

A man, called Christopher Schlussel, better known as "Clavius," was the brains of the new reformation. He was a German and a Jesuit, and the "Gregorian Calendar," now in use, was the result of his investigations and computations.

In the year 1582 ten days were omitted from the month of July. In other words, 15th July was made to become 5th July, and a marvellous new rule was ordered to be observed —"Every year of which the number is divisible by four without a remainder is to be a leap year. When the year is a centurial year, and it occurs four years after a leap year, it is not to be a leap year itself unless its two left hand numbers are divisible by four." Thus the years 1600, 1892, 1896, 2000 are all leap years. The years 1700, 1800, 1900 (centurial years) are not leap years. That is why there was not a leap year between 1896 and 1904—the two left hand figures of 1900 did not "divide by four." This is a wonderful arrangement. An idea of its perfection will be gathered from the result of a little calculation. So exactly are the civil and solar years made to correspond that 4000 years from now the civil 1st of January will be almost exactly the same distance from the vernal equinox in point of time as it is today, for the year is only twenty-six seconds faster than the sun, which equals a solar loss of one day in 3323 years. The reason for the confusion regarding old dates is due to the fact that the "Gregorian Calendar" was not adopted by Germany until 1700; Britain, 1752 (Scotland, 1600); and Russia, 1902-1918. Most Catholic countries adopted it in the year of its birth (1582).

The Revolutionary Calendar.

During the French Revolution, Fabre d' Eglantine was authorized to "revolutionise" the Calendar. The effort resulted in the picturesque "Revolutionary Calendar," of which 18th Brumaire is a date, Fabre began his "year" on the 22nd of September, and ended the first month on the 21st October. This first month was called "Vendemiaire (vintage month). On the 22nd October began the second month, called "Brumaire" (foggy month). The third month began on 22nd November, and was called "Frimaire" (frosty month). In due succession, as above, followed the other nine months in this order: Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, (snowy, rainy and windy months), Germinal, Florial, Prarial (budding, flowery, and pasture months), Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor (harvest, hot, and fruit months). Each of these months began on the 22nd of the old month, which was called the "1st Vendemiaire" or 1st Brumaire," as the case might be. Each month has 30 days, and at the year's end five days were added which belonged to no month. This was identical with the system of the ancient Egyptians. The months were divided not into weeks, but

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The Superiority Complex

HOKUM APPLIED.

SOME little while ago the Editor extended an invitation to all and sundry to take part in a "revival of learning"—as he expressed it. I am not sure whether this invitation was intended to include an attempt to reconsider the Party's "tactics" in the light of modern contributions to sociological thought. But I get the impression from recent issues of the "Clarion" that such an attempt would be regarded at least with slightly less disfavor than hitherto. Perhaps it is that the wish is father to the thought. However that may be I feel the impulse to write a little piece along those lines and, who knows, it may get by the Editor and I may once again experience that subtle exhilaration that comes from seeing oneself "in print."

Obviously the Party's tactics can only be intelligently considered with reference to its objective. It is only by considering what effect a man desires to produce that I can judge as to whether his methods are sensible. Despite a fairly long acquaintance with the Party I am not at all sure that I know just what its objective is. However, one must start somewhere so perhaps I will be permitted, for the sake of discussion, to assume that the Party's objective is approximately what presents itself to me as being implicit in the circumstances.

The Party is frequently described by active members as being a purely "Educational" party—in the sense, I take it, that while it endeavors to dispense certain information, to propagate a certain doctrine, to inculcate a certain social viewpoint having as its objective a certain Social Reorganisation it does not propose, as a Party, to take any more active part in such reorganisation.

It is one of the articles of the Party's faith, so to speak, that out of the material conditions of a given society is born the society that shall succeed it. If this were interpreted in its narrowest sense a purely "educational" party would be not only unnecessary but quite futile. The change would be such as material conditions determined and would occur when and how material conditions dictated quite irrespective of whatever mental condition might be. (There is room, of course, for much argument as to the precise significance of the term "material." But, if it means anything, it must surely be opposed to "mental.") Obviously then the Party believes that mental conditions can affect the anticipated change in some degree as to its nature or the time and manner of its occurence. So that it would seem that the Party hopes by propagating what is sometimes called "Socialist Philosphy" to bring about the desired change more surely, or sooner, or easier than it would otherwise occur. But as this "Philosophy" can conceivably be effective only by its influence upon the minds of the workers, the Party's immediate objective, then, it to get this doctrine to the workers in a manner so convincing as to substantially influence their current conduct.

Now the manner in which this has been, and I suppose is still being, attempted admits, I believe, of no doubt. It is a matter if not of common knowledge at least among those of radical thought of notoriety. It is, with perhaps a majority of the Party's members, even a proud boast. It consists in general of plain and—should I say simple?—exposition of theory, of Socialist Philosophy—which, of course, to all good socialists is Truth—together with such sociological information as supports its conclusions, leaving the workers—such of them as will listen to it—to accept if they will and to act as it may move them. It will have no truck with reforms, no pandering to sentiment or emotion. Just the plain, unvarnished Truth.

There is a certain austere dignity about this attitude that, at first blush, seems positively awesome. It seems so virtuous, so chaste, so—so Holy that it feels almost like sacrelige to question it. Nevertheless this "Tactic" considered in the light of modern thought—or for that matter in the light of Marxian thought—and in relation to the objective as stated is, I am convinced, quite hopelessly ineffective.

The belief in its efficacy would seem to rest upon two assumptions, neither of which will bear a moments reflection. First, that there is something inherently compelling in the Truth. That it has only to be proclaimed to be accepted and only to be accepted to influence conduct. Second, that man is so crassly materialistic an animal and so foresighted withal that the prospect of material betterment however distant will occupy his mind and influence his conduct to the exclusion of all sentimental or emotional factors.

