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FIVE CENTS

Great Britain and United States

Economic Basis of Naval Programmes

Editor's Note.—The following article follows upon the first on "The Coming War with America," published by us December 16, 1920.

SINCE I wrote the above article the war clouds seem to darken. Secretary Colby, of the United States Government, has taken issue with Great Britain on the mandatory powers of Britain in Mesopotamia. The United States note takes issue with the British position that mandate agreements and treaties are to be considered only by States that are members of the League of Nations. The note considers that the States as a participant and contributor to the successful conclusion of the war cannot be debarred from this discussion. Colby accepts the statement of the British Government that it has refrained from the exploitation of the petroleum resources of the mandated territories in question, and welcomes the pledges that it is far from the intention of the British Government to "establish any kind of a monopoly or preferred position in its own interest."

Mr. Colby continues: "I need hardly refer again to the fact that the government of the United States has consistently urged that it is of the utmost importance to the future peace of the world that alien territory transferred as a result of the war with the Central Powers should be held and administered in such a way as to assure equal treatment to the commerce and to the citizens of all nations." He goes on to say that the statement of Britain with reference to the mandate with a view to securing equal treatment for the commerce of all nations in the League of Nations, does not indicate a supposition on the part of Britain that the United States can be excluded from the benefits of equality of treatment.

Colby requests that the mandate be presented or communicated to the United States before their submission to the council of the League of Nations, because the U.S.A. is undoubtedly one of the Powers directly interested in its terms. Mr. Colby continues: "The fact cannot be ignored that the reported resources of Mesopotamia have interested public opinion of Great Britain, U. S. A., and other countries as a potential subject of economic strife. Because of the fact that they become the outstanding illustrations of the kind of economic question with reference to which the mandate principle was especially designed, and indeed a peculiarly critical test of the good faith of nations which have given adherence to the principle. This principle was accepted in the hope of obviating in the future these international differences that grow out of a desire for the exclusive control of the resources and markets of annexed territory."

Mr. Colby also says that the U. S. A. Government finds difficulty in reconciling the special arrangement set forth in the so-called San Remo petroleum agreement between Great Britain and France, with the British statement that the petroleum resources of Mesopotamia and freedom of action in regard thereto, will be secured to the future Arab state as yet unorganized. Colby criticizes the British Government severely on its oil dealings in Mesopotamia and the San Remo agreement, being based on the principles that the concession granted by the former Turkish Government before the war must be honored, and the U. S. A. is reluctant to assume that

in this connection I might observe that such information as this government has received indicated that, prior to the war, the Turkish Petroleum Co., to make specific reference, possessed in Mesopotamia no rights to petroleum, concessions or the exploitation of oil, and in view of your assurance that it is not the intention of the mandatory power to establish on its own behalf any kind of monopoly, I am at a loss to understand how to construe the provision of the San Remo agreement that any private petroleum company which may develop Mesopotamian oilfields shall be under British control."

Lord Rothermere, "Sunday Pictorial," 13/6/20, pointed out Britain was spending £50,000,000 a year in Mesopotamia and Persia, looking after somebody's oil wells there. Therefore the U. S. A. must be dubious. The Turkish Petroleum Co. mentioned was founded March, 1914. On the 24th June, 1914, the British ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Lucas Malet, secured from the Sultan of Turkey a concession in favor of a group of British financiers, who called themselves the Turkish Petroleum Co., to own and work all the oil in the vilayets of Mosul and Bagdad. Twenty-five per cent. of the capital subscribed went to Germany; the remaining 75 per cent. remained in British hands. The war came. Germany defeated, the British financiers intended to appropriate the 25 per cent. German capital, but by some error Mosul was handed to France by the Peace Treaty, and in December, 1918, Lloyd George politely told Clemenceau that the British company held the shares, and therefore the zone of Mosul should be transferred to an "Arab zone under English influence." ("Morning Post," 12/6/20). The French agreed, but stipulated that they get this 25 per cent. German capital as their share of the war swag. An agreement was announced, between Walter Long and M. Henri Beranger, of France, whereby French capitalists were to get 25 per cent. and British capitalists 75 per cent. of the output of oil. Mr. Lloyd George, the greatest mob trickster on the political stage, told the house that the Arab State is to get the oil, but qualifies himself, "The whole of that will belong to the Arab State, subject to any arrangements made before the war with Turkey." That means 25 per cent. French and 75 per cent. British output. How much do you think the Arabs get? The London "Times," 20th May, 1920, said: "The whole atmosphere of our proceedings in Mesopotamia and Persia appears to savour more of syndicates than sense."

The "New Age" (London), tells us the question of oil was dealt with at Spa, last April, and that one named Zakaroff, a Greek, naturalized in France and resident in England, has an entente with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in which the disposal of the oil I have already mentioned was agreed upon. The "New Age" mentions the "Times" as saying this "will provide competition in an industry in which it is badly needed." The "New Age" then says: "When we recall the facts that the American Standard Oil Company has hitherto had a virtual monopoly of the world's oil supply, that it recently opened a branch in France in anticipation of the present 'entente,' that some of its directors have been complaining that their government was not backing them up as the European governments were backing up the European capitalists, that a

great powers, and much more therefore the power behind the American government, the sum of the premises can be easily calculated; it is the beginning of war. How soon the war commercially declared may take to materialize in a more familiar form we are not prepared to predict; but short of miracles, the time cannot be long." After asking what the pacifists think about it the "New Age" says: "Our pacifists must love war in their hearts to be indifferent to the signs of its approach; is it because it gives them an unaccustomed thrill of Galilean martyrdom; with prospects at the same time of personal immunity from harm? And those millions who believe that a war between England and America about oil is impossible, unthinkable, merely because they are too idle or cowardly to think of what is not only possible but probable, are they too subconsciously waiting for the next thrill?"

Whatever the explanation, Sir Basil Zaharoff is not the man to fail to look facts in the face. The need for oil is likely to be imperative, and either the European group or the American group will have it, even if the white world should have to fight to the death about it."

Since the "New Age" wrote this a new President has been elected in the States, and the American plan to burst up organized labor looks as if it was the beginning to break any chance of the workers of Canada and the States making a united stand against such a war. I have said that this Sir Basil Zaharoff is a Greek, naturalized in France and residing in England. I also find he was granted, a few weeks ago, the degree of D. C. L. at Oxford University, and created an oil syndicate with a capital of 100,000,000 francs. He is said to have subscribed to the purchase of coalition newspapers and the election fund of Lloyd George in 1918. What the answer of Britain to the Colby note will be I do not pretend to know, but America is making a demand for a share in the swag, and oil being the key product in industry today, America's claim, which may be justified from her support in winning the war, will be enforced on the grounds of economic necessity, and America is determined to have as much oil as the other powers, cost what it may. The merchant marine and foreign trade of America is being pushed for the disposal of the surplus wealth, which is the only alternative the capitalists have to stave off unemployment, and yet it fails. The trustification of the world's industry proceeds apace. It was announced from Paris that an arrangement has been arrived at between German, French and American interests having for its object the exclusion of British industry from the reconstruction of Europe. The parties concerned are Schneider-Creusot interests in France, and the Steel and the Stinnes and the Tyssens group in Germany, the Corporation and National Bank in the United States. Both these are linked up with the Standard Oil Company. It is also stated that since the armistice, French steel interests have invested heavily in German iron and steel enterprises and acquired considerable Spanish and Italian interests during the war. A new balance of power is being formed in Europe. The secret military agreement between France and Belgium has eliminated a neutral Belgium, so the scrap of paper no longer exists. She is bound hand and foot to France's military machine, and Antwerp,

THREE MONTHS PROPAGATING SOCIALISM.

WE often hear the phrase from those somewhat pessimistic members of our class, that: "The workers are not ready for Socialism." Whilst this is quite true, as evidenced by the fact that capitalism still exists, and that (as shown by recent elections returns) the working class still votes for exploitation, yet, three months amongst the miners of B. C. and the farmers of Alberta, have convinced me that there never was a time when they were so ready and eager to listen to Socialist propaganda.

Compared to the hardships endured by former propagandists over the same territory, my tour was a "bed of roses." At no time did I find myself under the necessity of having to sleep under a blanket of "Western Clarions" with the solar system for a roof (as happened once to one of our poor itinerant organizers). Nor did I at any time have to travel 40 odd miles, over the prairie with the temperature at 50 below, as did Charlie O'Brien and Wilfred Gible.

All along the route between Calgary and Edmonton, I was being constantly asked as to the whereabouts and well-being of the above mentioned comrades, as also Tom O'Connor. It speaks well for the pioneer work of these comrades, that the present attitude of these Alberta farmers, the extent of their acquaintance with the Socialist philosophy (which amazed me), is almost wholly attributable to their efforts. In the farming districts I was able, due to the wonderful system of co-operation prevalent amongst the farming comrades, to have a meeting almost every night in the week. I sold out my stock of literature, which weighed about 75 lbs., in four meetings around Stettler and Red Willow.

