

# WESTERN CLARION

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CURRENT  
EVENTS

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HISTORY  
ECONOMIC  
PHILOSOPHY

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FIVE CENTS

## The Farmers' Policy

AS LAID DOWN BY MR. CRERAR

MR. CRERAR, spokesman for the Farmers' movement, like Mr. King, leader of the Liberal Party, is attempting to turn to the advantage of his movement the general discontent prevailing in Canada by directing it into a channel of animosity against the party now in power at Ottawa. Unhappily, in the present state of ignorance of those institutional causes, and not the errors of government which lie at the root of present discontent, there are little other prospects than that success may attend the efforts of the two leaders at the approaching election. Not that the present administration is worth preserving from a working class standpoint. All that Mr. Crerar or Mr. King say in condemnation of its tyranny is true, and more, for, neither they nor their party followers have experienced the political terrorism such as has been set in action by that administration against the advanced section of the working class movement.

In fact, neither of the gentlemen are free from the charge of aiding and abetting that terrorism. As to the administration's subservience to the "big" interests, and the general villainess charged against it, suffice it to say as explanation that it is a bourgeois administration of the coarse and chameless "American type."

As for the Liberals, the less they say on that score the better, in view of their own putrid record when in power. The Liberal Party exists no longer on any political reality. It is a political parasite, preying on antediluvian sentiment in Quebec and Ontario, and elsewhere exists merely as the "ins" and "outs" of office. But for the political backwardness of the labor movement in Canada it would long ago have been relegated to a well deserved oblivion.

To the astonishment and even consternation of many people, the Farmers' movement in Canada has quite recently developed remarkable strength. This rapid development is eloquent testimony of the pressure of economic conditions, when a notably individualistic and conservative class is forced into organized activity in furtherance of economic and political aspirations reputed to be radical in their nature—as the radicalism goes that proposes to leave intact the institutions of the present order. But lest some who are expecting much be disappointed, it may be well to point out that agrarian movements are old phenomena in Europe, being as a rule notably reactionary and "safe." In fact, during the critical period in Germany and France, following the cessation of the war, it was the agrarians who saved the day for the old order. Generally, because of his habits of life, the agrarian's political and social outlook is narrow, conservative, and self-centred. Nevertheless, there are features in the agrarian situation on the North American continent which make it necessary that the movement here be estimated on its own merits, though no startling departures from the normal capitalist orthodoxy are to be expected, not for some time at any rate; nor does Mr. Crerar voice any indications of such departure in his long speeches.

It is true that the language is of a high idealistic quality in which Mr. Crerar, speaking for the Farmers' movement, voices its complaints against the existing administration—the corruptions, tyrannies, and its subservience to the big interests that move obscurely in the background of the market and of

governmental policies. It is language fervently addressing itself to purity in political life in the behalf of public interest: "but so are they all, all honorable men"—in the public forum.

If high-sounding phrases and sentimental appeals were alone sufficient to solve community problems under capitalism, even though uttered by good men and true, social life would not now be running in the perilous, and for the underlying populations, distressful course it is today.

In the Great Britain of the latter half of the 19th century we find a forerunner of the movement for free trade, which Mr. Crerar is heading, in the free trade movement of the manufacturing class of capitalists. That movement agitated for the abolition of tax laws on imported corn, a tax which existed for the special benefit of the privileged landed class, at the expense, it was said, of all other sections of the British community. Reading Mr. Crerar's speeches, those who are acquainted with the arguments of the great protagonists of the British movement will see that Cobden, John Bright and other spokesmen of that movement were his intellectual and political forebears, though his voice is but a faint echo of the thunder of their polemics.

In Cobden or Bright we can more than match Mr. Crerar's eloquence, his logic, or the high sentimental appeals in behalf of public interests—yet what has it all availed—the eloquence and the political and economic victory, the free trade policy inaugurated and corn tax on imported foodstuffs struck off the statute books! Is the principle landlordism any the less secure! It is true the landed interest is no longer politically dominant in the State, having, however, only given place in that respect to other even more powerful propertied interests, but security of private holdings in land, to which the community must have access in order to live, has suffered no abatement. What of the toiling masses, after all these years of trial and error? Millions existing on such doles, and such doles, that from one end of the country to the other they riotously and, in the main, what is not the least of the evils of capitalism, blindly protest against their miseries!

It is not here argued on behalf of protectionism, as a fiscal policy, that conditions in Britain are the result of free-trade, but it is contended that that policy is no preventative of such conditions. Such conditions are found to prevail in every country alike where the capitalist system of production for profit prevails, be those countries protectionist or free-trade.

Both free trade and protectionism are fiscal policies adopted as occasion warrants, to aid rivalries of propertied interests in the competitive struggle of capitalism, and the benefits neither one struggle of the other accrue to the working masses. The way or the other accrue to the working masses. The truth is, in no capitalist country in the world are the people a community of interests in the full sense of the term. In all of them, in spite of denial, there are class issues based on conflicting economic interests which find expression on the political field. Mr. Crerar may deny that the Farmers' movement is a class movement on the grounds that because it is the chief industry in Canada that therefore those political measures calculated to benefit that industry must redound to the benefit of the community as a whole. Be that as it may, the fact remains, he is at the head of a distinct economic group within the community, who have marched on to the field as a

unit. It is charged against the protectionist policy that it puts all barriers against the free flow of commodities into the local market, thus preventing the low prices which arise from an abundance on the market. Thus it is claimed that protectionism is in the nature of a sabotage on the community for the benefit of protected interests. That is true enough, in theory, but what avails low prices to a working class whose wages are based on the cost of living and vary with the fluctuations of supply and demand on the labor market?

Significant of the generally overstocked state of the labor market, and hence, as would naturally follow, a decline in the standards of living, is the report of a long and exhaustive enquiry into the American standard of living, published in the September number of the "American Economic Review."

(See the "Pointer for Pre-election Audiences," in last issue of "Clarion.")

The report shows that at the high point in the early part of 1920, wages had hardly returned to better than three-quarters of the 1896 level. Since 1896 much water has run under the bridge. Our productive capacity, through new inventions and improved methods has increased enormously, but it is evident the increased capacity is not benefiting the working class—as it would if our communities were really based upon a community of interest.

What has the Farmers' movement to say to the wage-working class as to its falling standard of living, through the economic and political ideals of Mr. Crerar? The truth is, no more than can be expected from any other capitalist party!

Every last one of his proposed reforms shows that the present system of production for profit is expected to last for ever. Only surplus profits of the farming industry, now going into the pockets of large scale financial and manufacturing industrial interests, must be recovered for the farmer. Those parasite interests are looked upon and correctly, as a charge upon the surplus values produced in the farming industry. The economic ideals of the Farmers' movement, as voiced by Mr. Crerar, are capitalist ideals of profit making; and between the profit maker and wage-labor there is no community of interest other than the one that obtains in all exploiting systems—that the exploiter and the exploited are the two ends of mutually antagonistic poles. As a figure of prominence on the political field, if Mr. Crerar is not on the side of the working class seeking emancipation from their exploitation, which is carried on by means of wage labor, then he is against them and on the side of the exploiter.

The farming class, according to all accounts, have failed to prosper. Mr. Crerar says that "agriculture was never in so difficult or precarious a position as today." Other accounts of that industry in the United States, to go no further, show that the Canadian farmer is not alone in his failure.

At present, the Farmers' movement seems largely animated by the idea that the schemes and machinations of what are called the "big business interests" are responsible for the condition of the farming industry. The trouble, however, lies deeper in the structure of the present economic system. The independent farmer, who did what he liked with his own, is of the past. The modern farmer is caught in the system of credit and the world market, and the system sets for him what he can do with his farm

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# War In the Pacific--What For?

In Two Parts. Part I.  
By ROBERT KIRK

**I**T IS a fact that the development of armaments synchronizes with industrial expansion in all countries. Had not British pirates combined to sweep from the seas the pirates of Spain a rising merchant class in Britain would never have peacefully penetrated a European market.

Had not the forces of Clive rolled back the forces under India's rulers the treasures of the East would never have been spilled in Britain's lap. Had not America's "teapot" boiled over in Boston harbor American independence would still be in the making.