Now, without raising here the vexed question propounded by that shrewd old rascal, M. Pilate, it must be fairly obvious that, in the matter of Truth, one man's meat can easily be another man's poison. One may offer information which one is convinced is of a nature most profound and positive; one may offer evidence, argument, proof which seems to leave no possible ground of objection unmet, but if the proffered Truth should happen to conflict with some immediate material interest or some emotional complex of the listener it has about as much chance of acceptance as one would have of persuading a sufferer from hay-fever that golden-rod is not an invention of the devil. Further, supposing there exist no such barrier to its acceptance, unless it connect itself with some immediate material interest or appeal to some sentiment or emotional complex it will influence the acceptee's current conduct about as much as the Truth about Betelgeuse influences mine.

The fact is that in matters appertaining to his material interests the average man is still the short-sighted animal that he seems always to have been. He sees only what is right under his nose. The only truths which have any compelling influence on his current conduct are such as connect themselves with his present needs. In the light of that classic The Materialistic Interpretation the whole of history is full of evidence of this. But one need look no further than the field of religion for confirmation. The average man may accept, more or less indifferently, certain sublime Truths regarding the riches that await him hereafter if only he will forego some of the good things of the present. But that these Truths influence him but little even under favorable conditions and that he frankly disregards them at such times as they run counter to his immediate necessities is a matter of such common knowledge that one hears it now even from the pulpit.

Further, he is so rank a sentimentalist that he will swallow even the bitter pill of immediate material disadvantage providing it be sufficiently well coated with the sugar of sentiment and emotional appeal. Consider how cheerfully withal he endured the hardships arising out of the late European unpleasantness, in large part because of the influence of such sentimental pish-mish as would leave intelligent men such as you, fond reader, and me quite cold. Think of the risks of death or disablement into which he permitted himself to be herded in his hundreds of thousands rather than face the slightly more certain unpleasantness contingent upon resistance. Consider the animal in the light of near and remote history. What are the strings by which he may be moved? Apart from actual coercion, with which we are not at the moment concerned, briefly they are two—immediate material interest and the appeal to emotion. At their behest he will endure the unbearable and believe the incredible. The lure of immediate material interest and emotional appeal cunningly compounded and artfully varied to meet local conditions formed the base of that astonishingly successful propaganda which forced him into the late war and kept him there for four appalling years, which in a few brief weeks completely reformed the collective opinion of those fellow numskulls our neighbours to the South. And, if we search the records, we shall find that approximately the same may be said of every unpleasantness into which he has permitted himself to be led for the benefit of his masters. That is the kind of animal he is. He sees only what seems to his immediate interest and a little hokum judiciously applied will obscure even that.

All this, of course, you will be protesting fond reader, is nothing new. I admit it. I do not suppose for one moment that I am here bursting into the limelight with some hitherto undiscovered Truth. But I have a feeling that the fact and its implications with respect to socialist propaganda have not been fully appreciated. One hears so much of the alleged efficacy of "hewing to the line," "peddling the straight dope," "sticking to the facts" and so on that one falls almost insensibly into the belief that the well known "average man" spends his earthly existence in a feverish search for some incorruptible body such as the S. P. C. which will tell him the plain truth without trimmings. One hears so much of the exemplary virtue of this tactic that one almost believes that the sinister forces of Capitalism all are leagured to seduce us from this sacred duty. Such would seem to be the plain inference. Whereas precisely the contrary is the case. Should we ever desert the straight and narrow path we have held for so long and commence to make use of those powerful weapons by which the elect of the earth have so long held the rest of us in submission it is then we should come to realise just how jealous our masters are of their control over the minds of their puppets. As it is they leave us for the most part severely alone. Evidently they do not share the Party's belief in the potency of its tactic. And I am coming to entertain a suspicion that they are excellent judges of the means by which their slaves may be influenced. And as for the average man's yearning for plain, unvarnished Truth. The very idea moves one to great gusts of abdominal laughter. The poor boob is as suspicious of any truth that is not garnished with the usual hokum as he is of a liver pill bereft of the customary sugar coating and is as little likely to swallow the one as the other.

To such an animal the Party's "Education" seems somehow remote. The prospect of a great social betterment to come sometime, somehow does not enthuse him. There are a thousand and one problems of immediate need which harass him and in solving these the Party offers him no help. As, whatever else he may be, he is not a hypochondriac the Party's occasional disquisitions upon the iniquities and injustices of Capitalism, with which he is quite familiar first hand, do not interest him since they offer no prospect of immediate relief. Their rigid avoidance of all emotional appeal leaves him cold. He will flock to this lecture or that in his thousands from the Psychology of Salesmanship to Divine Healing, be profoundly impressed and contribute liberally. But if he should happen to wander into the Star on Sunday evening—assuming him not to be a regular pew occupant—he will arise and curse lustily in the middle of the sermon and in making his way out display an uncanny facility in avoiding the collection plate. In brief the Party's preachings attract him not at all except for such rare occasions as they touch upon some matter concerning his immediate interest—such an occasion, for instance, as when the Party held anti-conscription meetings, which action, I understand, is still held by some active members to have been a regretable departure from the straight and narrow path. That is the kind of animal he is. It is a pity—perhaps. But damme if I can see what is to be done about it—except take him as he is and do the best we can with him.

Considered in principle the problem is really absurdly simple. No blacksmith in the exercise of his art would be perplexed by it for one moment. Knowing that iron is amenable only to certain treatment he would, if he were compelled to use iron, work upon it in accordance with the treatment to which it would respond. He would not waste his time and effort treating iron as if it were brass. So with the problem of influencing the mind and conduct of the human animal. We must, if we would be successful, work upon him in accordance with the treatment to which he will most readily respond.

