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FIVE CENTS

The Four-Power Pact

The Washington Conference has achieved—the four-power pact. What further may have been effected, we know not, not being seers, for the Conference has comported itself comely and courteously, as becometh international peacemakers; and has spoken the suave language of diplomacy. But in good time we shall know and, haply, understand.

This much belauded Pact, which is alleged to have simplified, so greatly, the question of the Pacific, is an agreement between Britain, France, America and Japan, whereby the H. C. P. bind themselves all and severally "to respect" each others "rights" in the Orient; and if trouble arises in the fulfilment of the bond, to discuss their differences in conference. A fine example of the high plane of bourgeois morality. This pledge is conformable with the Root "resolution" to respect integrity of China. It all turns on the definitions given to "right" and "integrity."

Diplomatically considered, Chinese integrity does not mean that China shall exercise full sovereign power within the borders of China. It does not mean that "backward" China can take the same rank as those progressive champions of democracy, Britain and America. Before China can have such power, she must—as Japan has done—put on the glittering panoply of civilization. Then will she find favor in the eyes of the Janus nations of the West.

Integrity, as an American concept, implies that the government of China shall not give to any one power any undue or undercut advantage. That is that the more or less foreign financed and influenced government of China shall not, "sub rosa" grant concessions to any preferential nation. That all nations shall have "equal opportunity" and identical treatment. In a word, the open door. That, is the American view, because it satisfies American financial and business interests. The Anglo-Japanese idea of "integrity" is the individual exploitation of Chinese resources to the greatest exclusion of all competitors. For the same reason precisely—it suits the "interests" of those nations. If any group of nations were to pledge themselves to "protect" "British integrity" one can imagine the cynical insolence of a Balfour, the flinty vituperation of a Churchill, the blunt unadorned rage of a Carson. Or of America! How those sapient descendants of Puritan rigidists and half-caste Europeans would rend the crystal day with the florid wrath of their indignation! Such a simple change of cases shows up the count that underlies the whole affair, and puts the matter in its true historical perspective,—business, trade, the ceaseless traffic in human slavery.

The "rights" of those H. C. P. are necessarily of a similar nature. It is the right to enjoy whatever has been "acquired" in possession. All those parties have possession in China, and possession is always "uncosweet" to let go. And, just as all those nations are ready and willing to disarm, if only the other will just begin (except on some particular count) so they are all equally ready to disgorge, if only the other will set the example. France will gladly forsake Kwangchow if Britain will leave Hong Kong; Britain will leave Hong Kong if Japan will vacate Port Arthur; and Japan will leave Port Arthur if only the good America will just stick close to the eastern edge of the mis-called Pacific.

Unfortunately, those are the very things which

the nations cannot do. The Empire of Capital knows no frontiers, it can brook no limitations. Expansion is inevitable. And according to their several differing circumstances, the various nations have different necessities and, of course, conflicting policies. France, more nearly self supporting, aspires to the

ports to China (1920) were \$119,000,000. Those powers are thus commercial rivals, and as rivals they well know what rivalry means. But under temporary duress they are brought together, for the purposes of cheap exploitation. Britain seeks to pacify France in the hope that she may not be involved in European affairs while possible complications arise in the East. Britain is playing with America for position; in alliance because their several interests do not, as yet, edgedly conflict. And Japan bows, in Oriental inscrutability to the stern mandate of immediate circumstance.

It is my belief that the essential relations between Britain and Japan remain unchanged,—pact or no pact. Britain and America meet, but do not coalesce, either in the Orient or anywhere else. Oil, steel, minerals, shipping, all stand opposed. And their individual textiles and manufactures must find markets. On the other hand the resources of China are of greater life necessity to Japan—and Britain—than to America, while France and Britain cannot harmonize, for long. And Egyptian nationalism, Indian Swaraz and Bolsheviki "depravity" cannot but be potent in their influence on British policies and alliances. For the moment, Japanese Imperialist aggression is a present help to British Imperialist control of a threatening East, while conversely, Japan temporarily welcomes British countenance to her forward developments. And the "21" points (now 15) were advanced under the aegis of a secret treaty with Britain. However, I have no proof to offer, and my beliefs are valueless. But . . .

"We want peace," says Briand, "but to preserve peace we must have a France prepared to meet an offensive." "We desire peace," says Britain. But meanwhile the war office plans for the erection of 23 general hospitals with a capacity of 30,000, and diligently follows up chemical research and air developments. "We agree in principle," says the astute Balfour, "but, for British protection, we must have Hong Kong." "We are willing to scrap some (obsolete) capital ships and submarines, but our peculiar circumstances demand fast cruisers." Because fast cruisers are the "motherships" to airplanes and the distant, and of necessity, movable, bases of arial warfare. "We are pledged to peace," says Prince Tokugawa, "without jeopardizing the safety and existence of Japan." "We are out for peace," shouts the bustling Yank, "but we must have the Monroe Doctrine in America and the open door in China."

So it comes about that Britain maintains, with self sacrificing zeal, her rights territorial, and extra territorial, in China, Japan holds on to Korea and Manchuria and negotiates with whatever government she can influence at Peking on the Shantung question, and America strives, with whatever southern Republic she can conjure to her cause, for "concessions" and "equality"; and all are agreed, that be the result as it may, and take it who may, the doors of China shall be open wide for trade.

Those are the forces on which we rest our hops for "peace in the Pacific," the guarantors of "Chinese integrity," and the very worthy gentlemen who have pledged them to "respect" each others "rights."

So we conclude, as we began, that the conference has achieved—the Four-Power Pact. That is—nothing.

R.

WATCH YOUR LEADERS!

The regular propaganda meetings of Local (Vancouver) No. 1, are held every Sunday evening at 8 p.m., at the Royal Theatre.

A program of lectures is being arranged. Announcement of details will be made in the "Western Clarion" from time to time.

Interest in our meetings grows upon a labor press campaign of silence, instituted to convey the impression that our meetings are discontinued.

Instead of that, we are more active than ever!

The program makers, the new reformers, have committed themselves to a policy of leadership and have elected themselves as the leaders—the saviors of the working class. Amen!

WATCH YOUR LEADERS!

Attend to the education of the workers. Present events show that to be the essential need.

Out of their troubles and distress the workers themselves must find the way; they have been plagued with the leadership idea long enough.

Ignorance and leadership go hand-in-hand. Workers led "out" can be led "in" again.

An educated working class will need no leaders.

Attend the propaganda meetings at the Royal Theatre every Sunday at 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

January 29th.—W. A. PITCHARD.

February 5th.—J. D. HARRINGTON.

Subject: Revolution and Counter Revolution in early Peru.

February 12.—T. O'CONNOR.

Subject: Collapse of the Coal Industry of South Wales.

hegemony of Europe. That is why she wants submarines. In continental Europe she is isolated. She is at variance with Britain, quarrelling over the Near East. Fearful of that "red monster" Russia, whose default has verged her on bankruptcy; troubled lest a despairing Germany may also see "Red"; mindful of her own miserable masses and her crazy budget she has decreased military service in France, but has evened up by increasing her African forces. Hence her need of submarines—in addition to her other equipment. Britain, far-flung and dependent, opposes the submarine, for the "sub" is deadly to the merchant fleet. But, to her, capital ships and cruisers are essential—yet, for she must hold the keys of her Empire; Ireland ("Freedom" notwithstanding); Gibraltar (Spanish integrity or not); Suez and Aden (with or without Egyptian consent); Singapore and Hong Kong. These are the gateways of trade, and with their fall, falls Britain. Japan, with Vladivostock, Port Arthur, Korea and Kian-chou is in an identical position. And America, driven by fateful profit is steadily forced south and west, meeting whomsoever she may.

