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## Imperialism

By the most superficial view of history we see running through it a succession of states exercising their supremacy over neighboring peoples. In succession we see the imperial movements of Babylon, of Egypt, of Assyria, the great empire of Alexander of Macedon, the Roman empire lasting in all its ramifications to the ninth century, relics of it persisting in the Holy Roman empire and other struggles for sectional hegemony in Europe; and alongside of this development the great expansive movements in Asia resulting in Chinese, Mohametan and Russian empires; later an attempt at it by France, England and Spain following the great maritime discoveries of the 15th century. The failure of these attempts until the development of capitalist production made possible the struggle on the part of the European powers for colonies, protectorates, etc., in the latter part of the nineteenth century, culminating as it did in the establishment of capitalism in the far ends of the earth, and the beginning of new imperial movements by U. S. and Japan.

### Imperialism Exists Only in Class Society.

When the domestication of animals and agriculture first made slavery possible, the basis for imperialism was laid—imperialism as it was in the beginning, is now, and only can be, the extension of the field of robbery, by the robbed for the benefit of the robbers. This defines it in the rough; but the nature of imperialism changes with the manner in which the robbery is perpetrated. In ancient times it consisted only in organized slave-hunting and tribute gathering expeditions. Feudalism, providing the ownership of land as the basis of exploitation converted it into valiant squabbles between the princes over their territory and earth-bound serfs—for kings might come and kings might go, but the serfs stayed there forever. The profitable commerce and piracy in the Indies and Americas led to a temporary rebirth of imperial policy. But the consequent influx of wealth into Europe assisted the perfection of handicraft methods and the acceleration of the ominous industrial revolution, with the result that imperial policies were for the time dropped because the new technique of production and that most thorough of all methods of robbery, the capitalist system, enabled the ruling class to rob far more safely at home than abroad, and moreover, more profitably. Yet this very cessation of imperialism, with its concomitant intensification of exploitation in the European countries, laid the foundation for an imperialism outstripping by far, in its magnitude, in its horrors, in its historic significance, every similar achievement of the past.

### The "Ideals" of Imperialism.

Perhaps before starting a scientific examination into modern imperialism it is worth while to clear away some of the idealist rubbish that has been scattered over it. The imperialists of all states have their idealists who convert the material interests they defend into religious, unquestionable ideals, and prate, not of profitable robbery, but of "the manifest destiny of nations." Thus at a recent Lambeth conference of the sky-pilots of Britain, when the question of birth-control was brought up, it was decided that it should not be discussed since it "is the manifest destiny of the British race to people the earth." Similar manifest destinies existing for other peoples make God a poor mathematician. Moreover there are no nations left to own a destiny or any thing else—only states ruling polyglot peoples and hybrid races, but no nations, none of these "ethnological entities" with which the

League of Nations tries to busy itself. Similar claims of the idealists that certain peoples inherit the Viking spirit, of the spirit of democracy, or any spirit whatever that provides a satisfactory shibboleth, may be similarly disposed of, for since none have any claim all have equal claims to them. Occasionally the idealistic have to adapt their metaphysics to electioneering purposes. Imperialism, they say, is a policy adapted to meet the material needs of the great mass of the people. "Come, come," they say, "ye little John Bullies, multiply even as father Abraham and the far ends of the earth, under the good old Union Jackass, shall feed you and your sons and your flocks, and the green earth shall spread her bosom for your nourishment." But it is not so, for the little John Bullies are at the far end of the earth awaiting their turns at the soup kitchen. The idealists have one straw left. They say it all proceeds from humanitarian motives; we must educate, civilize the backward peoples. Neither does this fit the facts. India is no new colony of Britain's, and here is a summary of Imperialism in it. It has brought a people accustomed to agriculture to work 12 and 16 hours in the textile factories for an average wage (in 1915) of 75 cents a week. The infantile death rate in Calcutta in 1915 was 540 per thousand, in 1916, 675 per thousand. In 1911 for 18 millions barely able to read and write there were 294 millions who could neither read nor write. While there were in 1911 in all India only 674 persons engaged in secular education there were 2,769 getting their living by "religious instruction." In Egypt in 1917 only 69 per thousand were literate. Lunacharsky has demonstrated that illiteracy can be eliminated far more readily than that. The humanitarianism of imperialist policy must be a deep, a hidden thing, for it is very far from being evident. Amritzar, the Congo atrocities, the marvellous development of the North American Indians, cannot be explained on the grounds the idealists furnish, so we shall have to proceed to our own materialist analysis.

### Exploitation, Profit, Accumulation, Expansion

As materialists we would expect the British empire to result from the way in which the British "pepu" gets its living. In the north the population is divided into Scots wha ha'e and Scots wha ha'en't; in the south the division is exactly the same. To be precise, 99 per cent. of the population is landless, and 95 per cent. without a penny invested; only 2 per cent. have anything to tax. And yet this people have more kicks than our liquid two per cent. Full fledged capitalism developed in Britain about a generation ahead of the continent. The propertyless there had to work as they do everywhere, and with the marvellous machinery at their disposal produced immense profits. The profits took such form and were of such magnitude that the master class could not consume them, and could only use them to reinvest to produce more profits. After a thorough exploitation of their own country, they had to export their profits, in the form of steel rails, etc., to the backward peoples in exchange for concessions. The export of goods becomes the export of capital—and capital is not so much a thing as it is the condition for the ownership, and use of a thing; so the production of surplus value by the workers of the mother country results in the production of a new set of conditions for the workers of another country. In 1909 of the £12,000,000 of British capital invested in South American railways, 33 per cent. had gone in the shape of rails, etc., manufactured in the U. K.; and again, of the total Brit-

ish capital in the East India Railway in 1857, 2-3rds was actually spent in England, and only 1-3rd in India—for food, wages, etc. All export of capital must either be a reinvestment of interest derived from outside sources or an excess of exports over imports.

### "Absentee Investment."

Due to the organization of modern investment it is not necessary for the individual capitalist who wants to rob the workers at the ends of the earth to send a shipment of steel rails or electric motors. Let us watch the actual process. On some peaceful day back in normalcy, 1913 (normalcy means the conditions that beget war) take a look at Lombard Street, London, at the Bourse of Paris and Berlin. There will be investments in every country on the face of the earth, with no real hindrance to, where the capitalist shall invest, yet in those days of normalcy, we could make a fairly safe bet on seeing John Bull buy railway securities in either some part of the British empire or South America, on seeing the Frenchman buy in some foreign government loan, or the German investing in Balkan or Mesopotamia securities. The capitalists' one interest is to get profits; so why this national specialization of investment in an apparent freedom of investment? It is because this "economic tap-root of imperialism" is essentially political. The export of capital might be called "absentee investment." It is really a feature of modern times. About the earliest recorded instance is when Henry V. of France in 1403 borrowed 1,000 marks from the merchants of Genoa, allowing them to retain the duties on certain goods. This sort of business has increased, until we find in November, 1920, U. S. had owing to her by foreign countries the sum of \$9,450,551,005.61.

### Ownership is Based Upon Force.

To bring things to a rock-bottom basis, ownership is based upon force. With the beginnings of foreign commerce, the bogey of the merchant was the pirate—he might by force acquire the merchant's right of ownership. Early absentee investments had to offer high rates of interest to induce the capitalists to risk losing, by force, both principle and interest. In all society the owning class is the ruling class; they rule in order to retain and increase their property. At home they have their police and their soldiers to protect their property rights. When the master class of a nation acquire property rights abroad, the security remains as it always was, force. The British navy was built—not to give slum children pleasure trips—but to protect the £3,500,000,000 British capitalists had invested abroad. It being the function of the state to direct this force, the political nature of absentee investment should be quite clear, and likewise clear the national specialization of investment, and the League of Damns, the alliances, the sphere of influence, the sectional hegemonies and all the rest of the paraphernalia of imperialist states.