If this were a "stove-pipe" discussion I. should undoubtedly be interrupted at this point by some such question as, "Do you mean that the Party should peddle Reform, Commodity Struggle, Sentiment and all that bunk?"

Well as a matter of fact I do not suggest that the Party should do any other than it desires to do. I hold that there is no duty incumbent upon the Party to be other than it desires to be. And here it occurs to me that all this may be, as Comrade Saklatvala would say, just so much tosh. I have been arguing from the assumption that the Party desires to actively influence the minds of the workers to the end that the Social Revolution be brought about sooner or easier or more surely than it might otherwise be. It may well be that this assumption is false. On the whole I would not be surprised if it were. It may be that the Party is really no more concerned about the Social Revolution than—than I am, for instance.

There is a peculiarly keen satisfaction to individuals of a certain type in belonging to a more or less exclusive set, removed from the common herd. Would it be impertinent to ask how many members of the Party are attracted to it by some such consideration? How many of us regard it as an intellectual group in which one may find refuge from the banalities of the boobery? Indeed may it not be a pertinent question to ask in how large a part some such consideration contributes to the cohesion —such as it may be—of all Socialist parties? It is a commonplace to state that the more of an individualist one is the more one tends to withdraw from the main group and seek the more congenial atmosphere of some smaller group of like kind. How many Socialists are Socialists mainly because they are Individualists? Come, Comrades! Open confession is good for the—subconscious mind. I will race you all to the penitent bench. For what, indeed, could constitute a more effective barrier against the common herd than a doctrine sufficiently profound to be unintelligible to the majority, delivered in a manner suffiently remote from the immediate realities of life to be uninteresting to all but the faithful few? And what could be more congenial to individuals of this particular type than the freedom, so characteristic of all socialist parties, to attack every other god but our own—and even, in moments of exhilaration, to doubt even Him? The idea intrigues me. Already I am half convinced that if the Party was not actually conceived in this image it has since, by force of selection as it were, evolved into it.

However that may be I must not appear to evade my hypothetical questioner. So I will say to him that this "bunk" appears to be in large part the stuff of which life is composed for the great majority, Again, it is a pity—perhaps. But there it is. I will say further, arguing always, of course, from my assumption, that it is necessary for the Party to critically review some of the things it appears hitherto to have accepted without question. And one of them is the notion that "Education" in the sense of the mere dissemination of certain alleged facts, which socialists believe to be true and which they are convinced have to do with the ultimate betterment of mankind, will have some particular efficacy in influencing current conduct—"Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall set ye free." We seem to have been taking man at his own valuation. We have been under the impression that he accepts or rejects statements of fact **because** they are true or false. The fact is he calls them Truths **when** he has accepted them and lies **because** for some reason—not necessarily rational—he cannot accept them. And he is influenced in his beliefs by numerous and diverse factors of interest, emotion, custom, tradition, habit, instinct and what not. The important thing for us to discover is what are the factors which influence him to accept a doctrine with such fervour and enthusiasm that it shall manifest itself in his conduct. To this end I would recommend the study of Psychology—not that it may form the content of socialist propaganda but it may inform the propagandist.

I would argue further that if the Party really desires to influence the worker to a certain end it must needs go about it the only way in which experience has shown he can be influenced. It must coat its pill in sugar. It must present its plain unvarnished Truth in terms of sentiment and emotion. It must describe its distant paradise in terms of immediate needs. It must coax, persuade, cajole, lead, drive—whatever you will—the working class out of the pit of ignorance, stupidity, superstition and economic subjection, a step at a time since they cannot be induced to interest themselves in the ultimate objective. Further, since I am inclined to agree with "C" that revolution is probably only the effect in historical perspective of the totality of a number of smaller and seemingly insignificant reforms, I would say that the Party should modify its position with regards to reforms. For this last authority may be found in the writings of Marx—assuming he is still held to be an authority.

If, now, the Party cannot bring itself to consider seriously some such change of tactics as I have here attempted briefly to suggest then I would say that to me it would appear as evidence that the Party is not nearly so much concerned about getting its doctrine to the workers as a whole as it is in retaining its position as a somewhat unique and esoteric cult.

Frankly I do not suppose the Party will consider any change whatever in its position or tactics. Nor for my part would I have it do so. The Party suits me very well as it is. It provides an atmosphere of psuedo intellectuality that at times I find very refreshing. A party actively interested in endeavoring to influence the working class to move consciously toward the Social Revolution would of necessity be compelled to deal in sentimental and opportunistic flub-dud such as would bore me to distraction—as it probably would most of the present members. Nor would such a party tolerate upon its premises one such as myself.

As it is the Party has a "stove-pipe" circle which is unique. Therein one may discuss with a straight face questions such as—What is Capital? Was Marx a Reformer? What is the Class Struggle? What is the M. C. H.? And so on—questions which provide inexhaustible material for entertaining discussions which have the added merit of committing one to nothing very serious.

All of which is quite alright with me. I like it. But, frankly, are we really a Revolutionary Party?

C. K.

ORGANISERS.

