

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 898.

NINETEENTH YEAR.

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 1, 1923.

FIVE CENTS

Oil and British-American Rivalry

By G. H. MARTIN

WE are entering the oil age, and the nation which dominates the world's oil resources, will dominate the world.

The Standard Oil Company of America (S.O.C.) in 1920 had assets valued at \$3,000,000,000; and by profiteering and working men on the oilfields 12 hours a day, and seven days a week, its constituent companies have paid large dividends. In 1922 several of them gave stock bonuses of from 200 per cent. to 800 per cent. It is said, now that the S.O.C. has hitched the American Government to its cart, Standard policy has become national policy.

The Royal Dutch Shell combine (R.D.S.) relies upon the British navy to defend its farflung interests, reaching all round the world. As only 40 per cent. of its shares are "Shell," it is a foreign trust but when it decided to absorb the British "Mexican Eagle Oil Co.," in defiance of regulation 30 B.B., the British Government had to suspend its own regulation during the merger.

These two trusts, backed by the American and British Governments are the chief combatants in the struggle for the world's oil resources.

The fight for the distributive trade, has given rise to a new German word, Petroleumverkehrsmonopolisierungsbestrebungen.

At first France tried to exclude the trusts, but finding she was not strong enough, she opened her doors to all, hoping to benefit by competition; so through their subsidiaries the S.O.C., the R.D.S. and the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. (A.P.O.C.) scrambled for French trade. Petrol is being sold below cost in Belgium, where the A.P.O.C. started a price cutting war.

During the war, Mr. Churchill's eastern policy had placed British troops in advantageous positions for occupying oilfields in Persia, Palestine, Russia and Turkey.

Writing in the "Industrial Digest," in 1922, Mr. Paxton Hibben, F.R.G.S., said: "The Baku fields . . . and the Grosny fields . . . were good for over 10,000,000 tons of oil a year . . . It was plainly nothing to sneeze at. Nor indeed has anybody sneezed at it, quite the contrary. When the sound of the last rifle shot died away on November 11th, 1918, those with an eye to the future discerned three vast oil properties to be had for the getting, and one to be negotiated for. The three were in Mesopotamia, Persia, and Russia, and the one that could not exactly be seized, because it was in an allied country, was in Roumania."

British troops occupied the Baku oilfields, but only succeeded in holding them for a short time. Denikin captured the Grosny oilfields, the oil journals rejoiced, and Denikin was awarded the K.C.B. by Britain, but was defeated by the Bolsheviks of Archangel. British troops were sent to Archangel to push through to Kolchak, the "supreme ruler" who was utterly defeated, the British troops had to be withdrawn.

The last North West Russian Government, set up under British protection, was popularly known as the "oil government," because Mr. Lianozov, the Russian oil king, was president, and supplied half

the ministers from his staff.

Mr. Vanderlip said oil was known to exist in Siberia, and American troops were sent to Siberia.

After the Russo-Japanese war, Japan was ceded the southern part of the island of Sakhalin, but the oil was in the northern portion, and in Kamchatka, both of which were occupied by Japanese troops, and three Japanese oil companies started operations.

Baron Wrangel, financed by the "Russo-French Society for the exploitation of South Russia and the Crimea" (Capital 12,000,000 francs) pushed on towards the oilfields, but was defeated before he reached them. He was not awarded the K.C.B. As the American troops had to be withdrawn, other methods were adopted. Mr. Silas Root of the S.O.C. and Mr. Bud Foster of the Maguire Petroleum Co., turned up in Caucasus as Red Cross officers; they did not get the oilfields, but Bud Foster returned to America with a jewelled knife, a present from General Wrangel.

Despite all this, the Russian oilfields remain the property of the first Workers' Republic.

As oil dominates international politics, it occupied a prominent place at the Peace Conference. Russian delegates were allowed to attend the Genoa and "Genoa moved to the Hague" conferences as the Russian oilfields were the chief bone of contention. America decided not to take part, but two S.O.C. representatives arrived, so did Mr. Pierpont Morgan; and Colonel Boyle went for the Shell interests and was followed by their chairman. The Federation of British Industries had two representatives; Mr. P. W. Robson was sent by the Agricultural Machinery Manufacturers, and of course Mr. Leslie Urquhart of the "Russo-Asiatic Consolidated," the "good friend" of Admiral Kolchak, was there; but of the workers, only those of Russia were represented. So much for bourgeois democracy.

The British, French, Belgian companies which had pre-war concessions in Russia, tried to form a united front against the Russians, but the R.D.S. started buying up shares in the Russian companies for a mere song from the impoverished shareholders; the S.O.C. sent a representative to negotiate in Moscow; the "American Barnsdall Corporation" is now working a new field for the Russian Government, the Lucey Rex interests are supplying oil field machinery, and the Sinclair interests have obtained concessions in Sakhalin and Kamchatka.

At the time of the Versailles Conference, the Ruthenes, being a small nation, demanded their independence; but an international oil committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Charles Perkins became very active, and insisted that East and West Galicia could not be separated, as this would form an economic boundary between some of the oil wells and the refineries; so the Ruthenes were given to the Poles.

French finance became dominant in the Polish oil industry, which however did not prosper, partly because some of the companies were formed to sell shares rather than to produce oil, and even dry boreholes were sold to unwary foreigners.

A cry was raised in America, that Britain was trying to obtain control of the world's oil resources.

The British Government held a controlling share in the enterprising Anglo-Persian Oil Co., and it was accused of entering the oil industry under the name "Royal Dutch Shell." American suspicions were increased by the activities of the "British Controlled Oilfields Ltd," which was floated in Canada in 1919, with a capital of \$40,000,000, and started obtaining concessions over huge tracts of land, chiefly in South America; and the vice-president, Sid Edgar Mackay predicted that in ten years time the Americans will spend something like one thousand million dollars for oil controlled by Britain. The American Government set up an enquiry, and President Wilson's oil report stated, that the British Government was excluding aliens from oilfields in the British Empire and trying to obtain control of oilfields in foreign countries. The British Government denied having any monopolistic intentions, sold the blocks of shares it held in the R.D.S., which it said were only purchased to stabilize the exchange, and maintained that its interest in the A.P.O.C. was to secure a supply of oil for the navy. Then foreign secretaries Curzon and Colby exchanged stiff notes, and a diplomatic struggle began, in which forged documents purporting to be signed by Queen Victoria and Lord Salisbury played a part.

There is no oil in Armenia and Britain, France and America all refused the mandate; there is oil in Mesopotamia, Britain obtained the mandate and much trouble.

Sir John Cadman tells us, that "American suspicions of our policy in Mesopotamia found a practical outcome in Central and South America, where British oil concessions began to be blocked or cancelled." France had been promised a zone of influence in Turkey which included the Mosul oilfields, but in the annex to the Sykes-Picot agreement, it was stated that, "all British pre-war concessions should be integrally respected." At San Remo Mr. Lloyd George explained to the French, that the "Turkish Petroleum Co." had a pre-war concession for the oil, so the French were given the Deutsche Bank's interest of 25%, the R.D.S. had 25% and the A.P.O.C. 50%.