The forces of the state work not only to retain, but also to acquire property rights by force. To what extent this is the function of an imperialist state is evident from their budgets. Take the budgets for the peaceful year of 1909:

	Revenue	Military Expenditure
Germany	£324,263,900	£ 89,249,700
Russia	252,634,100	96,056,000
France	158,337,000	111,095,100
United Kingdom	181,716,000	96,083,000

(Continued on page 4)

# Materialist Conception of History

## FOR BEGINNERS

### AMERICAN REVOLUTION

#### Lesson 16.

**T**HE Revolution was a result of the restrictions of American trade placed upon the American capitalist by the home government. All commerce was to be carried on in British ships. The Americans were not allowed to manufacture goods which were manufactured in Britain. Tobacco, cotton and wool, could be sold to England only, and all imports must be bought from Britain and carried in British ships. Even the provinces were prohibited from selling goods such as woollens, ironware, hats, etc., to one another. In Maine, trees over two feet in diameter were to be saved for the Royal Navy. The American capitalist was prepared to maintain that he had the first right to exploit American labor and resources. Now we see through all the bombastic oratory and glamour of the 4th of July; the real origin of Independence and Revolution was economic and materialistic. The tea incident in Boston harbor is taught as an exalted act of patriotism to the American schoolboy. England's policy of compelling the colonies to purchase everything from her, and putting on heavy tariffs made smuggling a profitable and prosperous trade. One fourth of those who signed the Declaration of Independence were well known to be smugglers and contraband traders.

A government tax on tea made smuggling of tea profitable, but when the East Indian Company, the legitimate tea traders, had accumulated 17 million pounds of unsaleable tea in their warehouses and still other cargoes lying in their ships in Boston harbor, they persuaded the home government to remit the tea tax in order to dispose of this accumulation of tea in Boston. This tea became cheaper to the consumer than the smugglers' tea, therefore the smugglers, disguised as Indians, raided Boston harbor and dumped this tea into the water to eliminate the competition of the Indian Tea Company. The stamp duty passed by the home government added fuel to the seething revolt. England also tried to confine the colonists to the seaboard strip of land.

The great George Washington, a government official surveyor, illegally surveyed land outside of the royal grant. A man who was a traitor to his country, liable to be shot if the revolution had not succeeded, has been honored by officials of England during the Great War by placing wreaths on the grave of this rebel. The people were not united. We find workers and farmers opposed to paying the debts that the sea coast merchants and planters had forced upon them during the war. They rose in rebellion in Massachusetts under Daniel Shays in support of the idea that the property of the States had been protected from confiscation by the joint exertions of all, and therefore ought to be the common property of all. Under these conditions the capitalists began to exert themselves. Their delegates to Annapolis and later to Philadelphia were brought together in response to the demands of the business men of the country, not to form an ideal government, but to formulate a practical plan to meet the needs of business. The landed class wanted to become the Senate, but they finally struck a bargain between tariffs and slaves. A. McEllisworth, of Connecticut, said: "Let us not intermeddle; as population increases, poor laborers will be so plentiful as to render slaves useless." While one John Adams declared: "It is of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freemen or slaves. In some countries the laboring poor men are called freemen, in others they are called slaves, but the difference is imaginary only. What matter it, whether a landlord employing ten men on his farm, gives them annually as much as will buy the necessities of life or gives them necessities at short hand?"

When the constitution was formulated by a group

of wage and chattel slave owners, which many people think today was adopted by a majority of the population, there were not more than 120,000 men entitled to vote out of a population of 4,000,000. Even these had not the right to vote direct, but by choosing delegates to the convention. The first draft of the Declaration of Independence had a clause which was to restrain the buying and selling of slaves on the market, but it was dropped out before the Declaration was finally adopted, because it was detrimental to the landed class of the south. Therefore this Declaration, which declares all men to be created free and equal, had dropped out of it the condemnation of the trade in human beings.

The Napoleonic wars in Europe gave America opportunity to monopolize the merchant marine trade; the commercial and financial class of New York and New England were therefore enabled to dominate the government. But by 1816 the rise of the manufacturing class had been able to sufficiently carry a protective tariff. The south favored this tariff, believing it would create a market at home for cotton and build up manufactures in the south. New England, led by David Webster, opposed the tariff and the higher one of 1824, because New England's interests were mainly commercial, and the tariff acted as a restriction on the carrying trade; by 1825 these conditions were reversed. New England merchants had become manufacturers and Webster was now leading a movement for more protection. The south discovered that Europe was her best market in cotton and she desired free trade to obtain cheap manufactures and food to feed and clothe her slaves. If they could establish free trade, it would ensure the American market to foreign manufacturers and secure the foreign market for her cotton. It would curtail home manufacture in the north and force a larger number of the people into agricultural pursuits, multiply the growth and decrease the price of foodstuffs to feed the slaves, and enable them to produce cotton cheaper, to monopolize the world's market for cotton and build up a navy and commerce that would make America rulers of the sea.

During colonial times, the English merchants found one of the main sources of income was the trading in slaves to the colonists. We saw in a previous lesson that the foundation and rise of industrial England was largely due to this monopoly. As soon as slave running became profitable, the slave breeding states began to object to further importation of slaves, but the slave trade received support from Massachusetts and Connecticut, because they manufactured rum, which was taken to Africa and exchanged for slaves. It was from this trade that the Puritan fathers received a large portion of their wealth. Peter Fannell was one of those traders and the Fannell Hall, "the cradle of liberty," was built from the profits of the smuggling of rum and capturing slaves. Slaves began to rise in price because of the demand for them in the cotton and sugar industries, sometimes as high as 4,000 dollars being paid. Think of it, you wage slaves, when a carload of wage slaves nowadays is not worth 50 cents.

This rise in price of slaves brought the viewpoint of their expensiveness. The labor of clearing land, ditching and hewing forests was done by the Irish, who travelled around under contractors. The landlords thought they were dear, but consoled themselves because it cost them nothing although they died; and it was better using Irishmen than the good field slaves on work of so severe employment. By this time it began to dawn on the ruling class that slave labor was more expensive than free labor. The "London Economist," 1853, said: "Slaves are costly instruments of production. A slave population hampers its owners in many ways, and there is some reason to believe that the low price at which slave-raised products is sold is the consequence of the necessity of its owner to sell in order to maintain his people. The responsibility of the owner of

free labor is at an end when he has paid the coveted wages, and his greater advantages in the open market, is exemplified in that there are more fortunes made by the employers of free labor than by slave labor." The millionaires are the employers of free labor, and were not found amongst the slave owners. The small profits of the slave owners could not compete with the larger profits from wage labor unless they could control the government. Therefore a struggle went on between the employers of free laborers and the slave owners, which culminated in the Civil War, which we will deal with when we come up to the period of 1860.

