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892 Uphill, Thos., MLA Legislature Assembly

The Genoa Conference

-By ROBERT KIRK

OF late days, the symbolical figure of France has been completely metamorphosed—comparing the picture, by British artists, of this erstwhile dame during war-time with the one of yesterday. In the former was seen the pitiful sight of a rather comely young woman, slenderly symmetrical, nailed to a cross, her bosom stained and torn by hunnish hands. While in the background we caught a glimpse of the misery, devastation, and wanton waste of war. But in this latest picture, France appears as the Jew of Europe, stoutly defending the tenets of Shylock. Here the spectator is obliged to fill in such details as the artists failed to put in: the unrelieved famine conditions of Russia: the social cess-pool of Austria: the strenuous labors of German workers to produce the goods for reparation claims: the terrors of peace.

The imagery of British artists has been affected by the painful experiences of their masters during the twelve previous conferences which have taken place since January, 1919. New political alignments in Europe have affected the economic interests of their masters, so causing these propagandists to adjust their ideas to suit new conditions. Each conference, from the fateful one at Versailles to this gathering of brawlers at Genoa was heralded with the wildest acclamations. Fulsome penegyrics, written by the grovelling sycophants of Grub Street, were paid to French and British delegations attending these conventions. And that bovine animal, the public, blissfuly content with its pasture, received assurance from the press that everlasting peace had been established, and reconstruction would start on the morrow.

But the conclusion of these discussions proved that the problems, supposed to be solved, were further complicated and their solution impossible. By the fact that each nation is only concerned with the conservation and expansion of its own material interests, failing to submerge these in the interests of their class as a whole. Never once did they consider the social nature of production, its international character or the dependency of any single part upon the whole: that an injury to any single part is an injury to all.

In support of this statement of facts I have taken the following quotation from Dr. E. J. Dillon, writing in the "Fortnightly Review" (New York), March, 1922:

"The special pleaders on the French side do not perceive, that material well-being of the British people is wholly dependent on its foreign trade, which the operation of the Peace Treaties has cut down to a minimum and that the tax-paying capacities of the nation are strained to the utmost limits of endurance. What they do notice is the unenviable plight in which their own attitude has placed them in the world, and the necessity of making some sacrifices—the smaller the better—for the purpose of recovering their prestige and taking up the threads of their policy anew.

"This policy consists in throwing a military net-work over most of the European continent, in the meshes of which Germany is held fast, and compelling allies, friends and enemies to pay for its up-keep.

"This scheme for political and military hegemony is perhaps the most comprehensive ever devised in modern times. Among the achievements already to its credit is the creation of a great Poland which, congruously with the last military Bill presented to the Legislature in Warsaw, is to have universal conscription (the Government of Poland won out at the last election, 1921, on a program against conscription—R. K.) and a standing army of a quarter of a million soldiers at the beck and call of France, with an outlay of one hundred and fifty milliard marks a year.

"The Little Entente, too, which bids fair to become a new Austria with Czecho-Slovakia as its centre is another offshoot of the vast military system which has sprung from the war against wars. Czecho-Slavakia is now linked with Poland by a politico-commercial treaty, by which the former State promises its neutrality should the latter have to fight for the possession of Eastern Galicia. France and Poland are also partners in vast economic enterprises as well as military allies, and they are making arrangements for the exploitation of Upper Silesia, for which France is supplying the needed milliards.

"Next in importance comes the Northern Entente comprehending Finland, Poland, Esthonia, submerging Lithuania. The Aland Islands have been presented to Finland as a pledge of friendship. France needs a foothold on the Baltic as much as she requires Tangiers in Morocco and Clapperton Island on the Pacific, to which Mexico lays claim.

"In this masterly way most of the continental peoples are become pawns in the hands of a political chess-player, and Europe is being thrust back again into the maze of tortuous diplomacy and governmental wars."

Here we have laid bare the baleful, vicious nature of Peace as expressed under capitalism. Even five centuries of industrial development, of arts and pretentious culture, ethics and religion, exercise no other influence on its character than to help hide its plundering proclivities, as the feline tribe cover their ash in a thin layer of dust. The ego of this thing stands clear in all its intrigues and artifices for the conquering of power, political and economic, which it weilds as parsimoniously as unsocially.

As soon as the Genoa Conference had entered the primary stage of discussion, the antagonism between France and Britain was made plainly observable. The British State is compelled to find a market for German goods if the reparation claims of the British capitalists are to be paid. Here, certainly, is one country which the Nemesis stalking capitalism has made the disposal of its loot the most difficult thing imaginable. For the reader must remember that they enter (as some must) the British market as German goods, of necessity, are produced as cheaply as possible—the outside marginal point. When imports, they immediately affect industries engaged in the production of goods for the home market. British manufacturers are compelled to cut their prices in order to compete against these goods from Germany. Still more ludicrous, when they are shipped as exports they cripple the export trade of the country. And against their entrance into the United States market, Washington has passed an Anti-Dumping Bill, in 1921.

France on the other side, experiences no difficulty as yet in disposing of these goods as capital among her numerous vassals.

At last, when the only market that can not interfere with British trade and profits is in sight—Russia—the French engage in a heated controversey over the German-Russian trade alliance, demanding the annulment of this treaty and the ejection from the conference of the signatories. Forgetting that in April, 1921, they, too, were secretly conferring with representatives of Moscow for the same pact (or a still worse one for Russia).

"We are told that from April 1, when the Trade Bureau for Russian Countries' was founded in Paris until the closing days of December (1921) pourparlers were carried on in Warsaw and elsewhere, at first between officials of the French Ministry of Commerce, and subsequently between the latter and members of the French Red Cross, with a view to striking up a complete agreement between the two Governments which would give France special advantages and put Germany through another mill—this time one of Franco-Russian contrivance. In consequence of the Brussels conference, for instance, the Soviet representatives signified thei r willingness to recognise Russia's pre-war debts and shortly afterwards this recognition was confirmed by the Moscow Government. Finally the negotiations took a more precise form and came to a head on the following basis: (1) Recognition of the Treaty of Versailles by the Soviet Government. (2) Recognition of the Soviet Government by France. (3) Repayment of Russia's pre-war debts to France by the process of transferring to her Russia's indemnity claim against Germany, congruously with Atricle 116 of the Treaty of Versailles (which runs as follows: 'The Allied and Associated Powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain from Germany restitution and reparations based on the Principles of the present Treaty'). (4) France to receive 40% of Germany's net profits on all her enterprises in Russia. (5) The creation of a French commission to supervise German enterprises in Russia. (6) A platina concession to be given France in the Ural.

"What these conditions portend for Germany, who seems willing to pay to the full extent of her capacity, it would be superfluous to point out in detail. Among other consequences, they would impose on her a fresh financial burden, reduce her citizens working in Russia to the level of serfs, and utterly defeat the central object of the Genoa Conference. But even if they be abandoned, it is urged, what of the spirit which prompted them and also conceived the attempt to found a federation of South Russian Republics under the protectorate of France in June, 1921?"

Full of duplicity and as merciless to the beaten and weak as nature, the intriguing character of capitalism is here unfolded. How then can peace be established; how reconcile the contradictions which arise out of such a system; how smooth the antagonisms engendered by competition? By their own actions the ruling class of society today are destroying every prop on which civilization rests; and though society is far from being conscious of the fact, the entire fabric is due to fall soon. Then, out of the ruins what; and who the builders? Ignorance destroyed this as in the past; will knowledge consciously design the new?

Manitoba Provincial Election, 1922

Local (Winnipeg) No. 109, S. P. of C. has nominated Comrades George Armstrong and Sidney J. Rose as candidates. Contributions are needed to meet deposit (Provincial Govt.) fees. These may be sent to the secretary of Winnipeg Local:—

PETER L. DAVIDSON,
P. O. BOX 2354,
WINNIPEG, MAN.

The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

Now listen to me carefully, and see if you can understand what I mean. I think I understand what I am going to say; but if I am not able to make it clear to you, it is a sign that it is not really clear to me. If there was only the force of gravitation at work, the moon would fall into the earth, for the pull of the earth would soon pull the moon down. If there was only the force of gravitation at work, the sun would pull the earth towards it, and we would tumble into the mighty flaming sun, and all the world would blaze into nothing in a very short time.