Had not the "mailed fist" of Frederick and Bismarck welded the separate German States into a homogeneous mass there would have been no German Empire.

Had not France, Great Britain, the United States and Japan woke China from its sleep of centuries by war after war capitalism would never have raised its ugly head in the exotic East.

All discussion, then, upon limitation of armament is futile until bourgeois society learns to co-operate in the exploitation of the earth's resources and divide the spoils in proportion to the amount of labor each country contributes.

But the predatory propensities of bourgeois society, as virile now as in the earliest stages of Barbarism, are opposed to any such scheme and its happy solution.

Besides, being purblind, they are already premeditating war which, very readily, may prove the most sanguinary struggle of the Ages and bring about the very thing they seek to avoid.

If the foremost powers are not contemplating war why are they rushing to completion the greatest aggregation of fighting ships ever assembled on the seas?

If, formerly, Britain's main fleet was to protect her merchant ships in European waters—why has it been transferred to the Pacific with its base at Singapore?

Why has the Australian government suddenly discarded a programme for the building of more naval ships in keeping with its magnitude of export trade for one of dock-building and port improvements on an extensive scale, while preparing plans for the conversion of Port Darwin into a naval base, which would bring Singapore in China within 1,000 miles of Australia?

One might very pertinently enquire the reason for the Japanese Cabinet making unusually large appropriations for the army and navy at a time when the financial stress of all countries is palpably evident (776,000,000 yen out of a total budget of 1,600,000,000).

The insular mind of the press cannot answer these questions and governments fear to do so; therefore, we must undertake the task ourselves.

The "Morning Post," a lusty advocate of the political charlatan, Mr. Lloyd George, tells us in a series of articles, "that there are 10,000,000 of a surplus population in the British Isles."

That is to say, there are nearly 3,000,000 workers, with their dependents, for whom there are no jobs and no visible means in the country—under capitalism—for supplying them with one.

That this is so the British Government further confirms in voting £1,000,000 to assist unemployed workers to overseas colonies and dominions; in appropriations amounting to £40,000,000 for loans to these same bodies, for schemes which will provide work to settlers; in financing propaganda which will attract this surplus to Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Unemployment in Great Britain is of no transient character; it grows constantly and becomes more acute with the industrial development of all other countries.

In chief industries, coal, textiles and shipping are

not only affected by the economic consequences of war in Europe but by the industrial expansion of America, Egypt and India; of China and Japan.

These countries have taken the raw materials needful to the production of cotton goods,—materials which formerly they supplied this department of the textile industry of Great Britain with,—and are producing these goods and sell them in a market formerly dominated by Britain.

Moreover, the United States, enriched by war, enters the wool market of Australia as a rival buyer, adds this stock of raw material to that gathered from their own lands and competes as a woollen producer against Great Britain in a world market.

While cheap as British coal owners can obtain coal it is a physical impossibility for them to compete against Germany, France and Poland and still make profits.

The free tonnage in ships and coal from Germany, the immense quantities of coal from the Briey and Saar Basins, from Alsace and Lorraine enables France to sell coal in a European market cheaper than it can be sold at an English pit-head.

While Poland adds to the congestion with coal and minerals from Upper Silesia. Less industrial than agricultural, she can never consume, as Germany does, this material in a further reproductive stage of industry.

There is also the competition from the United States and Japan for the seaborne trade of the world. Which in turn is affected by the use of oil as fuel.

Oil displaces labor; is more combustible than coal; occupies less space, and enables the big shipping combines to pay their stockholders the average rate of interest, even in these times, by the savings thus affected.

Affected as they are by recent world-wide developments, these three industries, supplying, as they did, the means to an existence for a great majority of British workers, and the chief source of income for a propertied class, are the economic causes of unemployment and the rising tide of emigration in Great Britain.

Knowing that British industry must continue to suffer further restrictions in output, the financial capitalists of the country are seeking fresh fields for exploitation. They are more successful in this respect than are the workers in seeking new fields to be exploited in.

Our Peter T. Leckie quotes the "Sunday Chronicle" as follows:—

"American oil men see the danger ahead:—they are therefore scouring the world for new oilfields; only to find that British enterprise has nearly everywhere been ahead of them and that the control of almost all the most promising properties is in British hands.

"The part of the oil industry belonged to America; its present is predominantly under her control; but its future, if we play our cards well, should be, and will be, British.

"America is not going to see her old supremacy in the oil world pass without a struggle; that she will fight hard and long to prevent the British concessions in Mexico, Central and South America from remaining in our hands; and this question of oil is going to prove one of the most contentious that has ever arisen between the two countries."

Besides oil there is Asia to be exploited. And China just breaking through the chrysalis of feudalism to capitalism is the "last great market" to be fought for.

Britain, France, the United States and Japan are all contenders for this market.

"Up to the outbreak of war between China and Japan the interest of the American people in the politics of the Far East had been languid. Now it became keener and it was quickly stimulated by the acquisition of the Philippines and by the independent revival of American trade.

"The United States had never ceased to make large purchases from China, and in 1880 its imports from that country amounted to \$22,000,000, but its exports to her were barely over £1,000,000. In 1890 exports began to catch up with imports, . . . and in 1900 when the imports had risen to \$27,000,000 exports had grown to \$15,250,000. Then in 1902 exports at last exceeded imports.

"This rapid increase in the sale of American goods . . .

made it incumbent on the nation to follow with more attention what was going on in the Far East.

"And above all to determine what course to adopt in reference to the break up of the Chinese Empire, which then seemed imminent. Several of the European powers seemed bent on the partition of China, and when Great Britain and Japan, who were opposed to it, had taken care to mark off a sphere of interest for themselves in order that if the worst should befall, they might not come out empty-handed.

"Unable to prevent and unwilling to take part in a division of this sort, the United States fell back on the principle of the 'open door.' The move was successful ('United States as a World Power,' Cecil).

"With a population of more than 400,000,000 living on an area less than 5,000,000 square miles; possessing a little over 8,000 miles of railroads; with coal, iron, and oil in greater abundance than any other country in the world, China is ripe for exploitation.

But big as China is, much as it lacks in modern civilization, great as its consumption capacity may be it is not large enough to allow for the complete absorption of capital and commodities that are ready for shipment from Britain, America, France and Japan.

It is this fact that accounts for the conflict of interests between the United States and Japan. For the latter country since the war has become a creditor nation with an immense industrial development.

She looks upon China as the source of cheap raw material which will allow her to retain her position among nations and the field which can absorb an ever increasing volume of capital.

To insure this she has developed a Monroe Doctrine, a priority of interest in China particularly and Asia generally. To maintain this policy she has built up an army and navy that is the equal of the United States and compares very favorably, in strength, with that of Great Britain.

While the United States looks on China as the logical market which can consume the ever-increasing surplus of commodities which the markets north and south of them are not big enough to absorb. And to insure successful penetration to this market and the development of China along western lines Haiti has been fortified; Guam is being dredged for a deep anchorage, and then super-dredgings rushed to completion which, with the big fleet already on the seas, will add force to this act of penetration.

Here are two policies which conflict, the "open door" and a priority of interests; here are economic forces which must clash. But why is Britain aligned with Japan; France, less obviously, with the United States?

The ruling class of Britain, the financial capitalists and the greater industrial groups, recognize that Great Britain is no longer the "workshop of the world"; dependent upon the rest of the world for nearly 63 per cent. of the foodstuffs consumed in the country; lacking in natural resources of wealth, they feel the physical incapacity of the country to increase its industrial development.

But the profits from its present status of development keep coming in and, further augmented by foreign investments, the British capitalist class must have an extensive field for re-investment of this increasing surplus.

By lending aid to Japan, for the purpose of closing the "open door" in China, a field for British capital to be exploited in is given in return. France, on the other hand, has "property rights" in China, and Japanese imperialism is no guarantee that these "rights" are perfectly safe.

French capitalists have acquired a strong army and navy, and considerable political power in Europe; all these are for sale to the highest bidder. Who could pay more than the United States!