Then Sir Charles Greenway, the chairman of the A.P.O.C., said he regarded Mr. Lloyd George as the "greatest of all our British Premiers." The San Remo agreement was the first international agreement to be signed by two oil experts, Sir John Cadman and P. Berthelot.

The R.D.S. wanted to co-operate with the French Government in the management of any petroleum interests which might be reserved for France by the Peace Treaty. Emir Feisal was pushing the troops under General Gouraud towards the Syrian coast, when Lord Curzon said, "Sign the agreement with the Royal Dutch and you shall have Syria"; M. Millerand accepted; Feisal was removed to Mesopotamia and set up as king of Iraq, while the Greeks kept Kemal and his army busy.

America found that she too, had a pre-war concession, obtained by Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester—to build railways in Turkey and exploit the minerals on either side of the line.

One line passed through the Mosul oilfields, so
(Continued on page 2)

* We are attracted by the appearance of this word. We cannot vouch for the spelling. (Ed.)

Opportunity

"MEN," runs the argument, "do not make use of their capacities, do not try to discover or make opportunities, lack initiative to forge ahead, to rise out of the rut, out from the commonality, and become leaders of men." The high-minded ones put forth such argument as it were undisputed truth. In reality it is merely the visionlessness of egotism. Being superficial, it appeals to a cult which dares not venture beyond the superficial. Except that it contains the appearance of fact,—and thereby confuses the unwary—it is not worth confuting. Yet because its vanities might be dispelled before social realities can find lodgment in our minds, we must take the measure of its inanities.

What is an opportunity? And how take advantage of it? An opportunity is the occasion of transient circumstances, permitting of particular advantage. In the sense in which it is used here, it means personal advantage to be derived from the immediate circumstance of our condition. Opportunity, therefore, involves the question of condition. Does our condition, then, offer us the advantage of opportunity?

Our status in society being that of slaves, our conditions of life are entirely dependent on that status. We are born into social conditions which are determined by the particular stage of progress, and hedged about by all the multitudinous conventions of political subjection. We inherit society; we are made by society. We imbibe its viewpoint and govern ourselves by its standards. And although individual peculiarities and tendencies play their part in the totality of social forces, still, in the general aspect of social activities we can no more escape the trammellings of its custom and use than we can live without air. We are slaves by birth. We are not sold into slavery, or reduced to it. It is our political destiny, our share in the present progress of social development. We are slaves by quite natural processes, but not by natural intent. We are slaves by political contrivances, time induced by time condition. We are slaves because a certain section of society own and control the means whereby we live, and from which we are totally debarred—except that the owners thereof can derive advantage from their operation.

The economic laws of individual (or class) ownership curtail the progressive degradation of dispossessed society. Certainly, private ownership has widened the standards of society. But it has also confined them in the arbitrary channels of class. It has heightened the potential of life, and at the same time lowered the actuality of existence. If its rewards are great, they are possible only to the few. If its achievements are commanding, their price is a ruined civilization. And if its ambitions are imposing and imperial, they reflect like the blazing autumn, the spent energies of growth.

These things are not mere declamation. They are the demonstrable facts of daily experience; the common phenomena of our moribund existence. We ask freedom,—and are content with geographical extension. We seek for the bread of equality in life, and are mocked with the stone of equality in law. And because we do not see the distinction, we walk softly before the iron gods of trade, live hardily, and die like a "cadgers powny." Life long we go in company with the spectres of poverty, paralyzed with vagrant toil and monotonous denial; in all that we do, haunted by insecurity. As soon as it is humanly possible our children are set to work. The meagre wages of competitive labor make it necessary; cheap production, imperative. That is why child labor is so common,—so common it does not even raise a ripple on the foetid deeps of our ethic. They do not even go as the native bent of temperament entices. They are driven into the "opportunity" of whatever vocation offers to eke out support for the sacred homes of capital. In company

with their generation they repeat the frothing life struggle of their parents—modified by the gathering bitterness and moral obliquities consequent on the ever increasing potential of abundance, on the one hand, and the piling accumulations of wasted forces on the other. And even at that they stay with the job or become "Jacks," as the machine market determines. The years pass; youth grows into maturity, with all its natural desires and enthusiasms. Maturity sees those desires frustrated and distorted, those enthusiasms blighted and barren in the mirage of capitalist opportunity. Natural vigor declines, and with it the vim of the ideal. Youth and competition force aside the exhausted relics of service, and profit can offer them no place. And after years of enforced thrift, and sabre toothed frugality, they find themselves—the grown children of the poor—broken and prospectless, and in the eyes of bourgeois society, failures. Then along comes the antique idealist with his belief of incentive, and lost opportunity, and unambitious grubbing, mocking, at the life that is the mockery of capital. Where was the lost opportunity? What ruined initiative? What killed incentive? What limited ambition to the sordid thralldom of a job? Capitalist ownership of the social means of life. Capitalist direction of production for profit. Capitalist regulation of the inexhaustible treasures of human creative energy: That is what suffocates society and temporarily, by the class device of political subjection, harnesses the illimitable indomitability of man to the yoke of the purgatorial price system.

Tell me, "ye venerable core," has a dockerman an opportunity to become a shipowner? Will thrift make over a company director? Will ambition elevate a logger to the ownership of a lumber mill? Will it make a miner a coal baron? Will a pipe tender "rise" to the false dignity of Broadway? Has a plain ordinary engineer an opportunity to be general manager of a railroad? Can the teeming hosts of hopeful machine tenders be other than the determinants of their social conditions? What can craftsmanship achieve against the monopoly of big business? Of what avail incentive against the professionalism of high finance? What is the meaning of government and law? Who nominated politicians and presidents? Why? Who became directors and managers? And why? Who gather dividends. And why? Who deal in stocks? Who does the work of the world? Who gathers the fatness of labor, and the magnificence thereof? The opportunist who answers those questions unequivocally will, at the same time, dispose of his "opportunity."

Opportunity in any real sense does not exist. It holds no communion with clock punchers. Here and there, out of the harried millions, a few may painfully struggle to a pitiful competence, but the crumbs that fall from the laden tables of possession is all that bondage can ever acquire of its own. Always there is wealth at the roots of the rainbow; but the trail is white with the bleaching bones of disillusioned adventurers. Always there are the sparkling vistas of tomorrow; but, to slaves, tomorrow lies with the dawn.

Opportunity is the prerogative of the free; of society free of its means of life; free in the conscious security of their unstinted bounty. In that freedom only lies all opportunity, and the unimagined wealth of social enterprise. Not the mere wealth of things only, but carrying in its hands the deeper wealth of social unity. In that freedom, the bourgeois application of the "golden rule": "Do to others as others would do to you—but do it first," shall be meaningless as now is the patriotic chatter of servility. And in that freedom—the social ownership of the social means of life—success will be no longer the ethic of god and his profit, but the unhampered initiative of craftsmanship, eager in the joy of its freedom.