When I say "into nothing" I do not mean that, because nothing is ever destroyed. You cannot reduce "something" to "nothing," no matter what you do. If you burn a ton of coal, you think it has been reduced to "nothing"; but that is quite wrong. In burning the coal you set free the heat that was in it, and change the black shining coal to gas, to heat, to motion, to energy, to many possible things; but the oxygen and the hydrogen, and the carbon and sulphur in the coal, have simply changed their form. They are not destroyed. You can never destroy anything. Force and matter are quite indestructible. They cannot be destroyed; nothing can be destroyed. Everything changes, but nothing ever is or ever can be detroyed. Is that clear to you?

If this world fell into the sun, then, it would be destroyed as a world, though it would still exist as gas. But it would not have been destroyed. You will need to think that out; but I do not expect you are going to understand, in one lesson, what I am trying to make plain. I only hope to set you to thinking and inquiring further. You must not believe what I tell you just because I have told you. You must prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good.

I said that if there was only the force of gravitation at work, all things would fly together. The earth and the sun would fly together, and the stars would collide and smash up, and the entire universe would come to destruction—to final and hopeless rest. They do not tend that way at all, and what keeps them from ruin is the existence of ENERGY. I do not know what energy is, any more than I know what gravitation is; but I know that it exists. That is, I know what it does.

Like matter and motion, like gravity and time, it is "imponderable." Energy does the exact opposite of gravitation. Or, if you like to give it the name Edward Clodd gives it, then it does the opposite of FORCE. Energy drives things out; force pulls them back. I have seen a burning mountain—a volcano—throw vast clouds of white-hot boiling lava up into the air, for hundreds of feet. What drove it up into the air like that was energy. But it all came back to the earth very soon, for the law of force was at work pulling it back.

For fear you think I am making this up out of my own head, let me quote Edward Clodd on this subject, for he wrote "The Story of Creation," and he is a very clever man. His book has gone through about eight editions, and many thousand copies have been issued by the R. P. A. in their cheap sixpenny reprints, so it must be a good book!

Mr. Clodd says: "Motion throughout the universe is produced or destroyed, quickened or retarded, increased or lessened, by two indestructible powers of opposite nature—(a) Force, and (b) Energy. For the present purpose Force is defined as that which produces or quickens motion, binding together two or more particles of ponderable matter, and which retards or resists motions tending to separate such particles. When force acts between visible masses of matter, large or small, distant or near, it is called gravitation; when it acts between the molecules composing masses, it is called molecular attraction or cohesion; when it acts between the atoms, uniting them chemically into molecules, it is called chemical attraction, or affinity."

I do not suppose that it is very clear to you, for when I recall the trouble I had to remember the difference between atoms and molecules, between electrons and ions, I know that you will be all in a state of muddle. But do not be discouraged. I am not going to try and explain all those differences here; that would be quite out of the question. What I do want you to understand is that there are two forces at work in the world; one we will call "Force," and the other "Energy." But you have also got to remember that names are nothing except signposts. They explain nothing. They are only to show you the path. Bear this in mind, that there are two opposing forces in the world which keep things moving. One pulls, the other pushes. One draws together, the other separates. Those two forces are what called the world into existence. Those are the giants of my story, but they are such wonderful giants that I want to bow down to them and worship them, for they express, to me, all the miracles of the universe.

There is nothing more wonderful anywhere than the existence of these two giants. They are the cause of all that is—of rain and rivers, of volcanoes and earthquakes, of tidal waves and floods, and joy and woe, and life and death. They are so wonderful, so vast, so imponderable, yet so simple. We talk as if they were mysteries, and so they are. But the simplest thing in the world is a mystery. Your pet lamb eats grass and drinks water, but it changes the grass and water into lamb and wool. How? You eat the dead lamb, and change it into live girl. How? You eat lamb and green peas and potatoes, and you change them into skin and hair, into bones and muscles, into toe-nails and finger-nails, and into ideas and conduct and emotion—but how? You are a miracle yourself—an expression of the mystery of everything in the world, even the very simplest. You think that my friends, Force and Energy, are mysterious. Yes, they are; but not more mysterious than you are yourself.

Take a glass of water and try to find out what it is, and you will stand face to face with the mystery of the universe. Water is composed of two gases. Do you believe that? It is formed from the gas oxygen, which is a fiery, savage gas, and the light, flighty gas called hydrogen. If you put some acid into fresh water, and put electric wires into it, you can separate the two gases, and turn the water into invisible gas. Is that wonderful- Is it a miracle? All water is composed of gas, and some man had an idea of separating the sea water into its constituent gases, and driving the ship with gas instead of steam, and doing away with coal.

Now listen to this: All living things are largely composed of water. Edward Clodd says: "All living matter is largely made up of water, the average proportion ranging from seventy to ninety per cent.; but in the jelly-fish it is about four hundred to one." That means that we are mostly gas, for if water is composed of gas, and we are mostly water, then we are mostly gas.

Let me go a step further, and tell you that all matter—everything—is composed of gas, and all the world and the things and people in it are all composed of gas. They came from gas, and to gas they must return. But I had better leave you at that for the moment, had I not?

Next Lesson: The Deceptiveness of Motion.

A Letter From Lestor

Dunford Bridge,
Via Sheffield, England,
April, 13, 1922.

Editor, "Western Clarion,"
Dear Comrade:

I suppose you will be wondering what has become of me, and no doubt many will have formed the opinion that I have crossed the "great divide."

Sorry to say that two attacks of the flu' followed by complications have prevented me from being active but am now slowly recovering, though not yet able to go in again for propaganda. I noticed in your latest "Clarion" an article on the Theatre and it pleased me more than I can say, because I am a member of the Actors' Association and have had the pleasure of speaking at one or two of their propaganda meetings. It took some courage to explain to a bunch of well known artists that they were "slaves bought and sold at their cost of production," but I did it and with good results. The germ is now working and if you find class consciousness developing among the pros. of this country, remember S. P. of C. propaganda has contributed some little towards this. There are thousands of actors in this country unemployed, all with good deliveries and nearly all of them with nothing to deliver. Harry Quelch's son contributes to the official organ, "The Actor," and he is doing good work in a quiet way. He has recently been to Moscow and writes about the Theatres of Russia. The book "Ten Days That Shook the World" contains material for a thrilling play. The "Commune" and other incidents of working class history could also be staged and do good work in the way of education. I know that many comrades would not agree with this method of propaganda, but I express my opinion.

Was talking to Walter Newbold the other day and he made the statement that Britain was done for. He has been assiduously engaged in research work for some considerable time and he knows much. The economic revolution in this country has proceeded much further than the working class is aware. The master class has a much better idea of the situation than the slaves. The ignorance of the Labor Party keeps it silent upon international questions because it doesn't know anything about them. The machinery of production is not being renewed, and in comparison with that of other countries it will soon be old junk. Helplessness, apathy, and impotent misery are everywhere, but with the exception of the unemployed organisations there is little revolutionary life. The Communist Party is falling to pieces; some of the leaders are no good and the rank and file are as blind and foolish as the followers of the I. W. W.. I understand you have now a "Workers' Party" in Canada. This I suppose is the Communist Party "in disguise."

The S. P. of C. has always fought (Capitalism) by means of education. Other organizations try to fight (the Capitalist Class) by direct action, etc. The system itself enslaves, and the system is not the conscious work of the Capitalist but the result of an unconscious development. Education, therefore, is primarily necessary before we can escape from bondage.

At the same time we must remember that it is effort and not argument that will finally decide. It is the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative Commonwealth that we work for. This is our goal. The education of the proletariat is a means towards this end.

Keep the goal in view and never forget that we are a political party, and let us always be prepared, both individually and collectively, to display that political initiative that is necessary to orient the heads of our class in the right direction.

Newbold told me among other things that a certain well known daily here is in the pay of the French ruling class * After Fashoda the French

* We suspect that the "certain well known daily" referred to is "The Daily Mail."—Editor.