Actually, in the East, Britain is now the dominant figure, France the least. Then Japan and America. British exports to China in 1919 were something like \$900,000,000. Japanese exports for the same year were about \$200,000,000. America ex-

Tactics—a la Mode

The Split

FOR many moons we have been discussing the question of tactics with exhaustive argument pro and con and, during that period much ink has been spilled, many wordy and heated arguments have been indulged in, meetings and debates have been held. We are not agreed, and a split has taken place within our ranks as a result.

Perhaps the most peculiar and interesting feature of this controversy is that nearly all factions now agree upon one essential point, namely, that the workers of Canada or upon the American continent are not as yet prepared for any "action" as far as their emancipation is concerned. All realize the need for education.

We have been busily occupied in discussion and have split over the question of tactics when spade work was and is vitally necessary,—when, in fact, there never was a more pressing need for a systematic and organized, efficient and more extensive method of propaganda. The last federal elections prove (if any proof is required) that the workers are not only not ready for that "action" but are predominantly possessed of master class ideas. It is self-evident because they overwhelmingly supported the candidates of their exploiters and gave but little to Socialists, or even so-called Labor candidates. The fact is undoubtedly discouraging to the class-conscious and must be faced even by those advocating "action." Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the last general election was the determination to defeat the Meighen Government; this is, however, far removed from the psychology of change in the idea to abolish the present slavish system of exploitation.

In view of the fact, then, what can a party of "action" do? Is it to assist the workers to accomplish immediate aims? Oh, no; we will at once be told. We have a certain aim and object and our "action" must conform to them. Which is all too true.

And yet it seems to me that underlying the controversy and all this discussion the idea exists, namely, of expecting the great mass who are not class-conscious to act as though they were. There seems to be the vague notion also that by changing our tactics the workers will support the revolutionary movement even while they are themselves non-revolutionary, which is really to expect the miraculous. We cannot ourselves agree, even while there is plenty of work to do in elementary educational work. "Action!" In what form?

There is no desire to quibble over words. But if the word action is to concretely mean the publishing of more Socialist papers, getting members willing to distribute them,—more classes with an ever increasing number of pupils,—Colleges wherein a thorough knowledge of those subjects that vitally affect the workers, will be taught and which will also produce more teachers and speakers, why not say so. Is the word action to mean the founding of bureaus of information with classified data and that the vanguard of the proletarian movement is about to be stimulated into giving more time to the propounding of its ideas to the workers? If so, then "action" is not only welcome but all would agree as to its need, for the apathy that has prevailed within the movement has been apparent.

The Apathy

Capitalist society today is "enjoying" the benefits of the present method of production and distribution. Millions of workers are out of a job. The means of life being owned by the few in a society wherein wealth can be produced so abundantly, reacts to the detriment of the many who own nothing but their power-to-labor. To the workers, therefore, the benefits of our modern civilization, with its gigantic machines and efficiency organizations can be expressed in unemployment, increasing poverty and misery, degradation and general insecurity in earning sufficient to supply their meagre needs.

And, as the number of unemployed increases the ever-elusive job is more difficult to find; as a result the competition between workers to sell their labor-power becomes keener. How to live; how to obtain or retain that elusive job is a very important question.

The workers, as sellers of that commodity labor-power, competing in a market that is decidedly unfavorable, especially in all periods of industrial depressions, are at times forced by the very conditions to accept lower wages or a lower price for the commodity sold. The competition for jobs being keener plays havoc with the total membership of organized workers, craft and industrial. In fact it can be said that the membership of organized labor increases and decreases with the regularity of "good" and "bad" times, or, in other words, labor organizations are more powerful in those periods of time that are relatively favorable or weak when strength is the pressing need.

Millions of workers are unemployed, cuts in wages have been made and still more are pending, and the mental condition of the labor movement is one of apathy. After a period of relative "prosperity" it is perhaps the inevitable sequence, nevertheless the fact remains that the workers are not only ignorant of their class position but also indifferent. There is a realization by the worker, however, that his organizations are unable to successfully resist and that his wages must fall.

Apathy! What other condition could prevail in the great mass who hardly realize the class nature of the society in which they live, and decidedly do not understand the elementary principles of that competitive system and therefore do not know the causes underlying their conditions!

These are the causes of the apathy from which the class-conscious are not immune, for the Socialist movement is comprised of workers who are subjected to the same terms as the great mass in this competitive system. It may be a "natural" consequence also that this small vanguard do in a measure "reflect" the "mood" of the masses. Be that as it may, we must not underestimate the effect of the lack of financial support which limits many of the avenues of propaganda, poorly attended meetings, and the indifference on the part of the workers (even the organized) to the movement.

Tactics

A good deal has been said about the revolutionary section taking part in the struggle of the workers, from which the charge is frequently made that the S. P. of C. has remained aloof.

This charge is more a difference of words than of fact, for its members, being workers, are forced by the very conditions to unite with their kind in the various industries. They cannot very well escape, and being Socialists have undoubtedly performed good work within their organizations. If, therefore, we are Socialists, we only differ from the mass in so far as we are class-conscious and possess knowledge, and our business is to tell our fellow-workers.

Of course there are several ways of doing that. One can be difficult to understand, by using too many technical terms. The subject matter is sufficiently complex to make the use of simple language essential and necessary, unless speaking to students. There is also the offensive abuse of language which only adds to the many difficulties, and some have the mistaken idea that being revolutionary and being personally offensive are synonymous terms.

How then is a "party of action" to act differently from the existing organization is another question. Obviously there is the method of forming a caucus within industrial organizations which also has its limits. Strike committees are not elected out of political parties; they are elected from the rank and file of labor, through their unions. If in a strike Socialists are elected to the strike committee that committee cannot impose very much upon the membership without its general consent and endorsement.

It cannot transform the immediate issue into a fight for social ownership or communism and retain their support.

The workers are not Communists, not even in sympathy.

Let's get down to spade work.

A. J. BEENY.

FRANK CASSIDY IN THE EAST

COMRADE Frank Cassidy has had a busy time in Eastern Canada of late. In the Maritime provinces the I. L. P. bodies are fairly active and Frank reports that according to his view what is required there is educational classes, because the standard of education is not very high. He laid out his plan of campaign accordingly, and his efforts have earned keen appreciation throughout the maritime.

Here are some reports from "The Citizen," Halifax, Nova Scotia:—

"Frank Cassidy, of Vancouver, B. C., has been giving a series of lectures of an educational nature at the I. L. P. hall, 54 Argyle street. He has dealt with wars and their economic causes; the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, the industrial revolution from handicraft to machine production, the Evolution of the human race and the Russian Revolution.

The hall has been filled to capacity every evening, and it is marvellous how an individual can carry such a large amount of knowledge without notes or even without any reference books to refer to at hand.

The chief points in all his lectures was to show that no matter what reforms have been brought about, the condition of the workers has not changed. He showed clearly that in all wars the worker has done the fighting, and after the war he has come home to sometimes find his home destroyed and he himself is forced to the city to be a wage slave.

Mr. Cassidy dealt with the conditions that forced the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland to emigrate to New Scotland (Nova Scotia). The Paris Commune of 1871 was dealt with and showed how the ruling class of France and Germany wanted to destroy the Workers' Republic of France, and how thirty thousand of the best of the French proletariat were brutally murdered in the streets of Paris.