Literature sales were good all along, but particularly so amongst the farmers. Only once did I come near to martyrdom. I was informed before starting the meeting that a custodian of morals and property was to be in attendance to make sure that I, Bolshevik propagandist, should say no word derogatory to the character of him who is, by the grace of God, Emperor of India and Ireland. Happening (as is always the case with red propagandists) that I was dealing with important matters, the emperor did not come into my line of attack. I was told afterwards that the guardian who stood at the rear of the hall, had a warrant for my arrest on his person, but when we take into consideration the fact that these people are selected as horses are, by avoirdupois, and except in rare cases, are quite mentally unfit for the simplest tasks in life, how was the poor fellow to know when I was casting an aspersion on the sacred personages or institutions of capitalist society? In Calgary, I met the funniest person that ever was. He was the reporter for the "Calgary Herald." At my meeting, he was quite exasperated at my having, amongst other frightful historical disclosures, referred to the first Earl of Shaftsbury as a hypocrite. This poor little pen-pusher got blue in the face over it. I thought for a moment that he was going to burst a blood vessel. He wrote a letter to the "Herald," about me, and he used the awfulest language, just made me tremble all over, so it did. He finished up by challenging me to go over to London and give my speech there in the east end, where Earl Shaftsbury had established a "ragged school" (how nice of the old boy)! Of course, I can't go to London, even did I have the desire, so I had to pass up the "challenge." However, I challenged the lil' pen prostitute to a Donneybrook, but there now, that waan't fair.

Another incident in Calgary, which still further convinced me that my humble efforts were meeting with success, was the furore caused by certain parts of my talk, in the ranks of the "Irish Self-Determination League," the president of which denounced me in vigorous language, for having referred to De Valera as a bourgeois shyster and a few other things. Americans at the meeting were shocked at the description I gave (from American historians) of the lives of the fathers of that democracy. So I had representatives of patriotism from the leading capitalist countries aligned against me, and to

headquarters I sent a report of progress. The "Herald" was displeased with the audience at the meeting, which showed itself, with the few exceptions mentioned, to be overwhelmingly red in sympathy. This was particularly evident on the following Sunday, when an international paralyzer from the A. F. of L. held off the platform of the forum, and he was swept off his feet by an avalanche of questions, and was clearly shown that the workers in Calgary had listened long enough to capitalistic spokesmen. The only preceding this person had were those who on the preceding Sunday had tried to oppose me.

I expect to be in Calgary again early in January, and would be glad to have representatives of the Self-Determination League of Ireland, the "Sons of the Fathers of American Independence," "The Boys of the Chelsea School," with a couple of parsons or priests thrown in, all ready like Crusaders, for an attack upon a headless Bolshevik.

FRANK CASSIDY.

Editor's Note.—Comrade Cassidy will be in Alberta again probably before these columns are read. Communications and enquiries should be directed to him c/o A. B. Shaal, secretary, Alberta P. E. C., 100016-93 St., Edmonton.

NOTES ON THE NORTHLAND

A PART from the fishing, metal mining, lumber and pulp industries, which are situated on the coast, the northern portion of B. C. will not affect, to any appreciable extent, the struggle between the workers and their masters for possession of the reins of power.

The country between Prince Rupert and Prince George is populated to a large extent by workers who are endeavoring to escape from the thrall of capitalism by going on the land. That it is impossible to do so, is slowly, but surely, becoming apparent to many of them.

Farming on a small scale, eked out by occasional jobs in the tie camps, constitute the means of procuring a living for the majority of the settlers therein.

In places such as Smithers, and other divisional points, there are railway workers, who can be counted as part of the steady population. Not forgetting several specimens of that ubiquitous parasite, the real estate agent.

Different members of this species, who are, of course patriots, attempted to disturb some of the meetings held at small towns along the line, but without success.

In addition to these, there is a large body of transient workers, employed in the tie camps and small mining camps in the district. The G. T. P. railway from Jasper to Prince Rupert, is gradually being turned into a branch line of the Canadian National, so low is the government estimate of this district as a wealth-producing area. This will undoubtedly react on the mentality of the farming community, who, at this time, cannot see beyond roads and bridges, promised but never built.

If the settlers were the only ones to be reached, it would not repay the energy expended in spreading propaganda amongst them, as they do not affect the food supply of the country. The transient population, loggers and miners, do, however, make the spreading of working class knowledge worth while, as they can disseminate the same as they move around.

It is rather difficult to get speakers into these places, as the outside districts do not seem able to develop speakers of their own. In order to carry on propaganda in that country it will be necessary to establish a circuit through the Crows Nest Pass, up to Edmonton, and along the G. T. P. as far as Prince Rupert. If only carried on at intervals of three months such tours would repay in time the cost involved.

There can be no doubt as to the interest taken in explanations of present world affairs from the Marxian standpoint. The meetings held in the Prince Rupert district on behalf of the Socialist candidate drew the largest audiences. They came to these meetings each week, although the propaganda was not at all of an electioneering character, but purely educational.

We are short of speakers and need to develop

some. At the same time it would be well if outside points attempted to produce their own speakers. Local No. 1 is neither the birthplace of the human race, nor yet the fount of wisdom.

J. KAVANAGH

PRINCE RUPERT ELECTION.

Statement of Finances.

Table with columns for Receipts and Expenses. Receipts include C. L. G., O. B. U. Collection Books, Prince Rupert, McGleeman, A., Gray, C. F., Prescott, J., Hammond, W. S., Allen, A., Shaw, F., Derry, W. H., Piffard, W. A., Snellman, A., Morris, W., Gagne, Z. P., Upton, A. E., Garcan, J., Johnson, C., Morrison, M., Halard, Logan, Crocker, D., Coates, T., Johnson, E., Taport, F. G., Harrington, I., Cann, J., Per F. L. P., and Collected at meetings. Expenses include Convention expenses, Postage, Telegrams, Locks and keys, Printing (Latta), Stationery, etc. (Wrathall), Printing (Franks), Printing and Ads. (Daily News), Printing and Ads. (Empire), Ads. B. C. Federationist, Voters' List, 1 dozen, Electric Heater, J. H. Burroughs, Expenses to Essington, Expenses to Terrace, Expenses to Ocean Falls, Halls and Ads., Terrace, C. Newman, boat hire, L. W. I. U., dermatype, sheets and postage, Provincial Elections Act, Total, Total Expenses, and Cash on hand.

Note.—After the accounts had all been paid the sum of \$100 was voted to the Socialist Party of Canada for general propaganda purposes; \$75 to the Central Labor Council, O. B. U., Prince Rupert; and the remainder of \$25 was ordered held in trust pending the formation of a Local of the Socialist Party of Canada in Prince Rupert.

ELECTORAL RETURNS.

Burrough (Soc.), 676; Formby, 562; Newton, 608; Pando 1501.

HERE AND NOW.

Following \$1 each—M. T. Swanson, A. Karme, B. Siefson, D. McPherson, L. G. Atkins, J. R. Flynn, I. Nyhol, P. Ellison, W. McQuoid, O. Larson, V. Prescott, W. S. Matthews, Zimmermann, C. H. Lake, J. Olson, W. Bell, J. Wight, D. A. Black, H. Norman, Geo. Paton, R. A. Fellenstein, N. Taylor, J. Lysnes, J. Fraser, A. Woodhall, C. E. Mann, S. Price, W. Morris, H. Arnold, J. Sinclair, J. C. Mann, A. Spruce, R. Bessant, J. A. McD., D. Klemperer. Following \$2 each—S. Oliver, J. J. MacDonald, I. Bergert Smith, M. Milliken, E. E. Cole, A. P. McCabe, S. Farr, R. Inglis. Following \$3 each—M. Goudie, J. Sanderson, B. Daouks, W. Craig, W. A. Brown, J. Watson. J. Ewart, 50 cents; T. Hanwell, 50 cents; C. H. Cove, \$1; T. Tselvetree, \$5; W. De Waard, \$1.20; F. ... \$1.30. Above, "Western Clarion" subscriptions received from 28th December to 11th January, inclusive: total \$8170.

THE PASSING SHOW.