(Continued on page 4)

Chipping the "Rock of Ages"

IN all political times all countries have their enemies. The recorded instances of world peace are few—almost non-existent. Down from antique ages race hatred has been taught, glorified and perpetuated. Egyptian tomb and pyramid, Babylonian obelisk and temple, Persian Mosque and Grecian column—all testify to race hatred, as clearly as to class struggle.

But while historical struggles are class struggles—records of changing class dynasties—the impulse to race hate appears to be pedigreed, like an Ariosto—or the more useful Jersey. The class struggle is a product of political subjection—the only subjection there is—but the antipathy of tribe to tribe is an historic inheritance from our wild ancestors, developed by them from their ancestral wild. Long before "Carthage delenda" was chanted by the peddlers of Rome, or Sparatan Helot coveted Attic wealth; as distant from the old empire of the Pharohs as this is from us, tribe fought tribe for pasture and water-course; savage quarrelled and slew, for the hunting grounds of the green forest. Self preservation is the basic principle of evolution, even in co-operative society, whether animals or human, and from this has been developed the clear eye, the nimble foot, the alert sense, the keen mind of living forms. From the first has descended selfishness, from the second the potential of race hate, both of which are sharpened and accenuated to an abnormal degree under the aggressive influence of political society.

In this way the psychology of modern commerce mingles with our heritage of ancient milleniums, and the appeal of capitalist greed chords with the latent instinct of being. In the same way—but in more subtle fashion—at the passionate oratory of the bourgeois patriot, rekindles the consciousness of its dimly remembered reality. It is this subconscious remembrance of Gentile custom and conservatism that impels us away from innovations, from things new and strange. It is this "sleeping" memory of the thousands of years of apparently static savagery that causes us to turn a deaf ear to present reason, and, by apperception holds us, a ransom to the philosophy of the ideal. And it is these very peculiarities, so naturally generated, which militate against our real interest, which correspond with the natural tendency to uniformity and which operate so powerfully—and for a time so harmoniously—with the ambitions of class law and rule.

Nevertheless, present environment is more potent than heritage, and by the same token, logical deduction more influential than apriorism. Change (although slow) does come, and concept takes on the hue of changing circumstance. The turn of circumstance produces the strangest combinations, and conversely, those combinations induce new and unexpected circumstance. The law of yesterday is at once the parent, and the enemy of the need of today. And mechanically, the need of today will generate the greater impulse and the dynamic antagonism of tomorrow. The ally of the present becomes the foe of the future, the association of interest the most deadly obstacle to continued association. The modern mummeries of ancient custom still hold us in thrall; the siren song of country blends with the old saga of the soil; the appeal of class interest wakens the dormant instinct of a primitive estate; the ethic of "right" calls to the ethic of a lost communism. But the ancient traditions are now overlapped with the petty abstractions of bourgeois shopkeeping; Gentile reverence has become commercial sanctimoniousness; the spirit of kin fraternity appears as the Janus faced standard bearer of individualism; and the hallowed custom of class association—the creation of immemorial time, and mutual comity—now garbed in Puritan prudery, has become the vulgar providence of an unrestrained accumulation. So countless gradations of passion and emotion; of culture and apathy; of ideal and self, mingle inextricably together in a baffling play of force and influence, without plan or conscious conception, and without intelligent objective of ultimate consummation.

History screens the drama of the past on the moonlit soul of present prejudice. Hence, the past appears with colored edges, chromatic with time—perspective; its unlovely idolatry, its appalling misery and stoical cruelty, unrelated and spectral abstracts. And the juggling mind veils, even from itself, its visionless inability to co-ordinate the theoretic and grasp the essential amidst the myriad manifests of flying change. We have seen race pitted against race; class against class; creed against creed; kingdom against kingdom, with constant repetition without perceiving the identical unity of conflict. We have exchanged one slavery for another; one government or god. or king.—all social creations—for new forms and novelties, and have scarcely glimped the prime principle in them all. We have cast our image on the crystal vault of heaven, and built shrines to its majesty. We have invested it with a thousand forms, endowed it with the most fantastic attributes, and do not, even yet challenge its identity. We have burned and crucified, tortured and buried alive; sacrificed with numberless devices, and with a ghastly ceremony of fear for the towering shadows of man; man the sport of all ages; the creature of a moment, the slave of his convention; whose life is, to the aeons of univsal life, as a bubble bursting on the river.

So we, in the image of yesterday confront the future, complexing the problems of the present, with concepts of the past, and—characteristically—looking to the "good times" ahead, draped in the habilaments of the storied "what has been." But neither the intelligence of evolved condition, nor the spirit of the new age, nor the necessity of latest change can accept the philosophy of the traditional. Today is the day of science; of empirical test and demonstration, and surely if slowly is the new concept of life and being, weft and woven on the throbbing loom of experience into the web of daily existence. We may not see it; we may not want it. That is quite immaterial. The laws and forces of causation, underlying the current and phenomena of matter in motion, urge and impel, out of their inexhaustible fountain of objective reality, the progress of wider change, and further climax. It is not philosophy that plans progress, nor wisdom, nor wisdom that gives it effect. It is the substantial of change that originates and motives the entire process, and out of the stormy experience of the ever varying phenomena of the new, is wisdom thrust upon us, and out of which may haply come the long dreamt of sovereignty of the intellectual.

It is the concept of progress that conditions the strength and virility of philosophy. For to be wisdom, thought and reality must coincide. If they do not, it means—the world we have. Philosophy must influence—in some degree—life and its conduct, but it can only add lustre to that life, and beauty to that conduct, when it is based on material fact and relation, not on the gossamer web of idealism. It is this union of natural fact and its cultural experience, which can alone redden the white blood of apathy; rouse the time-slave from the dormancy of doubt, to the robust enthusiasm of perception, and in understanding, take and control his own destiny, to crown the ages with the greater man. R.

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE.

AFTER three years of war among the socialists—war to the point of slaughtering each other with light field artillery—the cry has gone up among masses of workers in Europe for a "united front." In obedience to it there met on April 2 in the Reichstag building in Berlin executives of the three existent socialist internationales, the right-wing Second, the centrist "Two-and-a-half" or International Working Union of Socialist Parties, and the left-wing Third Internationale. There was also present Serrati, leader of the powerful Socialist Party of Italy, to speak for the socialist parties of Italy, the United States, Argentina, and other groups which are not affiliated with any of the three internationales.

After two days of stormy meeting accord was reached on seven points. The most important of these is the appointment of a committee of nine, three from each internationale, to call a world congress of socialist and labor parties. These points provide, among other things, for a rapprochement between the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions and the rival one organized by Moscow; for public trials of the Socialist Revolutionists prosecuted in Russia, no death penalty to be imposed on them; for international demonstrations to be held against unemployment; for the eight-hour day, and for aid to Soviet Russia.

The present movement for a united front is largely the reaction of workers to a major drive against them by their common enemy, . . . the employing class. Wage cuts, assaults on labor organizations, lockouts, unemployment, and all that goes with the after-the-war economic slump are now more living realities to the workers than questions of revolution versus evolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and the other issues that have split their ranks in the last three years. What, therefore, the workers do in the way of staying united will depend largely on what the bosses do. The stronger the attack on them, it would seem, the more they will feel the need of unity for defense.

One of the first casualties of the war was the socialist Internationale, smashed not by direct capitalist fire but carried along in the temporary collapse of international capitalism. Most of the socialists ceased attacking their governments and shouldered arms. A considerable number remained loyal to their international principles, and despite official prohibition representatives of these minorities met during the war in Switzerland. Most of these internationalists formed the germ of what later, after the Russian Revolution, became the Third Internationale. But among those who at first supported the war internationalism also reasserted itself, and opposition to the rather docile collaboration with capitalists which was part of the war psychology. The anti-collaborationist parties withdrew from the old Second Internationale soon after the Great War officially ended and the war among socialists only grew sharper. In Russia Bolshevik fought Menshevik, in Germany Majority Socialist fought Communist, and in Czecho-Slovakia the right wing fought the left wing with every weapon from revolvers to light field guns, from hand grenades to poison gas; and this at a time when their common enemy was most disorganized. In almost every country where there were socialist parties splits took place.