WHO knows the duties of an organiser? I hear you say every one can answer that question; all he has to do is to go from place to place addressing meetings, visiting locals and trying to form new ones; he must be well read in all the activities of the movement and keep himself informed regarding past history and current events. One would think this is all that is essential to make a successful organizer. For the cities no doubt this will suffice, but will it fill the bill in the country districts? Try it and see, or if you have not the necessary qualifications, nor the aptitude for speaking, listen to the comrades and you will soon discover that an organizer has to be a man of many parts. I have heard of young men who are so intellectual that while on the circuit they spent their spare time reading, leaving the ashes to pile up in their rooms. True they were orators, well-informed and witty, but these accomplishments did not leave such a lasting impression on their hostesses as the circumstance of the ashes piling up. I have heard of others who made quite a hit throughout the provinces because they were good dish washers, they could chop wood, clean the stove and pump water, they could hold the baby and help the school children with their lessons. Nor is this adaptability all that is expected from an organizer. In order to be truly popular with the young as well as the elderly he must know how to conduct himself socially so that he may be kept in remembrance, not so much for his instructive speeches but because he is a first rate dancer. Such visitors are held in high esteem on the prairie. We will do well to bear in mind that such a varied programme requires a man of iron constitution. Travelling on the prairie is no holiday, even in the best of weather. In the light of such reports we need not wonder when we hear of some speakers who have toured the prairies with a repertoire of but one speech. That was a matter of necessity, they had not the opportunity while on the circuit to prepare or to rehearse another. We cannot advance the claim that these domestic and social attainments do not concern the movement, since we are told that our movement embraces every phase of human activity. So then, organisers, when you leave Vancouver with the blessing of the Harrington Academy, and peradventure $5.00 for travelling and other expenses, it will be well to see that you have qualified yourself for the pioneer life of the mountains and plains.

A. H.

Knowledge Comes First

BY R. SINCLAIR.

BURNS did truly say "The best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley." Since the Russian revolution and up till the present moment there is a note of dissatisfaction among a section of the militant proletariat. The main reason behind this discontent of theirs is the apparent weakness of the various movements throughout the country. Our minds have been keyed up to the highest pitch by great historical events such as the overthrow of the monarchy in Russia and the substitution of a form of government which measures higher and is more in harmony with working class ideals than any other change recorded in past history. And there was the ending of a great war which for brutality of purpose and loss of life has been unequalled in the annals of world events. Crowned heads have taken the route which society saw fit. The right of God was rejected for the power of man. Uprisings of the workers have taken place all over the world. And they stood out more prominently in Finland, Poland, Austria and Germany. Governments changed over night and some of the changes were not for the benefit of the workers either; the time is too short to forget the white terror and its stern methods of suppression. Strikes took place of such magnitude as to strike fear and consternation into the hearts of the bourgeoisie. Arrests and deportations were the order of the day for hundreds of workers, and jail sentences were imposed on as many more who are still in the jails for that heinous offence, Les Majesty.

It is not to be wondered at when the excitement has subsided and a general survey taken that we fiind many whose hopes and dreams were rudely shattered by the lull that now exists all over. They had idolised Russia as the foundation of all liberty; all their appeals have been based on its behalf. As a rallying cry Russia has electrified their minds and dulled their masters on more than one occasion. The ultimatum from the British workers was a case in point, "Hands off Russia." But now the glamor is gone. They are working out their own salvation in Russia as will have to be done elsewhere. We do not lack any admiration for what happened in that country, but admiration for others doesn't solve our problem; Neither does it solve theirs, and the increased number which was thought

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SECRETARIAL NOTES

LAST issue we referred to the efforts of the committee appointed by Local (Vancouver) No. 1 to raise funds to obtain permanent headquarters for the S. P. of C. in Vancouver. The committee have had drawn up circular letters which are self-explanatory, the subject matter being introduced, thus:—

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P. O. Box 710
Vancouver, B. C.,
1st May, 1923

Dear Comrade,—

We are sending to you the enclosed subscription list to bring to your attention a matter of serious importance to all Comrades who are interested in continued Socialist propaganda, a matter which we consider to be worthy of your earnest efforts and support.

The need for the spread of sound education of such a character as that spread by the Socialist Party of Canada is emphasized the more at the present time through the appearance of apathy and indifference into which the movement at large has fallen, not alone locally but throughout the country and in the world at large. Though this indifference is induced in a measure through reaction from a previous somewhat surcharged enthusiasm, there is warrant for supposing that a vigorous and sound educational programme will again assert itself as a balancing factor in the general body of thought in the ranks of the producing elements everywhere.

It has long been recognized that Vancouver, B.C., is a centre of much importance and influence in the educational field among, principally, the ranks of labor, and even the opponents of the policies of the S. P. of C. readily lodge the weight of that influence at the door of the Socialist Party of Canada. We are not registering any claim upon a monopoly in the realm of understanding. Indeed, we are ever learning, and we are determined that (with your help, we hope) the workers shall learn with us.

And so we come to the point of our discourse: Every line of human endeavor ultimately resolves itself, considered as a practical matter, into a matter to be decided upon in the light of every day detail. Thus we come to a consideration of the purport of our subscription list enclosed, which is, that by raising enough money to build or buy premises suitable to the uninterrupted carrying on of the work of Socialist enducational propaganda we shall get rid of the hindrance that stands in the way of that work now.

The principles involved are worthy of our greatest efforts; therefore, as some Comrades, for certain economic reasons, cannot take an active part in the work of the party, the least they can do is to pay whatever they can afford in order to help make the lot of our speakers, organizers, editor and Dominion Executive more conducive to their efficiency, to the betterment of the propaganda, the official organ and work of the party in general. So do your part in the greatest of all causes—the cause of Socialism, the one and only hope of the human race.

We are in hope that you will be able to interest others and that you will help our project if you can. We send you a subscription list herewith, and we shall be glad to send you a receipt book also. The undersigned committee is appointed by Local (Vancouver) No. 1 of the Socialist Party of Canada. Please make all moneys payable to Ewen MacLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.