John Wesley maintained an appearance of friendship to the Revolution, but on returning to England sided with the English government, and his preachers in the States refused to take the oath to the Republic. France joined the colonies against Britain and Spain joined France in seizing Gibraltar. Russia, Sweden and Denmark entered an armed neutrality to prevent their ships being searched at sea. Troops were taken from Ireland to fight the colonies, and as France threatened the invasion of Ireland, the Irish raised a voluntary army chiefly of Protestants to protect Ireland. This force increased to 100,000 men. With such an army, the Irish so long oppressed by restrictions on their trade, followed the example of the Americans that they had the right to export whatever goods they desired to other countries. The home government, harassed on every side, complied with a Bill in 1780 giving the Irish the right to export wool and glass, and another Bill two years later repealed the law which gave the English parliament power over any Bills passed by the Irish parliament. (I will deal with the Irish question in a future lesson.) The English government began to arrange peace with America, France and Spain, which was not an easy matter as Spain claimed Gibraltar. France claimed Bengal, both of these places being very valuable to Britain. Fortunately for England Admiral Rodney met the French fleet going to seize Jamaica, which he utterly defeated, and raised the siege of Gibraltar a few months later. These victories gave England that honorable peace you hear so much about. The Treaty of Versailles, 1783, was signed, giving Spain Florida and Minorca; England kept Gibraltar, and France received nothing, England getting Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The United States received their independence.

Just as we saw the reflection of the rising capitalist class immediately after the English Revolution of 1688, in Banking Acts, etc., so we find that although the colonies were founded on charters granted to trading companies, commercial corporations were little known in America till after the Revolution. In 1781 was chartered the first bank, the North American in Philadelphia, and about the same time began the turnpike road, canals, insurance and manufacturing companies. In 1791 the Federal Government chartered the Bank of the United States. Therefore we see the expression and reflection of the new economic conditions which brought about the American Revolution. Immediately following the American Revolution came the French Revolution, another product of the new economic conditions, wherein the old institutions were out of harmony with the new mode of production and exchange.

We will take up the French Revolution in our next lesson.

PETER T. LECKIE.

# Book Review

THE CRISIS IN RUSSIA.—By Arthur Ransome. 201 p.p. Publishers, B. W. Huebsch, New York City.

I THINK, in this review of Arthur Ransome's latest book on Russia, "The Crisis in Russia," it will not be out of place to say something on the personality of the author, so that readers may have confidence in his fitness to be an impartial and open minded observer of the internal affairs of Soviet Russia—as having himself a minimum of conviction on social theory, and of being concerned solely with presenting the uncolored facts of the Russian situation. Diogenes, seeking for an honest man, had an easy task compared to the task of finding a detached, unpartisan mind today on the Russian question. Beginning with the proletarian revolution in 1917, the Russian question developed characteristics which proved capable of arousing the most intense and contradictory feelings of repugnance and hostility on the one hand, and on the other, sympathy and approval. A reasoned consideration of Russian development has played but small part in arousing those feelings. Mainly, society has been stirred to its depths and split into hostile factions, because Russia, striking at the institutional foundations of the present social order, has quickened into passionate activity, instinctive loyalties, mental attitudes or habits of thought, laid down by ages of organized social life in which the property institution and the existence of ruling and subject classes have been the dominant and all pervading features. All that conflict of opinion is unavoidable in the nature of things when the world is in the throes of new birth. In such circumstances it is the fate of most men to have their minds forced into the rigid mold of political conviction, either in favor of the old order, or of the new order a-borning.

Ransome appears to a great extent to have escaped such a fate; for, even though not a believer in Communism, he still retains the generous spirit to sympathize with human endeavors to throw off age long oppressions, as well as historical insight to recognize such an endeavor in the purblind strivings of the underlying populations in the world today. For the party of unbiased observer, from what I gather, Ransome's life has been cast in favoring conditions. Well educated on broad cultural lines, a traveller, mainly for the purpose of observation and study of folk life, especially in the Russia of pre-war days, and a writer of books on folk lore and other subjects of literary and historical interest remote from the rancours of current political life. Those who desire to know the truth of the situation in Russia, as it existed during the latter part of 1919 and the first few months of 1920, when Ransome was in Russia as special correspondent for the "Manchester Guardian" for the second time since the Bolsheviks attained power, will find in his book the most objective account we are likely to see presented to the outside world.

In his introduction to the book under review, the author states that the problem in Russia, as he sees it, is not a struggle between rival political parties, but as detached from politics, mainly a struggle for civilization against ruin, a struggle against the decay of civilization, to which city life gives character, and reversion to the fragmentary social life of a village barbarism. If, he says in effect, his book has a bias, it arises from that conception. Moreover, if Russia goes back that way, he sees great danger of the rest of civilization being dragged down with her. It is so, he says, that it is now recognized in Russia, by both the Communists and their opponents as well as by those who are indifferent to all social and political theories, but who are chiefly concerned that Russia shall get back from sheer starvation on to its feet again economically. Disputes now are chiefly over ways and means of increasing productivity and obtaining and distributing the necessities of modern civilized life. In a former book, "Russia in 1919," Ransome stated modestly that he knew nothing of economics. Regarding this later book, I can say in that case, at least so far as the economics of industrial production are concerned, that he has made haste to learn.

After reading "The Crisis in Russia" any reader can say to himself, "Surely, in all history, no administration has had such stubborn problems and complicated un-ideal conditions as a test of their programmes and their abilities as have had the Communists in Russia since they took over the reins of power in November, 1917. The first chapter, entitled "Shortage of Things," and the second "Shortage of Men," show clearly that with the opening, in 1914, of the great war there began an avalanche-like decline of the economic life of Russia, which gathered momentum that even the Communists, with all their realistic grasp of Russia's problem, backed by unity of purpose and ferocious energy and zeal, could not stay for a considerable time after they had seized political power. Even at the time of preparing his book for the press, so desperate did Ransome conceive the economic situation in Russia to be, that for him the outcome seemed doubtful; nevertheless, he still remained certain that if Russia was to be saved from complete and utter ruin, the Communists were the only body of men with the necessary energy and vision to accomplish the task. Some brief extracts here follow, though they will give only slight indication of the quality of Ransome's observations, or of the task of the Soviet administration, or of how its foreign and domestic policies have been determined by the inexorable facts of Russia's needs—needs that are of the most primitive and essential kind.

He says: "Russia produced (before the war) practically no manufactured goods (70 per cent. of her machinery she received from abroad), but great quantities of food. The blockade isolated her. By the blockade I do not mean merely the childish stupidity committed by ourselves, but the blockade, steadily increasing in strictness, which began in August, 1914. . . . The war, even while for Russia not nominally a blockade, was so actually. The use of tonnage was perforce restricted to the transport of the necessities of war. . . . things which do not tend to improve a country economically, but rather the reverse. . . .

"The war meant that Russia's ordinary imports practically ceased. It meant a strain on Russia, comparable to that which would have been put on England if the German submarine campaign had succeeded in putting an end to our imports of food from the Americas. From the moment of the Declaration of War, Russia was in the position of one 'holding out,' of a city standing a siege without a water supply, for her imports were so necessary to her economy that they may justly be considered as essential irrigation. . . .

" . . . a huge percentage of the clothes and the tools and the engines and the wagons and the rails came from abroad, and even those factories in Russia which were capable of producing, such things were, in many essentials, themselves dependent upon imports. Russian towns began to be hungry in 1915. . . . In the autumn of 1916 the peasants were burying their bread instead of bringing it to market. . . . In 1917 came the upheaval of the revolution, in 1918 peace, but for Russia civil war and the continuance of the blockade. By July, 1919, the rarity of manufacture was such that it was possible two hundred miles south of Moscow to obtain ten eggs for a box of matches. . . .