The activities of France in Europe since the end of the last war (activities which as "Clarion" readers know have affected Britain's European market), the

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# Concerning Value

## Selling Price and Value—Divergences in Prices of Production.

BY "GEORDIE"

In the course of this discussion it has been, so far, assumed that the "cost price of a commodity is equal to the value of the commodities consumed in its production," and that, therefore, the price of production is equal to the value in the case of commodities produced by the employment of capitals of average composition. This is not strictly true. It will be sufficient on this point to quote this statement from Marx:

"Now, the price of production of a certain commodity is its cost price for the buyer, and this price may pass into other commodities and become an element of their prices. Since the price of production may vary from the value of a commodity, it follows that the cost price of a commodity contains this price of production may also stand above or below that portion of its total value which is formed by the value of the means of production consumed by it."

"Capital," vol. iii p. 194.

For example, let us assume that the manufacture of a certain commodity employs a capital of average organic composition. The cost-price, that is, the expenses of production, of this commodity will include the prices of a certain amount of raw materials of accessories and of machinery. Some or all of these may be the products of capitals having a composition lower or higher than the average and would therefore be bought at prices below or above value. This discrepancy entering into the cost price would pass into the price of production of the finished article, with the result that the price of production would be lower or higher than the value, even in the case of a commodity which is the product of a capital of average composition.

We have also to notice another little matter of some interest in this connection.

Commercial or merchants' capital, of course, brings a profit and, by virtue of the law of the average rate of profit, this profit under competitive conditions, will be, on the average, the same as that yielded by industrial capital. Merchants' capital draws pro rata, according to its proportional mag-

nitude, upon the total fund of surplus value. This it does in spite of the fact that it produces neither value nor surplus value, being merely concerned with the circulation of commodities and the realization of the values produced in the industrial sphere. All this, of course, merely refers to its function of buying and selling. So far as commercial capital is employed in storing, transporting, sorting and packing commodities it is engaged in productive processes in which both value and surplus-value are created through the exploitation of labor. (See Capital vol. III, chap. 18.)

Now, the rate of profit on any given capital is calculated over a certain period, generally one year. On the other hand, certain capitals, by reason of the nature or mode of production of the commodities dealt in, can only be turned over once in a year. There are others which may be turned over many times.

"If," says Marx, "a certain merchants' capital is turned over five times per year, it will add to a commodity-capital of its own value but one-fifth of the profit, which another merchant's capital of the same value, which is turned over but once a year, will add to a commodity-capital of the same value. The same percentage of the commercial profit in different lines of industry, according to the proportions of their times of turn-over, increases the selling prices of commodities by different percentages calculated on their values."

"Capital" vol. iii, page 368.

To illustrate this point: In the examples already given it has been assumed that the average rate of profit was 20 per cent. A merchant employs a certain capital in a business in which it can only be turned over once in a year. For commodities which cost him 100 dollars he will charge 120 dollars. This will give him 20 per cent. per annum on the capital invested. Another merchant invests a similar capital in a business in which, on the average, his capital is turned over five times in a year. This merchant can only charge, for commodities which cost him 100 dollars, a price of 104 dollars. This will give him also a profit of 20 per cent. per annum. The bearing of all this on the present discussion is that there is here a circumstance which may have the effect of still further accentuating a divergence be-

tween selling price and value.

We have so far been dealing with the competitive stage of capitalism. We shall now have to consider the more recent phase in which competition has been largely superseded by monopoly. Before doing so however, it will be well to point out the bearing of the law of value on the foregoing, that is, in what way value governs the price of production and, consequently, selling prices. This is a very simple matter.

In any given period of time there is produced a given quantity of commodities; these have absorbed a given quantity of labor and, consequently have a certain total value. The values of these commodities are expressed in gold prices. The total (gold) prices must, of necessity, equal the total value. Now, according to the productivity of labor and the intensity of exploitation a certain proportion of the total value will consist of surplus-value. The proportion which the total surplus value bears to the total capital employed gives the rate of profit. The surplus-value is distributed pro rata among the various capitals employed, forming a given percentage called the average rate of profit. The total profit must, therefore, equal the total surplus value. Now, the price of production is formed by the cost price plus the average profit. But the rate of profit is a "function" of value. Therefore the law of value governs prices of production which, in turn, determines selling prices.

"No matter what may be the way in which prices are regulated, the result always is the following:

(1) The law of value dominates the movements of prices, since a reduction or increase of the labor-time required for production causes the prices of production to fall or to rise.

(2) The average profit which determines the prices of production must always be approximately equal to that quantity of surplus value which falls to the share of a certain individual capital in its capacity as an aliquot part of the total social capital. Now, since the total value of the commodities regulates the total surplus-value, and thus the level of the average profit and the average rate of profit—always understanding this as a general law, as a principle regulating the fluctuations—it follows that the law of value regulates the prices of production."

"Capital," vol. III page 211.

# Unemployment

Editor's Note.—This article comprises a leaflet issued by Local (Ottawa) No. 8 of the S. P. of C., and serves as an invitation to the workers of Ottawa to attend classes on History and Economics. Classes are held at 26 Wellington Street, near Post Office, Ottawa. The class director is Comrade Peter T. Leckle.

To solve the unemployment question is the greatest problem confronting society today. Your politicians are ignoring the question in their election addresses.

Premier Meighen led you to believe when he returned from the Imperial Conference at London, that this country was more fortunate than any other country, yet at that time, the unemployed of Montreal had little short of a riot to obtain admittance to the Railway Office fighting with one another to obtain employment because of more men than jobs.

Canada's unemployed is estimated at 600,000 with 13% of trade-union members. Britain's 2,000,000 unemployed in the aggregate, looks worse but Canada's percentage would reach 3,000,000 with a population as large as Britain.

The politicians are playing with the Tariff question. The United States are their example as to tariffs, yet 6,000,000 are unemployed in the country to the south of us. The question is world-wide. Belgium has 22% of a membership of 621,000 trade-unionists unemployed. Denmark has 23% unemployed. Sweden has 20% unemployed. France has

1,078,060 unemployed. Poland has 88,000 unemployed.

No matter what form of tariffs exist, or whether it be free-trade Britain, the problem is universal. Therefore, there must be a universal cause.

We have markets glutted with the good things of life, and starvation amidst plenty.

We have idle men and idle machinery.

We are told to work harder to solve the question, when millions cannot even get a job.

WORKERS! what is your position in society?

You are dependent upon an employing class for a livelihood. According to the political economists, "Labour applied to the natural resources, produces all wealth." The wage given you is less than the wealth you produce. The workers who compose the greatest number of consumers are unable to purchase the wealth produced, therefore, the markets become glutted, and as it is no longer profitable to employ you, workers are thrown into the despairing army of the unemployed. You are given the freedom to starve amidst plenty. That is all liberty means to you.

Under capitalism you are just as much a slave as the plantation negro. You are merely bought for a week, or day, or hour, instead of a lifetime. As soon as one master turns you loose, you go begging for another. The black slave never had to do this.

The Capitalist Class owns you because they own the means whereby you live: The land, mines, factories, natural resources, and all the machinery of production. Hence, your labour is sold like every other commodity on the market to the highest bidder, yet your politicians would have you believe the clause in the labour part of the Peace Treaty—"that labour was no longer to be looked upon solely as a commodity." Today, we are told, the next commodity that must come down is LABOUR. The capital class are continually conspiring to keep you down and buy you cheap upon the labour market.

To understand your position more thoroughly, The Socialist Party is opening an Economic and History class, on Tuesday, Nov. 1st, 8 p.m. and every Tuesday all winter, to teach history as a worker should look at it, and economics from the workers' viewpoint. The subject of history will be dealt with from the Economic Interpretation of History of the Karl Marx School.

Economics, like history, will be dealt with from an evolutionary basis:—

Wage—Labour and Capital.

Values—exchange and use.

Money:

Prices, profits, etc.

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## THIRD INTERNATIONAL REFERENDUM

**T**HE D. E. C. of the S. P. of C. have issued a call for the Party vote on the question of affiliation with the Third International.

Party members should be well enough informed on the question at issue. The matter has been thoroughly discussed in open meetings in the various locals and in the Clarion columns. No discrimination has been shown in the matter of printing the various viewpoints presented, and no complaints have reached us on account of bias or personal prejudice in the handling of any article, for or against affiliation in these columns.