In all of his lectures the speaker exposed the treachery of the bourgeoisie and the tactics they will adopt to deceive the workers about what is happening in other parts of the world.

Mr. Cassidy is touring the country giving these lectures with the idea of getting the workers to read and study, as the bankruptcy of capitalism is inevitable. Mr. Cassidy is quite a young man, and secured his education through practical experience and through reading late to the wee sma' hours after working ten hours a day."

Another report reads:

"The speaker first dealt with the term materialism, and sketched the growth of the human race from protoplasmic days to the modern man. He showed how ideas were formed, how reasoning was acquired, and interpreted history from the materialistic viewpoint. He explained the difference between the theological and materialistic interpretation of history. He explained that the former theory interpreted nature from the creative standpoint, while the latter claims that nature always existed and therefore never can be destroyed. He dealt with time and space, the sun and planets, and said there were 72 elements in matter. He traced the upward growth of man from the brute creation through the various stages of existence, from the individual to the tribal, and to the communal.

"We must go back to the past to find the meaning and the origin of many things as we have them today. All had their inception in the past, all have origin in our savage ancestry. There were 120 parts of the human being which were useless, because they have not been used for centuries.

"Mr. Cassidy expounded Darwin's theory of evolution, and dealt with the theories as set forth by other scientists and philosophers. He said that man

(Continued on page 8)

Geography in History

BY MARK STARR.

The greatest disservice of the old teaching in ordinary schools has been its utter failure to connect the various studies as a whole. To most of us the word geography does not conjure up, as it should, a picture of the wonderful stage of the activity of man or the important back-ground to all history. What the world does recall is a painful effort of memorising long lists of important towns with their respective chief manufactures or such-like brain-leading tasks. Generally the only survivals of such an ordeal are a hazy notion of the earth's shape gathered from Mercator's projection, a memory of the many red portions it contained, and perhaps of the names of the towns of the Isle of Wight, because the school-master's oft-repeated joke made one remember "Newport riding cows (Coves)." Maps were things that ended with one's schooldays.

However, in recent times this has been altered. The fact that war-flags dotting battle areas have been followed anxiously by many persons, and that the old maps of Europe and of the world are still undergoing rearrangement, have taught us geography. In our Labour movement we are being influenced by the writings of such well informed writers as Brailsford. The undisguised domination of politics by coal, iron, oil, and trade routes, forces us to read our newspapers with a world Atlas before us. Otherwise we cannot understand what is happening in Mesopotamia and Poland. To replace the mind-saving generalisation about the misdeeds of capitalism, which repels rather than convinces the non-Socialist, a newer generation is able to unveil and explain the concrete doings of capitalism about whose doings the daily papers give ample evidence. The present needs of capitalism are forcing it to study the map to plan its railways and its expansions and its "spheres of influence," and obtain the very necessary control over supplies of fuel and raw material for its iron and steel production. While Maekinder is teaching Economic Geography at the University of London, the Labour Colleges in London and Scotland, too, have recognised the value of the subject.

My purpose here, then, is to suggest to a somewhat prepared audience that not only do geographical conditions influence modern Imperialist policies, but that they help to explain human development in the past—and to a greater extent than is generally recognised. Whether we examine the stuff of the ancient myths or the defence afforded to the Bolsheviks by the ample space for retreat provided by the huge land mass of Russia, coupled with its native supplies of food, or whether we try to anticipate the results of a revolutionary change in Britain—80 per cent. of whose workers are engaged in working up raw materials—in each case, at either end of history, we are forced to take into account the natural environment.

Economic geography deals with the surface relief of the earth and its influence upon society. In modern times it is forced to trench upon geology, for it deals with the location of the minerals below the surface of the earth. We call it Economic Geography because it studies not so much the influence of geographical conditions upon life in general, but upon the life of man. And in distinction from Anthropo-Geography it does not so much seek to explain bodily individual differences in colour and shape, but treats man not only as a being living in nature, but also in society, studying not the relations and differences of individuals, but of the social groups. Not that it can ignore the fact that man's life is bound up with animal life, or forget that society is not something absolutely divisible from the individuals who compose it.

The most superficial observation of human development forces home the great influence exercised by the geographical factor. Colour, shape of the body and its limbs, and all the facial and other dif-

ferences between racial types are plainly largely due to the interlocking factors of heat, climate, and diet accentuated or lessened to some degree by sexual selection. The blackness of the coloured race is the easiest example of where the fierce rays of the sun produce a protective pigment in the skin. The shape of the face and the flat nose and other similar features are also to be partly explained from like factors. Even if agreement has not yet been made between rival explanations in particular cases, all agree that such things cannot be said to be mere chance or, as the ancients believed, a supernatural freakish design.

In addition to physical results from geographic control, psychical and temperamental differences can often be explained in the same way. The industrious nations are to be found in the temperate zones, because in the warmer climes persons are less inclined for energetic sustained labour, for there is no struggle to retain warmth or win subsistence. The eternal summer of the Tropics provides no stimulus to the invention of new tools to result in new modes of life. Nature there is too lavish, and keeps man "in leading strings."

Before proceeding further, however, let us very roughly summarise the chief relations which arise in geographical conditions:

(a) There is the relation between land and water formed by their relative distribution on the surface of the earth.

(b) Inseparable from this are the climatic relations produced by the sun and the winds.

(c) Then comes the relation between human society and its natural environment.

From the ocean-covered part of the surface of the globe the sun evaporates water into moisture. By the fact that the expanding air of the hot countries lessens its pressure, and consequently the air from the colder lands rushes in to the relieved space, winds are caused. These winds affect the temperature and bring the moisture clouds against the mountain lands. The consequent rain makes the earth fertile and fills the rivers running back to the ocean again. Sun, wind, rain, and temperature react upon vegetation, and this in its turn makes organic life possible. These complex processes are universal and interminable, and they condition human development.

A few thousand feet up or down movement of the surface of the earth, a relatively small change in the temperature and men's dwellings would be submerged, or they would perish on the uninhabitable mountain-tops, and life would be impossible. The consequences of the Ice Age illustrate well the dependence of man upon a congenial natural environment. To take a smaller example: at a thousand feet above sea-level in Gt. Britain, wheat growing is impossible without special artificial aids. The premise of the existence of man is the fertility of the soil. And while more and more geographical conditions are being controlled—for example, canals are being made to divide continents, and the terrors of cold climates can be overcome by new sources of heat—their accumulated results and their influence are still so immense as to be worthy of consideration. Man is the active factor, but he can only act in these channels formed by the relations and processes we have outlined. To change the metaphor, as players we can better utilise the stage if we recognise the great effect it has had in the past, and how it has not only stamped itself upon the physical and psychic characters of the players, but it has conditioned forms of social organisation, and aided their retention or destruction. So much impressed by this was Semple that she described history as being "geography set in motion."

Civilisation begins in the river valleys. The green strip of the Nile Valley is the example that comes quickest into the mind. Here in a sheltered retreat, protected on each side by deserts, Egypt began a similar course to the other already developed

river valley Empire across in Mesopotamia. Because she was dependent on the flooding of the Nile, and as this was the supposed work of the gods, it was the priest class, and not the warrior caste which first dominated. In the various Babylonian and Assyrian Empires natural protection was not so complete, and hence the social system was ruled by the warrior. The tribal organisations of nomadic life never survives for long in the river valleys and early history is largely composed of the invasions of the sheltered and enervated peoples by the daring and harder pastoralists of the steppes and the desert. That invasion of Jengis Khan in the thirteenth century is the last great example before capitalist colonial expansion changes the order of history.