THAT great gifted man, Jas. J. Hill, whose thrifty and frugal habits of life were the wonder of that city of virtue, St. Louis, and the awesome emulation of his fellow "class-men," averred on one occasion that it was not the high cost of living which afflicted society, so much as the cost of high living. Perhaps Jas. is right. Anyway, it is apparent from this brilliant quip, that the democrats over in "god's country" squander overmuch in the gratification of self-indulgences, when they ought to be concentrating on the duties, ardently appointed to them, by the chosen stewards of possession—such as spilling water into a steam boiler 11 hours or so a day, or exercising themselves pleasantly and profitably stevedoring, or reducing their tendencies to obesity, with a pick at a bank of hardpan, or perhaps, best of all, engaging in the healthy and lucrative "profession" of wheat raising in the rich lands of Dakota,—under a mortgage, just for a thrill of adventure.

I saw "be the papers," as Mr. Dooley puts it, that one of these wasteful workers, between times of luxuriating indolence, had engaged, for a short period, as a rivetter. It was stated that he derived considerable enjoyment from his unwonted experience, and, as the "profit" accruing to the transaction was tempting, the hope was entertained in some circles, that he would continue in his melodious recreations.

I have myself often remarked those shameless fellows calmly reposing on a railroad tie, contemplating the serenity of nature, utterly oblivious to the mellow sounds of nearby industry, reminding them of their social obligations; while yet others, I have noticed, yet more depraved (were that possible) sound asleep on the sunny warmth of a wild strawberry bank. And who has not observed those great, strong, hulking idle ne'er-do-weels,—bearing the "cuts and scars" of their repulsive and besotted debaucheries, hanging around the corners of cabarets and denatured saloons, preferring rather to suffer the pangs of enervating waste, than do any useful labor? Or lingering leisurely in the summer sunshine, outside the doors of benevolent employment bureaux, but never venturing in lest they be entangled in the snares of money making employment? Stopping their ears, like Christian, and fleeing from the doomed city, against the pleading and entreaty and cajolery of the great captains of industry, that they come to their assistance, whilst everywhere the "bumper" crops wasted in the fields, the great ships rotted at the wharves, and factories of all kinds stood idle for lack of labor, labor that was spending its strength and substance wantonly and in riotous excess?

How feeble is the intelligence of those people! They gorge themselves, like savages, producing all manner of physical disorders. Their wantonness generates disease that baffles the skill of the greatest physicians. They drink themselves stupid—drink until their appointed protectors are obliged to close the doors of the "sanctuary" hostel against them, lest they destroy themselves utterly. They flaunt around in public places, garbed in the most fantastic and costly raiment. In their enmity and abandonment they practice the most horrible vices, seeking out all diversity of sensation to whip up for yet a little longer, their flagging and jaded appetites. And their private lives, from the accounts of eminent and charitably minded people, who have been compelled, from humanitarian impulses to render their assistance, are too unspeakably dreadful, even to hint at.

That mighty engine of truth and democracy, the capitalist press, has informed us that the English people were never healthier than during the period of food rationing. An infallible sign of the degeneracy of the "common people" in normal times of prosperity. And it is so easy for anyone to refrain from over-eating—except, apparently, those mischievous malcontents.

The "Christian Science Monitor,"—which spells "principle" with a capital P, and appears to be desirous of a great extension of democratic formulas, along the traditional lines of constitutional government, orders-in-council, emergency legislation, proclamations and censorships—draws atten-

tion to an exceeding simple expedient, whereby we can eliminate all food profiteering, viz., to avoid the purchase of those things in which the profiteer deals. How sublimely simple is truth! How infragably divine! How god-like is genius, that, like a lightning flash, in a word shatters the obfuscations of wrong thinking. And so cheaply, withal—in the daily press. If only we would pay less attention to "treacherous agitators," "German agencies," "ignorant demagogues," and other "blather-skites," as the late benefactor of society, Van Horne, described them, in the witty and elegant language of culture,—culture—how bounteously endowed we might be, with the priceless blessings of peace, prosperity and contentment. But, alas! we are "joined to our idols," and, like the kine in the stockyards, await stupidly, in the seething tragedy around us, our certain destruction.

This mot d'esprit of the "C. S. M." has awakened some ideas of my own, whereby we might not only avoid the profiteer, but with care, become one of the thrifty, rich. Suppose that a city, i.e., Montreal, of about one million inhabitants, should effect a saving on something, of one cent, each per day,—and surely anyone, even the poorest, could save that amount—that would be over three and a half millions annually. From one city alone. And a saving of two cents—why god o' mercy, we might soon own our private railroad. And think of the immense saving in apparel, if we would but apply a few bottles of Thunderbuck's hair restorer to our persons and enlivate a downy fleece like Esau. We might easily economise further in the matter of shelter by adopting the happy device of the Australian aborigine, viz., propping up a piece of bark against a tree and sitting down comfortably behind it. In our equable climate, with a plentiful supply of durable cedar bark for nothing, we have every opportunity of advancing our social condition by a little forethought and enterprise. It is a self-evident thesis that what one man can do, another may. And the economy which could be effected in leather is enormous, if we would simply carve some ivory off our heads and stick it on our feet. We would be permanently shod. As a substitute for glue,—thereby avoiding another profiteer—we could make a mixture of our own blood and sweat, and slime, obtainable from the bottom of any swamp, and all free.

I offer those hints to my brother wastrels gratis. It is these little touches of "fellow feeling which make it wondrous kind." The above-mentioned remarks of Jim and Van ought to be hailed with delight as a gratifying illustration of the generous charity and sympathetic understanding existing between capital and labor, and the spirit of loving kindness inherent in the gentle cooing of the dove of conciliation.

Literature Price List

- Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
 Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
 The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. 1, Marx). Single copies (cloth bound); \$1.00; 5 copies, \$3.75.
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.
 Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 Copies \$2.00
 Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.
 Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.
 The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Single copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.
 The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.
 Ancient Society (Louis H. Morgan), \$1.15
 Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (F. Engels) 90c
 Value, Price and Profit (Marx) Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.
 Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy (F. Engels) 90c
 Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis), \$1.75.
 Civil War in France (Marx) 35c
 Life and Death (Dr. E. Teichmann) 90c
 History of the Paris Commune (Lissagaray) \$1.50
 Class Struggle (Kautsky), cloth, 90 cents; paper, 35 cents.
 Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History, (Kautsky), cloth, 90 cents.
 Puritanism (Meily), cloth, 90 cents.
 Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen), paper, 55 cents; cloth, \$1.
 Origin of Species (Darwin), cloth, \$1.
 Information Respecting the Russian Soviet System and its alleged Propaganda in North America (Martens), per copy, 10 cents.
 The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia (Kaplan), per copy, 15 cents.
 Savage Survivals (Moore), cloth, \$1.
 Law of Biogenesis (Moore), cloth, 90 cents.
 Social Studies (Lafargue), 90 cents.
 The State and Revolution (Lenin) 25c
 Germs of Mind in Plants (R. H. France) 90c
 Economic Causes of War (Leckie), single copies, 25c; 10 copies or more, 20c each.
 Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.
 (All above post free).

All above literature can be obtained at the same prices, post paid, from—J. Sanderson, Box 1762, Winnipeg, Man.

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 You are earnestly invited to attend.

LOCAL (WINNIPEG) No. 3—EDUCATIONAL CLASSES.

ECONOMIC CLASS: Every Friday at 8 p.m.
 SPEAKERS' CLASS: Every Sunday at 11 a.m.
 HISTORY CLASS: Monday Evening, 8 o'clock.
 Friday Afternoon, 3 o'clock.

These classes are already well attended, and the number of members is increasing. The classes meet at 530 Main Street, Winnipeg, and all workers are requested to attend.

MANIFESTO

— of the —

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JANUARY 16th, 1921.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

Comrade Frank Cassidy is on his way to Alberta at this moment of writing. He has an ambition to grow fat, so he will stay around a farm area and recuperate for a month or so, and incidentally talk here and there in the neighboring schoolhouses. His address for the time being will be c/o A. B. Shaaf, 10016-93rd Street, Edmonton, Alberta.

Comrade J. F. Maguire has retired as Secretary Alberta Provincial Executive Committee, and A. B. Shaaf, address as above, has been elected as secretary. Alberta comrades will please note. Comrade Maguire is entangled in some tin vehicular property rights, otherwise his projected visit to the eastern states would have commenced before this date.

The case of Comrade C. M. O'Brien has not yet been heard on the Federal charges under the U. S. Criminal Anarchy Law, but it is expected that the case will be heard within a month. The expectation expressed by our correspondent is that the charges will be dropped. While we hope our correspondent may win fame as a prophet, the C. M. O'Brien Defence Fund is still open. See moneys received, in another column in this issue. Further sums will be acknowledged.

We are asked to state that the mailing address of V. R. Midgley, Secretary of O. B. U., has been changed from Vancouver to P.O. Box 1556, Winnipeg, Man.

Our Literature Price List in last issue announced the price of "The State and Revolution" (Lenin) as being 15 cents per copy. This is a printer's error. The price is 25 cents per copy, post paid.