For Local (Vancouver) No. 1, S. P. of C.,
Headquarters Committee,
James Lott, Chairman.

There has been a measure of response to the committeee's efforts, as witness the following:—

Cash Received

R. Jones	$10.00
A. R. Snowball(collected)	6.50
Mrs. Mathieson (collected)	1.00
J. Lott	25.00
J. C. Blair	50.00
Harry Grand	10.00
Total cash received	$102.50

Promises to Pay.

R. Jones	$15.00
Com, Tiderington	25.00
Geo. Jackson	25.00
Erwin Bros and friends	100.00
C. Stephenson	25.00
Chas. Butt	25.00
C. O'Brien	25.00
C. C.	25.00
W. G. Kievell	25.00
Mrs. Wright	100.00
Sam Buch	25.00
Com. Dorril	25.00
A Warburton	10.00
Outstanding promises to pay	$450.00

The measure of success in this venture depends upon the amount of interest taken in it and the energy expended in seeing it through. Get a subscription list and lend your help. If we are not successful in this we are forever on the run from one back room to another, forever moving on, dissipating good energy in the service of the landlord. We never know what can be done till we try. Here's one thing we never tried before. Let's see what can be done—with your help.

* * *

PICNIC——PICNIC
SUNDAY, JULY 1.
At Kitsilano Beach

Directions: Assemble at noon. The women folk are requested to bring sandwiches and cake only, and to leave the family plate at home. Tea and coffee, ice cream and fruit will be provided by Local Vancouver No. 1 S. P. of C. and a collection taken to defray expenses. Arrangements have been made for children's sports.

All people who can make friends among Socialists are welcome to attend.

* * *

Medicine Hat District, Attention!

Following is the schedule for C. Lestor in and around Medicine Hat distarict:

July 15th, Medicine Hat; July 16th, New Dale; July 17th, Prosby; July 18th, Turtle Plains; July 19, Whitla and Seven Persons; July 20, Winnifred; July 21, Bow Island; July 22nd, T. O. Nesting (picnic); July 23, Red Rock; July 24, Bob Hostil (school house); July 25, Orin; July 26, Many Berries.

* * *

Comrades in Alberta and Saskatchewan should communicate with R. Burns, secretary Alta P. E. C., 27 Central Building, Calgary. Comrade Burns reports that Lestor is at present on a three weeks' speaking tour on the C. N. R. Good meetings up to date. It is expected that Comrade Tree will go to Edmonton at any early date and that a new S. P. of C. Local will result.

* * *

The Clarion columns are the poorer this issue in the absence of "C". What with speaking on the street corner and in the theatre, arranging crockery ware, ice cream and general detail matters for the picnic, "C" has been mixing philosophy and fact too busily to spill ink for this issue. A note here to Comrade B. Tamarkin: "C" is glad to have your criticism, and promises to deal with it as soon as time warrants.

Clarion Mail Bag

SOME enquiries regarding the Clarion have been received since the last Mail Bag opened, notable in Sidney Mines. Com. C. MacDonald has been active in getting subs. in Kentville, and is always camping on the doorstep of his friends worrying subs. out of them. Parry and Sim, Clarion readers for sixteen years in and around Billtown, N.S., threaten that with a good fruit crop in that region, there should fall a good Clarion crop of subs. M. Goudie and the St. John comrades send $9 to the C. M. F. (acknowledged last issue).

Apparently the "Untidy States," as Goudie has it, are to be people by the folk from the maritime (Canadian) provinces, judging by the exodus. They go where the job is, Goudie, and if Canada ever gets a job outside of the newspaper offices they'll be back again.

Subs. from Stratford, Ont., and Transconaa, Man. Com. Glendenning, sending subs. from Winnipeg says the S. P. local there has held meetings in Victoria Park during the past three Sundays, but at the moment of writing were having difficulty in getting the usual permit from the civic authorities. They are still speaking on the market square. The W. P. betray no activity in Winnipeg at the present time.

Another Winnipeg comrade, a Ford employee,—working for Henry is the popular way to say it, and those who work for Henry cannot afford advertisement—says that Geordie's Plebs Economics Text Book Review has knocked nearly all the ideas he had on Political Economy out of his head. And others too. Good! He suggests that questions would be in order. All right, like Barkis—we're always willing'.

Subs from Regina and Glenbrae, Sask., Scotfield, Alta., Calgary, Meeting Creek, Oxville, Barrons and Morningside. Com. McKenzie of Beverley, Alta., is appreciative of the past and present work of the S. P. of C., and comments favorably on Lestor's efforts recently in Edmonton. J. J. Albers of Meeting Creek arranged two meetings for Lestor there, with good result in general interest.

An unsigned letter reaches us from New Westminster. Letters and articles should bear the identity of the writer, even if not for publication. We have said this before, of course. Subs. from Graham Island, Notch Hill, Victoria, Lock Port, Redonda Bay, Nanaimo—all in B. C. Our old friend Abe Karme says the slave animal around his area are more interested in the log market than in the slave market.

The Clarion "foreign" Mail Bag is quite a hefty package. It has always been a big part of our function to educate the heathen abroad, hence the correspondence. Subs. and many enquiries this time from Frisco, Indiana, Cleveland, Ohio, Pittsburg, Pa., Butte, Montana, Portland, Ore., Los Angeles, Plummer, Idaho, Chicago, Ill., and Niagara Falls, N. Y. Also Wellington and Blackball, New Zealand. From the last mentioned place Annie Balderstone writes appreciatively of the work of J. A. McDonald while in New Zealand, and in support of his outline of conditions in New Zealand as it appeared in the Clarion columns.