In the United States a growing party of over 100,000 members polling a vote ten times that number broke into something like fourteen fragments, of which the largest counts barely 20,000. Soon to complete the picture of disorganization came a third international grouping, the "centrists," most of whom had been among the radicals during the war but who were opposed to the dictatorial dogmatism of the Russian leaders of the Third Internationale. This group gradually became a sort of bridge toward unity of all the socialist forces. In time a sharp shift in Moscow policy came to its aid. The Third Internationalists, once preachers of "purity of doctrine," maneuverers of splits, began preaching the "united working-class front."

Those who see direct cause and effect between the needs of Soviet Russia and the deeds of the Third Internationale can make out a strong case. They point out that when Soviet Russia was being attacked by an international ring of capitalist troops and diversion in the rear of those armies was needed, the Third Internationale called for revolution everywhere. To achieve the decisive morale for such a desperate step socialist parties had to be divested of all hesitant right-wing and centrist elements; hence a program of splitting was ordered and effected.

Later Soviet Russia came to need alliances with capitalist governments and found the Third Internationale a source of embarrassment, as illustrated in the case of Turkey. Soviet Russia wanted an immediate alliance with Turkey. The Third Internationale, on the other hand, was committed to a

(Continued on page 8)

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UNFRIENDLY ALLIES.

THE business of shamming an Allied united front in the battle of wits and words at Genoa brings to mind again Mr. Wilson's wonderful phrase concerning "open covenants openly arrived at." French efforts to clog the wheels of the diplomatic machinery having met with a considerable degree of success, Mr. Lloyd George, failing in all other measures to control the recalcitrant member, actually threatens to rise and tell the truth. It works. The French have made a passable pretence of unity, and the press scullions have not yet recovered from the unusual shock of possible reality. So the conference proceeds.

As everybody expected (whether they admitted it or not) the Russians have presented a bill of expense against the Allied governments. Its amount is 300 billion francs (gold). This sum, in the main, covers the counter claims of Russia against damages caused by Denekin, Yudenich, Kolchak, Semenov, Wrangle and such other blood spillers as the Allies have sent against Russia. This, as against the proposals of the London financial "experts," has not yet been disposed of in any settlement. With it is bound up the question of pre-war debts and plans for future capitalist excursions into Russia, the actual basis of which is not yet disclosed definitely. British and French antagonism lies in this quarter. "The Nation" (N. Y.) April 26, comments upon "this deeper issue—the real battle of Genoa"—thus:

"The keenest struggle of the Conference, and that about which least appears in the newspaper dispatches, is between the French policy of dividing Russia into zones for economic exploitation by her neighbors and their financial allies, and what has hitherto been the British policy of aiding Russia through an international consortium, which would be virtually a scheme to use Germany to exploit Russia for the benefit of the Allies."

"The Province" (Vancouver), April 26 (cable service, New York Times) in a dispatch from Genoa, says:

"Sentiment here (Genoa) drifts back to the London consortium plan under which there would be established an international stock corporation which would undertake at first to develop ports and transport expenditures being protected by a first mortgage on improved property. Of course under this plan the Soviet would not control. It might participate, but the people who put up the money and did the work would run the business"

There we have the argument. The Soviets have been driven to the desperate need of aid from capitalism. Britain and France are divided on the opportunities offered by the opening up of Russia as a field for exploitation and as a market for goods. Their mutual distrust over Russian policy is shown in connection with the Russian-German trade agreement.

Whatever happens at Genoa, Soviet Russia is definitely committed to the policy of concessions to capitalist enterprise. The Soviet note, addressed (March 15, 1922) to the British, French and Italian governments contains the following:

"The Council of the People's Commissaries considers as a pratical problem the application in Russia, in the interest both of that country and of the rest of the world, of the technical capacity and material resources of foreign States, where industry has been more fully developed. The Council of People's Commissaries have, therefore, guaranteed, by a decree of November 23, 1920 (Code of Laws, 1920, article 421), the property of those holding concessions in Russia against any sort of nationalisation, requisition, or confiscation, and has given them various privileges which will allow them to carry on their business without hindrance.

"The re-establishment of property in industry, and of private initiative in production generally, naturally involves the same principle in commerce. A series of decrees of the Central Executive Committee, and of the People's Commissaries, has established full liberty for private commercial transactions, the ban on private trade having been removed (C. of L., 1921, articles 149, 212 and 350)"—(From "Russian Information and Review," published by the Information Dept. of the Russian Trade Delegation, London, April 15, 1922).

Soviet Russia has not adopted that policy willingly but through sheer necessity. At Genoa, in meeting with the paymasters of the unscrupulous mercenaries already mentioned, Chicherin is under no delusion concerning protestations of friendliness towards the Russian people. After violence; robbery. The Allies are now in a race for advantage in directing the process of profit production. If the Genoa Conference does nothing else it will show that to be the sole interest of the capitalist class.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

NEXT issue we hope to present the substance of the report on the recent convention of the S. P. of C. (Alberta) locals held in Calgary. The report is prepared by Comrade W. R. Lewin, but as it is rather lengthy and would occupy overmuch Clarion space it will require summarising. Some nineteen resolutions were considered. These will be summarised as briefly as possible consistent with the text.

* * * *

The articles now appearing in the Clarion, "The Origin of the World," by R. McMillan are causing many comrades to write asking if the book is obtainable. We hope to be able to lay in a stock at a later date, but have none on hand now. When we get them we shall have them listed along with our other literature.

* * * *

We made some remarks concerning our bankruptcy in Theosophy in last issue which we now cheerfully retract. We idly reckoned without Comrade Harrington whom we now fall back on (as usual). Jack threatens to give us an article on Theosophy for next issue.

* * * *

The Clarion needs more readers and more subs. Try it!

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Wm. Churchill $2; Wm. Clarkson $1; W. Wasson $1; Mrs. Annie Ross $1; "B. L. J." $2.

Above, C. M. F. contributions received from 13th to 27th April, inclusive, total $7.

A LETTER FROM LESTOR.

Continued from page 2.

worked to help along the growing antagonism between Britain and Germany, and now the same bunch is assisting the United States and Britain in the direction that the clash of economic interests is driving them.

I should just like to drop into the Headquarters in old Vancouver but I am tied here in a most peculiar way. My mother has been in bed for months and she does not desire me to return to Canada until she either recovers or goes the way of all flesh, but I long to be with you and to take my part in the fight. It would do Lenin good to tour Canada as Cassidy did and as I and others have done more than once. The Russian episode has slightly overbalanced us. We are now getting the correct perspective and realize that the S. P. of C. has built even better than it knew.

So long, Boys! You have your faults, but I take my hat off to you. You are the soundest bunch of reds it has been my lot to meet. Remember me to all and give everybody my address.

C. LESTOR.

Russ-German Pact

BY KATHERINE SMITH.

THAT Lloyd George's scheme to divert the Teutons into Russia and thus avoid trade rivalry should have been forstalled by the Germans themselves, thus depriving him of a dlplomatic victory which would have been of great assistance to him in bolstering up his waning popularity at home, could hardly meet with the approval of that erstwhile astute politician.

That the basic idea of Lloyd George's present diplomatic strategy was to make Russia available as a stable market for Germany, and by so doing aid Germany in her task of recovering sufficiently to pay her debts; remove Russia as a bankrupt burden on the back of the entire world by letting Germany take over the job, and at the same time eliminate from the foreign markets the danger of German's undercutting competition which today has them in a state of demoralization and which is the biggest individual factor in preventing Great Britain from going back to normal conditions, is revealed by Norman W. Baxter in a special cable to the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" and the Rochester "Herald" under date of London, April 15.

He further goes on to say: "The mere threat of German competition today is responsible for 70 per cent. of the uncertainty and shakiness that exists in foreign markets. This is due not so much to what Germany actually is placing in the markets in the way of deliveries but because every time there are prospects of a big order the German bid is entered at a figure no one else can meet. The effects of this have been naturally to muddle the markets. Buyers holding off in an effort to determine the price levels and monthly figures of British exports tell their own story of what the result of this has been to the country. This menace to trade, real enough in its reactions, however, can be countered if a market can be found for Germany where not only prices but deliveries also can be made so that at one stroke Germany ceases her activities and finds some outlet for her productiveity."