"To discover opportunity," "to forge ahead,"

to "become a leader of men"—that is the tawdry gospel of "success," the shopworn ethic of merchandising. To advocate success is to advocate slavery. "To forge ahead," is to betray the fundamental principles of human unity. "To rise out of the rut" is to rise on the bowed shoulders of servitude. To "discover" opportunity is to appropriate the fruits of social labor. And to "become a leader of men" is to become a leader of a race degraded with the servility of subjection, and debased with the sterility of possession. Leadership, to be real, must envisage the splendor of a people that has lifted itself out of captivity. And when it does that, it will be no longer the sordid mastery of necessitous men, based on possession, but the proud prestige of a social genius, based on knowledge, that, being free to all, and kindred to all, endows all with the soaring wings of creation. R.

OIL AND BRITISH-AMERICAN RIVALRY

America insisted upon an "open door" policy in Mesopotamia, and sent an observer to Lausanne, while Mr. Untermyer urged "the claims of twenty two Turkish Princes and Princesses to the oil fields."

France sent Mr. Franklin Bouillon to make a pact with Kemal, who then wiped up the Greeks, so that this army was free to reconquer Mesopotamia. Britain rushed out troops and gun boats, and asked France and Italy to strengthen their troops in Turkey, but they both replied by withdrawing them. This left Britain with a somewhat precarious hold on the oilfields, especially as Feisul wanted them to clear out of Irak. Now the Angora Government has ratified the Chester concession.

The S.O.C. has also obtained its pre-war concession in Palestine. Persia had been divided before the war into a Russian zone of influence in the North known to contain minerals, a British zone in the south containing oil, and a strip in the centre for the natives. Oil was discovered in the Russian zone, and a Russo-Persian Oil Co. was floated in 1917.

After the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks withdrew the Russian troops from Persia, and restored North Persia to the Persians. Then the British troops were pushed through into North Persia, and in 1920, "North Persia Oils Ltd." (Capital £3,000,000 was floated, with Sir Charles Greenway of the A.P.O.C. as chairman; the Persian army was supplied with British officers, and the Persian Government with a British financial advisor.

A vigorous anti-British propaganda emanated from the American legation at Teheran, which Curzon told Colby to stop; but it proved so successful that the concessions which the Persian Government (Nord Persian Oils Ltd.) obtained by coercion, was offered to the S. O. C., and the British financial advisor has been replaced by an American financial advisor, Mr. Millsbaugh, himself an oil man.

Italy was promised the oily part of Albania, and the S.O.C. obtained a concession for the oilfields; but now at the instigation of the Fascist Government, which desires to emancipate Italy from the domination of foreign oil groups, the Italian Syndicate of Fascist Co-operatives has formed a company to deal in liquid fuel.

South America promises to become a great oil producing country, but the "British Controlled Oilfields Ltd." found they had not the resources to exploit their huge concessions, so despite the boast that here was a "real British company, not a barrel of whose oil should be subjected to alien control," today both the R.D.S. and the S.O.C. are working on its concessions.

What will be the end of this oil struggle in which thousands of natives have been slaughtered in Russia, Turkey, Persia, Syria, Mexico, and elsewhere, and which was one of the chief causes of the last war? Sir John Cadman of the A.P.O.C. sug-

gests that it may end in co-operation. But Sir John Cadman was only endeavouring to smooth away the growing differences between English and American interests. Co-operation they may achieve against the workers of Russia, but co-operation to supply fuel for essentially rival navies is a contradiction that cannot be removed by capitalist states. So the workers see a consortium formed which unites

the oil interests in their attacks on Russian workers, but they see at the same time English and American Governments defending each other's oil magnates. Before these governments find a passive defence inadequate to protect the profits of the oil mongers,—let the workers remove the obstacles which prevent real co-operation in the production of a vital fuel.—“Imprecorr.”

day among the ruins of nations, there will be some who will remember, and they will say France was the cause.

France (furiously): Cause! I! Am I to blame for what has happened? Have I a free choice in the matter, or is my course, like that of the individual, determined by circumstances over which I have no control?

Myself: You argue well, madam, but it is the argument of people who will not think about reflex action. Even though you succeed in forcing Germany to give you a share in her material resources, you cannot make the world buy. Nor could you get rich by making Europe an exclusive market for Franco-German goods. It is not more wealth that the people of the world in general and Europe in particular need, it is the charge upon wealth that needs to be reduced. And this step, madam, that you have taken, it is more likely to increase the charge upon industry.

France (puzzled): I do not comprehend! But prophets are cheap, they have always been cheap. Go back to school, monsieur, you are too young—(rising). This interview must end here.

To the Reader.—The presentation of this subject in its present form may lend itself to misinterpretation, but the purpose of the writer, who is neither pro-French nor anti-British, is to offset the propaganda of newspapers, which is obviously intended to produce a “war psychology” in time.

R. KIRK.

K. K. K. AND THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

MAX ROSE, speaker for the Proletarian Party, who, with his wife, was seized by a mob of Ku Klux Klansmen actively assisted by a large squad of city police at a street meeting in Toledo, Ohio, Tuesday night, August 7th, taken in automobiles 23 miles out of town and rescued from being hanged only by the last minute intervention of a policeman in the mob, will bring suit for damages against the city of Toledo, according to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Rose and his wife were scheduled to speak last Tuesday night at an open-air mass meeting in Toledo with five other speakers, three of whom were Rationalists, one a member of the I. W. W. and one a member of the Workers' Party. A crowd of 5,000, among whom were members of the American Legion, and the Ku Klux Klan gathered at the meeting, which proceeded peacefully until Mrs. Rose got up to speak. As soon as she began to speak five automobiles loaded with Ku Klux Klansmen and city police in uniform came upon the scene. They forced their way through the crowd, seized Rose and his wife and threw them into the waiting automobiles. Pistols were stuck into Rose's face as the automobiles, with sirens shrieking, rushed down the main street and out into the country.

When the lynching party had proceeded about 23 miles out of town Rose was taken out and a rope put around his neck. He was then searched and robbed of \$100.30 which he had in his pockets at the time. At this an old policeman, unable to withstand the pleading of Mrs. Rose, protested: “Petty larceny, too, eh? This thing is going too far. I thought it was only a kidnapping party, not a hanging.”

When the “citizens” heard this, their decision to hang Rose wavered. Then the policeman, gathering courage, declared: “If you hang this man you'll have to hang me, too, or I'll tell the whole story when I get back.”

The mob, in which Rose could identify a police lieutenant, the prosecuting attorney, two police sergeants and a Toledo lawyer, then held a hurried consultation and decided not to hang Rose. Instead, he was forced to sign a schoolboy declaration pledging allegiance to “this flag and the republic for which it stands.” The mob then drove away leaving Rose and his wife, who had become hysterical, to walk back the 23 miles to town. As a result of the lynching bee, Mrs. Rose's health today is in a serious condition.

What France Proposes to Do With Germany

An Exclusive Interview, by Myself

(I was ushered into a palatial chamber in which France stood in front of an open window looking out upon a busy scene of workers and time servers.)