" . . . The most vital of all questions in a country of huge distances must necessarily be that of transport. It is no exaggeration to say that only by fantastic efforts was Russian transport able to save its face and cover its worst deficiencies even before the war began. . . . Russian transport (during the war) went from bad to worse, making inevitable a creeping paralysis of Russian economic life during the latter already acute stages of which the revolutionaries succeeded to the disease that had crippled their precursors. . . .

"In 1914 Russia had in all 20,057 locomotives. . . of that number over 5,000 were more than twenty years old, over 2,000 more than thirty years old, 1,500 more than forty years old and 157 had passed their fiftieth birthday. Of the whole 20,000, only 7,108 were under ten years of age. That was six years ago."

Depletion through wear and tear and captured in war resulted in there being only 3,969 engines in

working order in January, 1920, in spite of the utmost efforts to keep up the supply. Lathes and other machinery have become worn out, while the Whites have deliberately wrecked many factories. The combined effect of ruined transport and the six years of blockade on Russian life in town and country is graphically described at length by Ransome. But I have already, I fear, over-reached the limits of my space, and so will conclude by giving the chapter headings of a book which I recommend as a very readable, single-minded and capable study of Russia's internal problem of reconstruction.

Contents: Introduction, The Shortage of Things, The Shortage of Men, The Communist Dictatorship, A Conference at Jaraslavl, The Trade Unions, The Propaganda Trains, Saturdayings, Industrial Conscription, What the Communists are Trying to do in Russia, Rykov on Economic Plans and on the Transformation of the Communist Party, Non-Partyism, Possibilities. C. S.

## THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Third Congress of the Communist International will be held in Moscow, June of this year. The agenda reads as follows:—

- 1—Report of the Executive.
- 2—The world economic crisis and the new tasks of the Communist International.
- 3—Tactics of the International during the revolution.
- 4—Transition period—partial actions and the final revolutionary struggle.
- 5—Campaign against the Yellow Trade Union International.
- 6—The Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.
- 7—Internal structure and methods of Communist Parties.
- 8—Internal structure of the Communist International and its relation to affiliated bodies.
- 9—Eastern question.
- 10—The Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International. (Appeal of the I. S. P. against the E. C. decision).
- 11—The German Communist Labor Party and International. (Appeal of the United German C. P. against the E. C. decision).
- 12—Women's movement.
- 13—Young Communist movement.
- 14—Election of the E. C. and fixing of its headquarters.
- 15—Various business.

## Communism and Christianity

Analyzed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D.D. The writer, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalism from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all."

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JULY 1, 1921

**HERE AND NOW.**

**Our "Immediate Demands."**

HERE AND NOW—this time-worn "Clarion" headline indicates our programme of immediate demands—Subscriptions—and they can't come too quickly. These figures below indicate the measure of response to our frantic gestures in last issue. From which it will be seen that we shall have to gesture more comprehensively or be counted in with yesterday's 7,000 years. Either that or put on the garment of hope and go out looking for "Clarion" credit—with double magnifying eye-glasses and little faith.

These are hard times and the work of working class education must not be halted. Next time you hear someone asking what's the best thing to read for a beginner, introduce him to the "Clarion," and to our programme of immediate demands—subscriptions. We need them.

Following One Dollar each—M. Goudie, J. Gandy, C. MacDonald, Geo. Silk, P. Wallgren, Walter Wilson, C. Fraser, Harry Grand, O. Erickson, A. Morton, C. Sievwright, Sam Bush, J. Brightwell, Sid Earp, E. Oliver C. Woolings, J. G. Smith, A. M. Davis, G. S. Morris, A. Cameron, J. Crockett, E. Gillett. "Geordie."

Following Two Dollars each—Harry Judd, C. W. Springfield, Frank Cassidy, P. Floyd, G. E. Mills, A. E. Faulkner, Alex. Miller, W. Mill.

J. Moon, \$4; W. H. Harriman, \$5; W. F. Rampe, \$6; J. Dennis, \$4; Alex. Wood (New Zealand), \$275.

Above, subs. received from 14th to 27th June, inclusive—total, \$55.35.

**CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND**

O. Larson, \$3 Mrs. Griffiths, 50c; J. G. Smith, \$1; John MacIntosh, \$5; J. J. MacDonald, \$5; "B. L. J.," \$2.

Above, C. M. F. contributions from 14th to 27th June, inclusive—total, \$16.50.

**SECRETARIAL NOTES.**

"The farming situation is very uncertain, the drop in prices has given a severe jolt to most of the hayseeds. There is very little new land being brought into cultivation this year. Wages are about one half of what they were last year, retrenchment is the password among the hayseeds. You meet an optimist once in a while who looks to the future for the good times, or at least a change for the best. The general outlook is bad, the banks holding tight, changing managers with instructions to collect from headquarters."

Writing thus from Winborne, Alberta, Comrade D. MacPherson indicates the bleak outlook as being good. Now that they're changing bank managers—if they ever send the Vancouver manager down there—

Writing from London, Eng., Comrade Lestor (May 30) says Gribble is in Crouden, running a class in economics. Charlie himself is giving what he calls "the straight dope" to the unemployed. Many arrests have been made among the Communists in England, and Lestor says "I considered it my duty to jump on the platform as soon as this happened."

He says he has met several ex-S. P. of C. men, all of whom are doing good work there — mostly organizational and educational—and the last named he says is badly needed. No word of his return.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 has transferred its Sunday evening meetings from the Empress to the Columbia Theatre. Last Sunday was the first at the Columbia, where Comrade Kavanagh addressed a crowded house. Vancouver readers please note. Every Sunday at 8 p.m., at the Columbia.

Bishop W. Montgomery Brown (who is an old time "Clarion" reader) writes in appreciative terms and offers 1,000 copies of his book "Christianism and Communism," to be sold for the Clarion Maintenance Fund. We have accepted the offer, and refer our readers to the advertisement of the book.

The job printers strike is still on, and the shop where the "Clarion" press work has been done is affected. Last issue was run in a small union press room which involved hand folding, and so was a day late. This issue goes to press a day or two ahead on that account.

**C. M. O'BRIEN DEFENCE FUND**

Previously acknowledged, \$105.85; J. W. (per C. W. S.), \$2.50; total to 27th June, \$108.35.

**IMPERIALISM.**

(Continued from page 1)

This is eclipsed when after "a war to end war" the United States spends one per cent of its revenue on education, three per cent on administration expenses, three per cent on "reconstruction" and 93 per cent on war. Perhaps the nine billions owing her has something to do with it. Of course, the state only use force to acquire property rights when they cannot do so more cheaply without force.

**The United States.**

The position of the U. S. is very significant. It illustrates how imperialism works out to a logical impossibility. First, like all other developing countries, she imported finished products in excess of her export of raw material; today she exports finished products in excess of her imports of raw material. "In 1920, U. S. exported about three billions more than she imported. Of exports 34 per cent was crude material, and 66 per cent, manufactured products; of imports 66 per cent, crude material and 34 per cent, manufactured products." She has even evolved her school of imperialist idealists who prate of her "manifest destiny." Perhaps the expansion of the original states, her influence in Mexico, her interests in Cuba and the Philippines, her Monroe doctrine are nothing more serious than a mantle of destiny that has fallen from Spain upon the shoulders of young America. Perhaps when her navy is finished and her nine billion still uncollected she will show an activity in Europe that will really be nothing more than fulfilling her manifest destiny in restoring once more in Europe the "glory that was Spain,"—she has already had considerable experience at the Inquisition. But then—there's another "perhaps" coming—perhaps the wage slaves may prevent this inconceivable horror. The economist would search for more material motives for her activities. Her desire for an influence in Mexico might be explained by the existence of much needed oil wells there, and by the fact that up to 1910 she had invested in Mexico \$650,000,000 and yet that in 1910 the value of these investments was \$2,000,000,000.