The Winnipeg comrades are spread all around the country. Many are in Chicago. Charlie Stewart writes from there. He has been listening to Charlie O'Brien speaking, and says Charlie is good for many years of good work yet. Likewise Alex, Shepherd, also a resident of Jungle Town.. "Sandy" is entertaining neuritis in Frisco, and growls in a very commendable way.

Here we end the Mail Bag column for this issue.

Tactics

IN TWO PARTS.
Part 2.

IF this position it at all correct, the purely revolutionary parties will be discounted, their tactics labelled unprogressive, their perspective impossiblist,—their whole propaganda "damned with faint praise." While the sentimentalists, Communists, and post haste actionists, carried on the swelling waves of discontent and voicing the demands of immediate redress will appear as the protagonists of a new order of things. And this comes about, not because they are right—the process may be necessary—nor because they are in line with progress—though they may be so acclaimed. But because, basing their hopes and calculations almost wholly on the strained economics of Capitalism, and ignoring the dead weight of social inertia, they acquire the ear of the first wreckage of that economic—the machine displaced workers of monopolist reconstruction. And also being enthused by the Russian revolution, regarding the Moscow International as the "genius" of the proletarian International, and inspired by the viewpoint of its very different conditions, their impatience fomented by their own long suffering and anticipation, they confidently expect every periodic rupture in the "terms of contract," every political flurry, foreign or domestic, to flare up into the red flame of desperate revolution. It may, of course—for the potential of reaction of growing man to his developing environment is quite unknown. But of visible evidence to support the contention there is little.

Besides, this fashion of looking at the social situation only from the economic point of view leads to the demand that "tactics must change with changing conditions." But although the theory is true enough, the demand is not. That is, it isn't rational. For, while the economic conditions of the world have changed—by the development of monopolist power and efficiency—and involving corresponding changes in labor organisations in the daily fight for existence, yet the general social conditions and ideation are still rocked in the cradle of the deep seas of illusion. Economically, society is in the grip of a financial oligarchy, but ethically it is still imbued with the bourgeois "romanticism" of yesterday. That is a contradiction that must be squared before a change of tactics may be assumed. No change in tactics can resolve that contradiction. On the contrary, the changing ideation of changed material conditions will very potently leaven the lump of growing revolution, and order its forces in the lightening day of appreciating conviction. Immediate suffrage (by which we mean the "advanced" activities of the day) and minority aggressiveness, may be good slogans for laborist interests, propagated as circumstances ripen their occasion. They may be good rallying cries for the unstable organisations of trade depressions. But as weapons for the freedom of slaves; as means for the overthrow of capital; as propaganda for the control of the job—the crux of the whole matter—they are of little avail. To control the job means the necessary progress of social enlightenment. This progress may be forwarded by "soap boxing" and kindred works of art, but mainly it will be the product of Imperialist interdictions, leashed to its own foreshortened technology, and shattering the constitutional creations of its social virility. This impulse for new tactics is but the first reflex of those maturing conditions. But portrayed in the garb of economic associations, and hindered in their effect by the friction of social inertia, they stifle the demands they aim to redress. The problem of social revolution is the problem of proletarian class-consciousness, internationally moulded; and the tactics for its consummation must also be the tactics of circumstantial occasion. To dream of a social society when society does not want it, i.e., does not understand it, is idle. And no minority, however aggressive, can sway the human tides of society beyond the boundaries of conviction, or guide it, unseeing, into the new ways of an entirely new order of social relations.

Machine industry, by developing the social mind in technology, has at the same time developed its capacity for growth in other directions, and fostered the potential conditions for its ultimate dominance. This explains—or partly explains—two apparent contradictions of today. Why (a) although the social mind, through its necessary control of social policy, is the dominant power in social organisation, yet the individual mind, grown latently more developed and therefor more creative, aspires to the greater privilege of social expansion derived from that social organisation, why, in brief, the advanced ego is so obdurate in the face of established and changing conventions; and (b) why although the capitalist economic has forced social masses into deep—and deepening—degradation they do not react fireily and drastically (after the dreams and hopes of fervent actionists) to the sharp vicissitudes of apparent necessity. Because social intelligence has increased, because there is a wider comprehension of social relationships and social responsibilities, and all the ramifying interconnections of modern life, and because as a result of this it is harder than ever before to move society through the lurid ways of blood and thunder revolution. Society, under the modern conditions of modern times, will not lightly venture into the anarchy of civil war. If it does it will be with a unity so massive as to render any real opposition so apparently futile that it could not be long continued. Nothing is without its compensations. And while modern force has increased in superlative desctructiveness, it has also recoiled repulsively on the social mind. And if its growth has debarred proletariat groups from its use, its use by the powers that be involves the ruin of society. Society will finally be compelled to ask its capitalist parasites to step down from the seat of authority—and force them to obey—but it is seemingly, likelier than not, that its force will be exerted less through the spectacular display of massed revolt and much through the equally strenuous struggle to command its social institutions. Armed force has but little show without the force of social sanction. With that sanction—socially conceived in the terms of fundamental reality—it calls for but little display. Even Russia—the great communist exemplar—points the same lesson. The force of Russia operated—and triumphed—through its social institutions, controlled by its people as they understood them. The "red" army was directed almost entirely against foreign aggression. That is, in effect, against proletarian masses who, misunderstanding their social institutions, could not control them. Force is likely enough to be the final arbiter, but it is the force of a society welded into unity by thwarted necessity, organised on the common perception of political dominion, understanding itself, and therefor conscious of the realities of life and the meaning and objective of its long and bitter struggle for better conditions.

