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Secret Treaties

SINCE I wrote the articles on the "Economic Causes of War," I have had the opportunity to delve into the secret treaties entered into during the progress of the war, published in book form, but which first saw the light by the capture of the Russian archives by the Bolsheviki. In fact this is one of their unpardonable sins committed against the Allies.

Sazonoff, Russian Foreign Minister, to the Russian Ambassador at Paris, dated March 5th (18th our calender), 1915:—"Now the British Government has given its complete consent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople, and only **demanded security for its economic interests** and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts."

A memorandum, dated March 7th (20th), 1915, a confidential telegram from Sazonoff to Russian Ambassador in London: "Will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Imperial government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople, in accordance with Russia's desires . . . . . Having already given its promise respecting the **conditions of trade** in the Straits and Constantinople, the Imperial Government sees no objection to confirming its assent to the establishment:

(1) of **free transit** through Constantinople for all **goods not proceeding from or proceeding to Russia and**

(2) **Free passage through the Straits for all merchant vessels** . . . . .

"The Imperial Government confirms its assent to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the British sphere of interest. At the same time, however, it regards it as just, to stipulate that the districts adjoining the cities of Ispahan and Yezd should be secured by Russia in view of the **Russian interests which have arisen there** . . . . Of essential importance to the Imperial Government is the question of **railway construction in the neutral zone,** which will require further amicable discussion. The Imperial Government expects that in future its full liberty of action will be recognized in the sphere of influence allotted to it, coupled in particular **with the right of preferentially developing in that sphere, its financial and economic policies.**"

In the spring of 1916, when the partitioning of Asiatic Turkey was on the board, we find among the general principles of the agreement: "As a general rule the contracting Powers undertake mutually to recognize the **concessions and privileges existing in the territories** now acquired by them which have existed before the war." "Alexandretta is proclaimed a free port."

This port is on the north-eastern shore of the Mediterranean. A branch line is to link it up with the Bagdad Railway, it being understood that British authorities regard this port as a natural outlet for Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. All this dividing up of Asiatic Turkey is to create as many barriers as possible to the Berlin Bagdad project.

The secret agreement with Italy, **article 13,** reads: "Should France and Great Britain extend the colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, they will admit in principle, Italy's right to demand certain compensations by the way of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland and Libya, and the colonial areas adjoining French and British colonies."

Article (14): "Britain undertakes to float a loan on favorable terms on the London market to the amount of not less than £50,000.000."

Article 15: "France, Great Britain and Russia pledge themselves to support Italy **in not allowing the representatives of the Holy See** to undertake any diplomatic steps having for their object the conclusion of peace or the settlement of questions connected with the present war."

This explains why the Pope was called pro-German. A war to a finish was necessary so that the thieves could divide the spoils.

When we come to the agreement of re-drawing the frontiers of Germany, Russia is prepared to allow France and Britain complete freedom to draw up the western frontiers of Germany, in the expectation that Russia would have the same freedom to draw up the eastern frontier of Germany, and Sazonoff adds: "It is particularly necessary to insist on the **exclusion of the Polish question** from the subject of international discussion, **and on the elimination of all attempts to place the future of Poland** under the guarantee and control of the Powers."

Imperial Russia demolished, Poland is used as a buffer state against the spread of New Russia. In this same telegram of Sazonoff to Paris we find:

"The question of **pushing the Germans from the Chinese market** is of very great importance, but its solution is impossible without the participation of Japan It is preferable to examine it at the Economic Conference, where the representatives of Japan will be present. This does not exclude the desirability of a preliminary exchange of views on the subject between Russia and England by diplomatic means."

There are other agreements as late as February, 1917, regarding Lorraine, and Saar Valley, with its coal and iron fields.

The collapse of Russia has altered some of these agreements regarding Russia's share.

This represents a few of the doings of the diplomats behind the scene while placarding the country with sensational dope of a war of freedom, while at the same time their whole attention was the furtherance of their economic interests.

Workers! Unite, and emancipate yourselves from your economic serfdom. PETER. T. LECKIE.

Justice and The Russell Case

THE defeat of the Russell appeal case need occasion no more surprise than the similar result of the trial itself. Such things are the certain offspring of political development, and will continue to flaunt their insolence upon us, while humanity suffers the insensate degradation of government.

It is a false argument to say that our comrades in Winnipeg did not receive fair treatment, even considered on the sordid interpretations of capitalist "justice." Superficially the objection appears plausible, and fundamentally it is far wide of material reality. The concept of "justice" (capitalist) is the product of capitalist interest, and it justifies itself only insofar, and for such time as it safeguards, the capitalist holy of holies,—property rights. Did it not fulfill this function, it could not —it would not—be "justice," and capitalist interest would assuredly abrogate or amend any legislation which did not prove amenable to its ambitions, and create those which would

The working out of capitalist conditions, involves the continual concentration of capital, which in turn determines the movement of the exploited social forces. The concentration of capital makes the struggle between capital and labor more bitter and intense, since both are striving to possess the same thing—the surplus of labor's productivity. The rule of the class means the enslavement of the worker: the profit of the one measures the loss of the other. The balance of economic condition between the two classes is exact, and mutually exclusive. Hence are their interests not only opposed, but draw increasing intensities of contradictions, with the evolution of the economic laws inherent in, and developed from capitalist progress .

The necessities of class dominion compel the capitalist, continually, to encroach upon the life necessities of the worker, thereby forcing the worker to organize as best he may, against this encroachment. As capitalism grew, so did labor organizations grow with it, and out of it; and as the conditions of production changed, so did the form and scope of unionism change. And since social movements must manifest themselves through human agency, the spokesmen of the new conditions, whom circumstances have lifted to the forefront of progress, are penalized.

It is not the "rights" of the worker which are in jeopardy: those rights are as the interest of the master decrees, that is to say, they do not exist And they never will exist, until the working class has risen to a clear consciousness of its miserable position. The issue at stake is neither those rights nor those who suffer the enormities of the law. It is, instead, the principle of social freedom which our fighting comrades symbolise, and which has been the inspiration of their activities. And although the media through which that principle is expressed are ruthlessly crushed by transient authority, the ideal itself, untouched, unhindered, by the united powers of repression, grows lustier with the passing days, because it is the child of a social condition, over which, as yet, neither slave nor master has the slightest control R.

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The Cause of the Peasants' Revolt

The first of a series of three articles entitled "The Peasants' Revolt of 1381"; its cause, progress and effect.

ALONG the trail of the centuries we find social and political events that denote the termination of certain historical epochs and, at the same time mark the inception of other cycles. Those events, by themselves, cannot be explained. They must be taken and considered as part of the warp and woof of human development. Their connection with other events that preceded and succeeded them must be understood. The nature of the material conditions from which they sprang; the state of industry; and the needs of the various classes that constitute the society of the time must all be familiar to the student who wishes to place in its proper order any important event of the past or present.

Bourgeois historians have repeatedly ignored this scientific method and, consequently, have utterly failed to reveal the causes and effects of those beacon lights that illuminate the path of recorded time. The environment in which those writers were born and educated was not conducive to scientific research. Being the products of class society, their social position prevented them from seeing or admitting the true state of affairs. An idealistic conception of history that looked on man, and the thoughts that resulted from the functioning of his brain, as the great moving force in social evolution rendered impossible a rational treatment of social data.

In the case of the subject matter under discussion in this essay—the Peasants' Revolt of 1381—the superficial method of master class historians is easily detected. In our school books the insurrection was attributed to a complication of causes beginning with the weakness of the boy king—Richard; passing on to the insulting of Tyler's daughter by a poll tax collector; and ending up with the perverted mind of the "mad priest of Kent."

Contemporary chroniclers, like Walsingham and Froissart, who were far from being keen students of society, or political philosophers, have merely attempted to describe the manner in which the rebels carried out their plans, and even this description is grossly colored by their zeal to preserve the lustre of those officials of state from whom they secured their titles and emoluments. Clowns, boors, robbers, and gluttons, are the endearing expletives made use of by those story tellers when referring to the principals of the peasants' revolt. They cannot explain the significance of the event .

To refer to this outbreak as the "Wat Tyler Rebellion" or the "Ball-Tyler Rebellion" is not an adequate statement of fact. It was something much more. A movement that involved the spontaneous uprising of peasants and artizans from Hampshire and Lancashire, to Suffolk and Kent, could scarcely be regarded as the fruit of personal whims, or the result of personal grievances. Though many outrageous acts were committed, and many grievances and disputes were prevalent, still, history records no complete national organization, with a central committee, to redress the afflictions, and right the wrongs of an exploited populace. Few popular movements of any age have been less influenced by the presence of leaders. As Powell in "The Rising of 1381 in East Anglia" points out, Ball alone of all the leaders was well known for any lenghty period of time. For twenty years he had preached discontent, but at the time of the outbreak he was in jail. Tyler and Straw, regardless of the emphasis that chroniclers and annalists have placed on their names, were never anything more than local leaders, whose influence had never extended beyond the boundaries of their home shires.