The vote will be taken on unconditional affiliation, based upon the twenty-one conditions laid down by the second congress of the Third International, Moscow, August 1920. These conditions of affiliation remain unaltered after the sitting of the third congress 1921, which re-affirmed them. The question is simply for or against affiliation on those conditions.

In issuing the call for the referendum the D. E. C. have no recommendations to make to the Party membership. The vote will be taken by each Local under its own supervision and returns made to the D. E. C. secretary. Locals should see to it that all members are given a fair opportunity to record their votes for or against. There may be some members who will be unable to attend on the meeting night when the vote is called for. Provision should be made for them.

When all returns are in the particulars will be published in these columns.

## SECRETARIAL NOTES

**Local (Vancouver) No. 1.** We are requested by the Secretary of Local No. 1 to state that now that the D. E. C. have called for the vote on the matter of affiliation with the Third International, Local No. 1 will take a roll-call vote on the 13th December. Meetings and organizational work in connection with the elections will prevent Local Vancouver voting on the question before that date. Members unable to attend will have their votes recorded if sent in writing to H. Grand, secretary, Local No. 1, 401 Pender street, east, Vancouver, B. C. on or before 13th December. Just state simply "For affiliation" or "against affiliation." Unconditional affiliation on the basis of the 21 points will govern the referendum.

Comrade J. A. McDonald writes from Australia to say that he is now journeying to New Zealand. His note of activities in Australia will appear in next issue. The following from the "International Communist," will prove interesting to classes elsewhere.

We are pleased to report that the Materialist Conception of History Class, which began on last Thursday, was a great success, having an attendance of over 70. Monday night's class was increased to over 80 students, so we feel confident now that success is assured. Com. McDonald is certainly the most capable teacher that has ever struck Australia, and we can easily understand his reputation in the States.

Other activities are progressing much as usual. On Sunday, Domain dances were especially good, the weather being because a little milder. Paper sellers were mustered in great force. Papers were completely sold out, and many more were taken.

Com. McDonald made his debut on the Domain platform, and had gathered round him a huge and interested audience. Other speakers assisted in bringing the meeting to a successful conclusion.

We are most enthusiastic regarding our classes, because we know that "knowledge is indeed power," and it is something to be proud of that the Sydney Branch of the Communist Party has been successful in organizing the largest classes on scientific subjects ever held in Australia. Next Sunday, Com. McDonald lectures on "The High Cost of Living." Do not miss it!

Speaking of New Zealand—that country, among others, has been made quite safe for democracy. We have always had difficulty in securing delivery of any literature we sent there and now the "Clarion" is under the official ban. Now and then single copies manage to squeeze their way through, but bundles never reach their destination. Clarion writers will understand why Clarion articles reproduced in N. Z. papers are unacknowledged.

Comrade P. T. Leckie has been having a rough time in Ottawa talking to the people on the street corner. Throughout the summer, with the help of a few comrades, he has been trying to hold meetings on the street corners. Such is the general attitude to working class efforts towards education in Ottawa that he and the few comrades with him have been constantly hindered, though not stopped, by the rowdy and respectable elements of that city whose function it is to charge his soap-box and disrupt the meeting. Peter says free-speech and a free-fight go together. Now the winter classes are commencing and it is to be hoped that next summer's open air meetings will benefit from the help of a few recruits.

Speaking of education, a writer in "The B. C. Veteran's Weekly" says:

The Anti-Waste Committee in the Old Country have decided that education costs too much, so they have denounced it at all their meetings. Their argument is that the modern child is not really keen on education; a poor argument, for what healthy child really is until it is taught to be so. Therefore the extensive education of the present day is unnecessary, and anyway the world cannot afford it.

This argument is curious enough had it come from the unintellectual, but when such a brilliant thinker as Doctor Inge, the celebrated Dean of St. Paul's, is on the side of the anti-educationalists, it becomes a serious matter, especially as Dr. Inge treats the subject somewhat flippantly when he says that like liquor in America education should belong to the privileged classes.

The article says further that it is held by some folk that "too much knowledge only leads to discontent."

This must be Dean Inge "at his worst," to quote G. B. Shaw. The "celebrated Dean" doesn't take working-class education very kindly. Working class education by working-class educators means the elimination of the Dean and his kind. That's why it's "too expensive."

Just to remind you: A Clarion sub. costs only one dollar for 20 consecutive issues by mail to your address or to the address of anybody you know who needs introduction to the paths of working class education.

Comrade W. Lewin, secretary Calgary Local reports that Frank Williams will be a candidate for the S. P. of C., probably in Calgary East in the Dominion Election. Subscription lists are issued by Local Calgary No. 86 to raise funds to meet the deposit fee (\$200) and the general expenses incidental in a constituency covering a wide area. A note "To all Comrades," at the head of the subscription list says: "It is precisely when the system hurts us most that the fight against it must be carried on most vigorously. We ask all comrades to place their donations on this list to the end that the opposition of the working class to the subjection imposed on it by modern society be unflinchingly maintained in the coming contest, and the socialist position be explained as widely and fully as possible."

Donations should be sent to the secretary of the Campaign Committee, Wm. R. Lewin, 134 a 9th Ave. West, Calgary, Alta.

## PLENTY AND FAMINE

**Dr. Nansen's Appeal for Russia—Food Rotting While Millions Starve.**

Dr. Nansen, speaking at Manchester, Oct. 7th, said he considered the Russian famine the greatest problem of Europe and the world for the time being. From the reports he received there were between 20 and 30 millions of people at this moment hungry. There were at least ten million lives at stake, and an American Commission which had been in Russia considered that the deaths of between two and three million people this winter could not be prevented.

The need of the district affected was for the provision of something like four million tons of food supplies, chiefly cereals. The Russian Government he said provided they were able to collect the taxes they would be able to gather about half the require-

ments of the famine area, or about two million tons of cereals, and he really thought the Soviet Government were doing all they could to help the people. They were carrying food from Western Russia, where the famine existed. That was the situation in Russia. On the other side, in Canada, there was a crop of six and a half million tons, nearly six millions of which was for export, or three times as much as was needed to save the whole famine-stricken districts of Russia. In the United States farmers had their crops lying decomposing in their stores because they could not get rid of them, and in the Argentine there were large quantities of wheat which could not be sold because the exchange was unfavorable. In that country maize was actually being buried as fuel for locomotives. Yet here they saw fleets of vessels lying idle because they had nothing to carry.

Committees are busy in Canada collecting funds for the purchase of food supplies. Send contributions to Miss A. Schultz, secretary Russian Famine Relief Fund, P. O. Box 3591, Station B, Winnipeg, Man., or to the Clarion office. The following amounts have been received at the Clarion office up to and including 10th Nov. 1921. Further contributions will be acknowledged.

C. Martin \$5; M. W. Smith \$5; Wm. Clarkson \$5; T. B. Miles \$2; H. H. Hanson (collected) \$11; Katherine Smith \$5; C. H. B. \$1; Abe Karme \$1; H. H. Hanson (second contribution, collected) \$10; Dr. Ingulis (collected) \$88. Total \$136.

## HERE AND NOW

Contrasted with the allied war budgets—past and present—or the astronomical figures denoting acquaintanceship between ministers of finance of one country and another, these figures here below look ill nourished, but to us they indicate a "back to normalcy" tendency in Clarion finance which is all to the good.

A little more cheerful growling will do no harm, and our deeper tones are hereby keyed to connect with those delinquents whose subs are on the expired list. If you can find that dollar send it in. We know we'll get it in time, but if you have it send it now—now's the time we need it. (This ought to do for a pathetic appeal for once).

Enter the figures since last issue. Enter the hope also that they do not weaken in issues to come.

Following, \$1 each: Geo. Jamieson, H. Sellens, C. Donner, A. J. Bell, R. B. Swales, D. A. Black, W. S. Matthews, J. McKinley, O. Mengel, A. McKenzie, S. Berry, H. Melho, P. T. Leckie, J. Kirchmann, Edwin S. Robinson, Wm. Murray, J. W. Heaton, P. J. Hunt, J. F. Woloshyn, J. Halle, S. Webster, G. A. Brown, R. Goddard, P. Garvie, J. Johnston, F. W. Parsons, W. Miller, C. Luff, G. Andrews, W. R. Miller, Wm. Allen, D. Louis, S. Lowery, H. Arnold, E. Hallsor, G. Darts, T. Tidlington.