The history of American industrial development is illustrative of the nature of imperialism. First a recipient of foreign capital; then by the development of her own country, buying out these foreign securities. Thus the approximate foreign holdings in 1896 were 45 per cent, in 1905 10 per cent. Next, her period for the export of capital—between 1896 and 1900 it is estimated \$100,000,000 of U. S. capital was invested in Canadian mining, industrial, lumber and railroad stocks. By 1911 it is reckoned this amount had increased to \$226,800,000. And according to the "Mining and Engineering Record," today

"Americans control 95 per cent of the mining interests of Canada, 100 per cent of the pulp and paper investments of Western Canada, 75 per cent of the lumber industry, and 75 per cent of the fisheries." Her other investments are by no means trivial—she is the great creditor nation of the world today. She has shown foresight in her investments. Take her greatest previous attempt towards empire—the Panama Canal. By causing the secession of Panama from Columbia she secured the rights to build a canal that shortens the Asiatic trade routes in her benefit and in her benefit alone. "It makes Yokohama and Sydney nearer to New York than to Liverpool and Antwerp, and does not shorten the distance from any point in Australia, Japan or the Pacific Islands to any European port." U. S. built it to force her supremacy in the commerce of the world. The canal is well fortified and guarded by U. S. troops.

This course of backward countries towards empire is not being run by U. S. alone. Here are three such typical countries chosen at random: figures for 1918:

<b>Argentina—</b>	
Imports .....	£ 99,125,943
Exports .....	159,021,120
<b>Borneo—</b>	
Imports .....	£ 761,333
Exports .....	1,019,094
<b>India—</b>	
Imports .....	S. rupees 164,35,48,949
Exports .....	244,89,45,219

Similar figures apply to other "backward countries." Imperialism has been termed the "final stage of capitalism"; it works in a gradually narrowing circle where "the movement becomes more and more a spiral and must come to an end, like the movement of planets, by collision with the centre"

**The Worker's View of History.**

We study imperialism, not because we are interested in our master's welfare, but because we are interested in the historic mission of our class. It is apparent that there is but one "manifest destiny" for the imperialist states—and that is to go to the scrap heap. But there is a very manifest destiny for the international working class—and that is to kick those states there. Only by one world wide gigantic struggle of the proletariat to overthrow the states that rob and rule us, only by setting up in their stead our own proletarian dictatorship can we put an end to the hell that imperialism is raising in Ireland, India, Congo, Egypt, Mexico, the Philippines; only thus can we safeguard our class from the horrors of a new war so terrible that the blood-fest of 1914-18 shall seem tame beside it. Even the bourgeois Robert Service knows that, when he makes a wounded soldier say to his mother: "It's coming soon and soon, mother, its nearest every day, When only men who work and sweat will have a word to say; When all who earn their honest bread in every land and soil Will claim the Brotherhood of Man, the Comradeship of Toil; When we, the Workers, all demand: 'What are WE fighting for?' Then, then will end that stupid crime, that devil's madness—war."

F. W. T.

## MANIFESTO

— of the —  
**SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA**  
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# The Roots of Reformism

**E**XPLANATION is always the surest and best method of attack. The key to history which Marx gave us is also a key to current problems — to history in the making. And the roots, remember, cannot be dislodged successfully until after they have been clearly located. A problem well worth our attention is: Why has Britain been a stronghold of Revisionism? Why is Fabianism so great a power in the official Labor Movement? Why the persistence of Reformism? What are the real reasons why the middle-class intellectuals—Dührings still needing an Engels—are taking service in the ranks of Labor? Why should the Second International find its last home in London? Here is a problem which cannot be settled by under- or over-estimating the personal ability or industry of individuals, or by imputing low or high motives—of career-hunting or altruism—to any particular person.

The first point obvious to the historical materialist is that **Socialism is a product of capitalism.** And it should reassure timid souls, who bewail the splitting of their particular propagandist group whenever any new phase of Socialism comes to the front, to know that there have been considerable changes in the content of Socialism: Socialism has always been changing as capitalism itself has developed. And these changes, observe, have not come as some "unfolding of the human mind," but have been produced by the very earthbound development of capitalism. The Socialism which is the result of modern capitalism must be a very different thing to the "Socialism" of a century ago.

We can ignore here the period before the productive forces made modern capitalism possible. In the decay of ancient civilization the Christian communities could only institute a **communism of consumption** because industry was still in the petty handicraft and household stage. W. W. Craik recently well put the contrast between then and now by saying that Christianity and its leader came from the small carpenter's bench, but that modern Socialism and its followers come from the large-scale steam joinery. Plato's earlier Republic was certainly far enough away from ergatocracy. The Utopia that More pictured—which he could "rather wish than hope for"—was something to be brought about, for and not by the people. Like the Humanists, of whom More was the chief English representative, John Bellers, and later still Robert Owen, appealed to the rich and educated classes for support for their schemes. There was no distinct working-class movement to which they could look. Uneducated, degraded, and later stunned by the coming of the machine, the workers seemed helpless to help themselves. It was to mark the difference between this kind of Socialism, which even in the fighting days of the C. N. C. "deprecat[ed] a militant class-war attitude," that the section of progressives then busy giving clarity and precision to their own views, called themselves Communists, and in the "Communist Manifesto of 1848" expressed their scorn for the Utopians, though recognizing the utility of their critique of capitalism. At present the words look likely again to develop the same associations.

The Chartist Movement was neither Socialist nor Communist, though it received sympathy and help from both quarters. Feargus O'Connor definitely repudiated Communism. A working-class still suffering from the social convulsions occasioned by the Industrial Revolution could not be expected to see the way to a new society. Postgate ("Revolution," p. 104) vividly pictures the English working-class as "a helpless prisoner, knocking helplessly at one door, turning to the other, returning again to the first, and all in vain." The amelioration brought about by trade prosperity in the 'fifties took the wind of hunger and desperation out of the sails of the Chartist agitation, and despite the association of the Junta with the 1864 International, we find no general theoretical understanding of the case against capitalism until the 'eighties. (Britain's lead in world domination was then being challenged; America and Germany were catching up to her in the race).

It is only necessary to state some of the main points about the "Socialism" most widely adopted in Britain to show not only how it differed from the earlier Socialism, but also from those later ideas which, in the garb of Industrial Unionism, Syndicalism and Guild Socialism have since made their appearance here and elsewhere. Competition was the evil. Nationalization of land, mines, milk and everything else of importance was the panacea. The class-struggle was glossed over or rejected. Later still, from the chief theorist of the I. L. P.—biologically trained—came the idea that society was an organism. The State was the people. This once accepted, compulsory arbitration and the demand for increased production must "biologically" follow. The Fabians, who largely supplied the other Socialists with ideas to supplement their ethical, religious, and democratic appeals, visualized society from the point of view of the consumer. In economics, the Labor Theory of Value, which showed value determined in production, was put on one side for the theories of "the accredited British professors," who now based value upon the psychological state of mind of the consumer. No longer was there to be any Chartist attempt to "rush" the governing class, no "sacred month" nor genteel strike. The capitalists themselves were to be "permeated." Whitehall was to be stormed by Fabians in rubber-soled shoes, armed with Blue Books, who would afterwards set up State Departments for carrying on industry. There was no place for mass action on the part of the workers in this scheme.