In reviewing the causes that led to the revolt we must be careful not to attribute too great importance to any single factor. Where the perspective is obscured by the lapse of time, and the dearth of data, there is sure to be a tendency to place too much stress on those constituents that are most apparent. Rogers, Cunningham, and Gibbin, in their otherwise valuable contributions to the subject, have dwelt too long on the theory that the discontent was due to the lords' attempt to rescind the agreement made with their villeins, by which they could commute their customary days of labor for a money payment.

This was undoubtedly one of the causes, but later and more careful researches into that stormy period show that this was only one among many factors contrbuting to the insurrection. Oman, in his valuable work—"The Great Revolt of 1381"—shows that those attempts on the part of the masters were local and partial rather than national in their scope. That there was no general attempt to rescind whatever agreements were drawn up on the subject seems a rational conclusion. In most parts of the kingdom the scarcity of hands was so great that the lords were actually forced to do the reverse. They commuted service for rent rather than rescinding it.

The method of solving the labor problem varied, however, from manor to manor, and county to county. A means quite applicable to conditions in one part would of necessity be anathema in others. The "stock and land lease system," by which the peasant was provided with land, seed, implements, and stock, which could be paid for out of the proceeds of the annual crop, was no doubt the most common and satisfactory solution.

As for the poll-tax theory of insurrection, it is too weak to carry any considerable weight. The poll-tax of 1381 had no more to do with the rebellion than the shooting of an Austrian idiot by a Serbian fanatic had to do with the recent world war. It was the match that started the explosion, but not the cause of the accumulation of inflammable material that was awaiting the match. History supplies a more reasonable theory. A knowledge of conditions existing in England during the preceding century is quite sufficient to assign the cause. Trouble had been brewing for many years. The various factors at work were rapidly coming to a focus. A grievance, sufficiently national in character to unite all the malcontents, was now required, and the poll-tax supplied it.

From the time of the great plague in 1348 the landlords of England were at their wits end to devise ways and means of securing sufficient laborers to till their lands ;and also to keep those worker in a hypnotic trance where the splendid advantages which changed conditions conferred upon them could not be seen. The outcome of this campaign on the part of the masters was the "Statute of Laborers," the chief aim of which was to supply sufficient labor and cheap labor to the owners of England.

Drastic as were the clauses in the statute referring to the obligations of the workers ,and the penalties inflicted for a refusal to obey, still various means were discovered for getting around the act. In this respect the landless laborers were much better equipped than the villeins. They were not forced to remain in one section. If they violated the statute they could move without losing anything. As Langland, in his "Piers Ploughman," tells us, they were an independent portion of the community who could not be controlled. Of course ,the villeins themseves were forced to try their strength against their masters on numerous occasions, but with no appreciable degree of success. Being scattered over the country, and having no central organization to consolidate their forces, their methods of attack fell far short of what was required.

The antipathy shown toward the statute of laborers did not emanate entirely from the rural sections. There was urban discontent as well. The growing towns were having troubles of their own. The burghers were trying to obtain municipal privileges from the lords and the church who, jointly, controlled them. Even in those towns where charters and constitutions had already been secured, the conflict between the "inferiores" and the "patentiores," between the unprivileged and the privileged, continually proceeded. In old established towns like London the relations which long existed between master and man were rapidly changing.

The new struggle was one of a rising trading and merchant class against the workers whom they employed. In such towns the manufacturers and entrepreneurs had managed to gain control in every craft. They hired men to work by the day, thus rendering obsolete the old advancement into a condition where those at the bottom could attain the status of masters and business men themselves. Further below was a cless of unskilled and casually employed laborers, whose numbers were greatly augmented by fugitive villeins and other workers from rural districts. Being long on the move they had little respect for the social system of the towns, and took advantage of every opportunity to show their dislike .

The foreign emigrants, the Lombards, the Zeelanders, and the Flemings, who came to compete with the English workers in the job market were greatly despised and often murdered. The "right to work" was as jealously guarded at that time as it is today. Not alone the workers, but also the merchants and manufacturers of Flanders, who established themselves in England, and exploited labor to a greater degree than the native business men, were roundly hated.

With all these groups, and the conflict of interests between them growing ever keener, there was little likelihood that peace or contentment would obtain. With a strong hand at the helm, an outbreak of a violent nature might have been averted at least for the time. But strength was not the chief characteristic of the rulers of England at that day.

John of Gaunt, Archbishop Sudbury, Sir Robert Hales, and a boy king were the heads of the state. None of them possessed the ability necessary to manage affairs at such a critical stage. There was war with France and expenses were high. Scottish raiders harassed the north and could not be stopped. Trouble with Flanders prevented the merchants of that country from buying the usual supply of wool, which meant disaster for the English wool growers and greatly reduced revenues for the state. Borrowing was resorted to, but the credit system was still in its infancy, and little financial assistance could be obtained. Three methods of raising the requisite funds were left to choose from. These were the poll-tax, poundage, and tenths and fifteenths. The Commons chose the former as the most suitable means of replenishing the treasury.

The Commons was composed largely of members of the middle class. Poundage would have fallen heavily on the merchants, while tenths and fifteenths would be placed in the shoulders of the landed proprietors. The poll-tax would apply to all citizens equally, so would not encounter the wrath of any particular section.

Every lay person in the realm over fifteen years of age excepting beggars, was asssessed three groats. The distribution of the whole sum was gradated so that the wealthy in each district could take the burden of the poorer members. This method worked splendidly in the rich parts of the country where the tax on the poor amounted to only one groat per man and wife. But in the poor districts they were dealt the hardest blow. There was no one to make up their allotment, so each villein and cottager was forced to find his shilling.

To obviate the necessity of making payment, the workers resorted to the method of making false returns ,and wholesale fraud was practised against the government. A revision was ordered. Commissioners were sent to the districts with a few clerks and sergeants, but no armed force. Their compelling power was weak, and their task anything but pleasant.

The temper of the people was not such as would warrant success in collecting, when the means of enforcing the collectors' demands were not revealed. An explosion of wrath was certain to follow, and after a month of attempting to extract the tax by a mild form of coercion, one of the most important outbreaks of the middle ages took place. The rapidly changing conditions of the years previous were now at that stage where the fagots were awaiting the match. It came .

J. A. McD.

Economic Causes of War.

Article No 10

CHINA, before she entered the war, supplied some two hundred thousand laborers for France, but the time of her actual entry into the war was determined by the economic interests of the Allies. Senator Morris, in the United States Senate, produced what he declared to be copies of diplomatic correspondence embodying the promises of France and Britain. Great Britain's interest in the matter, he charged, was secured by Japan's support of British claims to Pacific islands south of the equator, while France's aid was purchased by a promise of the Tokio Government to help to draw China into the war, so that the German ships in Chinese harbors would be available for carrying troops and supplies to France. While these powers were scheming to draw China into the war for national integrity and independence, they were secretly plotting amongst themselves as to the carving up of their new ally, and as a result of their manipulations, between forty and fifty millions of Chinese, and the Shantung Province are handed over to Japanese control. This is the self-determination of the Allies at the Peace Conference. To none of these agreements was China a party, nor was she informed of them when invited to join in the war. Under her treaty with Germany, if Germany ever relinquished the lease of Shantung, the territorial property would revert to its original owner, China. Those holy men at Paris made Germany break an agreement with China, to China's advantage when she is an ally of the victorious nations.

What is the reason of the imperialistic expansion towards China? A Japanese official publication, quoted by a Mr. Coleman in his "Far East Unveiled," says: "It is on the Yangtse Basin on account of its immense wealth and variety of products, that for the present and future will be centred the commercial interests of the world." . . . . . "Of all the various things in which this wonderful river is astonishingly rich, mines of coal and iron stand out predominantly." Ocean going vessels can proceed a thousand miles up the river, and the Chinese workers, according to Japanese managers, are "excellent, quiet, dependable and efficient. The Chinese waste no time in talk, but plod on, anxious to make money, and will work long hours and hard for it."