Following \$2 each: T. Unhill, S. Oliver, J. Harrington, C. Martin, F. R. Hallam, W. Orr, E. Antjuutte, L. B. LaMarche, Alex. Shepherd, R. Stevewright, Wm. Olsen.

Sid Earp \$1.50; Jim Lott \$3; J. Doern \$3; Chas. Foster \$5; Frank Cassidy \$4; J. F. Kirk \$1.05; H. Campbell \$2.25; J. Knight, (Frisco Marxian Club) \$7.20; H. G. Mingo \$1.50.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 28th Oct. to 10th Nov., inclusive, total \$90.50.

## DOMINION ELECTION 1921.

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

#### CANDIDATES

#### ALBERTA.

Calgary: Frank Williams.

#### BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Nanaimo: W. A. Pritchard.

Vancouver (3 seats)

Burrard: J. D. Harrington.

Centre: T. O'Conner.

South: J. Kavanagh.

#### MANTIOBA.

Winnipeg Centre: H. M. Bartholomew.

Winnipeg North: R. B. Russell.

Campaign funds are urgently required. Send contributions for Alberta, B. C. or Manitoba to:

W. R. Lewin, 134 a 9th Ave. West,

Calgary, Alberta.

E. MacLeod, 401 Pender St. E.,

Vancouver, B. C.

H. M. Bartholomew, Box 1762

Winnipeg, Man.



# Book Review

## THE FARMERS IN POLITICS

THE FARMERS IN POLITICS—By William Irvine. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto. Cloth. 253 pages.

THIS book has two points of interest to Canadians, which fortunately are met with in the first seven pages. It is printed in Canada and Dr. Bland in the foreword tells us that he questions "if a more constructive and distinctively Canadian contribution has yet been thrown into the discussion of our national problems."

These are great and fundamental truths and, if merely to announce them to a world thirsty for knowledge the book is worth while. The average reader might object to reading over one-third of its 253 pages are meeting with more than a casual mention of the "critic" the book is written about. When he does finally encounter the farmer in politics he is liable to become even more censorious, especially so if he has parted with cash and is seeking information. As that the title might be a sales factor, though a dozen others would better describe the contents.

It is very evidently a 'prentice effort, and starts bravely enough, though somewhat clogged with simile and metaphor; but we soon stub the toes of our understanding upon metaphysical bricks, hidden among flowery and scientific phrases, such as—"Eternal truth refined as gold by fire, will stand every test."

On page 35 we discover much to our concern that "the price of wheat must be fixed when it starts to go up (so that the farmer may not benefit by the advance), while the price of machinery necessary to farming is fixed only when it starts to go down (again, so that the farmer may not benefit by the decrease)." (Emphasis in the original).

No wonder the farmer gets riled.

We are further to understand that religion is again a factor for progress, not in its theological aspect of course, but as "a new social appeal which indicates a reinterpretation of that deeper spiritual truth for which religion stands." Not the religion of yesterday, which no doubt reflected individualism and necessarily so, not the religion of "other worldism," but the "social application of Christian principles." "There is a new note sounding from the pulpits," etc. Quite a lot of this on pp. 51-55, which remembering our author is a parson, we may pass without too deep scrutiny. We know that some parsons are saying daring things to their congregations. But we would to God these persons would read the sources of their "Christian Principles," and understand that any variation to the church practice of yesterday is away from them and not toward them.

Mr. Irvine remarks how easy it is to worship God in church, "But it is not so easy to worship God in a factory or on a lonely homestead." Between this last brother and the bankruptcy of Christianity, there might be some connection. Because Christianity was, is, and ever shall be, in essence, a slave's creed. Anyone who seeks to effect the betterment of slaves must do so outside the principles of Christianity. And further, anyone found worshipping God in a factory would soon be looking for a new master, if not for a new God.

Taking the first part, which deals with "The New Social Order in Perspective," and which forms almost half of the book—it is readable and connected, when dealing in a narrative fashion with political happenings and graft, but immediately any attempt is made to deal with the "New Social Order" we struggle and toil through involved sentences, partly digested and often wholly erroneous scientific findings. An excursion is made into psychology to show that people are either conservative or progressive: "Both types are indispensable to progress. The two are inseparable. Without the conservative element, we would not only be in danger of going back, but we would never develop sufficiently by practice to be prepared for the next step; while without the progressives, society would become static and decadent." p. 60. Just

what is meant we are unable to grasp. The argument is concerned with the party system of politics, and it is well argued that so far as the rank and file of the dominant political parties are concerned, they have no definite reason for their alignment; the principal determining factor being birth and association. They follow the lead of the wealthy sections of society, who determine the policy of the party. We should, then, abjure the party system, and develop the group system. Now we are introduced to Herbert Spencer who, in his "First Principles" traces the evolutionary principle from the simple to the complex "with a thoroughness which carries conviction." Mr. Irvine says: "This evolutionary principle operates in the political realm just as it does in the physical, and that man is blind who cannot see it."

Failure to recognize this has brought both Canada and Great Britain to the verge of bloody revolution." We admit being blind, stone blind in this matter, because Spencer gives the evolutionary principle as a dissipation of motion and a concomitant integration of matter, and that generally, though not always, the direction is from the simple to the complex or, as he prefers to express it, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. We might as well say that failure to recognize this principle has forced the snake to crawl on his belly and man to walk on his legs. But can Mr. Irvine or any other self-styled Spencerian connote the change from Czarist bureaucracy to workers' Soviet as being a change from the simple to the complex—to take but the latest social development. And in what respect is Canada on the verge of a bloody revolution? In the light of the trials at Winnipeg, and other working-class matters, such stupidity, if it be stupidity, cannot be too severely condemned.

Let us pass over the various groupings of parliamentary parties in various countries to another scientific principle:

"The indestructibility of anything that exists is an acknowledged fact of physical science. What passed for destruction with the superficial witness, however, is but the changing of form, or the passing from one state of existence to another. I maintain that this principle of indestructibility is no less true when applied to thought or to the institutions of society, than it is in physics, and that, if this truth were fully realized, governments would no longer attempt by suppression and persecution to destroy new thoughts and new systems; neither would radicals act as though old systems should be destroyed in order to make way for a new."

It certainly is discouraging, as Mr. Irvine goes on to tell us, "that human history has failed to teach this lesson more widely especially as it is written on every page." This is a comfortable doctrine, and is carried along on such illuminating maxims as "truth cannot be destroyed." "Every reformer should abolish the term 'destruction' from his vocabulary." "They who come to destroy come to do the impossible," etc., etc.

It is discouraging that this great lesson of history has not been properly taught. How different, then, would have been the sentiment of the Amaliks, when subjected to the tender mercies of the chosen people of God. How would the Carthaginian mothers have whispered to their starving babes that the Romans could not "destroy" them but merely change them from laughing, crowing infants, into wolf meat. How joyfully would the Albigensians have received the spears, battleaxes and arrows of De Montfort's Christian warriors, or Torquemado's victims blessed that human tiger as he transformed them from sound, sane heretics to hung, drawn, sawn, burned, bleeding, broken and converted crow's meat. The pregnant negro mother disembowelled by an insensate Christian mob; the doomed workers of famine stricken Russia—but why continue—was ever scientific formula used to such an idiotic purpose? The theory of conservation of energy and its resultant indestructibility of matter applied to cosmic processes, and understood to be so applied, is vital to a proper understanding of the universe, but to apply it to human affairs, either social or individual, shows a mind unschooled in science. Destruction is everywhere, blighting, blasting, brutal—of things—not of matter. Spencer's "First Principles" contains an illuminating chapter on this very subject.

It is not wise to take too seriously any analogy we might make to aid our arguments; this Mr. Ir-

vine is guilty of doing frequently, but in justice let us grant that in some instances the lapse is but temporary, as per p. 141.—

"Strange as it may seem, competition itself is the father of co-operation, for competition when carried to a certain point becomes so destructive as to leave co-operation the only alternative to annihilation."