France: You are—Monsieur?

Myself (interrupting): A student, Madam, a humble student of history.

France: Hm! and your business—here?

Myself (nervously): I am trying to discover, if possible, your real intentions toward Germany, and to make them known to the people of other countries, who are obsessed with the belief that you desire to ruin Germany; that, blind to all but your own material interest, you wish to rule Europe. I am convinced. . . . if the world did but know the truth, a great change could be wrought in its opinion. If you were to tell me this, I could become as famous as the man who tried to set the world at peace.

France (seating herself, a faint smile breaking the thin, delicate lines of her mouth): Since there have always been Quixotes, I suppose there must also be Panzas. You want to hear my side of the case from me?

Myself: Exactly, madam, but I would prefer to have your answer to certain questions which would bring this interview quickly to the desired end.

France: Proceed, Monsieur.

Myself: Did you take a legal step when you occupied the Ruhr?

France (note ascending): Legal! Monsieur, that has been the time honored custom among nations.

Myself (interrupting what I thought would be a defence of the popular theory concerning such matters): I do not mean you to take the common point of view in this case,—that all helpless and backward countries,—for example, Haiti, San Domingo, Mesopotamia, or China,—must serve the interest of the more advanced, the powerful. Did you act in agreement with your friends, the Allies, and according to the Treaty of Versailles?

France (playfully): You are so innocent, Monsieur—it is a pity. The question, I am afraid, is one over which there can only be interminable quibbles for the time servers and posturers. In occupying the Ruhr, I did what we had all agreed to do in 1921, to act together, but which was impossible— for joint action, in 1923.

Myself: Impossible! But you did take mutual action in other parts of German territory, after the London Ultimatum in 1921; why not in the Ruhr?

France: Monsieur, it is not for me to answer that question.

Myself (abashed by the squareness of her reply): What was your purpose, then, in seizing the Ruhr mines and railroads; did you think you could force Germany to pay reparations?

France: Yes.

Myself: Events, since your occupation, have shown that you have not succeeded, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that you could have anticipated these; Why do you still persist?

France: No one has suffered more than myself. No one has more obligations than myself. How can I be compensated? How can I meet the demands of

my creditors, if not out of German industry? No nation has had to practice more economy, because of agricultural and industrial needs; no people are poorer; no industries more heavily taxed. Yet, you must know, Monsieur, that there is a point beyond which people as well as industries must collapse. I am reaching that point rapidly. There is no other way to get relief except from German industry.

Myself: Admitting that all this is true, can you not see that it is the old method you are resorting to, to rob Peter in order to pay Paul?

France: Monsieur, you are very young—it is a pity. What I am doing is not robbery unless robbery be the common practice of nations, the general order of life and the scheme of creation, in which case robbery loses its meaning. You trifle, monsieur, with a serious subject and unless you can remember your position here I must dismiss you.

Myself (humiliated): Madam, I will take back my words, I do not wish to give offence. But the reparations, have they not been proved to be beyond the resources of Germany to pay; and even were it possible for her to pay, it would only be at the expense of industry everywhere? You can not take a pail of water from the Mediterranean without affecting the position of every water atom in the Aegean Sea; no more can you take reparations from Germany without affecting the price of all commodities in the world market and, incidentally, the whole industrial life of nations. Even your own experts on this matter will so inform you.

France: Monsieur, your tongue wags too freely. You desired to hear a declaration of my intentions toward Germany; instead of which I have listened patiently to you. Do not again remind me of reparations— which no one wants, except the time servers and posturers as something to wrangle over. What I am doing with Germany is what the larger capitalist does with the smaller fry every so often; I am reducing Germany to a condition in which she must submit to my terms. In her industries and resources only can I compensate myself for all injuries.

Myself: But what of these other countries, they have suffered too; shall they not also be justified in asking a share in Germany's resources?

France: You would preach, Monsieur, and like all preachers you forget the urge of necessity. The needs of others, however pressing they may be, are not my needs. The industrial life of my people needs to be renewed, my entrepreneurs must find a wider field for their activities, and the burden of the taxpayers lightened as much as possible. Can my army and navy and air force be sustained forever out of the meagre resources of this country? They cannot; therefore, I am forced to take these measures towards Germany.

Myself: But in the end shall you not engender a hatred which will provoke another war; and would not such a war prove more costly than if you were to give up your present design?

France: Monsieur, what is, is, and what will be, will be. No matter when such a war comes, no matter what its result may be, or who shall prove the victor, I shall suffer no less than my enemy.

Myself: Madam, like the man who came to settle the problems of little nations, I go back from here unable to set the mind of the world at peace. It is a pity, as you have previously remarked. Some

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor.....Ewen MacLeod

SUBSCRIPTION:

Canada, 20 issues \$1.00
Foreign, 16 issues \$1.00

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subscription expires with next issue. Renew
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VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 1, 1923.

MORE NOTES.

WORLD attention is now centred upon the note exchanges between the Baldwin and Poincare ministries, and war talk is now more common than it was in 1914. It is plain to see the economic causes of war, and in the same way a reading of the press reports wherein the good reasons for peace are set forth indicates, in spite of the human touches, the economic causes of peace—so long as it lasts.

It is common talk that instead of or second to reparations France wants the Ruhr area as an industrial complement to Lorraine—an area which in 1871 held 38 blast furnaces with an annual output of 200,000 tons, and which in 1918 held 68 up-to-date blast furnaces with an annual producing capacity of almost four million tons. The result is that in order to maintain this output in Lorraine France must get her coke where Germany got it—in the Ruhr—and so her forces are now in occupation of that area.

The actual progress of the matter is not so smooth-running as a simple explanation, however. Clarion readers should be familiar enough with the name of Stinnes, and there is good reason to suppose that, under the circumstances, Stinnes is not averse to French political domination of the Ruhr or any other area, provided the German and French industrial and financial interests can agree on a division of profits. For instance, Stinnes is reported to have said last January: "We cannot form a concern with Loucheur in which Loucheur would have 60 per cent. and Stinnes 40 per cent." He spoke at that time before the German State Economic Council. Thereupon the French penetrated into the Ruhr, Poincare pointing out in excuse that 15 per cent. of coal was short in the German payments in kind and some few other items. Meantime, the French people are told day by day that Germany must be made to pay and the Germans are told that the Fatherland is in danger, and each is sole guardian of the only sacred cause, witness the British war propaganda as an example. The people of each country are being prepared to support the policies of their respective industrialists, all in the name of justice—as usual.

There are signs, however, that war is something of a luxury, just yet. Paper is not money and credit is out of adjustment all around. The temper of the people is uncertain. In such times as these the several states strive for new alignments and compacts, which is evident from the many conferences since the great "Peace" conference which demonstrated peace to be as difficult a matter as war.