China's geographical position saved her from the greed of the European commercial classes until capitalism had developed to that stage of perfection in its transportation facilities, with large liners and the opening of the Suez Canal enabling them to overcome the difficulty of reaching China, which, because of its distance, had been hitherto unattainable commercially. China is bounded with high mountains on the Indian side which hindered the expansion of the British empire from that direction. Although she has a long coast line, the sea is too shallow for miles out for great ocean liners. Some of her natural harbors have no connection with the interior because of high mountain ranges. The two best harbors are owned by foreign powers, Britain, and formerly Germany, but now Japan. The Yangtse river is practically the only one by which ocean-going vessels can connect the interior of China with the outside world. Vessels drawing sixteen to eighteen feet can prcoeed 680 miles up from the ocean. River steamers can proceed 370 miles further, and small junks can go 1,750 miles from the ocean. In the dry season, ocean-going vessels are prevented from going up the Yangtse, nothing over six feet draught being able to make the trip. The American Academy of Political and Social Science, in "China, Social and Economic Conditions," tells us, January, 1912, page 136, "that the revolutionary movement had its origin in the Yangtse Valley, and gained its strongest support because of the influences of the outside world," again proving the Marxian materialistic conception of history to be true, that the economic conditions conflicting with the ideas of old conditions bring about a social revolution. The Scottish Provident Institution "Year Book" for 1915, page 207, says, "Britain has obtained two concessions for railways, one from Shasi on the Yangtse, southwest through Hunan and Kiao-chau, the other for an extension of the Shanghai-Nanking railway southward through Nanchaung, a place of 25,000 inhabitants with large porcelain manufactories, and also, for the linking up with other lines already constructed. She has intimated to China that she expects **her interests** in the Yangtse Valley **to be considered predominant.** At one time Japanese competition was threatened, but this has been formally withdrawn." And again on the same page: "The Standard Oil Company of New York, concluded an agreement with the Chinese government in February, 1915, for the exploitation of the oilfields in Chili and Shen-si. A peculiar feature of this transaction was that instead of the loan of £3,000,000 asked for by China in return, she was to receive without payment 37½ per cent. of the stock raised to carry on the work, with the option of purchasing 7½ per cent. more within two years. As there seems to be nothing restraining her from selling these shares later on to the highest bidder this may lead to future complications, as **several large nationalities have interests in North China.**"

On June 4th, 1917, President Wilson addressed a note to China pointing out that her participation in the war was of a secondary importance and her main care was to maintain internal order. America asked Britain and Japan to back her request to the Chinese Government. Japan replied by challenging America's right to interfere with China's internal affairs, adding, they should have come to an agreement with those powers first. Britain between two allies was extremely delicate. It was then that Japan sent a commission to the United States headed by Viscount Ishi, former minister of Foreign Affairs. This was given publicity as a desire to cooperate in the common struggle of the war, but the notes exchanged, November 21st, 1917, showed the visit was of a more important nature. America recognized Japan's special interest in China, but explicity upheld China's sovereignty. Japan, on the other hand, adhered to the open door in China, which offers commercial and industrial opportunities to all nations. In a sense, America recognized a Japanese Munro Doctrine in China, and Japan agreed not to hamper American trade in China.

The Scottish Provident Institution "Year Book," 1915, page 340, says: "Acting on the assurances of Japan that the integrity of China would be preserved, that Kiao-chau would be restored to China, and that Japan would consult the United States before operating beyond the boundaries of Kiao-chau, the United States agreed to neutrality."

In 1907, the population of China rose against the concession of the Shanghai-Han Chau-Ninpo Line to foreign capitalists. Two provinces held public meetings and raised money to protest against it. A committee went to Pekin accompanied by a large procession of fanatically excited citizens, and when their petition was denied and the concession to the English confirmed, the members of the Cabinet were mobbed. American plutocrats afraid of their plunder in China, decided to work with Japan. The "Wall Street Journal" condemned the revolution with practical arguments: "The uprising upsets the railway concessions, interrupts trade, a trade which amounts to $55,000,000 a year, which with cheaper rates through the Panama Canal, will double. In this world of hard facts it is not difficult to discern in what interest our national sympathy will finally gravitate." After all the promises of China's independence and the returning of the German colony, Japan is still hanging on to the spoil, with the consent of all those other nations who have made the world safe for democracy. Kiao-chau's chief products are silk, nuts, bean oil, straw, coal and fruit, with a good harbor and naval base.

Is it to be wondered at that Japan should hang on to the spoil? Japan believes in self-determination to own this plunder, eliminating another of Presiden Wilson's fourteen points.

PETER T. LECKIE.

Labor Power and Production

THE Democratic nominee for president is reported as saying that in his opinion the frequent turn-overs are responsible for the high cost of living. In other words, that each person who handles a commodity adds to the final price. That may be his opinion, but it does not coincide with facts. Therefore I challenge his statement.

Labor power produces all value. It is the amount of social labor time it takes to produce a commodity which gives it its value. Commodities sell at their value subject to the law of supply and demand. The surplus value produced by the workers over and above their living wage is the profit of the employers. What the employers or buyers of labor power are able to retain after marketing that surplus is their net profit.

The ever growing competition for ever narrowing markets, for the ever-increasing surplus produced by the workers, decreases the rate of net profit for the employers, but it does not increase the value of the commodity. The price of a commodity is its value subject to the law of supply and demand.

However, the decrease in the value of gold and the inflation of the currency through the issuance of war bonds do have a very material effect on the purchasing power of the dollar ,and it is these reasons that are the cause of the apparently high prices. In reality commodities, due to the increasing productiveness of the workers as big machinery develops, are selling for less than ever before.

Moreover, for whose good would the reduction in the cost of living redound? The worker or the employer? The worker sells his labor power, as other commodities are sold, at its value or cost of reproduction. If the cost of reproduction is two dollars, that is the price he gets; if it is five dollars, that is the price he gets. It does not make any difference to the worker whether the cost of living is high or low; he simply gets a living wage. For example, look at China, Japan, Mexico, where the worker gets the cost of his reproduction.

Now, how about the buyer of that labor power? The worker produces the same amount of value in a given day's time whether he receives two dollars or five dollars per day; but the profit which the buyer of that labor power makes increases in proportion to the reduction in the value of that labor power. Naturally the employer wants the cost of living reduced. Why should he not?

KATHLEEN SMITH.

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EDITORIAL

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

BERTRAND RUSSELL is a man who is described as a scholar, mathematician and philosopher, by "The Nation" (New York), in which journal, July 31, 1920, he contributes an article entitled, "Soviet Russia—1920."

As was to be expected, the article has attracted wide attention, coming as it does from a man who is not of the working-class, but who professes working-class sympathies and who has, not without ability, written several treatises upon working-class problems and policies, involving some quite capable considerations of a wide range of fundamental Socialist literature.

We do not propose to here examine the depth and extent of his understanding of what has come to be known as the "Marxist" position, though we pause a moment to say that in referring to the Marxian theory of surplus value, it would have been better to leave it alone than to have said this about it and no more: "This doctrine" (surplus value) "is very complicated and is scarcely tenable as a contribution to pure theory. It is rather to be viewed as a translation into abstract terms of the hatred with which Marx regarded the system that coins wealth out of human lives, and it is in this spirit, rather than in that of disinterested analysis, that it has been read by its admirers. A critical examination of the theory of surplus value would require much difficult and abstract discussion of pure economic theory without having much bearing upon the practical truth or falsehood of Socialism; it has therefore seemed impossible within the limits of the present volume." ("Proposed Roads to Freedom," pp. 18-19). Some other people, who may be said to have less excuse than Bertrand Russell have wisely turned aside, rather than launch any effort toward the overturning of that invulnerable doctrine, be it born of hate and therefore scientifically inconsequent, or purely disinterested, and therefore suited to the scientific niceties and congruencies of the exact science.

By all of which foregoing we do not mean to say exactly that Bertrand Russell altogether fails to recognize the strength of the Marxian position in its analysis of society as we have it today, or that he is without response to its terrific indictment of capitalism as a productive and slave system, and the consequent evils that lubricate it. But, seemingly, he is quite a passable theorist and, by his own confession, before he went to Russia he styled himself a Communist. After a month or more there, he has generated anxious and academic doubts within himself.

True to his colors, he is a pacifist, in Russia or out of it He quite logically has extended his own analysis of capitalist development to what he terms a suitable form of Socialism, and he expected to find this suitable form in the Russia of today. He expected to find there, even if it were the first time in history, a government existing under the wholehearted consent of the governed. He seemingly considered the dictatorship of the proletariat to be a prayerful and consultative form of stern but at the same time deferential administration. He has discovered that the dictatorship of the proletariat means just exactly that the class conscious workers, or their representatives, weild the powers of State as they see fit in the interests of the working class, as these interests by them are judged and understood.

It is upon this point that he is in distress, and he is apparently in conflict largely with his own notions. By his own professions he wishes the realization of a form of society which, if it is not identical with that now obtaining in Russia, will approximately meet the ultimate aims of that society. But to reach that aim he neither wishes to dictate nor to suffer dictatorship. He wishes the tooth pulled without pain. He is, in fact, a "living ganglion of irreconcilable antagonisms."