Or again, (p. 143):—

"The destructiveness of modern warfare is such that even the victor loses." (Emphasis ours).

History fares no better than science. We are told to observe "the farmer, like Cincinnatus leaving his plough for the legislative hall." Now that which made Cincinnatus famous was just the reverse. He quit the Dictatorship of Rome at a time when it was particularly dangerous to do so, and returned to the simple life on his Sabine farm.

But we must hurry to the Farmer in Politics. On page 105, under heading of "Economic Necessity" our author asks us a number of questions, all about the farmers' organization; questions which we could well expect him to answer, but which he declines on the ground that to do so would necessitate his writing a book. This we are willing to accept as a proper, valid, and ever-to-be-lauded excuse; so he refers us to Mr. Hopkins Moorhouse's novel "Deep Furrows," for the information we might with justice expect to find in his own book. However, instead, we are treated to a disquisition on the manner in which Canada should have been settled. Coming from an advocate of social laws and their necessary operation, we conceive our author is not consistent. Well then, railroads were built into far off territory while Ontario could very well accommodate the population, to the end that (p. 113)

"the farmer lost the price of freight on the selling price of his wheat, and had to pay the freight on all machinery and other commodities necessary to his life on the farm." Ain't that a shame! But on page 112 we find still further trouble, "all he" (the farmer) "could do was to pay what was asked and take what was given," and again (page 145) "He" (again, the farmer) "had to pay what was asked and take what was offered." This book is peculiar like that; you go reading along, and suddenly you find the same words which assailed your eyes some chapters or pages back,—you fancy you have turned back instead of forward.

But no, dear reader, should you ever read the book be assured you are proceeding ever forward though apparently going backward.

Leaving the farmer, then, paying the freight both ways, let us hurry along. Economic necessity is the subject of discussion, so listen:

"People do not respond to a bread and butter appeal unless starvation stares them in the face. In the absence of bread and butter, bread and butter, of course, is the ideal. Necessities, however, once secured, it then becomes true that man does not live by bread alone; but not until then. It is chiefly for this reason that Marxian Socialism as frequently misrepresented, has met with small success."

Mr. Irvine evidently has small acquaintance with Marx, and struggles manfully with this weighty subject, but in vain. Economic necessity, whatever it may mean, finally turns to a discussion of home life on the farm; not a happy subject, it is true, albeit one which is better suited to our author's limited knowledge. We are told that man in his earliest life engaged in a Hobbesian war, each against each; later, reason dawned, and the tribe resulted, because reason suggested co-operation; competition then arose between tribes, these in turn became a people, and the people grew into the nation. Nations in competition again forced man to still further co-operate and, "The League of Nations is the birth of the idea in its national aspect." (pp. 142-143).

In this development which, up to a point, is "little better than a mob," "The strongest or the most cunning of the herd became the ruler." This ruler was the only individual left, all others disappeared in the mob; then the mob revolted, the individual was lost entirely.

"And so mob rule, or what is commonly called democracy, emerged. The mob still required rulers, of course—and so elected them. The principle difference between the first and second cases was that in the first, the ruler ruled without votes, by his own strength or cunning; while in the second the people voted for and chose their ruler, whose rule thereafter reposed on popular, or 'mob' consent."

(Continued on Page 7)

# Materialist Conception of History

## FOR BEGINNERS

### Lesson 23: Africa (Continued)

By PETER T. LECKIE

**G**REAT interest was aroused in European countries by the entrance of Germany into South West Africa. Great Britain, being occupied in Egypt, was hardly in a position to oppose successfully other nations' enterprises.

The Alliance of Austria and Italy—1881 and 82—gave Germany courage for colonial expansion, but being the last in the field of world policy she could not acquire territory or a coaling station without alarming everybody. The great industrial expansion and overseas trade, the increased need of raw material and food stuffs from abroad, the new hunger of colonies, was a perfect natural process of capitalism with its increased facilities of communication, the steamship, the cable, and wireless installations all tending to annihilate distance.

The Germans, however, had missionaries at work in Southwest Africa as far back as 1842, and several missions were destroyed in the civil war of the natives in 1853. (Hereros and Hottentots).

In 1868 the Prussian Government petitioned the British Government for protection for these missionaries, asking that a British Protectorate be established, particularly over Walfish Bay. This the British Foreign office refused to do, but in 1877 the Governor of Cape Colony persuaded the British Government to annex Namaqualand and take possession of Walfish Bay, but would not extend a protectorate over the whole country as they had too much trouble on their hands in Bechuanaland, a rebellion in Basutoland and several other parts of Africa with the natives.

In February, 1883, Bismarck asked protection for a Bremen merchant. This merchant had bought 150 square miles from a tribal chief in the neighborhood of Angra Pequena, for 200 rifles and 100 dollars. Britain took a long time to answer Bismarck's request.

The British traders having stations on this coast and leases of islands protested to the British Government. One of Her Majesty's ships was sent to the Bay to protect the traders in case of conflict but Germany managed to get possession. The Cape government rushed a bill through parliament to annex this territory, but the home government announced it would not contest the German claims to a protectorate, and before the British authorities had time to occupy the coast north of Angra Pequena Bay where their claims were weak, the German warship took possession of the whole region, England still holding Walfish Bay and the Islands at Germany's ascent. The eastern boundary was fixed in 1890 when England gave Germany Heligoland, and Britain established herself in Nyassaland and Somaliland, while Germany did likewise in East and South West Africa.

The Historian says German South West Africa was a white elephant, yet he adds "one doubts if it will ever be a paying proposition to the Mother Country but from a commercial point of view, however this protectorate is a source of considerable wealth and profit to the merchants of Germany. The sum total of imports and exports of \$2,000,000 in 1899 reached over \$18,000,000 in 1911. Britain agreed to Germany having this to buy off her opposition to her occupation of Egypt."

This Bremen merchant tried the same method to obtain territory in East Africa, but failed, owing to the alertness of the British Government.

This South West Africa incident was preceded in June 1890 by the acceptance of British Protection by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and this protection was recognized by France in return for a British recognition of a French protectorate over Madagascar. All through the nineties, France and Britain were at loggerheads over the stealing of territory in the Sudan, and Lower Niger districts. After three

years of exchanging notes they agreed (in 1898) to a general "divide up" of the different parts of Africa; this agreement was almost upset during the Fashoda incident of 1898. When the French attempted to unite their Congo possessions with their Niger Sudan territories, the claims of Germany and Britain in these territories brought forth complaints which prevented France from accomplishing anything of importance up to 1892.

In 1893 France succeeded in gaining a little more territory and in the same year the last portion of the frontier was worked out by Germany and England to Lake Chad.

England received Yola and Germany Adnamna. The French objected bitterly, vigorously refusing to recognize the treaty until her claims to Baghirni with access to Lake Chad from the South was recognized officially in the German-French treaty, March 15th 1894.

There was great rivalry in Nigeria between Britain, France and Germany in 1884 for territory and trading stations. Great Britain, at length forced, under the pressure of France and Germany's activities, formulated a definite policy of expansion in West Africa and a British Protectorate was proclaimed over the coast region. In 1906 the Native Revenue Proclamation was issued and the Chiefs appointed to collect taxes. The wild payans were assessed a small sum to accustom them to annual payments, while the more advanced payans paid according to their wealth and assessability in return for the protection and security of civilization. The discovery of gold and diamonds, which brought an influx of British and other settlers transformed the social and economic status of the outlying provinces of South Africa, gave Britain a desire to expand further in South Africa. The district of Grigualand, including the chief diamond mints, the ownership of which was in dispute between the Cape and Transvaal authorities was awarded to Britain by the decision of the Lieutenant Governor of Natal and annexed. Then we had the move to unite all South Africa which led to Majuba Hill and the Boer Independence, but Britain maintained supervision over the Boer foreign relations.