"War animosities prevent the expansion of German trade in every direction on land but Russia. The German merchant marine, which made Germany felt in foreign markets in the two decades that preceded the war, is so impoverished that there is no feasible outlet there.

"German capital is eager for the Russian experiment, British financiers and the government are said to have assurances of this from Stinnes, Rathenau, Simons and others whose visits to London recently have been more or less periodical. In fact the present Georgia policy is the outgrowth and development of the plan for Russian reconstruction that Herr Stinnes and Dr. Rathenan offered to private capital when they first arrived last fall to negotiate with British financiers.

"It first came as an idea involving private recources of Germany and Britain and, it was hoped, the United States, but it has grown through pressure and development into the keystone of the diplomatic triumphs Premier Lloyd George hopes to bring back from Genoa for the stabilization of post-war Europe."

So the treaty between Germany and Russia is looked on with disfavor. The very purpose which it was determined to accomplish with a great flourish of triumpets has been quietly accomplished without any intermediary to claim the distinction and profit by the transaction.

And France is rattling her sabres anew and further disclosing (if that were necessary) that her ulterior object is to reduce both Germany and Russia to a state of vassalage, for she has systematically opposed any measures that would make for the rehabilitation of Germany and she is consequently furious at the strengthening of both Germany and Russia against her full designs.

(Editor's Note: A concession has been granted by the Georgian Soc. Sov. Republic to a company formed by the former owners of the Putilov works

(Continued on page 8)

Economics for Workers

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

WAGES
NOMINAL, REAL AND RELATIVE.

THE Nominal wage is comprised of the Dollars and Cents the worker finds in his envelope, but in itself it does not give any conception of the real, or relative wage.

The real wage is the purchasing power of the money wage, and real wages may fall while money wages rise, while on the other hand real wages may rise while money wages fall; for instance, if commodities that go to maintain the worker fall faster than nominal wages, real wages rise.

The Relative wage is the proportion of wages to the total production. Relative wages may fall while both nominal and real wages rise. The above statements are best conveyed to the worker's mind by the following tables. The first table shows an increase of nominal and also real wages, from 1860 to 1891 in the United States.

223 Commodities and wages equals 100 in 1860.

Commodities 100 fell to 94.6.

Wages 100 rose to 168.

This shows wages rising from one dollar to one dollar sixty-eight, while commodities fell from one dollar to 94.6 cents. The nominal and real wage therefore have risen.

The following shows that nominal wages increased while real wages fell in England amongst the tailors from the years 1777-9 to 1801.

Wages: 21/9d. (1777-9) rose to 27/—(1801)

Purchase power (1777-9) 36 loaves of bread; Purchase power (1801) 18½ loaves.

Nominal wages have increased since the golden age of English laborers but foodstuffs have risen faster. We find that 15 week's labor in 1495 could buy more than 52 week's labor in 1593.

Nominal wages increased during the war but real wages fell in most cases. The London "Times" of 14th Feb. 1920 gave the following figures I have tabled.

Living increased 136%
Nominal wages increased 130%

The purchasing power had fallen; therefore, real wages fell.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics shows real wages have fallen, although nominal wages increased, thus:—

Year.	Wages	Living Costs.
1914	102	103
1915	102	105-1
1916	106	118-3
1917	112	142-4
1918	130	174-4
1919	191	199-3

In 1920 wages fell to 189 although living had gone up to 216.5, a result of a glutted labor market of unemployed.

The only period in which nominal wages increased the real wage is in the first table, from 1860 to 1891. The reason for this was because of the large development of mechanical appliances, lessening the value of commodities and producing and distributing with greater facilities with the introduction of steam boats, railroads and every other facility of transportation and communication, and this condition especially in the United States made a demand for workers so we had increased money wages alongside falling prices. When we come to the subject of prices I will give more detail of this great industrial development.

If we take the purchasing power of wages in Canada since 1914 we will find that nominal wages have risen while real wages have fallen. The wage of the carpenter at $2.50 a day was a higher real wage than when he received $7.00 a day.

The following are some of the things that could be purchased with the carpenter's wages of $2.50 and $7.00.

$7.00	Contrasted with	$2.50
13 lbs. bacon		17 lbs.
112 lbs. flour		140 lbs.
210 lbs. potatoes		255 lbs.
20 lbs. coffee		20 lbs.
10 lbs. butter		20 lbs.
24 lbs. lard		28 lbs.
35 lbs. prunes		50 lbs.
Two pairs overalls		three pairs
46 lbs. rice		50 lbs.
5 work shirts		6 work shirts

This is the only way to find out the real wage; by finding what the nominal wage will buy. A great deal of confusion arises by looking at dollars and cents alone.

When prices and living was the principal topic, a letter appeared in the Ottawa daily press by a farmer, saying that it was the high wages of organised labor, making it hard for the farmer to obtain labor unless he paid exorbitant wages, which caused the high price of butter.

The farmer advanced the argument that 30 years ago butter was 15c a lb. because labor demanded only $1.50 a day, and this was the cause of dear butter, selling at 55c a lb. I wrote the press, showing the fallacy of the farmer's contention, from the viewpoint of real wages. A labourer with $1.50 a day, when butter sold at 15c a lb., was worth, in wages, 10 lbs. of butter a day, but at the time of the discussion the labourer had only $3.00 a day, and instead of quoting butter at its market price of 55 cents, I gave the farmer the preference and called it 50c a lb. to make the illustration clear. Then Mr. Farmer was not paying the labourer as high a wage, because, expressed in butter, he only got 6 lbs. a day instead of 10 lbs. 30 years ago.

We had this same foolish reasoning cropping up when they discussed the proposed Fixed Rent Bill of Labour Minister Rollo of the Ontario Parliament.

I hope I have made Real and Nominal wages clear. Let us now take the Relative wage, i.e., the proportion of wages to total production.

We saw both the nominal and the real wage increased between 1860 to 1891, yet in that same period the Relative wage fell.

Capital.	Product.	Wages.	Year.
100	100	100	1860
546	397	168	1890

Here we have the product increased 297 per cent. while wages increased only 68%. The capital had increased 446%, which shows proof of what Marx's opponents called the great contradiction, when he pointed out greater exploitation although a fall in profits, because profits are declared on the total capital. This I will elucidate on the lesson on profits. The above table, then, points out a decrease in relative wages.

The Steel Industry of the United States shows this relative wage decrease, and in the 1880s nominal wage fell also.

Year.	Ton production per man.	Average wage.	Profit per man.
1870	66	$453	$332
1880	81	304	360
1890	260	460	405
1900	395	506	900

From a book entitled "Railway Nationalization and the Average Citizen" by Wm. H. Moore, (Toronto, 1917) I have drawn the following table, showing the decrease in Relative wages in Canada, in manufacturing industries.

1900	1910
$481,000,000	$1,166,000,000

$128,000,000 (wage increased)

$685,000,000 (increased wealth, which means five times the increase of the wages).

The High cost of Living Commissioner of Canada's report, 1915: while it shows wages rose 40%, the Relative wage declined, in proportion to total production, from 23.5 in 1900 to 20% , 1910.

Therefore, Relative wages fell.

Once the worker has a grasp of the wage system he will use his knowledge for its abolition, instead of merely carrying on the struggle to increase wages.

The condition from 1860 to 1890 when real and nominal wages rose I don't think will ever repeat itself. You had a young and vigorous system, with a large undiscovered world to open up markets, giving an impetus to trade and the cheapening of commodities. You had wages rising while commodities fell because of the industrial booms, which had longer periods of life than industrial activities have today. The population of England rose from 20 million in 1821 to 45 million by 1911, as a result of this industrial development.

We have said that the labourer, on the average, like every other commodity receives the value of his labour-power. This can be well illustrated by the following:—

From 1890 to 1899 in England prices fell 5%. Wages rose 2 %.

From 1900 to 1908 prices rose 6% while wages fell 1%.

A 7 % improvement at first, with a 7% retrogression in the second decade.

That kills the lie that prices depends on wages. From 1875 to 1896 (in England) prices kept falling while wages kept rising, and yet, as we saw in the illustration of relative wages, total profits increased.