The whole article is worthy of the attention it will undoubtedly receive. It contains much that will be widely misquoted. Already, Mr. Lloyd George has led the way in administering the suitable pieces to the public. Mr. Russell must now experience a mental itch in finding himself recommended by a man whose government, in 1918, was dictatorial enough to confine him in prison for the opinions he then expressed regarding the use of United States troops against the workers in that artistic cradle of the higher and intellectual activities of life, of which he is so proud and ardent a devotee—the city of Glasgow. We shall at least expect him to require of those gentlemen that which he will never in them encounter,—the "scientific disinterestedness" his mathematical mind worships but never locates. Trotsky, whom he professes to have met, once quoted Shakespeare to the effect that "the devil can quote scripture for his own purposes." So with Mr. Lloyd George. That gentleman carefully left out of his quotations the statement that with all the hostility, within and without, that the Russian Soviets have had to deal, the peasants today are better off than they ever have been, and that no one, man, woman or child was to be found in the villages who was underfed. So too did he fail to mention Mr Russell's statement that were he a Russian he would support the present government of that country as being better than any possible alternative.

We expect next to find Peter Kropotkin quoted by some political jackanapes to the same end. Kropotkin has been persecuted, imprisoned, tortured, exiled and foully murdered in the capitalist press, by the Bolsheviki, from time to time. The labor delegates to Russian found him in vigorous good health at his home near Moscow. By Miss Margaret Bondfield, a member of that delegation, he has sent a massage to the British workers, enjoining them to lend their aid to the raising of the blockade upon Russia. He adheres to his principles of Anarchist Communism, but maintains support of the Soviet government as essential in present circumstances.

So, when all is said and done, it is best that we should understand that ideal forms of society do not take shape over night. In its struggle to overturn the forces of oppression the working class will ruthlessly cast down all obstacles, whether they be erected by academic theorists or projected by the traditional enemy, the propertied class. The rule of the people must antagonize all whom it hurts. Those whom it does not hurt will not oppose it. They are the workers.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

Local (Winnipeg) No. 3 of the S. P. of C., request the announcement here that Party literature as advertised in "Literature Price List" may also be obtained by writing J. Watson, Box 1762, Winnipeg, Man. Post free.

* * *

Local Winnipeg have increased the size of their CLARION bundle order from 200 to 500, and, concerning individual subscriptions obtained for the CLARION by anyone in the Winnipeg district, they will award a book for the highest number monthly, commencing with August

* * *

Comrade W Moriarty, who was for some time secretary of Local Ottawa, is now secretary of Local Toronto, Comrade Mrs S. I. J. Knight having resigned. Local Toronto increases the bundle order from 50 to 75 copies each issue. We learn that Comrade Trevor Meguire, late of Ottawa, is now in Toronto.

Comrade C. M. O'Brien says our conclusions that that he is "out" on bail twice are quite correct. He is awaiting the outcome of the jugglrepokery legalities cheerfully .

* * *

We have on hand some back numbers of one or two issues. We will gladly send sample copies anywhere, and will send spare bundles for distribution upon request. No charge.

* * *

The number of this issue is 825. Look at the number before your name on the address lable on page 1. If it is 826, then your subscription expires with next issue. If you do not renew before actual expiral, a notice will be sent you. By that time, the matter of whether you remain on our mailing list or not, depends upon you.

HERE AND NOW.

Following, One Dollar each—W. B. Durham, T. B. Coughlan, A. S. Wells, A. W Love, S Rose, E. D. Mitchell, A. A. Dougan, C. Fraser, H. W. Castle, A. J. Turner, G. G. Ross, T. Jones, C. Mitchell, Hong Lee.

Following, Two Dollars each—R. Pearson, L. Orner, R. Sinclair, H. Judd, W. Moriarty.

W. Breeze, $4; Alex. Sheherd, $5; J. F. Maguire, $3; Joe Watson, $6; H. Vindeg, $1.50; J. J. Egge, $5; N. P. Dougan, $1.05; P. T. Leckie, $1.50.

Total subscriptions received from 29th July to 11th August, inclusive, $51.05.

Literature Price List

Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $2.00.

Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $2.00.

The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $1.50.

Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, $1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, $3.25.

Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $1.50.

Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 copies, $1.50.

Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.

The Story of the Evolution of Life. (T. F. Palmer). Single copies, 10c.

Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, $3.75.

The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Singles copies 5 cents, 25 copies $1.

Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, $2.00.

The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.

Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen), 55c per copy.

Ancient Society (Louis H Morgan), $2 15

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (F. Engels) 80c

Value, Price and Profit (Marx)—Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, $3.25.

Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy (Engels) 80c

Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis), $1.75.

W. A. Pritchard's Address to Jury, 25 cents per copy.

Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

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ATTENTION, ROCHESTER!
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Given for the Benefit of the Political Prisoners at SCHUETZEN PARK, corner Ridge Road and Clinton Ave .North.
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Reconstruction

RECONSTRUCTION,—problems of the future, on every hand we hear the cry, everywhere much talk "about it and about." Yet out of it all comes no materialization, and the problems there fore remain with us more clamorously insistent, more menacing. What to do, and how to do the "something" that must be done, apparently awakens no clear thought, or consistent effort on the part of the class whose problem it is,—the problem of the continuation of capital. This is comforting to us, the producers, for it is a sure indication that capital has entered the twilight zone of dissolution.

The problem of reconstruction is the problem that has travelled down the arch of the years since political society was first founded. It is the problem of the perpetuation of human slavery; the continuance of class civilization. And the oft vaunted "glory" of this civilization means, in reality, that one class shall hold the other portion of society in bondage, in order that privilege shall rear her black burden of splendor, on the degradation of unpaid labor. For without labor there can be no production, without exploitation of production, no privilege and no privilege without slavery. The mighty empires of antiquity, like the empires of today, all rest on one single principle of slavery, and what those ancient civilizations are today—tragic memories—so capitalist civilization will be tomorrow, because no society resting on enslaved labor can endure, and none can endure because the antagonisms arising out of basically conflicting interests increase in intensity as the society increases with expansion, ultimately reaching a climax—disastrously for the slave-holding class.

The capitalist press of today issuing warnings (to the class slavers) of coming change, exhorting conciliation, reasoning, cautioning, forecasting. They are beginning to see the dark shadow of the eclipse. They are anxious for their property right, the "right" to hold ma nin slavery. But warnings avail nothing to hold the march of progress. The master class, with its pitiful schemes of farm colonies, land reclamation, vocational training, charitable employment, framed—all of them—to render a profit ,or stave off the reckoning day, seek in vain to turn aside the steam-roller of necessity. Progress answers only to its own law, heedless of the will of any class. And a sneither of the two classes in society undertand this impulsion, the bland, desperate struggle goes on, in the whirling dust-cloud of effects, heedless of the fact that the breadth of the base determines the height of the superstructure, seeing not, that as the fundamental cause may be, the accruing consequences must be. Therefore, as the base of society is slavery, the superstructure must be repression, and the inevitable expansion of slave-forced industry inevitably shatters, as dynamite shatters a rock, the political institutions resting upon it. The interest of the slave must be opposed to the interest of the repressor; conflict must ensue, more acute, more distressing, as organized production sharpens the edge of competition.

The nations of the world at war were compelled to organize and co-ordinate the productive machine on a scale hitherto unprecedented. Through the law of causation, the economic results flowing from that efficiency of organization will prohibit any attempt to reconstruct the social body on the old terms. Ruin, immediate and utter, awaits any attempt in that direction. With the war market gone, the peace market limited to profit reconstruction, the domobilization of non-producers, now waiting to become producers—and numbering about four-fiths of those producers who, for years, through efficiency in production supplied the total wants of society, has entirely changed the social outlook. That growth of the productive forces during the war has brought about an alteration in the social centre of gravity. And that change of centre will sweep away in ruin the political devices established upon it, as surely as a change in the axial plane of the earth would send a tidal wave miles high, careering round the world.

There is but one way to reconstruct society, and that way is the abolition of the capitalist system of production, with its attendant wage slavery. To patch and tinker, to repair and reform, can no more ensure peace, socially, than the similar efforts of diplomacy can preserve peace politically. Fire and powder will always explode, and the greater the repression, the deadlier is the explosion. The abolition of capital is the one remedy. With that gone, class rule and class ownership is gone. Society will then have free access to the means of life necessary to the upport of that life, and the social luxury and waste of one class; the degradation and poverty of the other; and the strife, the vice, the unspeakable duplicity, the unmeasured hypocrisy pervading all classes, impelling all classes ,and ruining all classes, will disappear on the harmony and peace of economic freedom.

R.