The question as to our affiliation with the Third International is under way now, and is arousing much interest. This discussion should prove of benefit to the Party membership, and we hope the Party membership will see to it that the points are presented for publication, for and against. This question was discussed by Local Winnipeg before the request for a referendum was made. No doubt it is now being discussed again. Local Vancouver have had several sessions in discussion of the terms of affiliation, and interest in the matter is increasing. The "Clarion" should be provided with some interesting material for publication. Comrade Kaplan fires the first shot in this issue.

Take a look at the Here and Now item. Smaller than last issue had to acknowledge. All subscribers whose subscription expires are notified, and they should renew or they will be dropped from the list. The P.O. regulations are rigid these days, and we are required to furnish a copy of our list on request. Subscriptions expired held on the list are anathema to the post-master, and no one need be surprised at not receiving the "Clarion" after he has had a notice to say his subscription has expired. We have to do it. Renew promptly.

Comrade Browett has been ordered deported by the Canadian Immigration authorities at Vancouver. His case is in the hands of I. Rubinowitz, who has entered an appeal to the Department at Ottawa against the deportation. No statement can be made as to whether the order is on England or the U. S. A., as the authorities are not communicative as to their intentions. Having had a hearing, Comrade Browett is on bail, provided by the Workers' Defence Committee.

The "B.C. Federationist" was unable to appear on its issue date of the 7th January, and events may prove that it will be impossible for it to appear on the 14th. The reason is that there exists in Vancouver a lock-out of job printers. The firm of Cowan and Brookhouse, who print the "Fed." are members of the Masters' Association, and their

affiliation prevents the "Fed." from being printed. Many enquiries have been made as to why the paper has not reached its subscribers, many of whom are not aware of these strike conditions. In the case of the "Clarion" the printers are working under union agreement as to retroactive pay in the event of a decision being arrived at for an increased rate.

The D. E. C. Report for the six months ending 31st December, 1920, we hope to have in the hands of local secretaries next week.

Classes now being held on History and Economics throughout the country would do well to encourage their members, now that they have had three months' consecutive study, to write essays on the subject taken up. The class itself could make a selection from the essays and send them in for publication.

Controversial matters have taken up much space in the past two or three issues, and in this issue some matter held over from last issue is presented that would really have been more timely had we been able to present it then. These are the contributions from Comrades Cassidy and Kavanagh. We present in this issue a lengthy article from Comrade Leekie which should prove interesting to all who read the press these days, and we have left over his article on the "Materialist Interpretation of History," to be continued in our next. Comrade Bartholomew's articles "Concerning Value" have suffered through our lack of space in recent issues, and through the fact also that we have had some correspondence in criticism of his article No. 4 which his letter as under will clear up.

Two Creeks, Man.

Dear Comrade MacLeod:

I am in receipt of your communication re. my series. The statement re. "copying Hyndman" in certain paragraphs is hard to understand. I have no copy of Hyndman's book. The quotations made from his "Economics" were taken therefrom by me several years ago when I received a copy from a friend. I have not read Hyndman since, and have not consulted his book, except the notes taken therefrom by me.

Re the carelessness in the employment of "Labor" and "Labor-power." I have just read the articles concerned and must plead guilty. I have been somewhat careless in this matter. I must confess, and should be glad if you will be kind enough to "edit" all future articles in the strictest possible manner. I am overloaded with work, and for some time I have not "proofed" any of the stuff.

Re the objection to the statements in article No. 4 as follows—

"If the cost of production of gold rises the exchange-value of gold increases in relation to other commodities, and there is a general rise in prices all round. But, if, as happened in 1849, the cost of production of gold decreases, then it follows that there is a fall in prices all round."

This is of course wrong—completely and inexcusably wrong. It is not in accordance with the facts, and is certainly not correct from the standpoint of logical reasoning. I know not—not having any carbon copies by me—whether this is a slip on my part, or whether it is an error at your end. But it is a slip of the most confusing kind, and I am grateful to those comrades who have written pointing this out. I meant the exact reverse of that which was printed. When the cost of production of gold, as measured by the quantum of socially necessary labor-power* essential for its production rises, there is a fall in prices; and, conversely, when there is a fall in the cost of production of gold, there is a rise in prices.

If the fault of this mis-statement is due to me—and I am inclined to think that it is—then I must express my best apologies. There is far too much confusion re economics prevalent without addition made to the confusion by such rank carelessness.

I shall be glad if you will give this prominence in the "Clarion." A statement of theory such as made by myself in this particular case merits sharp rebuke, and will serve to place a brake of extreme utility upon the stream of my words.

Hoping this will clear up the misconception, I am, your fraternally,
H. M. BARTHOLOMEW.

*Editor's Note:—This should read "labor," not "labor-power."

GEOGRAPHICAL FOOTNOTES TO CURRENT HISTORY—I.

If you have an atlas at hand, look up the land and water routes discussed in this article.

THOSE "Plebs" readers who took the trouble to study the "generous" and "statesman-like" terms of the recent British agreement with the Egyptian nationalists, doubtless set themselves (being instinctively suspicious when governing-class activities are under consideration) to discover what factors made such a settlement "practical politics" in Egypt, while the, in some respects parallel case of Ireland continued to be handled in a very different spirit. It is the purpose of this short note to indicate one or two geographical facts which have a bearing on this point.

The British Government's primary interest in Egypt was the existence of the Suez Canal. A writer in the "Manchester Guardian" August 26 puts the position pointedly and picturesquely—

"For countless ages before the Canal was dug the traffic between Europe and Asia went in the main by sea round the neck into which Palestine and Egypt tuck. There were two routes—one up the coast of Syria and through Palestine (the route which helped Saladin and the Crusaders to their wealth), the other along the Isthmus* of Suez and through Egypt. The latter was the more important, because the shorter, safer, and more secure. So long as it was a full 1,000 miles from the specially interest England, the Canal was of little use. We did not traffic with Asia via the Cape, since the Canal was dug it became the first importance to us. It created a short sea-road. If we controlled the road, then our commerce and communications were so much the easier and more secure. If some other Power controlled the Canal, then our commerce and our communications were exposed. It was the knowledge of this which took us to Egypt and kept us there. Egypt was the base from which we could control the Canal. It had little other meaning for us. Our economic interests in the country were and are less than those of other countries."

Why, then, have we in effect abandoned the base? Because we have established ourselves at the other bank of the Canal—as the dominating power in Palestine. Palestine is to take Egypt's place as the bulwark of the Canal. The British Colossus is to transfer the weight from one bank to the other."

When the British army pushed across the Sea Desert from Kantara, it left behind it a railroad and gauge rail tracks, all the way into Palestine. Across the old desert route, which has been abandoned since the days "when the Sphinx was a pup" and which it took Moses and the chosen people 40 years to traverse, "Egyptian, L. & N. W. L. & S. W., and Franco-Belgian locomotives now trail their smudges of Welsh coal smoke," doing the journey from Kantara to Haifa in six or eight hours.

To quote the "Guardian" writer again—
(Continued on Page 8)

SOMETHING WRONG IN THE UPPER STORY.

(By J. S. Clarke, in "Glasgow Worker.")
I had a curious dream this week. The dream was of a one for dreamers—Heaven. Hanging about the gate I spotted J. V. Leekie skipping up the garden steps. Port opened the door and eyed J. V. up and down. "Who are you?"

"I'm a British Bolshevik."
"No admission for you here!"
"I'm blankety well coming in anyway, and I'm not a Bolshevik."

"I beg your pardon—you're not."
"Aren't I? Don't be too sure, my lad, 'cos you'd fetch the gaffer, I'll chew the fat with him!"

"Hut," said Peter, "my master is God!"
"I don't give a damn who he is," roared J. V., pointing at the side-strokes, "fetch him!"

Peter burst out laughing, and in a tone of commiseration said: "But I advise you to go away for you can't see the good fellow; haven't you heard that God is dead?"

"What! Mad?" said Jack.
"Absolutely balmy!" answered Peter. "I can't see how he can make 'em. He spends all his time marching up and down the marble halls with a great sabre clanking at his side, wearing a cockaded busbee, admiring himself in the glass, and trying to cultivate a lisp when he speaks. He makes his Winston Churchill!"

EDITOR WANTED.

Applications are called for the position of Editor "Maoriland Worker," Wellington, New Zealand. Applicants must forward testimonials, etc., to the Manager, "Maoriland Worker," Box 1500, Wellington, New Zealand, not later than 22nd February, 1921.

Craft Guilds and Trade Unions

It has been the contention of some writers that the modern trade union had its prototype in the craft guilds of the Middle Ages.