We all read the note exchanges, of course. Curzon and Poincare are compelled to their courses by circumstances which they try to control but which control them. The working people look upon the ways of the diplomats as strange ways, ways which they do not understand. One thing is certain: The national temper of the people has been somewhat reduced since 1914. The flimsy pretext for war is not so acceptable now as it was then. The British people seem to have found from experience that the business of winning a war is not so sweet as it had been portrayed. Yet he is a bold man who would prophesy the exact turn of events nowadays. A

few months' patriotic propaganda and a well organized official hate campaign, and who shall say how far the people may be jockeyed this way or that?

And so we carry on, even in our quiet way, knowing full well that the educated man is the hardest man to fool. So we strive for an educated working class.

By the Way

A REPLY TO "C."

By BERNARD TAMARKIN

Editor's Note: This letter arises out of an article by "C" in our issue of June 1st last, which was commented upon by Comrade Tamarkin and further enlarged upon by "C" in the issue of July 16th. Comrade Tamarkin apparently did not intend his previous contribution for publicity, hence the following in elaboration.

This article has not yet been read by "C", but, having been informed that Comrade Tamarkin intended sending a further contribution "C" expressed the hope that it be published without waiting his examination or reply at once. The uncertainties of wagedom have taken "C" out of town to a location where philosophic writing takes second place to plain ordinary cursing, hence his unhappy absence from these columns in recent issues. On his behalf we promise Comrade Tamarkin and Clarion readers generally that as soon as circumstances allow he will do his best to persist in presenting his point of view.

AFTER having read "C's" reply in the July 16 issue of this paper, I re-examined my letter of June 12. Nowhere can I find myself urging that the "progressives themselves . . . precipitate civil war"; nor do I see any suggestion for minority action; neither is it contended that "coercive military power can . . . change wholesale, settled, habitual ways of life," or "create the dispositions and habits of thought necessary for the extended co-operative life of the commonwealth of the future."

As I wrote them, my remarks were occasioned by the impression of "over emphasis in the writer's ("C") zeal to counteract the idea of violence in political change." Instead of dealing with the matter as I stated it, "C" has failed to differentiate between changes in the mode of production and those of its political superstructure,—the transfer of governmental power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat.

Please note that there was no advocacy of armed force in economic and social organization. Russia, during the last several years, has been a fitting example to show that the technique of production has not a little to say about the form of appropriation. In order to introduce communist property relations, the mass of the people must support it. But, they cannot be expected to have a communist ideology unless there is large scale industry.

Though it is true that the mode of production determines, among other things, the ideology of a people, at the same time it is not the only factor that helps to mould our ideas. There is another very important force; the special historical forms that the politics of a country has assumed. This fact helps to explain what Marx meant when he wrote that "In considering such transformations (that of the superstructure following the change of economic foundation) the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, etc., in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."

That such distinction should be made is well explained, once more, by Russia's recent history. Contrary to the supposedly Marxian estimate, held for a good many years by leaders of the Socialist movement and a considerable number of blind followers of the blind, the Russian political revolution goes to show that a proletarian revolution is not necessarily conditioned, in a given country, by a highly industrialized production, although the latter is indispensable to a social revolution.

In order that a proletariat may come into power, it must have attained, first of all, sufficient uniformity. In other words, Capitalist production must have developed considerably. Russia, as compared with western capitalism, was a backward country. Yet, it had sufficient capitalist industry to possess a proletariat, numbering in the neighborhood of eight millions. This proletariat, supported by the great majority, the poorer peasantry, captured the powers of government.

The peasantry did not fight consciously for communism. It is problematic whether anywhere, at the time of proletarian revolution, the mass of slaving mankind fill consciously support communism. Personally, I think that they will fight against the existing powers, supporting the advance guard in the struggle for political domination. They will support communism only with the gradual transformation of material conditions under the guidance of communist proletarians, controlling the ship of state.

Without the support of the great mass, without the working class, urban and rural, a social revolution cannot be attained. For a fundamental task such as the socialization of production and appropriation, by far the greater number in society must know what it is about and consciously work for the project in hand.

On the other hand, that a proletarian revolution may take place, it is no less essential that the immense majority support it. During comparative "prosperity," such a support is out of the question. Only "serious" times make the average man give due consideration to matters of government. He tests one party after the other. Failing all, and having nothing to lose, he fights in complete opposition to all parties and classes that urge the conservation of old institutions, for which, workingman that he is, he must suffer first and most. He begins by wanting the bourgeois government to act. He begs it to do so. No results being forthcoming, he awaits better things from a changed personnel, until at last, due to sheer want and misery, he is compelled to act himself.

While writing that "if events are not 'pre-ordained,' it does not prevent us from learning the lesson history teaches," I must confess, I did not at all think of the present. Excuse me for being unable to nail that evasive thing. To my mind, it appears rather an arbitrary detachment from the past to serve as border line to the future. I still contend "that so far (and up to the very 'present') no ruling class has yet given way without a fight."

Germany, especially during the first part of August (date of writing 8/15/23) according to the uniform reports concerning political and economic conditions, furnishes as recent an example as could be wished. Germany's productivity is now much lower than it was in pre-war days; that the country's present mode of feeding the mass is rapidly failing,—of this there is no doubt. The mark falling over a hundred per cent. in a remarkably short time does not savor well for the stability of Germany's industry. Neither do food riots tend to increase the productivity, thus the food supply; not does police repression do more than bolster up the old, worn out political rags.

If, from the viewpoint of the material welfare as affecting the mass, these conditions continue, which means that things will go from bad to worse, what else can be expected than increased disturbances? In such an event, what would be the function of a party laying claim to revolutionary socialist principles? Would such a party, on the pretext of preserving order, help to re-enforce the existing government that shoots down the hungry slaves, just because another course might entail the use of force on the part of the mass? Or would it bend increased energies to organizing the rebellion for things more successful than mere riots, for the task of seizing the political power?

No, Comrade "C," while civil war, open struggle between the contending classes for the mastery

(Continued on page 8.)

Propaganda on the Prairies

..... BY CHAS. LESTOR.

IT has fallen to my lot to tour the prairie provinces on several occasions, and it is pleasant to be able to report that the present trip bids fair to be the most successful I have ever made. The interest taken by the farmers is steadily increasing and although from a financial standpoint the support is small and leaves much to be desired, the hearty assistance and the hospitality compensate one for the lack of cash.

The farmer is very poor and his condition is becoming almost desperate. The pitiful stories that have been poured into my ears would astonish the city proletariat. Men and women have worked for years on the prairies enduring the hardships of the bitter winters and the incessant toil and heat of the summers, endeavouring to get ahead, and they now find themselves worse than broke. They owe more than they can ever pay, no matter how good the crops. If they leave the farms the only thing they can do is to compete with the industrial worker of the towns. The farmers' organizations, built up at great expense, are disintegrating, and the hopes that spring naturally in the hayseed's breast are being shattered mercilessly by cruel facts. He is broke and even the proposed wheat pool cannot restore him to a position of prosperity. His political representatives are impotent and acknowledge their inability to solve the farmer's problem. A freak here and there hables about the Douglas theory occasionally, but that is only to obtain notoriety in order to fix the political job for the next election. The farmer cannot deceive himself any longer. He is done for. The capitalist class know full well that when the industrial worker and the agricultural slave join hands with the idea of abolishing capitalism the profit system will soon be a thing of the past.