The discovery of gold and the increase of trade saw the building of a railway in 1891, completed with outside assistance, from Dunbar to the Transvaal frontier. The Cape Railroad, a sharp competitor, pushed its line to the edge of the Transvaal, by May 22nd, with the assistance of the government and the Orange Free State. Meanwhile the Netherlands South African Company started a railroad from Lourenco Marques on Portuguese territory, which was brought into the Rand in 1894. The Transvaal government which owned a material interest in this line attempted to turn all traffic to this shorter road to the coast, and it was the interference of the British home government that succeeded and secured for the Cape and Natal railways an entrance to the Transvaal on anything like an equal commercial basis. Cecil Rhodes thought Matabeleland and Mashonaland would be a paying venture, because of the mineral and agricultural wealth of that region. He thought it out of the question to persuade the home government to undertake such an extensive policy of expansion. He decided to work out this enterprise by forming a commercial company. A British South African Company was formed; among the original directors were the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Cecil Rhodes and other prominent British financiers. They asked for imperial recognition and protection. The British government issued them a charter (1889) incorporating the company and endowing it with political as well as commercial powers. Again we had native wars and rebellions, and our fellow workers going to war for these commercial interests. This is how the territory of Rhodesia up to Lake Tanganyika was acquired. The output of gold was 288,000 from 1890

to 1898, and by 1912 it was £22,250,000, one company paying a dividend of 30 per cent.

Tobacco growing and agriculture is very profitable, but the historian says it is not a poor man's country, as only settlers who have \$3,500 dollars to \$5,000 are encouraged.

There are large cattle ranches and the chief work of development has been in the hands of large corporations. Copper, lead, coal and asbestos are abundant. This is called South Rhodesia, below the Zambesi river. North Rhodesia above the Zambesi river has great mineral wealth which delivers 12,000 tons of copper annually to Europe (previous to the Great War).

The "Financial News," 9th February, 1918, had a paragraph about the land dispute, whether the unalienated lands of Southern Rhodesia belonged to the natives, the Crown, or the British South African Company. The natives were asserting their claim. A despatch from London, July 29th, 1918, told of the decision of the Privy Council that the dominion of 48,000,000 acres of land in Southern Rhodesia remains in the Crown, but the British South African Company will continue to administer the land and may be reimbursed in financial matters. The "Manchester Guardian" printed a letter, 11th June, 1919, from John H. Harris, of the Aborigines dealing with the claim lodged by the South Gang. He says:

"Fifty-five years ago, the savage monarch Unliffal and his son Lobengula met and formed a strong friendship with the famous missionary Dr. Moffat. Forty-five years later the boy Lobengula became king of the Matabele and believing all white men were as disinterested as Moffat, gave a concession which ultimately came into possession of Cecil Rhodes and the Kimberley doctor, Starr Jameson. These two directors, with their colleagues of the Chartered Company asserted for over 20 years that the concession granted by Lobengula was a land concession, giving to their shareholders, the commercial ownership of every foot of land in Southern Rhodesia, including the forests, gardens and grazing grounds, and even the graveyards of the people. Through the intercession of Lord Harcourt, the claim was submitted in 1914 to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who after four years have given judgment that those lands belong to the British Crown as successor of the deceased Lobengula but that the Company had the right to look to the sales and leases of unalienated land to reimburse them for their necessary and proper administration deficits."

John Harris says further in opposition to compensation being paid the Chartered Company:

"One crucial question arises upon the Matabele and Mashona wars of 1893 and 1896. These wars are now known to have been unnecessary, and cannot therefore properly become a charge upon the Imperial Exchequer. Three factors now established, show how the Imperial government was misled at the time. First Lord Ripon for the Imperial government, so late as 26th August, 1893 cabled: "I should certainly prohibit any offensive movement in the interests of the South African Company." Twelvemonths earlier, Jameson had signed a secret agreement (now available) to invade Matabeleland and give to his 500 fellow invaders considerations potentially exceeding £4,000,000, including land, gold, and half the loot. Not only had he done this but a month earlier he had deliberately cabined the capital allegation that the Matabele had fired on the white man—an allegation proved later to have been without a shadow of truth. The cost of this invasion and the aftermath was about £120,000 and can hardly be regarded as a necessary and proper administrative charge."

Harris goes on to illustrate the expense of the Jameson Raid and all trouble due to it at a cost of £2,500,000 and how the Chartered Company's police which, by article 10 of the Charter were to be retained in Rhodesia for maintenance of order, were being assembled far south of Rhodesia near the Transvaal border. How the High Commissioner enquired if it was true and Rhodes replied with the misstatement, "For the purposes of economy and to protect the railway." He also wired Jameson to make the same statement. Two days later that invading police were at war with the Transvaal. This is the history of the compensation which the Privy Council says should be reimbursed.



When Lobengula discovered how he had been defrauded he wrote to Queen Victoria. The Secretary of State answered in the Queen's name that the Queen wishes Lobengula to understand that Englishmen who have gone to Matabeleland to ask leave to dig for stones have not gone with the Queen's authority and that he should not believe any statements made to that effect. Lobengula continued protesting at the persistence of the white man as having no scruples to take advantage of what was a fraud upon the untutored African. The Charter went through, and the Queen's advisor told Lobengula that it was impossible to exclude the white man, and the Queen had made inquiries as to the persons concerned and was satisfied that they might be trusted to carry out the working of gold in the chief's country without molesting his people, or in anyway interfering with his kraals, gardens or cattle, and it was to his interests to make arrangements with an approved body, etc. etc. Lobengula, by the terms of the document he signed, received \$100 a month for European products, in the shape of rifles and cartridges. When we look over the personell of the Chartered Company we realize why the Queen's note spoke of satisfaction. Herey were some of them. Duke of Abercorn, onetime Lord of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. Duke of Fife, son-in-law of the late King Edward. Cecil Rhodes, member of the Executive of the House of Assembly of Cape Colony. Albert Henry George Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, and Governor General of Canada. Lord Griffon, one time Colonial Secretary of Western Australia and Gibraltar.

The native chief was not long in learning how his cattle and people would be protected. Jamieson with his Loot Committee gave every trooper 9 miles and permission to stake 20 gold claims and the communication provided that the loot be divided half to British South Africa Company and the remainder to officers and men in equal shares.

The natives not only lost land and cattle. The official report of Sir Richard Martin records that:

(A) "Compulsory labor did exist in Matabeleland if not in Mashonaland.

(B) That labor was procured by the various native commissioners for the various requirements of the governments, mining companies and private persons.

(C) "That the native commissioners in the first instance endeavoured to obtain labor through the chiefs but failing this they procured it by force."

"No such abominable scandal" Morel says in his "Black Man's Burden," "as this story reveals, has stained British Colonial records since Burke thundered against the misfeasance of the East India Company." Recommendations as to the future of Northern Rhodesia are up now before the Privy Council with further claims of the British South African Company. The question arose from a petition of the white settlers to have a share in the Government. The territory covers nearly 300,000 square miles.

Its mineral wealth is its greatest asset. General Smuts is desirous of the early admission of Rhodesia into the Union. He says "Her large area and still undeveloped state would make it necessary to promote and accelerate her economic and agricultural development as much as possible.

For that purpose it would be necessary at once to acquire on behalf of the State the chief means of her development, and to acquire the land and railway rights of the Chartered Company. The Union Government would make the necessary financial provision."

Dated at Capt Town Sept. 2nd, 1921.

You never see any struggle over desert lands, and all chartered companies start out with the pretense of uplifting the natives. "The New Statesman" of 27th Sept., 1919 put it very plainly when it said, "Thirty years ago there was not a white land-lord or a white man in British East Africa, and the natives had full rights over the land; today not a single native has any legal right to any land. The British government has removed the Masai from all the richest land (e.g. the Rift Valley) in order to sell it at low prices to the white settlers, and those settlers are now pressing for more expropria-

tion and heavier taxation of the natives, in order that the natives may be forced to work for a wage of 1/4d. a week on land which once belonged to him, but which has been taken from him without compensation and handed over to his white employer."

This has been the method all over Africa in the French Congo and other European colonies, but before leaving Africa I will deal with South Africa and the Boer War in our next lesson.

**THE FARMERS IN POLITICS.**

(Continued from Page 5)

Then we plunge into an analysis of democracy, which deserves to be ranked with Pearson's analysis of space or Marx on value. We need only quote the beginning:

"Democracy as it is may be defined today as a general utterance. I use utterances as expressive of thought, word or deed."