I think I have given enough illustrations to explain the Real, Nominal and Relative wage, and to study classes I advise the enlarging of the tables I have given as a beneficial method for the students to grasp the subject, as it is hard to grasp in the abstract.

Between 1896 and 1914 prices rose in Britain 35%, and in Canada 50%, with nominal wages rising so slow that real wages fell 30%.

The figures given by one of the U. S. A. economists are:—

Money wages, 100.3 in 1890 rose to 187.4 in 1918, with food prices rising from 101.9 in 1890, to 266.6 in 1918.

Wage money increased 87.4%.

Prices increased 164.7%.

So we have a great fall in real wages.

Next Lesson: EXCHANGE VALUE.

HERE AND NOW.

"866"

WE introduce you to number 866, not to let you know that we have a licence for anything, nor to cultivate your interest in any patent medicine cure-all, but to direct your attention to the fact that 866 is the number of this Clarion issue.

The point is that if you receive the Clarion by mail and the number on your address label is 866 your subscription expires with this issue.

If you do not receive the Carlon by mail you ought to. In any case, you'll send a sub. right away, Here and Now, because we need it. That is the reason for these constant prayers.

Here follow subscriptions received since last issue:—

Following, $1 each: J. Gandy, J. R. Larson, P. Chadwick, W. Lindsay, W. Ridout, J. M. Wilson, W. Bowker, W. McQuoid, D. Oliva, T. Smith, H. Oppikoper, C. Bowie, J. W. Collette, J. T. Stott, J. G. Smith, T. Twelvetree, W. K. Bryce, J. H. Greaves, L. Sickle, E. Simpson, J. W. Jamieson, C. Fraser.

Following, $2 each: S. Smith, Joe. Hubble, R. E. Shaw, H. C. Mitchell, Wm. J. Kennedy.

W. H. Sheffield, $4.50; M. A. Lewis, $1.50; H. W. Speed, $3; Robert Power, $4.00; A. E. Faulkner, $3.

Above, Clarion subs. received from April 13th to 27th inclusive, total $48.

Book Review

The Revolutionary Crises of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy, and France. By W. Z. Foster. The Trade Union Educational League, Chicago. 64 pp. 25c.

"FOLLOWING upon the Great World War," to make use of a piece of much battered phraseology, what is conceived as "The Labour Movement" became invaded with a horde of "new" writers of history, new interpreters of Marx. Under the golden glow of The Russian Revolution, without any effort to understand its innumerable problems, "copyists," romanticists of the first magnitude, and chasers of illusion have abounded on every hand. Marx is brought up-to-date, quotations from almost forgotten letters, cynical and biting, intended to apply to a set of circumstances and people of half a century ago, are resuscitated and groomed, trotted out with every appearance of having suffered a literary "dutch-cut," and made to apply to events and conditions of modern times in the most incongruous fashion.

* * * *

The little brochure under review is from the pen of the well known Federated Press correspondent, author of "The Steel Strike," etc., W. Z. Foster, and, as one might readily suppose, deals in the order mentioned with the 1918 and subsequent ebullitions in Germany; the failure of The Triple Alliance at the time of the great Coal Strike in Britain; the seizure of the metal plants by the Italian metal workers in 1920, together with its terroristic aftermath; and the strikes of 1921 in France.

Much valuable data appears in the work and from this standpoint it possesses value, but the inability of the author to analyse and sift his data, peeps unmistakeably from every page. It is, perhaps, history as it must now be written ("following upon the great world war") by the high-priests of the movement looking towards leadership of the masses, but it appears to me to be exceedingly false, nevertheless. The journalist overwhelms the historian: The Materialist Conception of History is ignored, and the new point of view, demanded by change of circumstance, is pressed unrentingly upon the reader. This, far from being "new" is the "Great Man" theory, favorable to the development of the system of the bourgeois, which came to rest with Herbert Spencer; Foster's pamphlet pullulates with it. The workers are now routed, dejected and despairful in the several countries dealt with, because of poor or false leaders; because the wrong kind of men were in office in the Trades Union, etc. Not a single whisper concerning the political ineptitude and immaturity of those very masses upon whose shoulders must rest the responsibility for the successful consummation of The Social Revolution.

* * * *

In the section dealing with Germany, Foster in a brief footnote tells us how the Trades Unions, through a general strike, brought to naught the Kapp-putsch of March 12th, 1920. This surely is significant in a work which holds the view that Eberts, and his associates, were able to hold power solely through the actions of a few false leaders. The workers could stifle a monarchist coup-d'etat in the interest of this same Eberts, but could not destroy Eberts in their own interest. An answer to this problem would constitute a much more valuable contribution to the much needed education of the workers than many of the arguments used by Foster.

A little more vigorous analysis of the tragic March "action" of 1921 would have been commendable. The introduction bears the date of Dec. 15th, 1921, and yet this terrible chapter in the recent history of the German Working Class received scant mention in a footnote (p. 9). The Commune of Bavaria is also untouched. Like the Paris Commune, the mad "March Action" of last year in Germany is a brilliant example (if examples we be seeking) of how not to do it. At least, it could afford many lessons for the new leaders on this continent, were they not too busily engaged in worshipping the spectacular to examine details.

That Scheidemann, Eberts, Noske, et. al., acted as they did, should cause no surprise to any one acquainted with the history of the movement and the careers of these men. But when Karl Legien and his labor lieutenants drew up and signed, together with Hugo Stinnes and his associates, a document covering conditions of labor, etc., (a trade union agreement) on November 15th, 1918, six days after the downfall of the monarchy, the German Revolution was settled. Such is history according to the new idea! Let me quote:

> "The doom of the German Revolution was sealed by the majority Socialist leaders when they drafted the Stinnes-Legien agreement. Knowingly, intentionally, in signed contract with the exploiters, they sold out the already-accomplished revolution for a mess of pottage—a handful of reforms—and re-established the rule of the capitalist class.
>
> "This great treachery, besides ruining the German revolution, seriously if not fatally, compromised the cause of the world revolution itself. If Germany had gone into a real revolution—and it surely would have done so had it not been for the attitude of the Majority Socialists—all the countries in Eastern Europe must have followed suit. In all likelihood the great movement would have swept across the continent and put an end to the capitalist system generally." (p. 16).

Would that discernible indications in the mental outlook of the workers existed to justify such glowing optimism! Apart from having evidently travelled Europe wearing highly colored spectacles, Foster packs more than the average human's share of that "hope which springs eternal."

Space forbids any extended quotation, but the foregoing is followed on p. 17 with a sample of superb fatuity, to which I direct especially the attention of those who desire to peruse the pamphlet.

The fact of the matter is that the workers are enslaved today, not because of bad leaders, nor for the lack of good ones (according to all the signs a bountiful crop of the latter should shortly be harvested), but because they are victims of master-class ideology, held in tradition's vise-like grip, view things and events from their masters' standpoint, think in their masters' terms of reasoning, and oppose on all sides, if not agressively, at least with a stultifying apathy, the efforts of such propagandists as are willing to assist in revealing the basis of their subjugation. It is a most peculiar form of reasoning that concludes that a working class which now quiescently votes for its slavery, will, without the "stress of conditioning circumstances," as Ross has it, shoot itself out of it.

* * * *

The second chapter, "The Failure of The British Triple Alliance" is sung also on top C, fortissimo. The information might be serviceable to the working class were it not strangled with the weeds of bourgeois ideology mentioned heretofore. Most of the matter is well known to the student, from the incident of Tom Mann's demand for a unified industrial organisation in Manchester in 1910, down to Frank Hodges' informal speech in the Parliament Buildings, April 14th, 1921. In a footnote (p. 27) our author tells us that he was in London all through this crisis and can bear witness to the revolutionary tenseness of the situation. Had he passed through any of the industrial struggles of the last quarter of a century in Britain he could have felt a precisely similar tenseness. Or had he been in South Wales, or in some portions of the industrial north, he might possibly have gained fuller information. But I doubt it! A historian with preconceived notions points as inevitably to his manufactured objective as the compass needle to the magnetic north.