Manitoba Provincial Election

Election Expenses of Winnipeg Local—Statement Presented to Government

Headquarters and Committee Rooms	$ 15.42
Visiting Candidates in Prison (Aeroplane ,etc.)	213.50
Rent of Halls for Public Meetings	54.00
Advertising	127.90
Party Literature	121.65
Distrbiution of same	10.60
Telephone, Wires and Long Distance Calls	22.30
Candidates' Election Deposits	800.00
	$1,364.40

CAMPAIGN FUND

Returns from Collection Cards—Amount Collected

Chas Gezar, $126.00; Robert Gill, $24; Geo. Anderson, $17; A. Franklin, .12.50; Wm. Staples, 22; Wm. Nelson, $20.90; P. H. Hall, $7.25; H. Baynham, $39; P. Bach, $6.50; D. Klempner, $5.25; Alf. Neale, $33.75; H. Cottrell, $7.10; Alg. Emery, $69.75; Geo. Goodwin, $22.60; John Fisher, $19.50; A. Astraw, $23; Walter Henderson, $55.75; David Shore, $25; Walter Ashton, $7; John Houston, $16; James Martin, $25; H. Stevenson, $17.75; H. Ross Magee, $16.35; R. Stockholder, $2.75; C. C. Letith, $2; B. Banks, $20.25; A. P——, $30; S. Lipkin, $14; O. Travis, $10; A. Koran, $8.5; Miss W. Sanders, $17; James Law, $24; A. Shepherd, $5; A. Renis, $2.50; Sydney Rose, $4.80; J. MacDonald, $1.25; E. A. Hanson, $3.75; P. N. Kaiser, $2; Alf Beeny, $1.50—$768.25.

DONATIONS FROM WINNIPEG UNIONS.

Metal Trades Unit, $10; Fort Rouge Railway Workers, $25; Street Railwaymen's Union, $100; Plasterers Union, $25; Plumbers and Steamfitters, Local No. 254, $25; United Brotherhood of Carpenters, Local 174, $80; General Workers Unit, $10; Building Trades Laborers Union, $25; Transcona Railway Workers Unit, $25; Stereotypers and Electrotypers, Local No 59, $10—$335.00.

INDIVIDUAL DONATIONS.

W. W. Lefeaux, $5; S. Cunningham, $5; Dick Cooper, $5; Chas. Manning, $5; Sam Chiswin, $5; John Wagner, $5; R. Tettimenti, $2; R. C. MacCutcheon, $25; Goe. Whitman, $5; A. Friend, $1—$63.00.

CAMPAIGN FUND—COLLECTIONS AT PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Strand Theatre, May 30, $83.75; Market Square, May 30, $49.30; Market Square, May 31, $16.10; T. Cassidy, C.N.R., June 1, $23.55; T. Cassidy, C.P.R., June 2, $13; T. Cassidy, Market Square, June 2, 60c; T .Cassidy, Transcona, June 3, $22.25; Ukranian Temple, June 3, $17.80; Liberty Temple, June 4, $17.35; Market Square, June 6, $57.55; Weston, June 7, $9; Elmwood, June 8, $9.30; Market Square, June 9, $22; Victoria Park, June 13, $29.70; Market Square, June 13, $38; Western meeting, June 14, $6.90; Elmwood, June 15, $6.75; Stella and main, June 16, $4.33; C. P. R., June 16, $15.33; Market Square, June 16, $7.40; C. N. R., June 17, $11.07; Transcona Shops, June 18, $20.45; Dufferin School, June 18, $5.65; Market Square, June 19, $6.50; Victoria Park, June 20, $29.27; Market Square, June 20, $19.38; Market Square, June 21, $4.57; Lord Selkirk School, June 22, $3.70; John M. King School, June 22, $1.30; Fords Plant, June 22, $3; Manitoba Bridge Shops, June 22, $1.46; C. N. R. Freight Sheds, June 23, $4; Market Square, June 23, $4.16; Stella and Main, June 23, $2.06; Victoria Park, June 27, $29; Market Square, June 27, $24.65; Market Square, June 28, $5.05; Victoria Park, July 4, $14.55; Market Square, July 4, $11—Tota lpropaganda collections, $650.89.

Returns from Raffle of Books, $173.

Total amount received	$1,990.14
Total Expenses	1,364.40
Balance on hand	$625.74

ALEX. SHEPHERD, Secretary,
Local (Winnipeg) No. 3

DONATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

J. R. Knowles, Chase, B. C., $3; R. Adams, Vancouver, B. C., $3; J. W. Russell ,Calgary, Alta., $5; John Burton, Abernethy, Sask., $5; P. M. Christophers, Blaremore, Alta., $17.75; Civic Election Committee, Winnipeg, Man., $67.26; D. E. C. and Local No. 1 S. P. of C., Vancouver, B. C., $348.17; G. P. Craig, Brandon, Man., $9; Gowganda Metal Miners, O. B. U., Gowganda, Ont., $25; Local No. 49, S. P. of C., Gibsons Landing, $5; Local Edmonton, S. P. of C., Edmonton, Alta., $28; Oscar Erickson, Fernie, B. C., $44.45; General Workers Unit, O. B. U., Vancouver, B. C. $10; J. Stevenson, Prince George, B. C., $41.25; B. Patritti, Fort William, Ont., $26; F. Harman, Local 2, S. P. of C., Vivtoria, B. C.. $9; Hom Mace, Fort Francis, Ont., $20.50; William Erwin, Local 89, S. P. of C., Winbourne, Alta., $19; Local Ottawa, S. P. of C., Ottawa, Ont., $10; Peter Leckie, Ottawa, Ont., $61.65—$758.03.

Wages and Transportation Expenses of Party Propagandists, $608; Balance, $150.03.

ALEX SHEPHERD, Secretary.
Local (Winnipeg) No. 3.

MONEYS COLLECTED FOR EDUCATION (LOCAL No. 1 AND D. E. C.)

Card number 602, W. A. Johnston, $3; 603, P. Garvie, $3.25; 605, W. McMahon, $3; 606, J. R. Thomas, $15; 607, J. McDonald, $6.50; 608, H. J. Scribbins, $2; 610, H. J. Pritchard, $1.50; 621, A. Mathieson, $8; 623, J. Barker, 5; 624, J. Blackwood, $10; 625, A Wells, $8; 626, A. Alexander, $7; 627, A. McKenzie, $8.50; 628, O. Hungerford, $7.10; 629, Mrs. Sinclair, $7.50; 630, R. Schiller, $4; 631, H. Roberts, $21.50; 633, J. Wright, 20c; 636, C. Stephenson, $7; 637, J. M. Jenkins, $2; 639, T. O'Connor, $1; 640, R. Sinclair, $13; 641, H. Howard, $1; 644, J. Sangster, $3; 646, Sam Bush, $4; 647, C. F. Swartz, $2.25; 648, E. Thorp, $7.25; 654, Mrs. R .Hatley, $1.50; 655, Mrs. Spooner, $4.50; 656, J. McKinley, $3.25; 659, A. Mathieson, $10; 660, R. Sinclair, $17; 661, J .Clarke, $12.50; 662, A. Heath, $1; 664, H. Lock, $4; 665, J. Brice, $7; 666, E. Murphy $9; 667, J Pritchard, $2; 668, J Pritchard, $4.50; 672, J. Lott, $1; 676, A. Olson, $13.50; 677, Sid Earp, $4; 682, V. Sleuter, $11.50; donated H. W. McKnight, $10; donated Dick Burge, $1; collected at Empress Theatre, 13th June, $36.07; donated J. Livingstone, $5; collected at Empress Theatre, 27th June, $10.75; collected specimen card No. 90, $11; collected R. C. Mutch, Smithers, B. C., $4; donation H. C. Mitchell, $1.50; Anonymous, $1.05.—Total, $348.17.

Card 645, T. C. Dorrell (card received after list made up), $3.60—Total, $351.77.

Bourgeois Diplomacy

IN their deserate efforts at the eleventh hour to rescue the Polish Government from the consequences of its ambitious folly, the European politicians once more reveal the impotence of capitalist militarism and the humbug of the bourgeois diplomacy. Having encouraged their vassal, Poland, whom at any time they could have easily held within bounds, to embark upon a disastrous adventure, the Allies, beholding the disaster, can think of no way to avert it save by making vain threats against Russia, over whose independent government and victorious worker's army they have not the slightest influence. So we come again to one of those moments ,of increasing frequency, when confusion and bewilderment prevail, and the conflicting interests of nationalist ambitions disrupt the solidarity of Allied capitalism At such times the censorships fail to function and the various official propagandas lack coordination. Even the best trained bourgeois correspondents lose their bearings in this chaos, and, lacking the accustomed guides and restraints, are daily in danger of giving the show away .

The reply of the Soviet Government to the British proposal, which was designed to rescue Polish imperialism from its plight, precipitated the crisis. Mr Lloyd George, "looking pale and haggard," admitted his bewilderment and complained that the Soviet note was difficult to understand. No doubt it was. Nothing is more confusing to the diplo-

(Continued on Page Eight)

That Dictatorship of the Proletariat

ONE often marvels at the storm the above phrase has called into being.

Some clamorous idealists, grasping at the shadow of things, and entirely missing the substance, have worked it overtime. Notably members of the Communist Party.

It sounds so devilish businesslike, and maybe revolutionary too

At any rate, it has almost come about in some quarters that if you don't proclaim yourself a supporter of the "dictatorship," then you are taboo.