A trade union is a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment. This form of association has existed in England for upward of two hundred years, and of course did not spring full fledged into existence. The various institutions previous to the beginning of the eighteenth century, sometimes described as the forerunners of Trade Unionism, do not come within the limit of the definition. We must exclude any account of the many cases in which the manual workers have formed ephemeral combinations against their masters. Strikes are as old as history itself. But we cannot regard the revolt of the Hebrew bricklayers in Egypt, 1490 B.C., the innumerable rebellions of subject races, the slave insurrections, the servile peasant revolts of which history is full, as in any way analogous to the Trade Union of today. These forms of labor war did not result in any permanent organizations, nor were they strikes of hired wage-workers seeking to improve conditions of a contract of service into which they had voluntarily entered.

When, however, we pass from the annals of slavery and serfdom to those of the nominal citizenship of the mediæval town, we are on more debatable ground. Though not too familiar with the life in the Middle Ages, it is clear that there were at all times, alongside of the independent master craftsman, a number of hired journeymen who are known to have occasionally combined against their rulers and governors. These sometimes lasted for months and even years. In 1387, for instance, the serving-men of the London cordwainers, in rebellion against the "overseers of the trade," are reported to be aiming at making a permanent fraternity. Nine years later the serving-men of the saddlers "called women" assert that they had a fraternity of their own "fine out of mind," with a livery and appointed governors. The masters declared, however, that the association was but thirteen years old, and its object was to raise wages. (Riley's "Memorial of London and London life in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," p. 542-5.)

In 1417 the tailors' serving-men and journeymen have to be forbidden from dwelling apart from their masters, as these assemblies have formed a kind of association (Riley's Memorials, p. 609), nor were these fraternities confined to London. In 1538 the Bishop of Ely reports to Cromwell that "twenty-one journeymen shoemakers of Wisbach have assembled on a hill without the town and sent three of their number to summon all the master shoe-makers to meet them in order to insist upon an advance in their wages, threatening that there shall none come into town to serve for that wages within a twelve month and a day, but we will have an harme or a legge of hym, except they will take an othe as we have doon." (Calendar of State Papers: Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., vol. XII., part 1, 1538).

These instances suggest that a more complete examination of the unpublished archives might possibly disclose a whole series of journeymen fraternities, and enable us to determine the exact constitution of these associations. It is not quite clear whether the incidents cited were strikes against employers or revolts against the authority of the guilds. The case of the Wisbach shoemakers, and possibly some of the others, suggest the embryo stage of a Trade Union, but so far as we have been able to ascertain, there is no reliable evidence of the continued existence of any durable combination of wage-earners against their employers during the Middle Ages.

There are certain cases of associations which are sometimes assumed to be composed of journeymen, as *Batchelors* or *Yeomen Tailors*, which were connected with *Merchant Tailors' Company* of London, between 1446-1661, which maintained a con-

tinuous existence, but in all cases the "Batchelors' Company" presumed to be a journeymen's fraternity, formed a subordinate department of the masters' guild, by the rulers of which it was governed. It will be obvious that associations in which the employers dispensed the funds and appointed the officers can bear no analogy to modern trades unions.

The explanation of tardy growth of stable combinations among hired journeymen might be found in the prospects of economic advancement which skilled craftsmen still possessed, that whilst industrial oppression belongs to all ages, it is not until the changing condition of industry had reduced to an infinitesimal chance the journeyman's prospect of becoming himself a master, that we find the passage of ephemeral combinations into trade societies.

From the prospect of economic advancement that hindered the formation of permanent combinations among hired journeymen of the Middle Ages might be adduced the fact that certain classes of unskilled manual workers, who had no chance of becoming employers, do appear to have succeeded in establishing long lived combinations which had to be put down by law. The masons, for example, had long had their "yearly congregations and conferencies made in their general chapters assembled," which were expressly prohibited by Act of Parliament in 1425. (Henry VI., c. 1; also Edward III., c. 9.) It is probable that the masons wandering over the country from job to job were united not in any local guild, but in a trade fraternity of natural extent. Unlike the operative in the modern building trades, the mason of the Middle Ages served not a master entrepreneur, but the customer himself, who provided the materials, supervised the work and engaged, at specific daily rates, both the skilled mechanic and their helpers. In contrast to the handicraftsmen of the towns, the masons, tilers, etc., remained from the completion of their apprenticeship to the end of their working lives in one and the same economic position, a position which appears to have been intermediate between those of the master craftsman and the journeymen of the other trades. Like the jobbing carpenters of today, they were independent producers, each controlling the process of his own craft and dealing directly with the consumer. But unlike the typical master craftsmen of the handicraft trades they sold nothing but their labor power at regular customary rates, and were unconcerned, therefore, with the making of profit, whether upon purchase and sale of material or upon the hiring of subordinate workers. The stability of their combinations was accordingly not prevented by those influences which proved fatal in England to the corresponding attempts of hired journeymen of handicrafts.

Of the constitution, function or ultimate development of these mediæval associations in building trades little is known. There seems to be no trace of their existence later than the fifteenth century. During the eighteenth century there is no lack of information as to combinations of workers in practically every other skilled trade, but of combinations of building trades no trace is evident until the very end of the century. If, adhering to the letter of our definition, we accept the masons' confederacy as a trade union, we should be compelled to regard the building trade as presenting the unique instance of an industry which had a period of trade unionism in the fifteenth century, then passed for several centuries into a condition in which trade unionism was impossible, and finally changed once more to a state in which trade unionism flourished. It looks more to us as though the "congregations and confederacies" of the masons were the embryonic stage of a guild of master craftsmen than a trade union. Is it not rather that, with the growing elaboration of domestic architecture, the superior craftsmen tended more and more to become small master craftsmen and any organizations of such craftsmen to pass insensibly into the ordinary type of the masters' guild. Under such a system of industry the

journeyman would possess the same prospect of economic advancement that hindered the growth of stable combinations in the ordinary handicrafts, and in this fact may lie the explanation of the striking absence of any evidence of trade unionism in the building trade right down to the end of the eighteenth century. When, however, the contractor began to supersede the master masons, plasterers, etc., and this class of small entrepreneurs (or enterprisers) had again to give place to a hierarchy of hired workers, trade unionism in the modern sense began to arise.

Strangely enough it was not to these ephemeral associations of wage-earners and journeymen fraternities that the origin of trade unionism has usually been sought, but to the associations of the employers, i.e., to the craft guilds. The untoward resemblance of the trade union to the craft guild had long attracted the attention of the friends and enemies of trade unionism; but it was the publication in 1870 of Prof. Bretano's study in "Origin of Trade Unionism" that gave form to the popular idea. Without implying that any connection could be traced between the mediæval guild and the modern trade union, he suggested that one was in so far the successor of the other, that both institutions had arisen "under the breaking up of an old system, and among the men suffering from this, in order that they might maintain independence and order. And when Mr. George Howell prefixed to his "History of Trade Unionism" a paragraph of Prof. Bretano's account of guild, it became accepted that the trades union had in some undefined way really originated from the craft guild.

The central figure of the guild organization was in all instances the master craftsman, owning the instruments of production and selling the product. Opinions differ as to the position of the journeyman in the guilds or to the extent of the prevalence of servile labor outside it, but throughout the whole range of guild history the master craftsmen, controlling the processes and selling the products of the labor of his little industrial group, was the practical administrator of, and the dominant influence of the guild system. In short the typical guild member was not wholly, or even chiefly, a manual worker, though he had previously learned the craft from the ground up. From the first he supplied not only what capital was needed in his industry, but also that knowledge of markets for both raw material and products which is the special function of the entrepreneur. The economic function and political authority of the guild rested, not upon its assumed inclusion of the whole body of manual workers, but upon the presence within it of the real directors of industry of the time.

In the modern union, on the contrary, we find not an association of entrepreneurs, themselves controlling the processes of their industry and selling their products, but a combination of hired wage-workers, serving under the direction of industrial captains, who are outside of the organization of the unions.

K. S.

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The Reply to A. McKenzie

By J. A. McD.

OUT of the mass of incongruous phrases purporting to be a "reply" to my article—"On Copying the Bolsheviks"—I think I am safe in summarizing the position of my critic to be as follows:

1st—**Bolshevism and Socialism** are synonymous terms.

2nd—That anyone claiming that **Bolshevism** is not **Socialism** contradicts himself by supporting the Bolsheviks.

3rd—That the working class movement in other countries has, in no way, been adversely affected by the Russian situation.

4th—That the workers of Russia stand solidly for Socialist principles.

These four points of dispute I will attempt to explain in their proper sequence.