The agricultural worker would receive an immediate benefit in the event of the capture of power by a political party representing the workers, elected on a class-conscious ticket. His burdens would fall from his shoulders very quickly. So long as Capitalism lasts these will increase. During this trip I have sold a large number of Budden's "Slave of the Farm," and they are passed from hand to hand and read and re-read. To scatter seed of this nature is to prepare the harvest of the future. The seed is now falling upon fertile ground.

The first place I stuck on this trip was Edmonton. This was Sunday June 10. I spoke first in the Labour Church. Comrade Ernest Brown is doing his bit there. I addressed two meetings in the Market Square during the week and had the assistance of Carl Berg. No educational work has been done in Edmonton since the S. P. of C. stopped operations there. Would be leaders of the working class do not desire an intelligent following as the latter won't be led. All the meetings were successful in every way. Berg stated that it would be necessary to re-establish the S. P. of C. in Edmonton in order to impart the knowledge that is so much needed and is so sadly lacking.

The next place visited was Meeting Creek and I addressed two meetings of farmers and also spoke to the children in the schoolhouse during one afternoon. This was at the request of the schoolmaster. Comrade Albers and his wife did their best in the way of providing for my material wants and everything passed off successfully. Henry Ford never thought that he would be the instrument of revolutionary propaganda, but I can assure the Clarion readers that this trip would have been impossible without his car. Albers' Lizzie was used to the limit as were many others. In all, I travelled over 3,000 miles in automobiles during the two months of this trip and I have counted as many as fifteen cars at one meeting. I soon discovered that the further we got from the railway and the prairie town the better the attendance. In the small towns pressure can be

brought to bear by the enemy of such a matter as to prevent people who are interested from coming to a lecture.

From Meeting Creek to Swalwell is not very far, as distances go in this country, and Comrades Beagrie and Kolden had everything fixed up. We have a few Clarion readers in this locality, and consequently the educational work is going on all the time. I was entertained most royally by the above mentioned comrades and left this neighbourhood cheered by the knowledge that the comrades here were doing their duty.

Owing to a mixup in the schedule I did not arrive in Calgary until Monday, and therefore was unable to speak at the Sunday meeting. The next day I left for Stanmore, where Donaldson and Co. had arranged a picnic. It started raining excessively and Donaldson and I could not make the seven miles to the place where the picnic was to be held, and were thrown upon the hospitality of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Burton for a day or two. These comrades were put to no small inconvenience by us and it is impossible to thank them too much for their open-hearted assistance. We eventually made the grade and, in spite of the handicap placed upon things by the weather, were enabled to hold two successful meetings. The cancelling of the meeting at Youngstown, owing to the roads being impassable, made it possible for me to stay a day longer in Stanmore. Ice cream and other things had been obtained for the picnic and these had to be disposed of. The children had a good time and it is gratifying to know that things came out all right financially.

It generally happens that where the Reds become strong in a country district a fight starts on religion. In this instance the Reds have won out, because I was informed that the parson's family comprized his congregation when he preached in the schoolhouse, whereas we had a capacity audience. Donaldson and Co. are working faithfully in this district, and good results are assured. I was sorry to leave these Comrades and hope to see them again before many moons.

The next place was Seal, and I took the train at midnight for Excel. Upon arrival, in the small hours of the morning, I was surprised to find no one to meet me, but I made myself comfortable at "the Chink's," and all uneasiness was eventually dispelled by a telephone message which was to the effect that Hanson and Jorgenson were on their way. We had a high old time around here, holding seven meetings of one sort or another in seven days. Assistance was cheerfully rendered by the whole neighborhood, and the comrades here are to be congratulated on the energy displayed and the results achieved. I stayed at Hanson's house and although I worked hard was so well looked after that I enjoyed the visit here as one does a holiday.

The next journey took me out of Alta. into Sask. Comrade Ronald joined me on the train and I went first to McGee. I found Comrade Vanaulstein there and he took me to his home, and I went to bed to rest up until the time for the meeting. Pat Hunt turned up later and we had a nice little turn out. A cyclone had struck this locality just previously and Com Vanaulstein had just had his barn wrecked and his crop destroyed. We went to Fiske after the meeting and I stayed at the house of Comrade Ronald. The Ronalds are now old friends, and I was treated as one of the family. The next day we went to D'Arcy and on the way entered into conversation with a farmer ploughing the summer fallow. He said during the confab: "I am ploughing. I started ploughing when I was ten years of age. I have been ploughing for forty years and I am worse off than when I started. I'm so heavily in debt that I shall never get out. I've produced enough to feed ten thousand families and although I've a good crop this year it won't pay the interest

on what I owe." We held meetings at D'Arcy and Fiske and aroused considerable interest.

Ronald and I drove to East Anglia in the pouring rain and stayed at the home of Comrade Douglas, who gave me some good information on the farmer's problem. I enjoyed the hospitality of the Douglas family for two days. After the talk in Anglia I went to Rosetown, but a storm struck the town on Saturday night and we couldn't hold the proposed outside meeting. I journeyed to Sovereign on the Monday following and met Comrades Kissack and Isley. These are old friends of many years standing.

We had a good audience at Sovereign, and we afterwards left for the home of Isley. This was reached after some difficulty. We got stuck at midnight in a hollow place where the water was about two feet deep. The car had to be pulled out by horses. During the time we were marooned the mosquitoes bit like fury and the frogs in millions serenaded us. The slaves of the farm used weird and wonderful language. Eventually we reached home. I first stayed at Isley's house twelve years ago. It was amazing to see how the children had grown since that time. Mrs. Isley and I talked of my previous visit and she gave me the history of the comrades who had left the locality, and informed me of their present whereabouts. One of the greatest pleasures in life is to meet old Reds, and in conversation with Mr. and Mrs. Isley and Kissack, talking of Walter Menzies and other staunch supporters of the cause I felt my youth renewed.

After Sovereign, Mildred, and here I met Nels Sorlie. Nels is a bachelor, and he would have me stay at the hotel instead of at his house. We had a small meeting in Mildred, but this was no fault of Nels, who did his best in every way. Let us hope that the seed sown will produce a larger audience next time. From Mildred to Eyebrow, and here I met an old war-horse in the person of Comrade Foulstone. Strange to say this was the first time Foulstone had ever seen me. I have spoken at Eyebrow previously but he was unable to get through on that occasion, and I spoke from the steps of the hotel. Foulstone is an old member of the W. P. M. and has been a supporter of the S. P. of C. ever since its inception. We had two meetings here and although Foulstone is a busy man he laid off work during my visit to help on the cause. We had a pleasant time together and I hope that my talks aroused interest sufficient to compensate to some extent for the labor entailed.