Passing on to the inland sea civilizations, it is impossible to escape the connection between the politics of the Greek City States and the deep valley and dividing isolating mountains of Greece, combined with the easy access to liberty elsewhere in some other colony across the connecting seas. Again and again in explaining British industrial development, the advantages of insularity, the favourable position on the main street in the ocean civilisation period (when the inland Mediterranean, formerly really the centre of the earth that mattered, had become a mere backwater), and the available rich supplies of coal and iron—all these factors have to be repeatedly remembered.

For the purpose of fully appreciating "geographic control," however, it will be well to leave scattered references to many different civilisations and take one ancient example with only occasional references to others for parallels. Compared to the European, Chinese civilisation has been for many years at a standstill, and this static state of the sleeping East has always aroused the curiosity of thoughtful persons and provoked various explanations. Modern canons of historical investigation rule out supernatural intervention as a cause. This slumber of 4,000 years cannot be explained as an accident, and so there have been many ingenious attempts to explain the riddle. The bound feet which impeded travel on the part of the women folk; ancestor worship which caused the Chinaman to see his future in the past, and kept him in the old ways when Europe was stirring and finding new ones; the peculiar elaboration and the difficult character of the Chinese script which, expounded by a conservative and hide-bound dominating literary caste, further imprisoned the Chinese mind—these are a few of the proposed reasons. While these are contributory factors they cannot be regarded as sufficient. In Europe new national languages came as a result of the breakdown of feudalism and its chief support, the Latin-speaking Church. Language and religion could not prevent change here. What has to be explained is the absence of an impelling need which would in a like manner have driven the Chinese to revolutionise their ideas and banish the hindrances to movement in their fashions and institutions. The domination of the literary class, instead of, say a military class as elsewhere, and the long maintenance of patriarchal depotism must have arisen from something peculiar to Chinese development. Why is it that the Chinese did not sail across the Pacific and discover America before the Europeans? Why is it that Europe has not been static and endeavoring to keep Chinese influence at bay instead of the contrary? The factors summed up in the phrase "geographic control" will throw a very much needed light upon these problems.

To be continued.

NOTE CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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Memoirs of Count Witte

THE RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL LOAN OF 1906

Nothing is more reprehensible from the view point of the capitalist than that the workers should acquire a knowledge of the content of the capitalist system, and yet, in spite of themselves they are constantly adding to the workers' fund of knowledge. One of the latest contributions is the "Memoirs of Count Witte" recently published, and which the publishers, (Doubleday, Page & Co.), herald thusly:

"Who was Witte? Premier under Nicholas II. The man who re-organized Russia's finances. Principle author of the first Constitution. Chief builder of Russia's railroads. Negotiator of the Portsmouth Peace following the Russo-Japanese War.

"Recognized as the ablest statesman Russia ever produced, and one of the great statesmen of Europe, his testimony is of unparalleled value, not only as a revelation of Russia, but of the Europe that was, and a clue to the world situation of today."

Just how so very celebrated a man could have sunk into oblivion for the past ten years Doubleday, Page & Co., do not explain. However, the clue seems promising, so let us follow it and see where it leads. A little inside information will do us no harm, especially if it deals with the much mooted question as to whether the Russian Soviet Government is justified in repudiating the debts incurred by the Czar's Government. We will let this very celebrated person tell the story in his own words:—

"In October, 1905, the Government had neither troops nor funds with which to fight the revolution. I soon perceived that the only two things which could save the dynasty and enable Russia to weather the revolutionary storm, namely, a large foreign loan and the return of the army from Transbaikalia and Manchuria to the European part of the country. At the time the bulk of the army was in far Manchuria, an army of about a million men. As a matter of fact the whole vast army was in a complete state of physical and moral prostration.

"Several days before my appointment (as premier) I conferred with the Minister of War and General Trepov, the commander of the St. Petersburg garrison, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent we could rely on the troops in case it should be decided to crush the revolution by armed force. I learned that the army was unreliable for two reasons, namely, because of its numerical weakness and its dangerous state of mind. This perhaps accounts for His Majesty's decision in preferring the road of reforms to the unstinted application of sheer force.

"After the ratification of the Portsmouth Treaty, in accordance with the letter of the law, it was necessary to discharge the reservists who had been called to the colors for the duration of the war. Since these soldiers were the most troublesome element in the army, and had infected with revolutionary ideas both the Transbaikalian troops and the units stationed in European Russia, I had them demobilized immediately. As a result, the army at my disposal diminished in numbers, but it was purged of the troublesome element, which at any moment was liable to break out in uncontrollable mutinies."

"As early as 1904 the need for a foreign loan was apparent. At that time our financial system was already giving way under the pressure of war expenditures (Russo-Japanese). In concluding our second commercial treaty with Germany in 1904, I succeeded in securing Germany's permission to float our loan in that country. The next year I made an effort to prepare the ground for the loan in France and in the United States, where I went on the Portsmouth peace mission. My intention was to conclude the loan before the opening of the Imperial Duma. As I felt that the first Duma would be unbalanced and to a certain extent revengeful, I was afraid that its interference would thwart the loan negotiations and render the bankers less tractable. As a result the Government would, without funds, lose the freedom of action which is so essential during a period of upheaval."

"I had a keen personal interest in the loan, as I was responsible for the adoption by Russia (in 1896) of the gold standard of currency, and it was doubly painful for me to see this standard seriously threatened by the financial crisis, brought about by the war on the one hand, and by the near sighted policy of the Minister of Finance on the other. He waited for the end of the war to conclude a large loan, but he failed to see the outbreak of the revolution, with its disastrous effect on our credit.

"France was willing to open its money market to us, but as a preliminary condition the French Government demanded the conclusion of peace with Japan. When the Portsmouth Treaty was concluded, the Franco-German conflict arose over Morocco, the conclusion of which was made a contingent of the loan. I finally succeeded in having the clash arbitrated by an international conference at Algieras. The conference lasted till the end of March, 1906, and until its termination the conclusion of the loan was out of the question.

"The loan was to be an international one, but in view of its large amount the French group of bankers was to play the leading part. In 1905 I opened preliminary negotiations with Neutzlin, the head of the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. After the death of Germain, of the Credit Lyonnais, the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas became the chief banking institution in the so-called Christian group of bankers' syndicates. The other group of banks, known as the Jewish group, was headed by the Rothschild firm. Old Baron Alphonse Rothschild was dead, and Lord Rothschild of London, was now head of the family. Consequently I instructed Rafalovich, our financial agent in Paris, to go to London and find out what was the attitude of the Rothschilds toward our loan. Rafalovich's reply was to the effect that out of respect to Count Witte as a statesman they would willingly render full assistance to the loan, but that they would not be in a position to do so until the Russian Government had enacted legal measures tending to improve the condition of the Jews in Russia. As I deemed it beneath our dignity to connect the solution of our Jewish question with the loan, I decided to give up my intention of securing the participation of the Rothschilds.

"The Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) were fully aware of the stabilizing effect the loan would have upon the government. Consequently, they sought to defeat my efforts to conclude the loan before the opening of the Duma. Their representatives, chiefly Prince Dolgoruki and Malokov, acted in Paris trying to persuade the French Government that it was illegal for the Imperial Government to conclude the loan without the sanction of the Duma.