The constructive policy of revolution, the tactics that strike at the prime cause of social differentiation, the tactics that further the progress of enlightenment, and therefor of society, will in the end prevail. For two reasons: (1) The discontent that struggles for the amelioration of its impoverished conditions, impelled though it be by the sharpened rivalaries of commercial depressions, will yet find itself side-tracked on its basic misconceptions of social relations. It will find that class dominion, organised and entrenched in political power, is stronger by far than mass organisations pitifully uninspired by any clear understanding of social status. It will find that the tactics of alleviation accumulate but the interest of misery; that laborist negations of bourgeois individualism accrue only to the greater glory of capitalist oligarchs. And that if it fails to become its "brother's keeper," if it refuses to accept reality as its task master, it will finally be driven, through dreary disillusionments, to its next—and last—"immediate step"—the unambiguous recognition of the first cause of its miseries—capitalist property in the social means of life—and its only way of escape—the undivided control of the institutions through which society lives and functions, by political supremacy, temporarily, by social equality, permanently. (2) The power of the mind to control human destiny is in the ascendant: Because the knowledge of human conditions and social relationships is relevant to the social needs of today and because progress itself—which awaits the bidding of none—is the more or less revolutionary recession of the stabilised means of yesterday. That is to say that the nature of reform through the motive impulse of progress tends to cut deeper into the fabric of social reality; tends by the growth of Capitalist monopoly on one side, and the consequent development of the class struggle on the other, to strike straighter at the exposed roots of privilege—and of misery. Which is but another way of saying that daily experience of the struggle for life demonstrates the futility (as a class benefit) of all remedial reform; and by the same token, their inherent hostility to social interest. For example, "profit sharing," "factory management," "welfare cities," capital levy's,—even the adjustment of foreign affairs in the interest of the "people." Such things, while incident to its character, are wholly foreign to the nature of exploiting capital, and they preclude the unity of society and its movement.

But as they grow and develop, recognition of reality will grow with them. For revolutionary Socialism they are neither means nor ends, and to dally with them is to dally with reaction. They have no bearing on the common control of social institutions and they do not advance that control. That advancement arises from the incidence of progress, which, through reluctant ways of class interest, flourishes the social perceptions of disrupted class society. It makes no real difference that they are the need of the moment. They may be the necessity of exigency; but they need not be the necessity of society. And they are not the necessity of reality. They are of the political earth, earthy; and the regeneration of society does not sprout from the opportunist parings of capitalist privilege, but only from the abolition of class dominion. Thus the tactics of recognition is the tactics of revolution. To forward, through the circumstance of time, the understanding of realtiy, the conscious perception of the inherent antagonism of political society,—that is true revolution, and the true tactics of triumph.

R.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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Revolutions : Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Eighth Article.

WE now return to France, which we left that night in February 1848 when the rain sodden workers danced in the Tuilleries to the Marseillaise played on the Queen's piano.

There is a painting, I forget by whom, of the Duchess of Orleans presenting her two sons to the Chamber of Deputies, the morning after the revolution; one of these boys, aged nine was king of France by the abdication of old Louis Phillippe; the Duchess was Regent. This idyllic scene was interrupted by a mob of uncouth and unsentimental creatures, lacking in dramatic sense, and whose tear glands had been excited so long by their own sorrows that they were unequal to the task of weeping over the troubles of a Queen mother. The Duchess and her boys were roughly handled, and any one else who, by his grave countenance indicated his descent. When finally extracted from the mob the latest King departed from his kingdom to Claremont, in Italy; the deputies fled and the Rengency ended ere it had begun.

The creation of a government was the next order of business.

The revolutionary gentlemen who had carved a symbol of revolt upon the boulevard tree, of course prepared to enter into their well deserved reward. A provisional government was installed at the Palais Bourbon which included but one name connected with the extreme radical movement, Ledru-Rollin. Louis Blanc had been nominated but his name was removed. Garnier Pages, the rebel you remember who had asked his friends to do the symbolic carving, (see Clarion 889), was on the list in spite of opposition by the workers who were assembled. Meanwhile the socialist, republican and anarchist groups met at the office of the Reform newspaper, and drew up a Provisional Government of their own, which, by a coincidence, contained only one Liberal, Arago the astronomer. This group seized the Town Hall. Their proclamation counselled the people to retain their "arms, positions and revolutionary attitude."

Thus on the morrow of the revolution a civil war was quite in order, since two different governments could not very well survive in the same town. The matter was adjusted, however, without further blood-shed, principally through the efforts and eloquence of Lamartine the poet, aided by the tremendous enthusiasm displayed on the boulevards by all classes. Generous sums were subscribed by the wealthy for the relief of those who had been wounded at the barricades, and for the dependents of those who had been killed. Lo! Baron Rothchild leads all the rest.

Were a big bellied, rosy faced, well dressed gentleman to place his hands on your shoulder, having just donated a large sum to the "cause," and mingle his voice with yours in chorusing a revolutionary song, however, emaciated and ill-garbed you might be you would scarcely feel like disemboweling him; at least so it was in Paris on February 25, 1848, and the compromise of the boulevards was reflected in the council chamber, and out of the two governments was formed a third. Marrast, Blanc, Flocon, journalists, and a worker, Albert, became secretaries to the Palais Bourbon selection. Lamartine had suggested that his government was prepared to solve the troubles of labor, and a proclamation was drawn up by Louis Blanc and signed by him as secretary and by Garnier Pages as Mayor of Paris (the rest of France was as yet silent), which read: "The Government of the French Republic pledges itself to guarantee the livelihood of the worker by labor; It pledges itself to guarantee work for all citizens; It recognises that the workers should form associations among themselves to enjoy the legitimate profit of their labor; The Provisional Government returns to the workers, to whom it belongs, the million which falls into its hands from the Civil List."