From Eyebrow I went to Medicine Hat, being unable to hold meetings in Moose Jaw and Swift Current owing to reaching there on the wrong days. Friday and Saturday are not suitable days, and so I went on and spoke in the city hall in the Hat. Johnson, the provincial M.P. was my chairman, and we had a nice gathering. I then toured this locality, using the cars of Comrades Berry, Polinkas and Lewis. I must have covered over 500 miles in this district alone, speaking all the way from the Hat to Manyberries. I addressed sixteen or seventeen meetings altogether and the success was far greater than we dared to hope for. We had a picnic at Comrade Nesting's, and over 150 persons attended. I spoke at Winifred Fair from the judge's stand. The comrades gave me their wholehearted support and the results were splendid. I was well looked after by everybody and I have to thank the ladies particularly for the fact that my health remained good under the strain. Mrs. Polinkas, Mrs. Allen Clark, Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Bonoman, Mrs. Scully, Mrs. Nesting, Mrs. Peterson and many others all did their part nobly and well. Wiley Orr and I made the last part of the tour together and we were optimistic and happy at the close of a strenuous time.

From the Hat to Calgary, and here I spoke in
(Continued on page 6.)

Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Twelve.

WITH reaction triumphant to the east and west of her, Germany's position was hopeless. The fall of Paris and Vienna encouraged the old regime to close in on the revolutionary movement, and with that offensive all the weaknesses of the German movement were disclosed.

The victory in Germany had little of the significant character which marked Vienna and Paris. In fact, Vienna and Paris might be conceived as something of a warning to Berlin of what might happen there. The army was therefore never put to the supreme test. During the March-April period regiments had refused to move against the revolution, and the monarchy had accepted the situation and had eaten crow as gracefully as the circumstances permitted.

The struggle which followed, between the Frankfurt Assembly and the monarchy, and between the various principalities and Frankfurt, coupled with the fight for leadership of the German people, centering on Prussia and Austria, served to cloud the revolutionary issue and developed a fruitful field for intrigue, which the monarchy used to advantage. The weak and vacillating policy of the parliamentarians at Frankfurt had incensed the working class, and the members of the Assembly on their part were enraged at the constant riots staged by the workers to emphasize their displeasure at the Assembly's proceeding.

While the storm was gathering around Vienna, Frederick William was collecting his forces at Potsdam, when a riot in Silesia offered him an opportunity which his advisors were keen enough to utilize. The Prussian parliament ordered an investigation of the killing occasioned by the riot, and ordered the Minister of War to demand that all officers not loyal to the constitutional government should resign. The Minister refused to admit their right to interfere with the army. The matter was again voted in the Assembly, and an immense demonstration in the streets forced the ministry to resign, Sept. 7th. A few weeks later came the surrender of the Schleswig Holstein Duchies to the tender mercy of the Dutch, and the raising of the barricades, in which the revolutionary assembly was saved by the reactionary Court.

The Treaty of Malvo, while bringing the Frankfurt parliament into contempt, also brought to Berlin an army of forty thousand men, tried and true, prepared to move and kill at the word of command. But the courage of the monarchy was not yet equal to placing its fate on the uncertain hazard of civil war in a world where soldiers often took sides with the people. And so the zeal of General Wrangel and Count Brandenburg was reserved for a more auspicious occasion. Tumults and riots continued, while parliaments ponderously debated the question of a unified Germany, over which we will pass, to the fatal October 31st and the fall of Vienna.

When news of the assault reached Berlin, the Assembly was surrounded by an immense crowd which demanded intervention; failing to move the Prussian Parliament it was decided to appeal to Frankfurt, and whatever might have been the answer of that body, the fortunes of war and the indecision of the Viennese decreed that this cup should pass away. Two days later Frederick William dismissed his ministers and called on Brandenburg, who, by the way, was his half brother (by the mode), to form a government. The Assembly realized this was a challenge, for the Count, though a bastard, had the reputation of longing to close the account which the King felt was owing to the German people. The Berlin Assembly, therefore, sent a deputation to protest against this Ministry. It was deliberately insulted, notwithstanding the wise utterance of Johann Jacoby who told the king to his face that "It was the misfortune of Kings that they would not

hear the truth." But like most wise sayings, it is not always true, and in this case the misfortune fell upon Jacoby and his friends, who received word a few days later that they must receive the ministry, or they would be dissolved, and upon their further expression of resentment they were informed that in the event of their further refusal they would be removed to Brandenburg, a small village remote from all revolutionary centres, by force. "Brandenburg in the Chamber, or the Chamber in Brandenburg," was the laconic message.

When it was read, the Count rose to speak, but the President of the Chamber ordered him to keep his seat, and first to obtain permission to address the Assembly. Brandenburg thereupon "dismissed" them and left with some seventy monarchists. The remainder, some three hundred, proceeded to pass a resolution condemning the illegal invasion of their rights. Brandenburg ordered the Civil Guard to disband the Assembly, and the Guard refused. The Assembly followed with an appeal to the people to defend their liberties, in which they expressed the belief that "The calm and determined attitude of a people that is ripe for freedom will, with the help of God, secure the victory of freedom." But God evidently considered the odds too great when General Wrangel paraded his troops in front of the building and locked the doors. The people were ready and demonstrated their willingness to assist, in a determined, if not a calm attitude, but the army remained faithful and the daring parliament were driven from meeting place to meeting place, finding time between jumps to call upon the people to **gather up** all arms and means of resistance, to remain quiet and to refuse payment of all taxes. This met with a generous response, and trouble arose all over the country; the Roman Catholic priests, true to their salt, sought to nullify this campaign, declaring that damnation awaited those "who did not render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." Nothing daunted, the Roman Catholic flock themselves retorted that the priests evidently were careless of their own souls, as they were never known to pay taxes themselves.

The Assembly was finally dissolved, after many meeting places, at the last of which Jacoby again showed his aptitude for wise words; when the officer in command of the soldiers who invaded the Hotel Mylius laid hands on the parliamentary records, he said: "It is a sad thing that the soldiers are misemployed for such acts of violence," and "Go on with your robberies, and scorn all laws; some day you will be brought to account for this"; but alas, it is only on the silver screen, in fiction and in dreams that the scales of human justice are "utter true." And this Assembly, having legality, God, and the people on their side, fancied somehow, that forty thousand loyal troops in the balance could not outweigh them. Marx is particularly severe in his condemnation of their passive resistance. Certainly a more revolutionary situation could hardly be required. The one thing lacking for success was the deflection of the army, or part of it. But while an army has often sided with a revolt, it has never, nor could it in the nature of things, lead an initiated one. The moment passed and the passive resistance soon ended in disgust. The bitter strictures of Marx against the policy on this occasion are fully justified, but, *alack-a-day*, such is life. Meanwhile the Frankfurt Assembly, unable to stand even this mild manifestation of a people to preserve its freedom, passed a resolution condemning the Prussian parliament and even sent one of its ministers to persuade them to yield, on the grounds that the government was quite right in the measures taken, as several savage looking characters had been seen in Berlin; such as, of course, appeared in Winnipeg and elsewhere, as nobody can deny. These, Marx tells us, were long

known as "Bassermannic characters." Bassermann being the name of the Commissioner who introduced this evidence of kingly justice. So the Prussian revolution was at an end.