"As for the press, it did nothing to inspire the foreign investor with confidence. For instance, nearly all the papers printed the appeal of the revolutionists to the population enjoining it to withdraw their deposits from the banks and local treasuries, so as to reduce the Treasury to a state of insolvency. On the other hand, the foreign press displayed a great deal of hostility toward us. The English "Economist" spoke of the collapse of the gold standard of Russia and announced that Russia was driven to resort to a forced rate of exchange and printing of paper money without the corresponding deposit of gold. Other papers, that a portion of Russia's gold resources had been absorbed by the purchase of Russian securities abroad in order to stabilize the rate of exchange.

"Already in November, 1905, our money circulation was in a very critical state and I found it necessary to keep the financial committee informed about the situation. With my approval, the committee appointed two of its members, V. N. Kokovtzev and Schwanebach, Minister of Agriculture together with the Minister of Finance, L. P. Shipov, to watch the transactions of the Imperial Bank, but of course they were unable to suggest anything to improve matters. As the situation was rapidly growing worse and as some of the members thought it was possible to conclude a foreign loan immediately, I proposed to Kokovtzev that he go abroad with full power to contract a loan. I knew very well that, before the settlement of the Morocco conflict, this was out of the question, but I did not judge it possible to take the financial committee into my confidence with regard to the political aspect of the situation.

"Kokovtzev went to Paris late in December, 1905, and was told, of course, by Rouvier that we could not conclude the loan before the peaceable termination of the Morocco affair. He also had an interview with President Loubet. Kokovtzev succeeded in getting an advance of 100 million rubles on account of the future loan. This was but a drop in the bucket, for the short term bonds issued by Kokovtzev in Berlin were about to fall due. Accordingly I asked Kokovtzev to stop in Berlin and try to obtain an extension of these bonds. This extension he secured for the reason that the German Government was still undecided as to what course I would follow in matters pertaining to Russia's external policy. For though I was instrumental in annulling the monstrous Bjorke agreement, I nevertheless made it clear that I was in favor of a coalition between Russia, Germany and France, which would dominate the whole of Europe, if not the world. If this plan, which was my chief political idea, was not realized, it was because of insufficient political farsightedness on our part and also on the part of Emperor William of Germany. In January, 1906, I decided to push further the negotiations for the loan, which I had initiated in Paris on my way back from the United States. As I could not go abroad, I asked Neutzlin to come to Paris. He arrived on February 2nd and his visit lasted five days. In the course of that period I had several conferences with Neutzlin, and in the presence of the Minister of Finance, Shipov, we agreed upon the terms of the loan. At first, Neutzlin insisted that the loan should not be realized before the opening of the Duma, but I succeeded in convincing him of the undesirability of such an arrangement, and it was agreed that the loan should be effected immediately upon termination of the Algieras conference. It was also agreed that the loan should be as large as possible, so as to enable us to get along for a considerable time without new loans and also in order to cancel the temporary loans

contracted by Kokovtzev in France and Germany. I insisted on 2,750,000,000 francs as the nominal amount of the loan.

"Anticipating upon the course of events, I may say that, owing to the treachery of Germany and of the American syndicate of bankers headed by Morgan we had to reduce the amount to 2,225,000,000 francs—843,750,000 rubles. Neutzlin insisted on six and a quarter per cent., but I would not listen to that rate of interest and it was fixed at six per cent., the loan certificates becoming convertible after ten years."

Count Witte goes on to describe at length the various steps in the negotiations and the obstacles put in the way by Germany on various pretences. He quotes a letter sent by the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Larnsdorf, to the Russian Ambassador, Count Olsten-Sackey, in which the following sentences occur:—

"The German Government is quite aware that certain financial operations of the highest importance to Russia are contingent upon the successful termination of the Algieras conference. Only the carrying out of these operations will enable the Imperial Russian Government to take the necessary measures for the final suppression of the revolutionary movement, which has already shown signs of spreading to the neighboring monarchistic countries."

"He describes how the fall of the Kouvier Government and the succession by Sarrien, in which Poincare was Minister of Finance, delayed negotiations, though the latter favored the loan, then how Neutzlin in his letters show how Poincare was constantly raising the question of the legal right of the Imperial Government to contract a loan without the sanction of the Duma. How, when the Algieras Conference was drawing to a successful close his Majesty appointed Kokovtzev as a special representative empowered to go to Paris and sign the agreement. How Neutzlin went to London to confer with Fischel, German banker of the Mendelssohn firm, Revelstock, representative of the firm of London bankers and Morgan, Sr., of United States and on March 22nd wired him the results of the negotiations. How at the last moment Germany ordered her bankers to refrain from participation in the loan and how Morgan followed suit. And he adds:—

"That American banker enjoyed the German Emperor's favor, and despite his democratic feelings as an American, highly valued the attention of that exalted crowned personage."

"The refusal of Germans and the Americans to participate in the loan had its effect on the English. The Algieras affair was the first manifestation in many years of a growing rapprochement between Russia and England. On April 3rd the loan contract was signed by Kokovtzev as official Russian plenipotentiary and the representatives of the international syndicate of bankers. Several days later the envoys returned to Russia with the text of the contract in their hands. It was transmitted to me and subsequently laid before the financial committee by the Minister of Finance, Shipov. Having examined and ratified it, the committee submitted it to His Majesty for confirmation."

"It was the largest foreign loan in history of modern nations at that date. It enabled Russia to recover after that ill-starred war and the subsequent senseless turmoil known as the Russian revolution. This loan enabled the Imperial Government to weather all the vicissitudes of the period extending from 1906 to 1910 by providing it with funds which, together with the troops recalled from Transbaikalia, restored consistency and assurance to the acts of the government."

This is the history of the Russian loan by the man who was instrumental in floating it. It was primarily for the purpose of putting down the revolution. It did not succeed; it simply postponed that event until social forces should have so shaped themselves that when the revolution did occur ten years later it was invincible. And it is this loan, illegally floated, according to the lenders themselves on the payment of which determines whether Soviet Russia shall be accorded recognition and granted the privilege (!) of sitting down with them at the Economic Council. And blood-soaked, famine stricken Russia, in order to save **Our Revolution** is willing to accept this last cup of bitterness that is pressed to her lips. Could sacrifice go further?

KATHERIN SMITH

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Series Concluded

BY PETER T. LECKIE

WHEN we discussed the subject of Free Will, Buckle was quoted: that we perform certain acts in consequence of some motives as a result of some antecedent causes.

Professor Seligman in his "Economic Interpretation of History" says:

"Although a man is free to steal or not to steal, his acquired characteristics are such that under certain circumstances an honest man will not steal."

"In the case of physical environment the matter is very simple.

While an Eskimo may be perfectly free to go naked, it is no violent stretch of the imagination to assume that no sane Eskimo will do so as long as he remains in the Arctic Region.

When we leave the physical and come to the social environment as we necessarily do in discussing the "Economic Interpretation of History" the essence of the matter is not much changed. The theory of social environment, reduced to its simplest elements, means that even although the individual be morally or intellectually free the range of his choices will be largely influenced by the circumstances, traditions, manners and customs of the society about him.

"I may individually believe in polygamy and may be perfectly free to decide whether to take two wives or one, but if I live outside of Utah the chances are very great, that I shall be so far guided in my decision by law and social customs as to content myself with one wife.

"The common saying that a man's religion is formed for him is another illustration.