It is really excruciatingly funny the way these emotional saviours of the working class, dictate about the dictatorship, but it becomes tragic on the other hand, to find temperamental personalties like Debs linking hands with shuffling Kautsky, and affirming their belief in "democracy" as opposed to dictatorship And to find the S P of G. B. also on that side of the fence, is to add pathos to the tragedy.

Let us see if we can't put this proposition as simply before the working class as we can.

First of all, no matter where classes are found, in "democrat" republics, or monarchies, we are certain to find our class in the position of an enslaved class. This shameful and degraded position is well known; and its consequent degenerating influence on the mentality of the slaves is equally a matter of record.

We are ruled by a set of exploiters. Every government is but the instrument of coercion; the club they beat us with.

The problem before us is simply this: To make our fellow-slaves aware of this fundamental fact. To acquaint them through Marxian literature, which is a critical commentary on the capitalist system, of the process by which these idle, brutal exploiters manage to separate the laborers from the product of their toil. To make them understand that labor produces **all** wealth, whilst all that the capitalists produce could be utilized by a truck farmer.

This is a slow job, true enough; teaching our fellows who are so slow to catch on, but we are powerfully assisted by growing discontent brought about by the uncertainties of existence, which need not be entered into here.

However, we can be sure of this, that neither individual nor society can survive, unless they adapt themselves to continually changing conditions. Having by analysis convinced ourselves of our position in society, and the historic drift of events, we Socialists know that mankind are now rapidly approaching a point, where profound and far-reaching changes are bound to take place. These changes will involve much suffering without a doubt, but that is unavoidable, while the mass of humanity fails to understand that unceasing change is the unchanging law of nature.

If the masses were aware that a deadlock is almost reached under the present antiquated, anarchic, and wasteful methods, between the mode of production, and the manner of distribution of wealth, they could take council and eliminate the trouble very easily.

But the masses do not know; and will not know, 'till by bloody blundering, and mischevious muddling, experience has taught them a few things.

But, back to the "dictatorship."

To remedy our deplorable condition, we find it necessary to rally recruits, or make Socialists, till there are enough of us desirous of a change, to bring it about. Between us and our goal, the ownership of industry, will stand the organized band of exploiters, and their numerous hangers-on and lackeys. They have to be suppressed, and as Lafargue said: "Their suppression is a question of time and **opportunity.**"

Mark, not a question of this or that particular way of gaining power, but of **opportunity.**

At present, most people have the vote, and this vote has become almost a fetish to some. But a vote merely signifies a wish. A million votes for a revolutionary ticket, mean that many voters **wish** for a revolutionary change. But a wish-bone was never as good as a backbone. Some impatient souls, seeing this, have jumped to conclusions, a very unscientific thing to do.

Behind the phrases "Direct Action," "Mass Action," "Physical Force," lurk a lot of these jumpers. At present, they have a new phrase, to warm up their revolutionary fire, viz., the title we are discussing.

De Leon fathered, or was the greatest expounder of the theory that "Ballotting is all moonshine, without big industrial unions to back up the vote, and lend might to right."

That is another vexing question that has roused more discussion probably in America amongst Socialists, than any other.

There is no space here to take it up, but we shall merely offset these positions with the remark of F. Engels, in his "Origin of the Family," to the effect that the suffrage was the thermometer indicating revolutionary pressure, and when it reached its boiling point among the laborers "they as well as the capitalists, will know what to do." Exactly. It is our business to spread an understanding of this.

It is also important to note, and carefully too, that the **capitalists,** as well as the laborers, will know "what to do."

Professor Ross is on record as saying, on his return from Russia, that he " couldn't imagine American business men lying down as easily as the Russian bourgeoisie did."

The exploiters are on the alert everywhere, and no one need have any doubt as to what they will do. They will shelter behind democratic phrases and forms as long as suitable, and for a good reason. While the masses have a firm belief in their "equal rights" as citizens, a devout faith in "democratic" and civilized procedure as exemplified in balloting, etc., it would be sheer folly for the rulers to throw off their mask, and reveal the naked steel of the sword.

It is a good tactical advantage for them, when they can cry "The revolutionists are acting in an unlawful and unconstitutional manner when they advocate mass or direct action to right their wrongs, while the ballot is at hand."

The scientific Socialist therefore, is not such a fool as to put that weapon in his hand.

In this battle **to influence public opinion,** it is important to retain as long as possible all concessions won by our fathers in the past, and make what use of them we may.

If it is desirable on the part of the capitalists to see the working class forced into the position of outlaws, it is equally desirable on the part of the workers, that the onus of breaking these laws shall rest on their enemies' heads. If the "Socialists" had quit Albany of their own accord, if Victor Berger had refused to go to Congress, it wouldn't have made half the impression on the working class it has done, to see panicky capitalist legislators breaking their own laws, and revealing **their bourgeois dictatoship** masked behind loud sounding and prettily turned lip worship of democracy.

Those actions were distinct victories for the working class. They revealed the sham. They served to show what a revolutionary working class may expect. It is unfortunate that the benefit is being reaped, for the present, by a motley array of mountebanks and rascals masquerading as Socialists; using the prestige of a well-meaning, but misguided man like Debs.

But these revelations of the evil intent of the capitalist class, should not drive the workers to the extremist position represented by the phrase-mongering group. That is what is to be feared. Precisely that is what the capitalists would like to see. Engels has pointed this out in his "Retrospect." De Leon, in "As to Politics,"—Karl Radek in his letter to German Socialists, also showed the advantages of having a political standing, and his letter was approved by Lenin. So the point is: Socialists should above all else be **Realists,** be alive to the facts of a situation. They should know how to adapt themselves to the changes in political conditions.

It is worse than folly to laud the features of political democracy, acclaim it as the greatest gift of the ages. Such actions serve but one purpose. That purpose is—fooling the very class that support for a revolution must come from.

The capitalists are not deceived by the forms and phrases of political democracy. They are most emphatically not deceived by revolutionists who proclaim the virtues of democracy. The one's who are deceived and confused, are the ill-informed slaves, grasping always at illusions and afraid of realities. To lay down hard and fast rules of conduct in the onward march of the slaves and then to find the rules hamper and clog progress, is to invite trouble in plenty .

Economic conditions change, political conditions, or the conditions affecting the policy employed in combating capital, would necessarily also change To adopt permanent and unchanging codes, rules, war cries, and so on, is therefore sheer nonsense.

Be Realists; free your minds from warping traditions. Adapt your organization to the changes about it or perish. Supposing by some strange chance a Revolutionary Socialist ticket polled an overwhelming vote in November, at some election here in the United States What folly it would be to then calmly wait as by capitalist laws laid down, till the following March to oust the gang of parasites from their privileges. Such a situation is not likely to appear, but some socialists are so bewitched by the word "democracy" that it has come to take the place of reality with them. It would be on a par with the conduct of the Sabine men, who expostulated with the Romans for abducting their women, and showed unmistakably that the action was unlawful, immoral and unjustifiable, but still they couldn't understand why the Romans, admitting all this, refused to give up the women.

A revolutionary working class, when arrived at maturity, will suppress its enemies. During the period that is required for the change from production for profit to production for use, if this change occurs, undoubtedly the class in power then, as all classes have in the past, will establih a dictatorship. Disorders ,attempts at counter revolution, and so on—anything that tends to disrupt and throw back the race to lower forms of life, will have to be put down,—by force .

But, when the change is accomplished, and particularly when a new generation has grown up, free from the demoralizing, degenerating influences of class exploitation, the need for dictatorship will have disappeared, and it will cease to be

A free working class cannot coerce itself. And all other classes will have disappeared. So we see, the thing is the attaining of power to suppress the parasitic strata of society.

That is a question of time.

In the course of time, there will inevitably also appear the question of **how?**

That is a question of opportunity.

A working class guided by common sense, and unbefogged by "Kautskian learning," or "Debsic sentiment," will not hesitate when the time is ripe, and they are ready, to use the most sensible and convenient way to get on top, and dictate to the other fellows, till their day is done. So, don't become enmeshed in these hairsplitting wrangles; but stick to our task of "wising up" the slaves.

Even when the workers desirous of economic freedom, are in a majority, even if they have power in their hands, it is inconceivable that they should immediately be able to abolish all vestiges of capitalism Not in weeks or in years, will such a transition be accomplished.

And in Russia today even though the masses were undoubtedly in favor of Bolshevik rule ,and are still, yet war weariness, disorganization, disease, and all the countless miseries and annoyances they are so bravely enduring, would cause those elements who

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Intolerance

MARXISTS are often accused of being intolerant, dogmatic and narrow-minded. Many sentimental and well-meaning social reformers insist that we are travelling to the same goal—which they usually describe as the "common good of humanity," or the "universal brotherhood"—and that therefore we should all unite under one banner to form a grand army of social uplifters or rejuvenators. It disheartens them to see Socialists pointing out their fallacies, and criticizing the sayings of perfectly sincere "sympathisers of labor."