The Tuilleries was turned into a hospital for workers injured in industry. All articles were to be returned to their owners if less than ten francs value, and the Republic to sustain the loss. The establishment of national workshops was decreed. An auspicious day for labor!

But the next day, February 26th, the sordid facts of the real world were made manifest. The happy harmony dissolved in a realization of past experiences. Baron Rothchild and his rosy friends heard with concern the tulmult in the Republican Clubs, and the keen February wind revived the chill in proletarian homes, not to be in any wise relieved by the reminder of his lean and hungry spouse that the larder was empty. Blanqui, a man of dauntless energy, sour and suspicious, reported to the Central Republican Committee that he had been rebuffed by the government, that they refused to adopt the Red Flag and that they should reject the compromise. While in London, a pale faced adventurer with a unique trim of whiskers, later to be known as "imperial," sat till midnight confering with an Italian banker whose historical foresight was not questioned by the unfolding scroll of fate. His midnight visitor became Napoleon III. Emperor of France.

The national workshops upon which the Socialists placed so much reliance were the first indications that the Provisional Government had acted more in fear than in sympathy. Thomas, who had charge of the plan, evidently desired to accomplish something but the commercial crisis, the famine, and now the revolution had left France stagnant, and it required more than rhetoric and good will to call prosperity back "to home." In Paris factory after factory closed down for lack of orders, so the problem of starting government factories was quite apparent.

In March there met at the Luxemburg an assembly of workers which became known as the Socialist Parliament, to consider means for solving the various troubles which afflicted them. A similiar assembly of employers also met. However, the workers' assembly had this to say among other things—"To the business men who find themselves today faced with disaster and come to us to say: 'Let the State take our establishment and step into our shoes,' we reply: 'The State consents. You shall be generously recompensed. But this recompense which is your due cannot be taken from the insufficient resources we have to our hand: hence the State bonds bearing interest, and creating a mortgage on these very establishments, to be repayable by annuities or by redemption.'" Sure enough the consent of the business men to this arrangement might have led to an amicable solution. But the experiment was never tried. A government that had sprung from a successful working class revolution, composed entirely of members belonging to the master class (the four socialist members were not of the government, they were merely secretaries), could not be expected to view working class domination with enthusiasm.

Thomas has happily left a very complete and frank account of his administration, in which is the record of a conversation which took place between himself and Marie, the Minister of Commerce. Louis Blanc had demanded the establishment of a Ministry of Labor and Progress, with himself as Minister. Marie told Thomas that they had refused, believing such a move would give Blanc a position of great power. They had however given permission to form a Commission of Workers (Luxemberg Assembly), as there "he could disorganise labor only in intention and not in fact." Also, "M. Marie told me that the definite intention of the government was to permit this experience ,National Workshops), that in itself it could only have a good result since it would prove to the workers themselves all the inanity and falsity of these inapplicable theories, and cause them to perceive their disastrous consequences for themselves." Nor was this the limit of a wise and generous policy. Blanqui (whom readers of Marx's "Civil War in France" will remember as the man who in his opinion could have given the Commune a lead and for whom the Commune offered to exchange all its hostages) had headed a demonstration to protest against the early election. Blanc had been against the early election. Blanc had been chosen to meet them and had succeeded in pacifying them with a two weeks' delay; this on March 17. In such times as we are considering, where the state is yet unstable, a mob of any kind can easily become a revolutionary army, in fact Blanqui had often said twenty-four hours is enough to start a revolution. Just a week following this Marie again called Thomas to his office and had a whispered conversation with him. Five millions had been granted for the National Workshops. Could Thomas rely on the workers? He thought he could, on those he had, but the members were growing and his direct contact diminishing. "Never mind the number, said the Minister; if you have them in hand it can never be too great, but find a way of attaching them sincerely to you. **Do not spare money, if need be we will even allow you a secret fund.**"

They further told him to have them armed: "It may be the day is near when it will be necessary to march them into the street."

Conspiracies of this kind are worth while studying.

The Socialist Assembly, however were not entirely engrossed in solving their masters' problems. On the first of April they issued a proclamation, and by the way it contains a curious sentence peculiar to all the speeches and proclamations of the day,—"The revolution surprised us"—however they admit the difficulties ahead and suggest that each industry send three delegates to a Central Workers Committee for the purpose briefly:—

" (1) To assume the maintenance of the popular Republic by giving centralization and a common aim to workers hitherto isolated.

" (2) To assume the triumph of democracy in elections by careful examination of candidates and by giving its recommendation to those who seem to it trustworthy.

" (3) To prepare the organization of labor, particularly by the serious study of the technical processes of each industry, and the classification of the industries which are mutually indispensable for the making of the finished product."

This will no doubt shock some people who have already fathered the idea of representation by industry upon their various gods.

The Provisional government continued to pass enlightened laws and repeal measures of a purely restrictive character. Taxes on salt, wine, meat, and such evident indirect taxation of the workers were repealed and incidentally as enormous sums were required such were saddled directly on the property owners, of whom many were peasants. We have not read any conversation relating to this, but it was duly felt and duly resented a little later. The elections, based on universal suffrage, were set for April 9. the workers knew that this meant a reactionary victory. On March 17 a postponment until April 23rd had been forced, and now a further postponment was sought. Hassall in his "The French People" says—"Though the ignorant voters were perhaps as capable of knowing what was best for their interests as were Barbes, Blanqui and Louis Blanc, these latter determined to bring about a postponment of the electors." Hearnshaw says the Parisian mob realized the elections meant their defeat, and it did its best to prevent them being held. (Europe in the 19th Century.)

(Continued on page 7)