The evident desire of Comrade McKenzie to seat me on the same platform as Kautsky, Martov, and other opponents of Bolshevik policy can be seen to be futile by all who peruse both sides of the controversy as presented thus far in the pages of the "Clarion." I hold no brief for Kautsky or other porch-climbing intellectuals of his kind. I am under no obligation to any capitalist compromiser in establishing the truth of the statement that **Socialism**, as a form of society, implies the social ownership and control of the means of wealth production; while **Bolshevism**, as a social form, is a system of proletarian dictatorship, or state Socialism, having for its ultimate good the complete socialization of those things essential to the existence and development of human society.

The only authority on the subject that I find it necessary to quote is Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik leader, and one of the ablest students of Marxism in the world today. I have quoted sufficiently from the writings of Lenin in a previous issue to satisfy any fair-minded seeker for knowledge that **Socialism** has not been established in Russia, and that much still remains to be done before its attainment is possible. If anything further on this phase of the subject is thought desirable, I can refer our readers to a late issue of "Soviet Russia" (December 25th), where Lenin again reviews the situation in a similar way.

The reader is asked to note that these quotations are not subject to my interpretation. They are plain statements of fact that admit of no misconstruction. In this article on "Problems of Peaceful Reconstruction," Lenin tells us that while the Bolshevik victory struck capitalism to the ground, it did not destroy it. "Not only did the opposition of the defeated class grow after the overthrow, but it even drew new strength from the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry. All who have studied Marxism ever so little, who base Socialism upon the international working class movement as the sole scientific foundation of Marxism, knows that **Socialism** means doing away with the classes." "We are conducting a class struggle, and our aim is the abolition of classes. So long as there are workmen and peasants, **Socialism** cannot be realized, and an uncompromising struggle develops at every step."

The lengthy extracts taken from the pamphlet by Karl Radek in no way repudiate the position outlined by Lenin, and in no way substantiate the contentions of Comrade McKenzie. Such round-about methods of trying to bolster up an untenable theory are too palpable to require much attention at my hands. The explanations repeatedly made by Lenin, regarding affairs in Russia, are acceptable to me.

A little reflexion on the analogy presented in the "building of a house" will be sufficient to prove such an analogy to be crude and out of place. The building of a foundation does not necessarily imply that a dwelling exists. The same foundation may suffice for a stable, granary, warehouse or other structure. Even the building in the imagination of a dwelling, on a real foundation, does not com-

plete the requirements of what is known as a house. Several conditions are imperative. There must be at least a foundation, a roof, and four walls, as well as other minor essentials, before the builder can place his structure in the category of a house. If this analogy is applied to Russia it can easily be seen that repeated attempts, and avowed intentions, do not constitute **Socialism**. **Social ownership and control** is a primary requisite.

This matter of classification is a very important one. As Dietzgen has it "It is the business of the intellect to make classifications." To properly understand any subject, and deal with it intelligently, we must be able to arrange the matter in general rules and categories. Without such classification no discussion can proceed in an orderly and systematic manner.

To admit that the land is not socialized; that private property still exists; and that wage slaves are exploited, in Russia, and still contend that **Socialism** prevails, is a glaring contradiction that cannot be brushed aside. This condition is not ameliorated by asking whether or not I deny that capital is restricted in Russia? I have no desire to deny facts. I am thoroughly acquainted with the steps already taken to curb excessive profits and regulate industry. But this action does not obviate the fact that even if interest on money invested is restricted to five per cent. this amount is derived solely from the exploitation of men and women. That the Bolsheviks are doing all that is humanly possible to realize their goal we all understand, and any elaboration on so obvious a fact is quite beside the points at issue.

My critic, quoting from Lenin, says: "The only way to **Socialism** is through the dictatorship of the proletariat." Then, he adds that "McDonald does not agree with the above, for he is waiting for time to prove it." No assertion was ever made by me that I was waiting for time to prove that **Socialism** would come through the dictatorship of the proletariat. What was stated was something entirely different—"Whether or not their action will lead to **Socialism** by the safest and shortest route, time alone will tell."

In the article under discussion, there were no Labriolian words, no Veblenian phrases. All was written in simple, Saxon English, that should be easily understood by any worker. How anyone can consciously interpret the article other than as it is written I cannot understand. Further, the statement: "One gets the impression that a dictatorship of the proletariat will not be necessary in these more highly developed countries," etc. I am of the opinion that **one** is all who gets this impression. The article refers to "methods of attack" being changed by conditions. The probability of proletarian dictatorship being necessary in the transitional period is never questioned.

That the Bolsheviks merit the sympathy and support of revolutionary workers everywhere has been the Marxist attitude since the 1917 revolution. We must support them for our own salvation. It is not an attitude based on sentiment, but on stern necessity. They are fighting the united forces of world capitalism. They frankly acknowledge their aim to be the abolition of class society, and the introduction of **Socialism** on the ruins of the present system. In this great struggle it is incumbent upon all revolutionists to put their shoulders to the wheel. But to contend that we contradict ourselves by lending support and, at the same time, refusing to affirm that **Bolshevism** and **Socialism** are one and inseparable is quite unsound.

The greatest assistance that can be given to the Bolsheviks by the workers of this country is to understand the Russian situation and, then, explain it. This can not be achieved through the channels of sawing allegiance, or Chauvinistic adoration. This method sufficed for the 17th century Covenanters who, with childlike faith, adhered to their beliefs and, with fiendish severity, hunted out all

who were considered guilty of heresy to the established dogmas.

This is not the method of critical Consciousness. We must analyze all social phenomena regardless of sentiment and opinion. **Critical** analysis, however, is not necessarily **hostile**. It is the method of the investigator and the scientist. Sincerity and enthusiasm are splendid adjuncts to knowledge, but poor substitutes for knowledge. We should first understand and then act. The case of Russia may be treated in a similar manner to all others. **Bolshevism** must be subjected to the light of science and all its phases disclosed. This analysis **Bolshevism** can stand. The more we probe into the development of the Russian Revolution the better able we are to appreciate the grand accomplishments of these workers.

On the matter of whether or not the workers of Russia stand solidly for Socialist principles, Comrade McKenzie says **yes**, and Lenin **no**. Of the two opinions we can take our choice. I am inclined to the side of Lenin. I would like to point out in this connection that the fact of the Bolsheviks having maintained control for three years does not prove that the masses are solidly arrayed behind them. In my last contribution I quoted Lenin to prove that the majority of the Russian workers are not Socialists. Then how do they retain control? In the article mentioned Lenin states: "We conduct the class struggle not on the basis of equal rights. The proletariat wins because it consists of hundreds of thousands of disciplined men, who are animated by a uniform will." There is the secret. Conscious intelligent action on the part of the minority dominates.

In my last I offered sufficient evidence to prove that the Revolution has had a detrimental effect, in many ways, on the working class movement in other countries. Any Marxian propagandist who has taken part in the educational work here in the United States during the past three years will corroborate this assertion. My critic's reference to the fact that sloppy organizations existed long before **Bolshevism** was thought of in no way obviates the further fact that such parties have been greatly benefited since the change in Russia. The open declarations of mob action; the formation of workmen's and soldiers' councils; the general desire to do something without knowing anything; are directly attributable to the lack of knowledge concerning the situation in Russia.

It was never stated, nor inferred by me, that the Bolsheviks should be held responsible for the errors committed in their name. Far be it from me to suggest that they should have stayed off the revolution till the workers of this country had an opportunity of learning its true significance and acting accordingly. The wait would be too long.

Instead of being guilty of condoning and encouraging those abortive attempts on the part of their fellow workers in other lands, the leaders of the Communist Party have emphatically declared their abhorrence of such idiotic tactics. On page 62 of the "Theses and Statutes of the Communist International" we are given a well defined outline of when, and under what conditions Soviets may be formed. There, it can be seen that the time is not ripe for such action in this part of the world. When the conditions are suitable for the final act in the class struggle, we can then decide which is the best way to conduct the offense. Whether or not the political organs already in existence will suffice can then be seen in a better perspective.

The Socialist movement in this country is still in its study-class stage. What is urgently required is education along class lines to awaken our fellows to a realization of the conditions and the problems before them. A stronger effort in this direction will be productive of far greater results than war-shipping idols and hunting heretics.

The S. P. of C. and the Third International

Editor's Note.—The following article opens the discussion in these columns on the matter of S. P. of C. affiliation with the Third (Communist) International. This article has been on hand some considerable time, and has been withheld from publication until now, because the B. C. elections diverted our attention and space, and also because it was our intention before commencing the publication of articles in discussion of this matter, to first present in these columns the conditions of affiliation with the Third International. These conditions were published in our last issue. Our columns are now open for articles presenting the case for or against affiliation. There are locals in outlying districts whose members may not be familiar with the points of argument for and against, and they may be reached by either side through the columns of the "Clarion." Send in your argument. A good discussion depends upon the interest taken in this question by the Party members themselves.