While the theoretical basis of what today is again being recognized as workers' Socialism (or Communism) was being reduced to rigid orthodoxy by the S. D. F. sect, (\*) Fabianism won increasing support. Let us now endeavor to explain the origin of Fabian ideas, and to show how the development of the powers of production brought a change in the social relations and in turn produced a new outlook.

In the first place, large-scale production found it necessary to grant certain reforms. Unfortunately (from the point of view of the capitalist) capitalism cannot feed the workers as fast as their appetite grows. Inevitably, and increasingly, the workers tend to develop the spirit which Mr. Dooley inculcated when he observed, "Don't ask for rights. Take 'em. An' don't let any wan give 'em to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter wid it." The capitalist can only give reforms by foregoing some of his profits, hoping to make up for them by a more intensive exploitation of the contented worker. (Hence "scientific management," etc.) However, the majority of the capitalists can't give fast enough; which means that the worker has to get reforms for himself.

Now no Socialist propaganda, making dozens of milkmen serve the same street, is keener on removing the waste of competition than the Trust. Big Business deals very effectually with competition. Municipal undertakings for the most part aid rather than injure private enterprise. A good tram service and cheap dwellings assist the local factory. The Post Office is a vital necessity to the modern capitalist, and he benefits from its use much more than the wage-worker can. Big companies are not above benefiting from research made at the public expense.

In short, the stock arguments for "collective enterprise" were inherent in the new conditions of production. The growth of the big machine, and the big company which alone can use it, makes capital impersonal, and leaves directive and supervisory functions in the hands of a few captains of industry and the growing professional class—the black-coated proletariat. The lower layers of the middle class, especially those with fixed incomes, would directly benefit from municipal enterprise. Public services are not so great a boon to the wage worker. If he is actually employed in them he finds little difference between being robbed by a public or a private employer. But it needed experience to make that clear, just as it needed the present bitter experience of unemployment to prove to many workers that Imperialism, wars, and indemnities are ruinous—to

them. For a while even the thinking minority of us wage-slaves accepted, and propagated Fabian ideas. We did not detect incipient Imperialism in "Clarion" (\*\*)propaganda

Turning to the reflex in economics, we find that even so acute a thinker as "C. B. S." failed to resist the new theory of value favored by capitalists when once they had retired from active participation in industry. In the days of Smith and Ricardo things were otherwise; then it was easier to recognize the basis of the exchange of commodities as being labor—then the landlord was the blood-sucker who grew richer out of the "diminishing returns" of industry. The tragedy is that many Fabians—and followers—worked hard for what was really after all only a super-capitalism. Reforms instead of being used as springboards, were made an end in themselves.

In the needs of large-scale production, then, we find the root of Reformism: that large-scale production has also created a class-conscious proletariat and has moreover shown that proletariat how to organize on a larger and larger scale. The great change can—and must—now be achieved by the people, and not merely for them. Marxian education will prevent us proletarians ever being deceived again, by giving us a clear understanding of the imminent social change which Reformism can no longer prevent.

SPARTACUS  
— "The Plebs"

(\*) See letters from Engels to Marx, quoted in review by "J. F. H." of Pease's 'History of the Fabian Society,' Plebs, July, 1916.

(\*\*) "The Clarion" (London), edited by Robt. Blatchford.

## ALBERTA HOTEL

Note—Comrade Keeling has been appointed by the Alberta P. E. C. (Secretary A. B. Shaaf, Box 785, Edmonton) to write notes of their activities for publication. Letters of this kind are always welcome, and the example might well be followed by locals throughout the country. It should be noted that notes need not be over-lengthy, and should be written and dealt with on separate sheets from those containing general correspondence, literature orders, etc.)

Edmonton, June 12, 1921

For this last month or so the farmer comrades have been too busy to pay much attention to propaganda, nevertheless the propaganda work is still going on, and promises greater activity in the immediate future.

Comrade Cassidy who for some time has been in the Youngstown district, left there on May 31st, and is now somewhere around Seal, and reports being kept busy with meetings almost every night. He hopes to be in Edmonton by July 1st, when he will speak at a picnic we are holding on that date. On his way up here we are arranging meetings at Castor, Red Willow, Stettler, Donalda, and Meeting Creek.

Comrade Frost has intimated a desire to form a local at Castor, and the business will be attended to by Comrade Cassidy.

From several districts we have received requests for speakers, but from such diverse points that it will be impossible to comply in the immediate future. Correspondence from all parts of the province contain requests for literature and questions pertaining to the Third International.

A suggestion has come from Calgary local that a correspondence circle should be established between locals and individuals, with the object of keeping the organization more intimately in touch. This would be very useful if it could be done; as it is at present, it is only the P.E.C. that knows much about the doings of the movement as a whole, and it would, under the circumstances, be too much work for the P. E. C. to advise all how the work is progressing elsewhere. The P. E. C. has been working on a plan for some time whereby we might establish a definite propaganda policy which has its special application to the farmer and his problems, and a circular has been drafted and sent to the farmer comrades for their opinions and advice. Up till now little response has made, but in a short time we hope to have something definite to say on the matter.

S. R. KEELING.

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

## AGAINST AFFILIATION

(Continued from last issue.)

THE bulk of the argument for affiliation rests on the unsubstantial arias of sentiment and idealist assumption. It is quietly assumed that a central executive can exercise effective authority without the previous welding of conflicting elements by conditioning circumstances; that we can create an international as easily as a "waffler" makes hot cakes; that we can organize the proletariat to such an extent that a capitalist class has organized itself, and should we,—a series of hypotheticals which have no good history nor good logic, and which are based on the cavalier insouciance of the far press.

So far as the capitalist class from organizing and creating its "international" that the bulk of the class is organized, while such haphazard association as now exists is not only not the product of thought and organization, but is the result of the most bitter and desperate of political competition. The three or four powers have been forced, through dire necessity, to sullen, reluctant, and suspicious co-operation for the temporary safety of their privilege and interest; a co-operation whose dissensions are all too apparent; whose conflicting interests are beyond the pale of whose utility is indubitably reflected in the conditions of suffering and death which the world has ever seen. And the fact that it is not in itself; that out of such an association such an incoherent co-operation as now exists there can come no solution of the problems. Because the capitalist class is not in the field of its vision.

It is precisely the workers, and for precisely the same reason they are not the dominant class, nor are their interests paramount. They are dragged along at the tail of the capitalist—and with their faces turned to the rear—forced through the highways and bye-ways of capitalist interest, compelled to find in capitalist expansion their supremest good; to purchase their paltry existence with their freedom. They cannot, on the initiative they are politically inert: they are at the wrong end of the gun, and there they are likely to linger, until necessity compels them to take an active hand in the further unfolding of this fugitive drama of social evolution. They are exponents of "national interests," because, at the spreading table of empire they find satisfaction of their primal wants. Thus they are, alternately, job-worshippers and head hunters—it matters not which. They will build or sink, rear or destroy, make booze or bread, bayonets or blankets, poison gas or jeans, with equal skill and equal zeal. What matters the end. They have the incentive of necessity. They will follow every Jack-o'-lantern that flits through the political wilderness, every cul-de-sac baited with the right colored shrimp, in their weary pilgrimage for better conditions. The straight road of revolution they cannot go: they must go by the circuitous route of Utopian reform. It is the destiny of individualist philosophy. Therefore the workers will not form into an international because their capitalist masters have devised some sort of inharmonious international arrangement. On the contrary, the steady pressure of world economics, which drove the leading capitalist groups into imperialist conclaves, and holds them there in spite of divergent interests, in the slowly dawning fear of proletarian victory, will also compel the proletariat, first to follow on the trail of their masters, will drive them, and hammer them into comparative unanimity, and then faced with want and extremity, finding the palliatives of their masters in vain, and seeing the devices and institutions of the once proud rulers, crumbling away in the grip of productive and social forces, unable longer to function in their ancient form,— they will take their first sure step to the social commonwealth.