Of course any one acquainted with the development of man knows that the tribal chief was elective, and that increasing complexity of the social relations created hereditary rulers. Mr. Irvine might have discovered that in Spencer's "First Principles," or as minister of the Lord God, he might have observed the principle in operation during the development of the Israelitish tribes, from nomadic warriors to a settled nation.

The analysis of democracy proceeds on the same profound basis as is exemplified in the definition. His "reasons" are like Gratiano's, two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff, you may seek all day ere you find them, and when you find them, they are not worth the search.

We are off into biology now: "The human organism has developed from a simple splotch of protoplasm."

Now we don't like that "splotch," but such gross malapropism is general throughout the book, so we will proceed. It appears that "society is like the human body." It had its social plasma, the simple form which grew into groups. And, arguing for the group system in politics, Mr. Irvine says we cannot very well return to the two party system, any more than we can resolve mankind back to the jelly-fish. Of course not. But society is not an organism, although many analogies have been drawn to that end. However, it remained for Veblen to furnish this social organism with a function hitherto lacking: that organ which expels the waste matter. This he assigns to the church. Accordingly, when society has chewed and digested any great discovery, that which remains, being useless, passes off—through the pulpit; and every time we hear a parson discussing matters of scientific import we are convinced of the justice of this analogy, if we may judge from the condition of the matter—after its passage.

Let us take one more subject and close.

In discussing the "group system" (a vile and inappropriate term) we are invited to review Syndicalism and Bolshevism. Syndicalism, it appears, is an organization—which is comprised of industrial groups. It aims to overthrow the State; each group stands alone. "It's logical outcome would be anarchy." We have not space to quote all, but it is pure balderdash. In contrast to this is "the Bolsheviki with their Soviets." Industries and professions form the basis of the Soviet system, but the logic of the group system is lacking here. The Soviets arrive at rigid State control. With busy steps it takes from the industrial group, leads further from the people, toward autocracy, until it culminates in a distatorship. This becomes as "intolerable and inefficient as private ownership under Czarism."

The Bolsheviki in following the teachings of Marx are in danger of reaching an industrial bureaucracy and a political dictatorship, while the Syndicalists, in adhering to the teaching of Dakumin are heading towards anarchy."

Comment is needless, beyond pointing out that it is incumbent upon Mr. Irvine and his ilk to throw a brick at Russia.

Mr. Irvine tells us that Canada has had 40 years of class government, and that class government must and "can be abolished" (emphasis the original). Between "abolishing" and "destroying" there may be some fine metaphysical distinction that we are unable to grasp, but we have already mentioned his

inconsistency in this respect; the group system will accomplish the abolition of class government without abolishing classes; in fact, through the continued maintenance of classes. Ere we close let us take up this question. On p. 230 we read:

"It is false to hold to a two class theory of society on an economic basis. I maintain this even though Karl Marx denies it. The two classes are supposed to be the haves and the have-nots."

Society, he tells us, can be divided otherwise: "The foolish and the wise, the sick and the healthy, the living and the dead."

Oh, sapient creature, of course it can. "But health, wisdom and life are not to be gained by overthrowing those possessing them."

Of course not. What an epoch-making discovery. But when you come to think of it, the "have-nots," by overthrowing the "haves," can have. A logical conclusion of no little merit in the premises. But Mr. Irvine tells us:

"The fact is that there are a great many economic classes in society. Let us suppose that capital and labor have had their final struggle, and labor has been victorious. What then? There will still be farmers, miners, transportation workers, and a great number of other skilled and unskilled classes in competition with each other over the spoils of capitalism."

Now Mr. Irvine is firmly convinced that these various "classes" could meet, along with the capitalists, in a group system of parliament and settle all things amicably, and with justice to everyone. But abolish the capitalist and nothing could come of it but strife. "The fight, therefore, after the overthrow of capital exploitation would go merrily on even as before."

So here we have discovered a new use for the capitalist; by keeping us fighting him, he prevents us fighting each other.

We will require time to absorb this. Meanwhile as space demands, we must close, regretting extremely that our author did not at least attempt to inform us how the farmers expect, by group, or any other system, to plant wheat at the cost of one dollar and a half a bushel yield basis, pay the freight both ways on everything: pay all the taxes; reaping, threshing, and storage dues, and sell it at one great big iron dollar per bushel.

Mr. Irvine threatens another hook wherein he will deal more thoroughly with the "new form of government." Let us express the hope that he will either undertake a serious study of Marx and of the Russian situation or, in the name of common decency, say nothing about them.

J. HARRINGTON.

Editor's Note.—It is a fact probably unknown to our reviewer that besides being a parson and an author, Mr. Irvine is a politician in "his own right." Whatever may be the measure of his sins as an author and parson, as a politician he measures up to the requirements. At Wimbome, Alberta, October 28th, speaking on his own behalf as Farmer-Labor candidate he made a public statement that the Socialist candidate was backed by the Liberal Party. The implication was evidently in connection with finance. Challenged by some of his audience at a second meeting to substantiate such a statement, Mr. Irvine, of course, failed to do so. It is a plain, ordinary lie, and lies are useful to politicians. Mr. Irvine stands as "The Foe of Privilege, Enemy of Corruption; Champion of Justice." It so happens that Frank Williams, of Local Calgary of the S. P. of C. is the working-class candidate in the same federal riding (East Calgary)—that is he will be if enough money can be raised to pay the deposit and pay for halls for meetings. This will come in nickles and dimes from working class pockets, if it comes at all, and from no other source. It has never been offered from any other source and, needless to say, it would be refused if it had. Mr. Irvine had better keep himself in order and try to tell the truth. This he may manage to do yet in spite of his various professions.

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The interest of the working class lies in getting 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.

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## WAR IN THE PACIFIC—WHAT FOR?

(Continued from Page 2)

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R.K.

## THE FARMERS' POLIOCY.

(Continued from Page 1)

and equipment. Invested wealth in large holdings control the world's industrial system, directly by ownership of plant as in the mechanical industries, or, indirectly through the market as in farming. There lies a natural economic superiority in large holdings of invested wealth in a system of production for sale, for profit. The farmers are a class of comparatively small holders of invested wealth, and consequently are at an unavoidable economic disadvantage. They are caught between the big interests who sell dear, and the big interests who buy cheap. Impressed by the superficial aspects of his situation, the farmer is susceptible to reform. Propaganda, but a mere extended study of the deeper facts of his situation than is possible here, will prove that "so long as the capitalist system lasts, by virtue of the economic laws governing that system, the farmer has nothing to hope for in the way of a substantial improvement in his condition."

At present, the farmers' programme and Mr. Crerar's speeches express the point of view of property owners intent on the acquisition of profits. We can be assured, that so long as the Farmers' movement is motivated by that capitalistic aim, the very lack of success of the industry will tend to drive the farmers into being more eager advocates of a flooded labor market than the more successful capitalists of other industries. The absence from Mr. Crerar's speeches of any catering to the wage-working class is significant. Mr. Crerar, the farmer leader, like the Liberal leader, and the Conservative leader, or their respective party programmes has no message to the workers of deliverance from the institutional state of things under which their only means of existence, their power to labor is, like a chattel, bought and sold under the conditions of supply and demand just like any other commodity. No, the farmer must first be moved by other prepossessions than those of a property owning business class.

Despite the bourgeois programme of the farmers, and the eminently "safe" and orthodox speeches of Mr. Crerar however, the farmers have given striking evidence of antipathy to the business and the "kept" classes generally. That feeling, which they share with other classes of producers, is a straw showing which way the wind blows. The prepossessions of a producing class, under the disciplinary influence of the mechanical processes of modern machine production, tend to rate men and institutions in terms of tangible performance.

With the hard lessons of more experience of the economic and political utilities of capitalism, with the spreading of a scientific point of view and of knowledge, with the growth of the materialistic habits of thought of a producing class, there will develop a movement among the farmers that will rate capitalism for what it is worth from a community standpoint—a movement co-operating with the wage-workers for the inauguration of a social system of production for use instead of for profit.

C.S.

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