AFTER several preliminary discussions, Local No. 3, Winnipeg, Socialist Party of Canada, met on Wednesday evening, October 13th, in official session, to discuss the advisability of the Party joining the Moscow (Third) International. Much discussion took place, both for and against, the vote finally showing seven in favor of the resolution. The resolution expressed greeting to the international in the name of Local No. 3, proclaimed its solidarity with the international proletariat, and called upon the Dominion Executive of the party to take a referendum vote of all members of the Party on the question of affiliation. Twelve voted against the motion. (*Note). The resolution being lost, a motion was made embodying the action outlined in the second part of the resolution, namely to take a referendum vote on the matter. This motion passed with an almost unanimous vote, and it is therefore with a view to explain to comrades of the S. P. of C. why they should vote for affiliation on the ballot that will be given them by the Dominion Executive, that the following arguments are presented.

The question of joining with international Socialists that is, affiliating the S. P. of C. in a common bond with Socialists of like revolutionary expressions of many other countries, is a deep and serious question indeed, and is engendered through the fear of some members of the Party of coming out openly and stating their views, their position in the struggle, their tactics, if they have any, and then adopting a course in line with their revolutionary expressions. No middle course, hobbly-wobbly, "shimmy-shaking" method of hiding one's principles and

real aims ought to be tolerated at this critical moment. Only Socialists who present the true facts of the class struggle, and who seek to advance that class struggle, ought to be allowed to have the platform of a Party calling itself revolutionary. If these individuals do seek to advance the class struggle, it can be done only by solidifying the ranks of the workers the world over. Their duty is then to vote in favor of joining with the third international. If they do not, and if they form the majority of the party, then certainly the party cannot call itself Marxian, for Marx calls upon the workers to unite internationally. But let us examine the arguments and objections against affiliation with the Moscow International, as set forth by the opposition, and let us see whether these arguments contain concrete and good reasons for remaining aloof from the workers of other countries.

It is claimed that:

- (1) The bold declaration of identity with the Third International would invite repressive measures from local state authorities.
- (2) The S. P. of C. being purely a propagandist organization at present, such repression arising from an avowal of identity with the Third International, would result in the propaganda being interfered with, if not altogether stopped.
- (3) The joining up with the Third International would involve a submission to dictation from Moscow as to tactics to be adopted locally, under peculiar local conditions, which only local knowledge and observation could properly determine or dictate.

There may be other minor points in objection, but these three are the main ones as set forth to date from discussions in the Winnipeg local.

As to the first, it may suffice to suggest that sooner or later it will be necessary to proclaim the internal solidarity of the international movement, of which the S. P. of C. is necessarily a part (that is if it is Marxian in its essence). The moral effect of such an avowal at this crisis would more than compensate for possible, though by no means certain repression; such being determined by other conditions than militant utterances of revolutionary organizations. There is also in this objection a suggestion of timidity, if not cowardice.

In refuting the second reason, it may be quite truthfully stated that the identity of the S. P. of C.

with the Third International would offset somewhat the effect of the capitalist press propaganda regarding the Bolsheviks. The proletarian nature of the latter is by no means clear to the proletariat of Canada at present.

Thirdly, the Third International makes adequate provision for latitude in the choice of local tactics; determined by special local conditions of the class struggle, apart from certain fundamentals which must be applied universally, and which admit of no possible modification under the idea of such local conditions. Scheidemannism and Terenskyism must find no more loopholes in the new development of our strategy. These fundamental tactics correspond with those features of capitalism which are themselves modified by local conditions in the different countries of the world. They are too well-known to need detailing here. Any reservation in this regard would involve rejection by the Third International, and would possibly give rise to a split in the S. P. of C. with disastrous consequences, at a time when concentrated energy is so necessary. Besides, the Third International has exhaustively dealt with this very question of local tactics.

In conclusion, let me urge the necessity for giving whole-hearted support to our comrades in Russia, whose sublime enterprise dwarfs anything ever attempted by the human race. The magnitude of their effort, the heroism and sheer audacity of the Russian Bolshevik movement whose soul is in the Third International, is beyond measurement, for the simple reason that no standards exist whereby they may be measured. It is indeed the greatest conscious effort of the human race to challenge its fate, and to mould society by intelligent design for the first time in its tragic history.

Let us weigh the possible moral effect of our application for admission to the Third International, upon the Titans engaged in the struggle against all the force and fraud of the whole capitalist world. Such a declaration of solidarity from Marxists in other countries must have a tremendous moral weight in such a stupendous crisis.

This is no time to split hairs. Let me urge you, comrades, to strive for an affirmative vote in the name of the Revolution.

FRED W. KAPLAN.

Editor's Note.—According to our information from the Secretary of Local (Winnipeg) No. 3, the vote recorded was 7 for, and 17 against.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

Editor's Note.—We are asked to print the following letter. Contributions may now be sent to M. Popovitch, secretary, Winnipeg Committee, Box 3591 Postal Station B, Winnipeg, Man.

New York,
November 26, 1920

Mr. Ewen McLeod, Editor,
"Western Clarion,"
Vancouver, B. C., Canada

Dear Comrade,—We read with great interest your earnest editorial on the Soviet Russia medical relief work, in the "Western Clarion" of November 16.

We thoroughly agree with you that the various Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committees in Canada ought to work so as to avoid splitting up their forces, and duplicating their efforts.

The Central Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee in New York has realized the impracticability of the methods practised heretofore, and has, therefore definitely placed the medical relief work in Western Canada for Soviet Russia under the jurisdiction of the Winnipeg Committee, with Comrade Popovitch as Secretary. This Committee is to be in charge of Isaac McBride's tour in Canada.

Mr. Charles L. Drake is the secretary and organizer of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee in Chicago, which is in charge of Isaac McBride's tour through the middle western States.

The Central Committee in New York has already

written to the interested parties to co-operate on all matters pertaining to McBride's speaking tours, so as to avoid waste of energy and funds, and to achieve the maximum of results.

And results are very important just now. Considerable funds are needed to carry out the plans of our Committee. Soviet Russia is in great need of all kinds of medical supplies. The committee is arranging to send to the central hospitals of Soviet Russia some up-to-date ambulances. Preliminary work has been started to secure anti-typhoid and other vaccines to check the spread of epidemics.

The Central Committee has very carefully considered the question of speakers, and has decided to tour Isaac McBride only after the most urgent requests from almost all local committees for this speaker.

The Central Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee appreciates very much your valuable assistance in the collection of funds, and in giving publicity to its work. You will greatly oblige us by inserting this letter in your valuable paper.

Fraternally yours,

J. MICHAEL,

Secretary.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION

Financial Statement for the Month of November, 1920

Receipts.

Balance on hand November 1, 1920	\$2,866.36
Donations of Individuals and Organizations	1,224.46
Balance of Tickets	27.00
Literature	217.16
Contributions of Local Committees	

Estonia, N.Y.	4655
Newark	500.00
Philadelphia	4,000.00
New Haven	356.00
Baltimore	900.00
Washington	500.00
Chicago	3,597.2
Montreal	350.00
Winnipeg	700.00
	\$15,226.97

Expenditure.	
Medical Supplies	\$12,136.53
Printing	101.50
Slides and Post Cards	94.70
Typewriting	34.95
Chicago and Detroit Investigation	125.87
Delegates' Expenses for Phila. Conference	30.28
Postage, car fares, telegrams, etc.	44.53
Clerical Help	180.00
Exchange loss on Canadian Money	40.90
Total	\$2,789.26

Balance on hand December 1 1920 2,437.71

\$15,226.97

Total receipts to November 30, 1920 **\$42,270.75**

Total Expenditures:	
Medical Supplies	\$36,545.88
Other disbursements	3,287.16
	\$39,833.04
Balance on hand December 1, 1920	\$2,437.71

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES Economic Basis of Naval Programmes.

(Continued from Page 1)

brought within the orbit of French influence. The tragic result no one can say, unless capitalism collapses within the next ten years. Does this not portray in vivid color the picture drawn in the first article of why Americans flew the Atlantic by way of Spain and France?

Then again, the American navy programme is causing some alarm. It calls for an expenditure of 700,000,000 dollars, and if this programme be carried out as planned, the standing of the two leading navies in 1924 will be as follows:

Table comparing Great Britain and United States naval capabilities: Ships, Tonnage, Heaviest guns, Greatest speed.

Although Britain originated the battle cruiser, the new American cruiser out-distances the best British ship in length, tonnage, speed and armaments. The British cruiser "Hood" is the nearest approach to the new American type. The following is a comparison.

Vessel, U. S. A. "Constellation"; length, 874 ft.; displacement, 4,500 tons; speed, 33.25 knots; armaments, guns, 8 15-inch.