Still, a ray of light appears to pierce the gloom! During the crisis, we are told, while the employers and government representatives conferred with the "defective" leaders, a temporary transport system was built up and "tens of thousands of men (many of whom, sad to say, were befuddled workers)" swarmed into Lloyd Georges' Defence Force. And "tens of thousands of befuddled workers" armed to the teeth and backed by the powers of State, drenched in the concepts of private property could well be depended upon to defend property against any movement of even two million * workers with nothing in their hands and many of them possessing heads cluttered with master-class furniture.

An analysis of the vast complexus of factors comprising this great crisis, of far greater value to the worker than this exquisite journalese, can be obtained by taking together Comrade Kirk's article on "The Coal Strike," and Walton Newbold's "Collapse of the South Wales Coal Industry," both of which have appeared in the "The Western Clarion."

* * * *

The chapter on Italy contains some fairly interesting reading, albeit of the diluted peruna type. Here and there faint evidences of struggle 'twixt the historian and journalist percolate the nauseating story of human frailty as personified in these latter times by the false "leaders" of the working class: the historian vainly resists the efforts of the journalist to drown him. The story of the rise of the Fascisti is dealt with in fairly good style, although much of the economic background of this boisterous movement is omitted. The siezure of the metal plants by the workers in Italy in the Fall of 1920 is a matter of history, carried to us for the most part by the ordinary press despatches. Foster deals with this situation from the barren standpoint of the old political writers: names and dates are given; the political gerrymanderers are made to strut across the stage, the real wirepullers appear undiscovered.

In "The Nation" (New York) of March 8th, 1922, appears an article by Arthur Livingston, under the heading of "The Italian Bubble Bursts." Here we find a piece of economic writing, giving an insight into the real moving factors of the Italian situation, which at least might profitably be perused by our "new" historical school. Not unlike other countries where large scale industry has thrown its shadow, Italy, under the impelling urge of the war, developed new industries, based on steel. These new "war" industries were "political" in a sense that the old time and trusted, and fairly stable business enterprises of former years could not be considered to be. Behind this new industrial chain were the Peronne brothers, imitators of Hugo Stinnes. Its financial source was the Banca Italiana di Sconto (Italian Discount Bank). We recommend our readers to look over the article for themselves. The Ansaldo Iron and Steel Company, the name of the Peronne adventure, was the concern whose plants were seized by the metal workers in 1920. While the struggles and trials of the workers at all times must call for a sympathetic treatment on the part of those professing working class aspirations, no good purpose can be achieved by making the wish the father to the thought. As Lissagaray in the Preface to his "History of The Paris Commune" says: "He who tells the people revolutionary legends, he who amuses them with sensational stories, is as criminal as the geographer who would draw up false charts for navigators." It appears to me that this is what Foster is inclined to do. Livingston's article, referred to, demonstrates the natural hostility between settled and old business and the speculative or new war business in Italy. Concerning the "revoltionary" episode that crowds Foster's mind, Livingston says: "The proletarian seizure of the factories was, in its political and juridical episodes, a counter-attack of 'safe and sane' industry upon 'political' and 'new' industry. The steel operators were tricked into resisting the demands of the workers on promise of support from all other manufacturers; who at once pacified their laborers with reasonable concessions, knowing well that the steel industries would not be able to follow suit." The workers were permitted by Giolitti to seize the metal plants in the interests of the Banca Commerciale, a rival financial concern to the Banca Italiana di Sconto—such is the charge that Peronne newspapers launched against their economic and financial rivals, after the event.

However, we find in Foster's work that the "Revolution" was knifed merely by a handful of reactionary leaders. How about Italy's geographic posi-

* The three industries covered by the Triple Alliance employ two million workers.

tion? Her long coast-line, capable of easy bombardment by both French and British tax-gatherer's battleships? I merely introduce these interrogations as indicative of many equally pertinent; of problems that would have demanded attention even if the "bad" leaders had been substituted by "good" ones.

Italy is not Russia. Many of our friends are apparently unaware of Lenin's rebuke to such visionaries. Russia, at the time of her November, 1917, coup-d'etat, had over half the army (the other half wavering and demoralized) and almost all the navy; a peasantry wanting land, workers wanting bread, and all wanting peace—and no political group capable of meeting the situation, or handling affairs. Opportunity knocked and the Bolsheviki opened the door. Furthermore, Russia possesses vast tracts of territory eminently suited for military manoeuvrings, especially retreats, a form of warfare in which troops are saved while their opponents perish; and many other physical characteristics denied to Italy, Britain, or even Germany; her southern ports are inland, her northern ice-bound for about six months. Besides, the system of the bourgeoisie had not developed as in these other lands. Its resistance was weak. When the chain of capitalist economy snapped under the strain of unrestrained credit extension, etc., due to the war, it burst at its weakest link. Many other points crowd in upon a treatment of this matter, but I must forbear.

* * * *

The chapter on France, like the preceding ones, contains information ruined by the confused outlook of the author. It is a trifle amusing to see "left-wing Socialists, Anarchists (Emma Goldman take note!), Syndicalists, and Communists" lumped together indiscriminately as "revolutionary elements." We get a re-vamping of "principles" enunciated in the earlier chapters. An onslaught on dual unionism recurs in the work like a major theme in a Wagnerian opera. The I. W. W. is attacked and not explained. One might ask as to the economic background of this movement in America, which, in any case, so far as unionism goes, has done more perhaps than any other body to drag the labor viewpoint into the limelight. The rise of the I. W. W. was contemporary with vast development work; railroads, and other pioneering work in the capitalist sense, caried on by virtue of the migratory worker. Such worker, faced by conditions that meant further exploitation, resisted as best he knew. His resistance, to carry any weight, had to be organized; the A. F. of L., was lacking in form if not in other elements to accomplish this job with any possibility of success. From such a material environment grew the I. W. W. Its dangerous and confused viewpoint cannot be nullified by denouncing its entire history as a mistake. It must be explained and the workers raised in their knowledge of political life to a real understanding of their slave status and an understanding of the character of the State.

The paragraphs under the sub-head of "Noyautage" constitute an exception to the re-vamping already spoken of. A footnote tells us that this term is derived from the French word **noyau**, signifying core, heart or interior group. These **noyaux** or **nuclei** abound in all the trades organizations. A reading of this section breeds the suspicion that Foster did some excellent copy-work in launching his Trade Union Educational League in North America. It seems to be a pup of Noyautage.

* * * *

The conclusion of the work is a delightful "new" Communist vesper hymn: a piece of bare-faced optimism unsupported by reality. It is a splendid specimen of the kind of reasoning which is developed through "contact with the masses"—from afar off! We are informed that "the workers are placing at their head real fighters, men who, when the next crises comes, will not cower and cringe, but will go through with the proletarian programme, even as Lenin and his group did in Russia." The fact is that the present Russian programme is a capitalist one, imposed upon Soviet Russia by conditions beyond her control.

Anyway, the definite use of the present tense is hopeful enough in all conscience. I would like to second the motion. But, alas! the workers **at present**, despite wide--spread unrest, are busily engaged in filling out football coupons as a possible route to emancipation.

Besides reaching the masses, how about the technical engineers (brought so forcibly to our notice by Veblen)? Russia demonstrates that we must have at least some of these with us.

No, no! There is no royal road to emancipation. Socialist concepts must become pervaise; the masses conversant with their position and determined to rid themselves of it. To talk of establishing Communism without Communists is puerility **in excelsis**, and "action" undertaken under the influence of such cock-and-bull ideas will surely bring its own tragic consequences.

The need of the time is not new righteous leaders, nor melodramatic calls for "upsurges," but the spreading of a knowledge of Socialism amongst the masses. A perusal of this book will convince one also of the need of knowledge of Socialism amongst some of its newly-arisen protagonists.

W. A. PRITCHARD.

A Horrible Example

SEVERAL times of late we have delivered ourselves of some observations on the baneful effects of imperialism on the citizens of the imperialist State, pointing out the manner in which it perverts the minds of humane and intelligent persons, transforming them, quite unconsciously and against their better nature, into apologists for the most outrageous and despicable forms of exploitation. A striking example of this lies before us in an editorial on India in the "New Statesman" of London, a periodical normally well-informed, realistic and logical in its treatment of world-affairs. We here find it delivering itself of a farrago of evasive nonsense that would do credit to a diplomat. The main point of the editorial is the identification of British rule in India with "democracy." By maintaining its hold on India, even, if necessary, by the use of force to the uttermost against the native population, Britain is serving the purpose of democracy; whereas if she withdrew, the result would be chaos and barbarism. It would thus appear that the Government that staged and condoned Armitsar, hangs on in India because of a humanitarian fear that if left to themselves the Indians might set to murdering one another.