Revolution is the last exit. Because it can only be achieved in the interests of society, as a whole, by a community whose further existence is at stake,

led on, neither by "saviours" or "leaders," but urged by the most omnipotent necessity, to escape the unendurable conflict engendered by the developed forces of production against their old political heritage.

This may be "mechanical philosophy." Well, let it. Revolutions are not made nor Internationals created to our order. They come, both of them, spontaneously, unhindered and unhastened, out of the growing contradictions of class society. All we can do is to prepare for the coming change, to be ready to grasp and turn to our advantage, whatever opportunity may offer, out of the rapidly moving wrack of social upheaval. To go before that,— we cannot.

We have not yet entered the throes of Revolution. When we do, we will probably not like it. But, like it or not, it is coming. And we would do well in all seriousness, to take the measure of the thing we advocate, knowing that at no distant date we will be called upon to support our advocacy with our actions. The present task of the revolutionary is to understand the revolution, so that the awakened and aroused proletariat may not bring down upon itself the bloody wrath of precipitate action.

G. ROSS

(\* Note.—Here, for instance, is a quotation from an advocate of affiliation:

"The proletariat of Russia, single handed, crushed Czarism, knocked to the ground its bourgeoisie and began to realize their future plans. Then the international bourgeoisie . . .

egan to throw a loop around . . . the new Russia. They would have succeeded in choking her, had it not been for the international proletariat who raised their strong hands of toil, and challenged. . . 'Hands off Russia.' "

That is simply not true. Briefly, what happened was that the Russian people (mostly peasantry), weary of war demanded land, bread, and peace. The rising bourgeoisie under Kerensky, promised this—but could not fulfill the promise. And just as Czarism fell before the first peasant demand so the struggling bourgeoisie fell under the second. And the peasant people secured their demands simply because they knew what they wanted and were united in that demand. The "realization of plans" had little or no place in the affair. Neither was it the proletariat who "challenged, Hands off Russia." It was, on the contrary, Liberal bourgeoisie and Manchester free traders etc., etc., who, finding their business operations confounded by imperialist wars and ambitions, started the crusade of "trade with Russia," to save themselves and their privilege of exploitation. Sections of reformist labor joined (subsequently) in the chase. But what an ineffective protest it was, how limited its field of action, and what a pitiful spectacle of proletarian misunderstanding and impotence. And even yet, trade with Russia is not clearly established, nor the blockade lifted. Truth to tell, the very arguments adduced in favor of affiliation are the weightiest evidence against it.

R.

Next Issue: Article by W. A. Pritchard

## A LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

New York City,  
16th June, 1921

Dear Comrade,—Just a line to say hello, and to keep in touch with you. My few months' stay here among the great structures and rushing multitude has made some very deep impressions, which alter a few of my opinions. I really thought there was some semblance of a revolutionary moment in the principal city of this continent, but, alas, such is not the case.

The S. P. of A. seem to hold the front position, but they do receive some opposition. Their "milky way" Lee, Germer, Dalton, Jaeger et al., are truly petit-bourgeois reformer types. Much worse than I expected. Hundreds of open air meetings are held weekly by the S. P. of A., S. L. P., Communists (under other names) and an army of free lanc-

es. I oft-times ask myself the question, if the movement would be benefited by the suppression of free speech? There are a few good boys—too few—around here who are putting out excellent propaganda. I was considering linking myself up with the S. P. or S. L. P. just for the purpose of being active, but the former are so putrid that one dare not go near them without reporting to the health officer, the S. L. P. are surprisingly close to the social-patriot line. The article by De Leon, "The Flag in Utah," is typical of them, so I cannot see my way to enter their ranks. The Proletarian Party here is local here, I have written to them for their Manifesto and programme. If there is a lack of Socialist propaganda there is certainly not a lack of "Socialist organizations," e.g., S. P. of A., S. L. P., I. W. W., W. I. U., Communist (right and left), Irish-American Labor League, Workers' Educational Society, all Marxists, and all scrapping each other. It's bewildering. Then, of course, there is the Brindley, New York Central Labor Council, and the hundred and one factions of the A. F. of L., all of which have had a slice taken off their wages. A few hundred thousand are unemployable and "not a word was heard, not a funeral note." If a mass meeting for the unemployed is called a few hundred show up, if a job is advertised a few thousand clamor for it!

JOHN F. MAGUIRE

Note.—Comrade Maguire, previous to going to New York, was for several years secretary of the P. E. C., Alberta.

The special courts set up by the Social-Democratic president of Germany, Ebert, to try the Communists involved in the March insurrections have sentenced:

252 prisoners to	962 years' hard labor.
166 "	254 years imprisonment
6 "	hard labor for life.
2 "	death

—"Communism and Christianity."

## RUSSIAN FOREIGN TRADE An Interview With Krassin.

Berlin, May 30—Krassin, who stopped for a short time on the journey through Berlin had a conversation with a representative of "Novij Mir" in the course of which he said: "The greatest difficulties with which Russia has to contend are those of fuel and transport. However, in spite of the difficulties of the conditions of the workers the production of the Donetz Basin is showing a steady increase. In the matter of concessions a co-operation of American given no naphtha concessions. We wish to give some capital would be desirable. So far we have concessions in the Donetz Basin for which German, Swedish, French and English groups have an interest. We have also received enquiries from French and Swedish parties who represent American interests regarding concessions for a number of factories in Siberia.

For some unknown reason, Vanderlip has endeavored to avoid an interview with me. So far as I know he wished to bring a power of attorney with him after his return to Moscow as well as a certain sum to be deposited as security so that the preliminary contract which had been concluded with him could enter into force. Apparently he was not in the position to fulfill these conditions and he departed.

In regard to the decree over de-controlled trade it has had as a result the complete confidence of the peasantry in the Soviet government. This decree which met the wishes of the working population of Russia has proven the living strength of the Soviet power.

Concerning export, Russia would not be in a position to export for a long time yet in any large quantities. Europe and American would grasp that the reconstruction of Russian economic life is necessary for the reconstruction of the economic life of the world and on this ground they would be compelled to grant credits to Russia. It is no longer Utopian to speak of a loan. Naturally Russia would guarantee the loan with its whole state property.

# Poverty: Its Cause and Cure

## THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

(Thesis Adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, August, 1920)  
(Continued from last issue)

THE existence of poverty, being generally felt, is generally admitted. Various 'causes' are assigned for its continued existence, such as unemployment, gambling, laziness, and extravagance. The first three of those reasons we dismiss cavalierly, being effects and not causes, and the latter two require no comment.

But the question remains, why are we poor, why is poverty so universal? Why, in spite of almost continuous toil, year in and year out, cannot we command anything more than the barest necessities of life? Never to speak of comforts or luxuries, even in a whisper. And if idleness overtakes us for a brief space, starvation, gaunt and utter, faces us, in spite of a "thrill" that turns life into gall and wormwood, in spite of the most desperate pinching that numbs us with our own impotence, and kindles in our hearts a consuming fire of commingling rage, agony and bitterness. And this in the midst of abundance, with flaunting, wanton luxury on every hand. Why is it?