"The son of a Mohamedan may become a Christian, but it is safe to predict for the immediate future the vast majority of the Turks will remain Mohamedans. The individual is the unit and may be ideally free. But for individuals living in society the theories that influence progress are social choices."

We saw the downfall of the Roman Empire was economic. "The jealousy of the Capital was aroused by the provinces being drained of money, which was brought to Rome and squandered by the rich. As a result of conspiracies, real or suspected, many yeomen of the middle class were exiled from Italy and their farms went out of cultivation. The exhaustion of the wheat supply drove small farmers into the Capital and the Empire had to depend on importations from Africa. Wealth became monopolized by the few while multitudes were on the verge of starvation. The cruelty of the Emperors caused men to live in a state of apprehension and insecurity; many great families were made destitute by prosecution and confiscation of their property. The unbounded wealth of the rich aroused the envy of the poor and formed dangerous opposition of classes. Official corruption and craze for amusement, indisposed the poor to honest labor and the mighty Empire fell" (from Gorham's Christianity and Civilization.)

Rome was about always engaged in war. When the Roman Army was sending into Italy a continuous stream of slaves, the masters drove them to work naked, and fed them on the cheapest food, housed them in miserable hovels. If the slave became sick he was left to die. It was cheaper to get fresh slaves than to give treatment to the sick.

The Negro slave of America received better treatment because the supply was such that they were of some value, and therefore to lose a slave was a great loss.

At the close of the Roman Republic the slaves formed a nation within a nation. You can form an

idea of their numbers when we learn 10,000 slaves were often sold in one day at the Delic slave market in the second century B.C., and we read of revolts being numerous. The people of the appropriated land were made slaves and, being cheaper than the free labor then existing, they were worked for all they were worth and when exhausted were cast off like dogs to die. The proletarians were thrown upon the streets and highways. Reform laws were attempted to patch things up such as Licinian Law, limiting the number of cattle on the common lands, also the number of free laborers to be proportionate to slave labor employed and alleviation of debtors. This was of no avail as we have Tiberius Gracchus, 100 years later giving a bird's eye view of his country saying:

"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause, having nothing left but air and light, without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children, and the generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for the sepulchres and domestic gods, for among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belongs to his ancestors or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest." (From De Leon's "Two pages of Roman History.")

The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great and they are called masters of the world while they have not a foot of ground to call their own.

The worker is also exalted one day in the year, (Labor Day) when his master talks about the dignity of labor, but their dignity amounts to escaping it. Lecky says: ("History of European Morals")

"The elder Cato, who may be regarded as a type of the Romans of the earlier period, speaks of slaves simply as instruments for obtaining wealth and he encouraged masters both by precept and his example to sell them as useless when aged and infirmed. The marriage of slaves was entirely unrecognised by law and in their case the words adultery and polygamy had no legal meaning. At the close of the Republic the masters had full power to sell their slaves as gladiators."

Slavery lasted in Europe about 800 years after Constantine, but the barbarian conquest of the Roman Empire modified labor conditions. The cessation of barbarian captives, the impoverishment of great families, the need for agriculture to keep up the food supply led to legislation to attach slaves permanently to the land. In course of time the free peasantry as well as the slaves sunk into the qualified slavery of serfdom. Towards the end of the 8th century the sale of slaves beyond their native provinces was in most countries prohibited. In the 12th Century, slaves in Europe were very scarce and were almost unknown in the 14th Century. Many peasants put themselves under the Monks because they were the best masters. Slavery was distinctly and formally recognised by Christianity and no religion ever labored more to encourage a habit of docility, and passive obedience. On Constantine's orders a woman was executed and the slave burned if they had any improper intercourse as their marriage was forbidden. Pope Urban II. gave license to the nobles, to reduce to slavery the wives whom priests had obstinately refused to abandon after the introduction of celibacy. Traffic in the sale of children was prohibited by Diocletian, 284 to 285 A.D. The Council of Rouen in the 9th Century invited women who had secretly borne children to place them at the door of the church. It is probable that they were brought up as slaves or serfs attached to the ecclesiastical properties, for a decree of the Council of Arles in the 5th Century and afterwards a law of Charlemagne had echoed the enactment of Constantine de-

claring that exposed children should be the slaves of their protectors.

The system of settling great numbers of the Barbarian captives upon Italian soil, compelling them to work as slaves, was eventually the cause of the downfall of Rome and the need of food supply brought in the condition of serfdom into which slavery faded.

In Rome's best days the army was recruited from the upper class and the service which lasted only during war was gratuitous. With the decade, military pay was introduced and property qualification for recruits was abolished.

Serfdom, we noticed previously, was introduced into England by William the Conqueror 1066. There we saw how the Manor system with its democracy was broken up by the militarism of feudalism. Then with the growth of trade, the extension of the market from the local to country, then to the national and finally to the world's market was a result of the development of the means of production. Marx was the first to draw our attention to this development. Professor Seligman says in his "Economic Interpretation of History"

"After ascribing how the Guild System of industry gave way to the modern industrial system based on the world's market and on the revolution in industrial production, Marx points out the bourgeoisie, in revolutionizing the methods of production, alters with them the whole character of society, and displaces feudalism with modern conditions. At the present day this is a truism; but at the time the manifesto appeared it was a novel and striking conception."

P. 45: "But it was not until the publication of volume III of "Capital" 11 years after his death that continental writers realized the significance of the theory . . . since neither his earlier works of 1847 or 1859 nor any of the volumes of "Capital" had been translated into English the English speaking people had only a slight opportunity of grasping the real significance of Marx's theory or its corollaries."

We saw how true this development was by the growth of towns with the factory system of dividing up the work of crafts into simple detail operations, known as divisional labor. Not until the laborer performed one simple task could the machine be introduced to displace him, and as the machines became bigger and greater the power used to move them was transferred from the animal power, the water wheel and windmills to the steam engine. The invention of one machine led to the necessity of another as we saw the powerloom's demand for increased production of yarn brought about the invention of the spinning jenny, so that every branch of industry was compelled to improve its means of production in order to keep step with the need of raw material or the consumption of raw material, for instance, the improved spinning of yarn led to better and faster looms, the steam engine led to better method of digging coal and so on all through the various industries. The weaver with his loom at home and his cottage with its large garden was forced to abandon them and go to the factory. His women folks who spun the yarn and made the clothes had now also to leave home. The skill was eliminated and they now became factory hands or machine tenders, therefore, ushered in was the great factory system with the competition of the worker keen because of women and child labor. The history of the factory system of England is a history of the industrial slavery of women and children, with the earnings of the whole family giving a subsistence instead of the father being the breadwinner.

We have seen the free trade and tariff question a struggle between sections of the master class for an advantage over their competitors. We have seen how their ideas have changed according to their ec-

onomic interests, as illustrated in the civil war of the United States.

Meighen, in one of his election addresses said that people had not read or if they had read history misunderstood it if they maintained that free trade was a farmer policy. I think we can safely say he didn't understand the dominant economic factor in history when he utters such stuff as that.

If we look at history we find the manufacturers of Britain were Free Traders while the other countries were Protectionists. If we look back at the farmer of Britain he is a protectionist while the Canadian farmer is a Free Trader! How do we account for this contrary opinion of these classes in the two countries? The Capitalists of Britain discovered that the corn law increased the living of the worker and fought for its abolition which realized a reduction in wages. Britain, being a country that depended on foodstuffs from abroad, had to have it, tariff or no tariff. The farmer could add the price of the tariff to the home grown corn as long as the tariff remained. The landowning class could collect more ground rent and therefore he was interested in a tariff. The worker only receiving in wages what it takes to live, it was to the economic interest of the individual capitalists of Britain to have free trade not only for cheap foodstuffs but also for cheap raw material.