A few quotations will show the tenor of the argument:

> The withdrawal of the British power would be the end of the British peace, and with it would vanish all possibility of a democratic India.
>
> Abdication would be treason to democracy.
>
> For our part we place democratic principle above nationalistic sentiment, and we believe that the democratic experiment ought to be tried.
>
> (The British must not leave India) until we have had time to create the machinery and the personnel with which India might defend herself against enemies within and without her gates, and achieve an actually stable form of self-government.
>
> In Western Europe we all believe very profoundly in the doctrine of 'free speech': it is the very foundation, not only of our liberties, but of our ability to develop a coherent national consciousness. But we have no right lazily to assume that 'free speech' amongst the illiterate millions of India means the same thing, and has the same practical sanction, as among ourselves.

This is the sort of self-deception that might be expected from a Curzon or a Churchill; though at this late day, it would seem a bit crude for even the most hardened Tory to try to work the derisible Wilsonian phrase "safe for democracy," in apology for the most ruthless large-scale imperialist exploitation that has ever been seen in the world. The idea of democracy is no more contemplated by British rule in India than by American rule in Haiti and San Domingo, or by French rule in Morocco, or by the action of the highwayman who menaces unarmed pedestrians with his gun while he snatches their valuables. What a grotesque sort of democracy, which can find no better use for such men as Mahatma Gandhi and Lajuat Rai, than to keep them locked behind prison bars.!

Let us look at the origins of this great British-made democratic influence upon India. The original British establishment in India was the usual chartered company intent on large profits for its shareholders. The company's first step was the securing of concessions from native rulers. Backed by British governmental power, it rapidly progressed to the usurpation of authority in various Indian States, though for a period it retained the native rulers as figureheads. Sometimes the company would encourage some powerful prince to descend upon his weaker neighbours, slaughter them, and add their territory to his own domains. The British would then deprive him of his loot, in payment for their assistance, and in addition levy increasingly heavy tribute on him until in despair he committed some overt act against them and was in his turn gobbled up by the exponents of "democracy." The enterprising young imperialists who spread British rule over India freely utilized corruption, bribery, assassination, thieving, forgery, false treaties, double-dealing, in pursuance of their ends. Democracy seems out of this picture. It seems, indeed, out of any picture that can be drawn of India since the first days of British rule. However, the term was so horribly misused during the war that today it may mean almost anything.

The "New Statesman's" disparaging reference to the illiterate millions of India is perhaps lifted from the "Morning Post." In a single generation after being freed from Turkish rule, Bulgaria achieved a good degree of literacy, and in a few decades the people of Finland, despite the blighting effects of Russian control, raised themselves to the position of possessing the most widely diffused literacy of any people in Europe. If, after a century and a half of British rule, the masses of India are still illiterate, this unfortunate condition can scarcely be held as a reproach against the natives themselves. Out of the fat revenues wrung from this land of misery and starvation, the British rulers appropriate for educational purposes scarcely enough to purchase one lead pencil per capita for the child population, which would not go far towards providing for school-houses, textbooks and the like. Voluntary native schools are forbidden by the British raj, so the only hope of any instruction for the average child in India lies in precarious attempts at educational bootlegging. "Beware above all things popular education!" is one of the Russian Tsarist mottoes rigorously adopted by the imperialist rulers in India. It is not, of course, free speech among the illiterate that worries the Anglo-Saxon masters. The natives whom they gag and incarcerate are not drawn from the inarticulate mass, but are men like Gandhi and Lajpat Rai, who would be meleomed as comrades by the choicest spirits in any civilized society, men in comparison with whom most of the leaders in the British Government or our own would be rated as virtually illiterate.

It distresses us to behold our contemporary becoming a devil's advocate in matters such as these. We are not opposed to the British brand of imperialism any more than to the American or any other variety, and if we refer frequently to the British product, it is only because it happens to be the most conspicuous line in the market. It is obvious that the British people can not themselves be free until they have cast off the spell of imperialism that their masters of the black art have woven over them. For us in America this is peculiarly a thing to be taken to heart, for our own imperialist adventure is well under way, its Oriental enterprises have just received the sanction of a treaty duly ratified by the Senate, and already the sorcerers of privilege are busy with their incantations over the underlying population that must yield the cannon-fodder. It is by no means inconceivable that in the course of events the American people may be dragooned into a war against the British people "to make India safe for democracy," while our cousins across the sea are called to the colours against us "to preserve democracy in India." ("The Freeman," N. Y.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.

2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.

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RUSS-GERMAN PACT.

(Continued from page 4)

in Petrograd, in conjunction with a German-American syndicate reported as controlled by Stinnes, Krupp, and the Rockfeller interests. The concession consists of over 320,000 acres of forest land. The exploitation of this are involves railway construction, power plant, mills, a canal and a port. Other concession of a similar nature are being negotiated. This is "the present Georgia policy" referred to above).

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE.

(Continued from page 3)

program of fomenting revolution there. Turkey told Lenin he must choose between his desires as premier of Russia and as member of the executive committee of the Third Internationale. Whereupon the Third Internationale quietly called off revolution in Turkey for the time. But the same dilemma could not be so easily resolved in the cases of England and other more publicly situated countries.

It became whispered about, therefore, that Soviet Russia to save itself was getting ready either to ditch the Third Internationale or so to modify its program that it would no longer hinder an alliance with capitalist governments. Trotzky's speeches at the congress of the Third Internationale last July indicated the new drift, and at a meeting of its executive committee on December 18, 1921, a new program of "Twenty-five Points" was adopted. This time instead of ordering an offensive of revolution it stressed the defensive against "the frank endeavors on the part of the capitalists to reduce wages and lower the whole standard of life of the workers." Later, immediately after another meeting of an enlarged executive committee of the Third, the report came over news-agency wires from Moscow that the Third Internationale was ready to give up independent existence and, joining in an all-embracing internationale, content itself with leading the left wing. This report has not been denied by the Third. As it had been instigator of much of the split in socialist and labor unity—it created the "Red" Trade Union Internationale in opposition to what is called the "yellow" Trade Union Internationale of Amsterdam—it would seem that the fate of any organization it joined would depend in some measure on what Soviet Russia needed.

Such momentum has this movement acquired that the spectacle is presented of the leaders of both extreme wings being pushed together by their followers, feet braced and sliding but impelled forward nevertheless. In 1920 Zinoviev, chairman of the executive committee of the Third, was calling the leaders of the Second "confidential advisers of the bourgeoisie and reliable hangmen of the working class" and declaring "ruthless war" on all right-wing and centrist elements as traitors to the cause of the proletariat. In 1921 he was complaining of "the refusal of the leaders of the Second, 'Two-and-a-half,' and Amsterdam Internationales to accept one or other of our practical suggestions" for unity of front. In October, 1921, Arthur Henderson, speaking for Second Internationale, although nominally only as a member of the executive of the British Labor Party, wrote in regard to a move for an all-embracing international, "We do not propose . . . to invite the communist parties because their methods are so diverse as to make cooperation impossible." Less than six months later executives of the Second sat down to meet with those of the Third.

It is true that in many quarters so much hatred has been generated by three years of internecine war that there is still considerable opposition in many quarters to the sudden movement for peace. In France, for instance, a peculiar situation has resulted. When at the behest of the Third Internationale the Socialist Party split at its congress in Tours in December, 1920, the left-wing leaders of the party were the ones to cry, "Divide!" Today, again at the behest of the Third, these same leaders are crying, "Unite!" But the moderat elements or the right wing of the Communist Party of France, whom previously they had converted to hatred for the center and right wing that broke away from them, now refuse to love suddenly the enemy they had been taught to hate; hence they are opposing the movement for unity.—"The Nation" (N. Y.)

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