Vessel, Britain, "Hood"; 860 ft. length; displacement, 41,200 tons; speed, 31.00 knots; armaments, guns, 8 15-inch.

While there is only one "Hood" in the British navy, the "Constellation" has five sister ships of the same dimensions, in addition to six battle cruisers of the same type which are now building and are to be ready by 1923. The American ships are oil burners, with a 6,000 mile cruising radius; therefore, do you wonder why oil is a key product of capitalism and is becoming the bone of contention?

The Canadian newspapers have a dispatch no later than 31st December, 1920, telling of the difficult problems facing Britain in 1921. The unemployed and Ireland at home, and the perplexing problem of settling the Palestine boundaries, promising some pointed exchanges of opinion with France, Mesopotamia and Persia over oil. The dispatch, which is dated London, 30th December goes on to say: "Officials here believe that within the next 12 months important dealings between Great Britain and United States will necessitate most careful handling. . . . There is a desire here to clear up the oil question which has been the subject of a long series of communications on this question, as to the extent to which the United States shall participate in the world's petroleum supply, most of which is under British mandate. It is believed that considerable more negotiating is necessary before an agreement is reached. Settlement of the cable control also offers many perplexities, particularly in that the United States is continually reaching further for world trade. Shipping experts and officials are of the opinion that the new mercantile marine of the United States is likely to bring up a question of adroit diplomacy and point out to Secretary Daniels' announcement of a big naval programme as the forerunner for shipping differences."

The "Literary Digest," January 1, 1921, in articles under "Problems of Democracy," especially designed for school use, points out that the American marine was more efficient and equalled Britain's until the Civil War, but the Great War has left a nucleus of ships with which America can re-establish her flag upon the seas.

In my first article I pointed out why the agitation for the British West Indies to become part of Canada was necessary to extend trade, and also of its geographical position to become a naval base, as a key to the Panama Canal. The United States is also fortifying herself in this part of the globe. The Virgin Islands, lying 60 miles east of Porto Rico, bought from Denmark in August, 1916, for \$25,000,000, was accomplished behind the backs of the people of the United States and Denmark while the Europeans were too busy slaughtering each other to take notice. This at a time when President Wilson was humbugging the world that "America does not want any additional territory."

Wilson, 27th May, 1916: "We believe these fundamental things: 1st, that every people has the right to determine its own destiny."

Denmark practically had to concede the islands because of the desire of the United States. Denmark's foreign minister favored the sale because retention might possibly involve Denmark in international complications. In 1913, Denmark refused to sell to the States, but the U. S. A. gave Denmark to understand that she would block her imperialistic aims in Greenland unless Denmark yielded to the U. S. A. expansion and designs on the Danish West Indies. The opposition in Denmark to the sale asked that the population of the islands be given a vote on the proposed sale, but were told the U. S. A. refused to sanction this request. Edward Brandes admitted in the Denmark house that the government had no alternative but to accede to the desire of the United States.

Haiti is an island and a negro Republic, lying east of Jamaica, which the "Manchester Guardian," 16/10/20, says the U. S. A. navy has been in control of since 1915, without the world knowing ought of the seizure. Major-General Barnett, of the U. S. A. navy, has now issued an official report admitting that no fewer than 3,250 negroes have been killed since occupation in 1915. It has been established that Wilson's administration had invaded two or three small Central American Republics and established a military dictatorship without at any time consulting Congress or reporting to the American public.

Now, fellow workers, we are in a period of unemployment which may be the match to start this fire to create an artificial market for the surplus wealth which you have produced. Are you going to be fooled again into a war to end war, or you going to unite under the red flag of the proletariat and transform the private ownership of the great machinery of production and emancipate yourselves from the present wage slavery, so that instead of being the slave of the machine we shall make the machine the slave of man?

"To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat."—Engels, in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." P.T.I.

WHAT DOES "EDUCATION" MEAN TO THE WORKERS? Editor's Note—The following is taken from a pamphlet issued by the Plebs League under the above title. The pamphlet outlines the efforts that have been made in past years towards the establishment of working class educational institutions—efforts that have resulted in the establishment of several Labor Colleges in Great Britain.

In a foreword to "First Principles of Working Class Education" (Clunie), John MacLean, in stating the need for wage-earners to gain a knowledge of history and economics, says: "These are the main circumstances that have led to the permanent establishment of the Scottish Labor College, the start of the Connolly Memorial Colleges in Ireland besides the Labor College in London, and the movement just beginning in Canada to establish a string of Labor Colleges right across that vast territory."

ALL this more or less organized effort to "educate the workers" is chiefly interesting, from our point of view here, in so far as it serves to illustrate our main point; i.e., that everywhere the workers were—and are—seeking after some "understanding of the situation in which they are placed." Everywhere one finds this instinctive desire expressing itself in the study and discussion of social, political and industrial questions. But what was 'instinctive' in the case of individuals—and even of the Movement itself in its earlier stages—must be, for that Movement today, a conscious effort to understand in order to remove, the obstacles to working-class emancipation. If the aim of the Labor Movement is a real Social Reconstruction, then, in spite of all the existing hindrances thrown in the way by those interested in the preservation of the existing order, it must enable its members to attain a full and clear knowledge of the facts about society.

Now where are the workers to turn to for full and clear knowledge of this kind? Obviously, the State will not supply it—any more than it will finance the efforts of the workers to overthrow the Capitalist order of society. The State exists to defend the existing order; and the people who draw profit, rent, and interest, control "State" education. The State may be left to provide education in the elementary

subjects are taught—especially in the way they are taught to the children of the workers—the Labor Movement will be neglecting its own vital interests if it omits to provide, and to control, its own educational institutions, in which an exact knowledge of the foundations, and the developments of society may be taught.

That exact knowledge, of course, must necessarily, as society is constituted today, be "education from the Labor point of view," and it will be described by those who either cannot, or will not, realize its exactness as being partial, "one-sided," and "incomplete." It will be all these things, of course—precisely to the extent that the Labor Movement itself is all these things. It will be "partial" because it will be concerned with the point of view of the workers, and only incidentally with the point of view of the remaining fraction of the community. It will be "one-sided," because it will be based on the Labor Movement itself is based, on the fact of the class-struggle; and it will, very definitely, "take sides" in dealing with that fact. It will be "incomplete," in the sense that it will concentrate on certain essentials, leaving many interesting and delightful branches of study untouched, or at any rate regarding them as, at present, of only secondary importance.

"For the cause alone is worthy, till the good days have been best!"

A master-class will not teach the truth to a subject-class; it is indeed incapable of seeing the truth as that subject-class sees it. Antagonism of interests between two classes in society means antagonistic views as regards the desirability or otherwise of "reconstruction"; or, at least, as regards the extent and thoroughness of that reconstruction.

The Labor Movement has its basis in the antagonism of interests existing between Capital and Labor. Then the education with which it is concerned must be based on a recognition of this same antagonism.

GEOGRAPHICAL FOOTNOTES OF CURRENT HISTORY—I.

(Continued from Page 4)

"The Palestinian communications, therefore, which the Canal are all in being. They are not very important, they are very reasonably secure. The desert routes traverses an uninhabited country and is therefore safe from attack. Let it be added that there are enormous potentialities of a high order in part of the country tapped by the Kantara-Haifa railway, and of a somewhat special kind."

Moreover, Palestine is a hill country—very healthy as a station for European troops in Egypt. So what more could you want? Why not be "generous" and "statesmanlike" to Egypt!

Yet there is another, and equally good, reason for "transferring the weight from one leg to the other." Britain now has important interests in Mesopotamia and in Persia—both lying due east of Palestine. The shortest route to these new spheres of influence is not via Suez, the Red Sea, round Arabia, and up the Persian Gulf (see your atlas). It is by sea to Haifa, the future port of Palestine, and thence across land east to Bagdad. Let me quote from an article in "The World's Work" (March, 1920):

"A 12,000,000 harbor scheme is already prepared to convert the bay at Haifa into a port and naval base (the Suez Canal can thus be defended by sea-power). Haifa's present population is 20,000, but it is predicted that it will be 100,000 within ten years. It will be the port not only of Palestine, but of Mesopotamia as well for it is the sea-terminus of the projected Suez-Desert railway to Bagdad, which is to be conveyed by a pipe-line, conveying Anglo-Persian oil direct to the British Navy in the Mediterranean. The Haifa Canal lies back of Haifa."

No wonder that it is Haifa "which interests the British War Office and the British Admiralty." A base for Suez—a port for Mesopotamia, Persia, and Arabia (via the Hedjaz railway)—this indeed is a "fair exchange" for the concession of Egyptian "independence."

—The Plebs (London, Nov. 1920)

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUNDS.

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