The Canadian Farmer being an exporter of foodstuffs and a purchaser of machinery which is produced abroad, has no need of protection on either corn or machinery. He wants cheap machinery and he is not met with competition from abroad in agricultural produce.

We find the agriculturalists of Italy shouting for a tariff because of foreign competition and the manufacturers also wanting a tariff on machines, but not on food stuffs.

Therefore we see how to analyze the different motives of different countries in regard to their tariff policies, once we grasp the Marxian method of looking at history.

I pointed out how the various interests expressed in the peaceful methods of penetration of foreign lands, when the textile industry was the dominant class in government, how we entered the iron stage of capitalism with the war as a consequence, and now we have entered into the phase of a combination of iron and oil because oil is the dominating fuel used in the engines of warfare on land, sea and air.

No matter what the so called Great Men will agree about at Washington, when the economic conditions change, as they are constantly changing, the attempt to reconcile the economic antagonisms of the various nations will once again break out in force, unless the workers are intelligent enough to grasp the situation and steer the State Ship to harbor of Socialism and Communism, there to be dismantled and replaced by an executive of the workers, not to govern but to administer things, and in conclusion, while we have been treated to the visit of these Great Men let me quote Professor Seligman on this subject. I endeavored to show its weakness in our first lesson. Seligman says:

"The effects ascribed to great men are often largely the result of forces, of which they were only the chance vehicles. Caesar erected the Roman Empire but the empire would undoubtedly have come ultimately without Caesar.

"Napoleon for the time transformed the face of Europe, but the France of today would in all probability have been in its essentials the same had Napoleon never lived. Washington and Lincoln assuredly exercised the most profound influence on their time, but it is scarcely open to doubt that in the end the Revolution would have succeeded though Washington and Lincoln had never existed. While his appearance at a particular moment appears to us as a matter of chance, the great man influences society only when society is in need of him. If society is not ready, he is called, not a great man, but a visionary failure . . . the great man can permanently succeed, only if the social environment is ripe."

When Seligman deals with various historians he says:

"That Rousseau was not a profound historical

scholar is to put it mildly. Others, like Leasing in his "Education of Humanity," and Herder in his "Ideas on the Philosophy of History" were too much under the domination of the theistic conception to give much impetus to a newer movement of thought, even although Herder in Germany and Ferguson in Scotland may be called in some respects a forerunner of anthropological investigations.

"Huxley as well as many of the German writers has pointed out that Kant in his "Idea of Universal History," anticipated many of the modern doctrines of evolution, but even Kant was not sufficiently emancipated from the theology of the age to take a strictly scientific view of the subject."

"Hegel's "Philosophy of History" is too subtle for general acceptance and reached the high water mark of the "Idealistic Interpretation." Benjamin Kidd's "Religious Interpretation of History," even in the modified form, has found few adherents.

"The political interpretation of history which can be traced back to Aristotle is a result of putting the cart before the horse. Political change has been repeatedly shown as but a secondary phenomenon. With the failure of these attempts of a more or less idealistic nature, the way was prepared for the physical interpretation which is associated with Buckle. Buckle failed to explain the distinction of wealth that had been advanced a decade before by another writer who was destined to become far more famous and influential.

"Karl Marx enjoyed some qualifications which were denied to Buckle. Buckle was indeed well abreast of the foreign as well as the English literature on history and natural science, but his economic views were well in accord with those of the prevalent school in England. These principles so completely lack the evolutionary point of view as to preclude a historical treatment of society.

"Karl Marx, on the other hand, possessed the philosophical and scientific equipment of a German University graduate, but found himself in direct and unqualified opposition to the teaching of the professional economists. While Buckle contented himself with pointing how the physical forces affect production of wealth, Marx addressed himself to the larger task of showing how the whole structure of society is modified by the relations of social classes and how these relations are themselves dependent on antecedent economic changes."

He then gives an outline of Marx and the other thinkers of his time like Feuerbach who exerted a profound influence.

P. 23. "Marx was not at first specially well versed in natural science, the naturalism of Feuerbach combined with the conception of process in the dialectic of Hegel led Marx finally to the theory 'that all social institutions are the result of growth and that the causes of this growth are to be sought not in the idea, but in the material conditions. Greece and Roman history is to be explained in the light of this fact.'

"It was Marx too, who first disclosed the economic forces which were chiefly responsible for the political changes of the middle of the nineteenth century and finally, why Marx had originally devoted comparatively little attention to primitive civilization, we know now that in his manuscript notes he applied his doctrine in a suggestive way to the very stages of social evolution. These notes are used by Engels in his "Origin of the Family."

"Marx has made good their main contention with Morgan's whose importance was not recognised until Marx and Engel's took the matter up (meaning "Ancient Society.")

P. 77. "In Greece and Rome and in the Teutonic Races of the middle ages this transition is a matter of record, but no one before Morgan and Engels had been able to explain it intelligently."

That is the expression of Professor Seligman on the ability of Karl Marx and, remember, he says he is no Socialist.

I heard one professor say that the Marxian theory was on the shelf covered with dust but at discussion time I tackled his philosophy with that of Marx and pointed out that Marx's works were being taken down off the shelf and the dust removed.

Fellow-workers: If I have aroused some interest in these lessons on history to encourage the removal of the dust by taking down Marx's work from the shelf, my endeavour and toil has not been wasted.

Yours in the movement,
Peter T. Leekie.

FOUR YEARS' ACTIVITY OF THE MOSCOW REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

A member of the "Isvestia" staff had an interview with Smirnow president of the Moscow revolutionary tribunal who made the following communication on the four years' activity of the Moscow revolutionary tribunal:

In the period of 1918—1921 750 cases were heard in public sitting (162 in 1918, 194 in 1919, 236 in 1920 and 164 in the first eight months of 1921). In all 2882 persons were accused of whom 580 were acquitted and 2402 sentenced.

In 1918 24.2% of the accused were sentenced for counter-revolution, in 1919 only 14.4%.

In 1918 29.8% were sentenced for speculation and profiteering; in 1920 53.7% for the same offence.

During four years 76.3% of all accused were sentenced for abuse of office, counter-revolution and speculation and only 23.7% for other offences, such as counterfeiting, brigandage, fraud and embezzlement.

It is interesting to examine the social position of the accused (the pre-revolution social position of course). There were: clergymen 16, merchants and manufacturers 265, home workers and artisans 80, members of the free professions 249, state employees and soldiers 211.

Employees in commerce and industry: brain workers 580, workers 523, peasants 183, without any particular profession or employment 95.

This shows that only 29.4% of the accused belong to the proletariat.

As to penalties, the sentences were:

Death by shooting	178	7.4%
To be confined in concentration camps	216	9.0%
To forced labor with deprivation of personal liberty	1036	43.1%
To forced labor with deprivation of personal liberty	177	7.4%
To conditional imprisonment	476	19.8%
To other penalties	319	13.3%
Total	2402	100.0%

Of the 178 sentenced to death, 10 were sentenced for counter-revolution, 46 for abuse of office (30 for bribery and corruption), 74 for robbery, 14 for speculation and 34 for divers crimes (murder, counterfeiting, banditism, fraud, embezzlement).