If we were only a little less dogmatic in our materialism, or in our insistence on the view that the workers must emancipate themselves; if we were broad-minded enough to permit prominent "uplifters" to work in our ranks, then, the great ones of the earth, such as Lord Haldane perhaps, could help us, and by their great influence bring so much nearer the "brotherhood of man."

These people do not at all understand social evolution in general, nor that particular phase of it, the Socialist movement.

Marxism is essentially scientific, seeking the laws underlying the development of society, and the causes making for change in the relations of mankind.

Webster's dictionary defines science as "systematized knowledge of any one department of mind or matter: acknowledged truths and laws, especially as demonstrated by induction, experiment or observation." While we can legitimately quarrel with a definition that separates mind and matter into independent things, it is sufficient to show that those who could be called scientists must necessarily be materialists, i.e., they can only take into account, in their analyisis of any phenomena, known facts of the material universe in which we live.

If we are to acquire systematized knowledge of truths or laws, we cannot do so by bringing in a supreme ruler to account for that which we may not understand. Nor can we introduce some powerful idea, or ideal, springing from nowhere in paticular, to explain the wars, massacres, and ceaseless struggles which make up the history of slavery.

Socialism arises, not from an overwhelming sympathy with the "dowptrodden masses," but from an analysis of past and present society, which shows us that social changes occur in accordance with changing method of production, and further, that the class which controls the means of wealth production is also the dominant political class, therefore a struggle rages all through history to determine the ownership of these things. This is the class struggle, and we are certainly intolerant of deviation from the workers' side in this struggle.

Looking at present day society, we find that a very small group controls the means of life, and consequently the products of labor, while on the other hand the great majority do not own anything, but are forced to co-operate in producing wealth, to hand over to the owners of mill, mine and factory. In other words, we have a condition of social production alongside of ownership by a small group. Here is a contradiction of the first magnitude which gives rise to the class struggle of today, and also determines that the next system of society must be one of social ownership.

Let us by all means be patient in explaining this; let us meet genuine criticism in a studious manner (because that is the only effective way), but let us also be intolerant of any who would attach themselves to the workers' movement in an endeavor to divert it into adopting a policy of making capitalism last longer, by patching up or reforming it.

We dogmatically assert that no permanent alleviation of the misery of the workers can be accomplished until they acquire the means of wealth production, and that they must do this themselves, without trusting to saviours, human or divine

The Socialist movement is the intellectual expression of the workers' interests. We consider it as being the vanguard of proletarian thought, and as a result, we are broad enough to admit into our ranks all who are capable of measuring up to that standard, but we are narrow enough to exclude the multitude of social quacks and capitalist reformers.

We cannot be tolerant in our criticism of these movements ,however sincere or well meaning individuals may be. We say that our goal is the social ownership of the means of production and distribution,—a complete change in the basis of society, while their goal is anything but this

We ask all to study science in general, and especially the standard socialist works, which analyse history in the interest of our class, who alone are able to carry society forward W H. C.

"The Perfection of Capitalism."

THE endless chain of seasons glides easily o'er the palm of time, bearing with it those periodical changes manifested in revolutions, wars and social cataclysms.

Nature, in her dealings with man is never haphazard, and dispenses her boundless wealth over the earth's surface impartially. It is not her fault that the majority of the earth's toilers do not enjoy her prodigious gifts, but rather it is the fault of man himself. The "wisest' creature on the earth, unlike the lower animals, has failed to get into harmony with nature. In his ignorance or his professed knowledge he seeks to appropriate far more than he needs, and having secured more than nature's law allows him, he suffers tortures in striving to withhold it from his less "able' 'fellows. Nature's laws of compensation and adjustment cannot be disregarded with impunity, and despite all appearances to the contrary, that small minority who possess an excessive amount of earthly goods, and who fondly imagine that happiness is to be derived from their possessions, are even now commencing to realize that the accumulation of wealth carries with it a heavy burden. Nature takes her revenge in many ways.

Note the repulsive appearance of those who seek only the satisfaction of the physical appetite. Note the creation of a desire among those who are exploited to secure an equitable portion of earth's plentitude. See how this desire manifests itself in periodical violence and crime, and how in the process of change the wealthiest and greediest suffer misery and extinction.

Those few who have succeeded in apportioning to themselves the greatest share are even now shuddering at the prospect looming up in the distance. The near future throws out to them a challenge and they disregard it to their own undoing. Well warned are they who will turn to the study of the natural laws of change.

Nature always destroys that which she has brought to perfection: the mightiest trees decay; the prettiest flower dies; the strongest man weakens; the greatest beauty withers; the largest fortunes are dissipated and the most efficient systems become obsolete. So with social and economic systems. The greatest system of robbery ever devised by man's brain has reached perfection, leaving countless millions of the earth's inhabitants naked and hungry, while the robbers possess a million times more than they need. Capitalism has succeeded in fulfilling its mission, and now that the world sees it in its horrible perfection, it must fade away as other barbaric systems have faded.

Students of history have the knowledge requisite to understand why other systems have passed away, and why capitalism will pass away. They know why it is that mankind has progressed through the various ages. They know that the natural law of change is ever present, and they know that once one system has reached perfection it disintegrates and another takes its place. They know that capitalism must go the way of feudalism and chattel slavery, and they know that socialism is even now rising above the ashes of capitalism.

Nature's laws must be obeyed, and she has decreed that as mankind advances in knowledge so must the system under which he lives advance until perfection is reached The next stage in the process of human development conformable to nature's immutable law of change is Socialism

Socialism thrives on the iniquities and decaying rottenness of Capitalism, just as young trees rise to their strength by feeding on the rottenness of the old decaying prostrate ones

Nature, the leveller and compensator, will continue her work to the end of time, making her periodical changes as the seasons unfold into years, and the years into eras, repeating the process of change forever The Socialist is satisfied, because he goes with nature and not against her From her he gets his lesson G P.

THAT DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

(Continued From Page Six)

are not convinced by reasoning of the need for communion, but who merely followed the crowd, or desired the "Brotherhood of Man," or some other sentimental Utopia who can't see the need for work and discipline, on account of lifelong habits acquired under Czardom,—all these things would soon bring about the fall of Russia into a condition of anarchy and hopeless chaos, without the steadying iron hand of force

The difference between bourgeois dictatorship and the Bolshevik dictatorship, ought to be plain to see. It is a case of fighting fire with fire. Fighting the devil with his own weapons. Capitalism is still a reality in the minds of many Russian slaves. As they are educated, and draw away from the past, so will the Alp like tradition lose its enervating power to paralyze human activities. Till the past is a memory faint and dim, dictatorship it must be. Truth is always unpleasant to idealists.

And the truth about the Russian situation was that the Bolshiviks were forced to seize power, or see reaction sweep them and the advanced workers away as the Finns were swept away, and the Hungarians also.

How can anyone tell what situations may arise in any country that would present an opportunity for a successful revolt? Such things are possible. And to pass up chances is not a thing a revolting working class is likely to do. Not even when invoked in the name of democracy.

Such a revolution implies the shearing of wealth and privileges from the present rulers, and resistance cannot but be expected. Sweet, honeyed words about the emancipation of all men from capitalist anarchy will not pacify them.

They know only **force.**

Hence the proletariat will have to show them a superior force to their own.

Dictatorship again, but in its rightful time and place. F. S. F.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

Therefore, we call all workers to organise 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.

Capitalism in Peril

THE following quotations are from "Capitalism in New Peril of Collapse," by Major Chas .L. Hall, U. S. A., in "North American Review," reprinted in the "Democrat and Chronicle," Rochester, N. Y., July 6th .1920.

"Up to 1900 the French and English blocs had been active competitors for colonial power, but about that time both realized that their whole civilization was subject to grave dangers from the Central Empires. Unless they presented a united front the structure of society, which we call democracy, and which the modern Russians call 'tyranny of the bourgeoisie,' was in grave danger of complete destruction . . . . . Under the peril of this menace the two states united with Czarist Russia," Further on in the article he writes: ". . . . Russian feudalists were an indispensable military assistance to the Entente bloc, and could not be abandoned."

"The immediate result of this combination was a danger to the Central Empires; because their trade got to be hampered by more or less disguised restrictions on their expansion . . . . Various endeavors were made to compose these differences, but they broke down. . . . . The last attempt at compromise vanished at Agadir in 1911."

Then treating with the world war, ". . . . wealth was transferred . . . . either into economically useless goods or labor (munitions of war and pay of the army) . . . . "

"In 1917 feudalism was destroyed in Russia. There being no native capitalism of any inherent strength ,control of the State passed into the hands of the urban proletariat ,who seized the industrial machinery, owned nominally by rich Russians, but really by foreign security holders Such entrepreneur capitalists as existed were ruined. The agrarian character of Russia makes is the best possible place to try out Marxian Socialism :but nevertheless, the economic results are not such as to lead people to long for its further expression. Yet it is safe to say that what happened in Russia is sure to happen in the rest of Europe.