Society is an organization whose will, law, or sentiment is supreme. Socially therefore, man is not an individual but a unit, an atom in that organization and becoming a member of society willy-nilly, is compelled to live his life under the particular form the society has assumed, agreeably with its institutions, and in conformity with its social concepts. If he attempts otherwise, social sentiment will overwhelm him in his vanity, and will break his idealistic endeavor on the tense frame of its economic determination. All of us begin the struggle of life with rainbow winged hope, beckoning us to the mountain top of human achievement, but anon the lurking lights grow pale like stars at dawn, and the gray, frowning cliffs of material fact loom up bald and clear, above the illusory dreams of youth.

In this present form of society into which we have adventured we find a social condition, where those things necessary to the sustenance of life are owned and controlled by a particular class, and if we would obtain a portion of those necessities we must apply to the owners thereof for the privilege of working to and for them. For unless we do work we do not eat, require but few clothes, and a humble six foot cavity for shelter. Which is just as it should be, only it has to be given a social, and not merely a class application.

Having passed through more or less exciting adventures at about the age of 14, we are invited, more or less pleasantly, to take a hand in the "game" of life, and for exemplars we are pointed to those gallant knight errants of labor who have attained to high places and honor—like the ancient Joseph for instance—or the modern Rockefeller—by their own initiative and enterprise. We thereby begin the "romance" of finding a master—a comparatively easy task at 14, living at home, and not unduly intruding upon the larger interest of the "great man" for whom we work, with our petty little annoyances relative to wages. But boyhood passes into youth, with the awakening ambitions and passions; imperceptibly almost, we go into a wider circle of activities; make our debut on the stage of responsibility. We begin to glimpse the strenuous reality of the game, to have a foretaste of the struggle of maturity, and dimly to see, or rather to have a vague presentiment, that somehow, somewhere the dice is loaded. And in the dim shadows of this presentiment we come, fairly and squarely, face to face with the grizzly spectre of poverty. The rising demands and widening interests proceeding from our changed status in life bring the question of money into the forefront of our new condition. For most of us the fount and spring of money is wages. Now what are wages?

Wages is the market price of our labor power, our ability and energy to work at the aforementioned job which the master had so kindly given us. But we want that price increased. More wages. It is not enough for our needs. Why not? The "boss" makes lots of money, rides about in his motor, summers at the coast, entertains lavishly; (not the workers), owns houses; buys costly things; spends

money like water. And yet he won't raise our wages one cent. (A stubborn sort of mule, the "boss") Why is this? Thusly. Everything in his capitalist system of society is produced as a commodity, i.e., for sale, and the market price of commodities is regulated by supply and demand. A big supply and no demand, less price, and vice-versa. But the labor power of the workers is also a commodity; its price regulated in the same manner, by supply and demand. As there is all the time a greater supply of labor power than jobs for its exercise, the price, wages, of that labor power is low, and the inertia of its own economic holds that price to the limit of necessity. That necessity is the market price of those commodities requisite to support life, food, clothing and shelter. The master therefore does not, and can not, determine wages at all. It is the economic determination flowing from the competitive commodity system of production, which holds the price of wages in balance with the necessities required to maintain it.

But if labor power receives its market price, how does it come that the master has commodities to sell at all? The worker produces all, and has nothing to sell but labor power. Yet he cannot buy back what he has produced. Why this? Because efficiency in production and the introduction of power driven machinery increases the productive capacity of labor power immensely. Also, since the capitalist class own the material and machinery of production, not only does this ownership allow the master to set the terms under which the workers toil, but it also gives the owning class the property right to all that the worker produces through the medium of that machinery. The worker, working eight or ten hours daily (as master class necessity shall decide), produces an infinitely greater value of commodities than the value of the commodity labor power, which produced them. The value of a commodity is the socially necessary labor contained in it. The value of labor power, therefore, is the value contained in the things necessary to reproduce it, i.e., food, clothes, and shelter. But the value of the total product is greater than the value of labor power. Hence the surplus. And since competition practically brings the market price of commodities to the value level of the socially necessary labor in them, the price of labor power on the average equals its value,—the necessities requisite to reproduce it in a physical state of efficiency. As we have shown, this value, being less than the value of its produce, it is impossible that it buy back the surplus it has created and left by property right in the hands of the master class. Lastly, the increasing difficulty of the master class to find markets in which to dispose of the surplus, and since production is for profit, the lack of those markets, compels the industrial machine to stop, and in the midst of plenty the producers of that plenty starve.

Capitalist ownership and control of the means of life and the commodity nature of production, flowing therefrom, is the cause of poverty. And the remedy, and the only remedy, is the abolition of that system of control and production of the means whereby society secures its livelihood, and the substitution of social ownership and control, and production for use, not for profit. No reform, however ably conceived, no ideal, however lofty, can relieve the traffic of wage slavery, or void its economic sequence. Abolition of the capitalist system, thorough and utter, is the one hope of social salvation. Only by the abolition of profit can the leprosy of capitalist hypocrisy be stricken from existence; only by the social use of life's necessities can freedom dower us with the majesty of manhood; only by the social ownership of social ability can the doors of equality be thrown open; only by the social possession of the lordliest intellect and genius that springs, soaring, from the fount of progress, can man rise to the sublimest heights of his destiny.

In those places, however, where the relics of the feudal system still prevail the landlord's privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation, such as "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the produce to the landlord when a part of the soil belongs to the large estates.

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, there the distribution of the large holdings can be a sure means of winning the peasantry to the revolution, while the production of large estates can be of no use for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must begin with a temporary decline of production, so long as it makes for the success of the revolution, and by persuading the middle peasantry to take a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land is being distributed, the agricultural proletariat must be organized.

The implementation of the economic program into state production is the result of the unfailing conditions of the proletarian state, the disposal of the land, and the introduction of conditions workable for the peasant state.

If just at the moment a coup d'état is immediate conditions of the estates becomes absolutely necessary for the banishment or internment of the owners as leaders of the counter-revolution. The proletariat state, in proportion to its consolidation, not only in the towns, but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizational ability, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7.—The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time when the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself a complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the base of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such a radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and dispersed country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase of the productivity of agriculture and general farming work, and will incite the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit, to change to large collective machine agriculture.

Most particularly in the rural districts a real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires in the first place that all Communist Parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the consciousness of the necessity of sacrifice on its part, and the readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie; and the consolidation of the proletariat is based on its ability to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard being ready for the greatest sacrifices and for heroism. In the second place a possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience an immediate and great improvement of their position caused by the victory of the proletariat, and at the expense of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisionment of the towns with food-stuffs.

8.—The enormous difficulty of the organization  
(Continued on page 8)

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## THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

(Continued from page 7)

and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed by capitalism in conditions of particular oppression, dispersion, and often a medieval dependence, require from the Communist Parties a special care for the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires an enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and half proletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness and the consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion of Unions of Agricultural Workers and the co-operation of Communists in the land and forest workers organizations are of great importance. The Communists must likewise support the co-operative organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but who oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of food-stuffs. No programmes and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified by actual deeds, that the Communists and the labor leaders know how to put above all the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory, and are ready to make the utmost sacrifice for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no issue, no escape from starvation, dissolution and new imperialistic wars.

The Communist Parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and half-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the soviets be able to serve fully their ends, and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and later to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression of the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require a long preparation by means of creating small Communist centres: of intensive propaganda expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation: by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

The End.

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# PLATFORM

## Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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