The majority of the accused were sentenced to compulsory labor. The accused whose sentences came under the heading "other penalties," were mostly sentenced to public censure, loss of the right to occupy public posts, loss of political rights, confiscation of property, expulsion from the territory of the R. S. F. S. R.

The death sentences of the Moscow Tribunal were not all executed, and many compulsory labor sentences were reduced in term.

The amnesties softened the punishment of 887 convicts, 239 of who went entirely free, 102 sentenced to compulsory labor with deprivation of personal liberty got compulsory labor without deprivation of liberty, the term of 379 prisoners was reduced to five years and 167 prisoners got reductions of one-third, one-half and two-thirds of their terms respectively.

Among the prisoners whose term was reduced to five years there were many who had been sentenced to ten, fifteen and twenty years' compulsory labor.

—Rosta Wien

NOTE CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Send all mail to—

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Vancouver, B. C.

(Exchanges please adjust to suit)

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MARXIAN SOCIALISM
BOOK I.—By H. RAHM
50 cents per copy; \$3.50 per 10.

HERE AND NOW

We approach our task, Here and Now, with a measure of confidence this issue, and a glance at Comrade Kirk's skillful strategy in another column will show the reason why.

Now that Kirk brings his pen to our aid we give our readers fair warning that he's of a very abusive nature and he will stop short at nothing to gain his point. The only possible hope for your future peace of mind, if you would avoid anathema, excommunication and positive discomfort, is to fall in with his proposals and see to it that they are carried out to the letter.

At the present time, here in Canada as elsewhere, the policies of the confusionists are at work, and the "Clarion" point of view is needed more than ever. Our guess is far out if time does not justify that point of view and that is, in the main, that our immediate business in life is to make Socialists and, in the words of the late D. G. McKenzie, to "make them good and red." The policy makers and program manufacturers may go their way. Illusion is their stock-in-trade. Our business is to educate the working class, not to treat them as sheep to be led.

Our support must come from those who are in accord with our point of view. We need it now.

Here follows our record since last issue:—

Following \$1 each: T. G. Brown, E. W. Ellis, W. G. Kievel, T. Richardson, T. De Mott, J. Klein, E. G. Cummings, Harry Judd, C. A. Stein.

Following \$2 each: W. R. Lewin, R. A. Walker (Florida), J. Young, F. J. McNey, J. R. Wilkinson.

Frank Cassidy \$3; R. Gardner \$5; Marshall Erwin \$4; J. Howard 50 cents; J. Beeray \$1.50; W. Heare \$6; H. Adie \$3.

Above, Clarion subs. from 13th to 26th January, inclusive, total \$42.00.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

J. Mitchell \$5; J. A. B. \$5; Mrs. Griffith 50 cents; F. J. McNey \$3.

Above C. M. F. contributions from 13th to 26th January inclusive, total \$13.50.

FRANK CASSIDY IN THE EAST

(Continued from page 2)

needed to understand these things in order to more clearly understand the economic and social problems with which society is faced, so that they could be solved intelligently and scientifically."

It seems the faculty of Dalhousie University had been lording it over the local labor bodies in the matter of working class history and so forth, and it seems that Comrade Cassidy joyfully took the situation in hand. Thus:—

Cassidy Ready to Debate With Dal.

"Frank Cassidy, the Pacific Coast orator, is ready to debate any phase of the economic and social problem with any lecturer that Dalhousie or any other educational institution can produce. This fact was made known today when the Labor Economic Group issued a challenge on behalf of Cassidy to the Faculty of Dalhousie College to select a representative to meet Cassidy on the public platform.

"It is not learned yet whether Dalhousie will accept the challenge, but it is hoped the answer will come in time so that the debate can be advertised, as it has created a great deal of interest among the workers of Halifax.

"Mr. Cassidy, interviewed by The Citizen, said he hoped the debate could be arranged, as he expects to leave next week, but if the Faculty would desire a day or two to perfect arrangements he would gladly wait over a couple of days."

What the result was, or whether there was any we do not know.

We are expecting Frank to be on his way back now across the continent. He will not come direct on the non-stop plan, but will jump off at various points and stay awhile, for there is some real educational work to be done in places where there is nothing now but wind and fireworks.

One of these days Frank will give us a written history of his tour; he's been too busy to do it up to date. On our roll of honor we have him listed up for the order of "the O'Brien."

THE "WESTERN CLARION" APPEALS TO THE READER.

Buddy, you know how easy it is for an auctioneer to sell "phoney" jewelry to the crowd and leave it with more than the average of profit accruing to himself.

You know, too, how quickly dollars change their habitat when a quack "doctor" starts his "spiel" about the merits of his "cureall" to the social derelicts gathered around him.

It is the same with writers and their productions. The folk who read "fall" just as easy for the dope and brumagin' ware of writers as the other folk do for the gee-gaws of the auctioneer or the poison of the quack.

Books often contain a more potent poison than any ever concocted by a druggist. But, such is the magic of words, the lure of them so great, the critical faculty—employed mostly in destroying the things it does not like—is asleep while the subtle poison enters the mind.

The love of the toiling masses for sentiment is so great that those who can supply it (their numbers increase!) can have the purse of this same mass. What a price has been paid for sentiment, and what a price will be paid in future for it!

Buddy, it is strange that sentiment should pay a writer or a speaker better than facts. But such is the case—an ye be a writer, Buddy, nursing an ambition to earn a livelihood from your pen, beware of facts; their presentation has always been attended by tragedy.

Spencer had to "sponge" upon his friends so that his synthetic philosophy could be completed. The publisher had to have security against the risk of printing it. Marx would have starved had not Engels worked to keep him until "Capital" was complete, and the novels of the greatest nincompoops will continue to beat "Capital" in circulation.

Darwin's "Origin of Species," which revolutionized human thought, leading, as it did, to the destruction of misconceptions concerning "creation," "design," beliefs in gods, devils, hells, and heavens, was not printed because the publisher saw in the sale of this work immense profits to himself but because the cost of printing was assured him.

So with the "Western Clarion," whose function is to present facts relating to present social development. For in the minds of the working masses are misconceptions, confused notions, concerning the cause of their miserable condition. And facts alone will destroy these ideas, correct these opinions, then a new point of view will take their place.

Yours is the task, Buddy, of spreading far and wide the facts the "Clarion" at all times presents to the workers.

You must help the staff, consisting of writers and "mailers," extend their sphere of influence. They want a circulation of at least 10,000 before the end of 1922.

If every present reader was to find a new subscriber this circulation could be gained before the end of March. If—ah, there is the rub!

But you can get more than one new subscriber or renewal from an old one, you can get many, Buddy, and to induce you to go after them I am offering you the "Positive Outcome of Philosophy" (Dietzen) and the "Social Revolution" (Kautsky) for a prize and for the Buddy who gets the next highest number the consolation prize of the "Industrial History of England" (Gibbons).

Should two or more readers get the same number then the "judge" will use his discretion and being one those good-natured beggars who hates to see good efforts go unrecognized, you don't need to worry about his judgment. Your list of subscribers must be in by the end of March, as a second competition will start in April.

The "Genoa Conference," which will decide "peace" amongst the nations of the world, or almost immediate war, will be dealt with in the "Clarion" by those who look at such events from a materialistic point of view. This being the most important conference in the long series arranged by the capitalist class it is essential that the workers should understand the significance of this outstanding event.

Now, go to it Buddy!

R. K.

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