"The collapse of Russia made the triumph of the Central Powers inevitable unless the Entente could secure further allies. This they were able to do on the American continent, and, as a result . . . the Central Powers were defeated, and forced to submit to the peace of Versailles. This peace, dictated by the Entente capitalists, ... let us analyze it?"

He arrives at the following conclusions: ". . . . . First . . . the only probable effect i sto impoverish the loser without enriching the winner." . . . . . " . . . .second . . . . It further assumes that this population can be compelled to labor indefinitely at a rate barely sufficient to maintain life." "In the third place, it assumes that all German excess capital can be seized without, at the same time, so fracturing the organization of Germany as to make the continuation of the capitalistic regime there impossible."

"In order to reduce the resistance of the German people, the starvation by blockade was continued for seven months after the armistice Thereby their economic value, either as citizens or slaves, was permanently diminished, . . . large Allied forces were placed on the Rhine at German expense. This expense exceeded the ante-bellum military budget of Germany . . . . "

* * *

" . . . . the great areas of exploitation, Russia, Turkey and China, were to be parcelled out among the victorious powers

"Further expansion in the last is, however, definitely checked by Japan. In Turkey the native population developed considerable strength in resisting the burden, and commercial expansion in Mesopotamia and elsewhere seems to be stopped by the obvious economic difficulty that the cost of an expedition exceeds the returns As for Russia, good money was poured out after bad in the Kolchak-Denikin coupon-collecting episodes until what little reserve strength the western financial interests possessed was almost completely dissipated, with exact ly nil results Moreover the lower classes in France and Great Britain have begun to appreciate the fact that Russian unity (call it Czarism or anything else) is even more distasteful to the Russian people than the rule of the urban proletariat, as it cannot possibly be maintained except by a reactionary government

"The impending collapse of capitalism in Europe is the most tremendous ogre that Western peoples have had to face since the Battle of Tours, that is to say for about twelve hundred years; and, if it is cataclysmic and not evolutionary in its nature, will be the greatest wrench to the existing order of society that has occurred since the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, ushered in the Middle Ages. The spectre of this wrench everywhere, the hackneyed expression, "World Unrest,' 'is merely symbolic of the ubiquitous terror. But the methods hitherto proposed for meeting the problem have depened more on exorcism than on pure realism. Brave men do not scorn to analyze and appriciate, as well as to attack, their enemy. Only fools tilt at windmills."

Book Review

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL—By Morris Hillquit. Fifty cents. New York, B. W. Heubsch, 32 West 58th St.

THE title of this book is not descriptive of its contents. It consists of a stenographic report of Hillquit's speech before the Judiciary Committee of the New York Legislative Assembly, which sat on the question of seating five members of that house who had been elected on the ticket of the Socialist Party of America.

The seventy-five pages contain much argument on the folly of expelling these members from their seats, and but little about Socialism. The book might be taken as an example of the unsound position of the Socialist Party of America.

However, in developing his argument, Mr. Hillquit produces much information that is valuable. We are told on page 13 that one of the members was charged with having introduced "affirmative legislation of an offensive character." This is worthy of a country where a girl can be charged and convicted of laughing at a policeman.

So far as the legal aspects of the case are concerned, we are willing to take Mr. Hillquit's views, and he appears to have shewn beyond doubt that the proceedings were not within the laws. But he undertakes to explain Socialism, and we have reason to question his ability. Mr. Hillquit says that on the question of religion, Peter Collins was called as a witness, and testified that Socialism was hostile to religion. He objects to this on the ground that Collins had not made a study of Socialism, and enquired why some university professor, who was not a Socialist but a student of the movement, had not been called,—say Professor Commons, or Ely.

Why call any one to testify? If Marx and Engels and their accepted writings are of any value to Socialism, then "hostile" is a very mild term; as Kidd puts it: "The subject of religion is logically eliminated" by modern Marxian Socialism. But alas, logic is the feeblest and frequently an after-the- event factor in human affairs. So I suppose we must have religion with us yet a while .

Under the caption "Socialism," we are told that Socialists" . . . . . really do no more than endorse, and perhaps extend, the very well known declaration which the founders of this republic have made popular all over the world, and that is, that the object of every government, and of every people is to attain and maintain the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To us these are not phrases to be recited glibly on the fourth of July. To us this declaration is a living truth." Well, to us it so much rhetoric, and of as much value to the working class as the profound query: "Why is the fourth of July?" which recalls the reply of one who had more wit than reverence: "Because the first is a jay, the second is you, and thirdly you get hell!"

Mr. Hillquit then pays eloquent tribute to the wealth of the United States, adding that there is "No reason in the world why there should be slums in any of our cities, why there should be underfeeding of children," etc. We know of a very good and all sufficient reason,—because in addition to the many capitalist apologists who work so arduously at befogging the mind of the workers there is also a goodly number who, in the name of Socialism, compete with them in their task.

We are told in a footnote that one of the Judieiary Committee declared on the floor of the Assembly "that the Socialist Assemblymen, if guilty, should be shot." Tall words ,which the capitalist and his henchmen are never tired of repeating in one form or another.

There are some excellent quotations from American legislators during the period of the last Mexican War almost a century ago, wherein we see that patriots true and tried might oppose war in the legislature and live. On the question of Internationalism there is a quotation from a letter of Father Ryan, who was Hillquit's opponent in the controversy, "Socialism, Promise or Menace," wherein the Reverend Father fears for the survival of his "Internation." These quotations and the legal argument are welcomed by us as an addition to our store of knowledge bearing on the mental processes of the master class mind, but the pamphlet is lamentably lacking of instruction in Socialism. Not one Socialist classic is mentioned, much less quoted, and with the exception of Lenin and Trotsky, not one name out of the many scores of working-class thinkers is mentioned, and Lenin and Trotsky are mentioned merely by the way.

America is a country where great things are done, and we can say without fear of ever having to recall our words, that in no other country in the world could a Socialist talk all day, on Socialism, and never introduce its fundamental principles ,and its wealth of literature. Mr. Hillquit, busying himself entirely with the stupid objections raised by the master class, lost an opportunity which is not likely to recur. But should it recur, the working-class had better go out into the bush, to the docks, or anywhere the working animal abides, for there it will find its spokesman,—not among the lawyers. J.H.

BOURGEOIS DIPLOMACY

(Continued From Page Five)

matists of old Europe, accustomed to a language of evasion and equivocation, than the straightforward talk of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. How could Lloyd George understand a note in which the victors ,repudiating the interference of the Allies in the Polish debacle, actually offered the defeated Poles more advantageous territorial terms than those suggested by their western protectors. "Propaganda," cried Lloyd George, in consternation, fearful lest the Poles discover the obvious truth that it is better to be defeated by Soviet Russia than to be protected by the Allies. To add to his embarrassment, the Soviet Foreign Office replied to Mr. George's suggestion of a general peace conference of the border states, by reminding him that Soviet Russia had already successfully concluded peace with Lithuania, Esthonia and Georgia, and that negotiations were proceeding with Latvia and Finland. There was no doubt, an unpleasant suggestion in the inference that while Mr. George and his peripatetic colleagues had been running about from one watering place to another, talking peace and prolonging war, Soviet Russia had been persistently and successfully making peace wherever possible. It was perplexing to be reminded that the Soviet Government has done more to make peace in the world and has actually conducted more successful peace negotiations with its neighbors than any other power in Europe since the armistice. We gather from the reports of the Prime Minister's discourse, however, that he understood that the Soviet Government was ready to make peace direct with Poland and that he would advise the Polish Government to sue for terms Perhaps he did not find the Soviet note so difficult of comprehension as he pretended He did not care where the peace conference met, he said, and did not desire to interfere if the Poles would negotiate directly with the victors. The main thing was to save Poland from the consequences of her "mistake." He concluded with some perfunctory and meaningless remarks about the aid which England and Frace would give to Poland. The British Ambassador at Berlin had gone to Poland. The French Government was sending "a General who is Chief of Staff," and finally, as some sort of dark hint, "it may very well be that Marshal Foch will follow." What all these worthies would do or could do in Warsaw, except to impede the hasty preparations for evacuation, the Premier did not say .

Over in Paris, M. Millerand was having his say, calling the Soviet note an impertinence, and threatening wildly. "France must keep her word to Poland," said the French Premier, forgetting that only a few days ago no less a personage than Marshal Foch himself had disclaimed all responsibility for the Polish enterprise. One correspondent, reporting the belligerency of the French Premier, remarks dryly that "it is possible that actions may not correspond with orations, for it is difficult to see how France or England can practice a war policy in the present circumstances."—"Soviet Russia."