There is one more event to record of Austria before we proceed to the last flicker of revolution in the spring of '49, when Engels, Wagner, and other young men whom the world was yet to hear from took their place in the ranks.

On December Schwarsenberg deposed the aged Emperor Ferdinand, and placed on the throne not the rightful heir but a nephew, Francis Joseph! Hungary refused to acknowledge the abdication of the old ruler, and so in the full legal splendor of a just war gave to Germany a few months' respite. We mentioned in our last that the Hungarian war is not part of our story, but we must of course, point out that its bearing on our story is full and significant.

And that, we imagine, quite fills our space, so while the hairy hordes are causing apprehension in the nerve shattered courts of Europe, we shall await the strenuous spring days of 1849.

PROPAGANDA ON THE PRAIRIES.

(Continued from page 5)

the park. Ambrose, who came in his haywire special, acted as chairman. I then went north to Trochu. The first meeting in this neighborhood was held at Huxley, and we had a good attendance. At Winborne the rain prevented many from coming, but we had a nice little bunch in the schoolhouse. The next gathering was held at Trochu Fair, and I spoke from the bandstand, and had a large and attentive audience. Comrade Tom Erwin took me around in his car and did the advertising, etc. He did his work efficiently and well and the results are to his credit. I stayed at the home of Comrade M. Bigelow, and enjoyed my visit so much that I hope to be back again before long. I was treated by the family as an old friend. I came back to Calgary on my birthday, August 12th, and spoke again in the park.

I am now resting up at the home of Dave Watts, about seven miles from town. Mr. and Mrs. Watts are old-time Reds, and we are enjoying the privilege of comparing notes and analysing the movement.

The above is a record of two months' work—spade work. To me it is a straight proposition. We can't have Socialism until we have the Socialists. I don't profess to know much, but if the other slaves knew what little I know they would be slaves no longer. We should then all be free. It is the duty then of every Red to do what he can to educate his class. There is no money in it. I lost sixty-seven dollars on my last trip, and I don't expect to come out even on this. I am, however, a welcome guest in a hundred farmers' homes, and have received such encouragement and support that I am compensated a thousand times over for the effort made! What we want to do is to cheerfully work together for the success of the Clarion, the party, and the movement generally, and we may rest assured that our labors will come to a full end. The recent troubles in the party rid us of the undesirable element! We can now depend upon each other, and although mighty storms are gathering we can defy their fury and face the future with every confidence.

MANIFESTO

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(Fifth Edition)

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The Story of the Evolution of Life

BY T. F. PALMER.

In many animals the development of the egg cell into the young as they appear at birth takes place within the mother's body. Omitting the highly complicated processes, which occur in the cell prior to its division, we may say that as soon as the ovum is fertilised, it splits into two halves, and those two daughter cells which arise from the splitting, in turn divide into four, the four into eight, the eight into sixteen, and so on. These phenomena are termed cell multiplication and they are common to all animals, plants, and men.

The many celled body which arises from the multiplication of the original cell assumes the appearance of a mulberry. This sphere of cells is alike throughout, then as the sphere develops, a liquid substance occupies the centre which pushes the cells more and more outwards until they form a single layer enclosing a watery interior. The ovum now becomes a hollow globe surrounded by a chain of cells. Then one portion of the sphere becomes depressed, and the depression grows deeper and deeper until there arises a complete invagination in this depressed section and the cells which compose it are steadily driven inwards until they touch those of the opposite side of the ovum. The hollow sphere has now been modified into an open receptacle, shaped like a horse-shoe the walls of which are formed by a double cell layer. This constitutes the famous gastrula stage of animal embryology and all animals save the lowest appear to exhibit this special feature.

Sponges, snails, worms, urehins, fish, reptiles, birds, and mammals pass through this stage of gastrulation, although in a few of the highest organisms it has become slightly modified.

Perhaps a clearer idea of what the gastrula looks like will be conveyed to the reader if we compare it with an india rubber ball, hollow within, which has been pierced at the surface, and the perforated part pressed inward, until contact with the distended section is complete. If we now turn the double layered cup we have made out of our original ball so that the opening is directed downwards, we form a fair model of the general outline of the gastrula.

It is significant that this cellular arrangement is precisely that displayed by certain of the lower animals throughout life. In sponges for instance, the opening of the gastrula forms the animal's mouth, the internal cavity the stomach, and the outer layer of cells the skin. Such is the comparatively simple structure of many of the inferior animals during life. In higher animals this gastrula stage is succeeded by the formation of a third layer of cells which arises between the two original external and internal layers. The outward layer of the gastrula is termed the ectoderm, and the inner layer the endoderm, and now, in all organisms above sponges and polyps, this third layer, the mesoderm, puts in an appearance. This third layer is larger than the others and is more complicated in structure but, leaving out several technical details it is enough to state that the outer layer (ectoderm) gives rise to the skin, the nervous system, and the special organs of taste, smell, hearing, sight, and touch. The middle layer (mesoderm) produces the skeleton, the organs of circulation, including the heart, with other important muscles and organs. Finally, the last and innermost layer evolves into the intestinal canal, the liver, lungs, and their various appendages.

Up to this stage all animals above the sponges, jelly fishes, and others are alike, but as further development takes place, the various main groups of animal life, from the worms onward to man now depart along different routes in their subsequent growth. Our chief concern is the mammalian order, and we will confine ourselves to that. This may however, be said, that when the student inquires into the embryological history of the worms, star fishes, snails, spiders, etc., he will discover similar evidences of progressive modification.

There still survives a small animal—the Lancelet or Amphioxus—which almost as closely resembles a worm as a fish. This creature possesses no head or limbs, while its heart and other internal organs are most primitive in character. But it betrays its kinship with the backboneed animals through its soft notochord which extends along its body. Now this soft backbone (notochord) appears in an early stage of embryological life in all the higher animals but with them the notched of the Amphioxus is replaced by a bony structure—the vertebral column—at a later period of development. Several other striking resemblances to organs possessed by the Amphioxus are displayed in the early embryonic history of other vertebrates while a very curious worm called Balanoglossus also presents clear resemblances to fishes of a lowly type. Fishes and other gill breathing animals do not need the lungs necessary to land animals. The gills possessed by fish are retained permanently, but we betray our fish-like ancestry by passing through a stage in which we bear in our unborn bodies the gill slits and gill arches of our fish-like forerunners and these reminiscences of an original life in the ocean are shown by all the innumerable vertebrates that breathe in air, and at the very period when the embryo of the terrestrial animal is provided with these gill appendages the heart itself is fashioned on a fish-like plan. The heart is two-chambered, as in a fish, not four-chambered, as in the mammal at birth, and it more than hints at its mode of ascent by assuming, when it changes form a two-chambered organ, the outlines of the three-chambered heart, such is that which exists in reptiles and frogs. Finally, it assumes the mammalian form. The lungs, again, are obviously the modified swim bladder or float of the fish. All these and numerous other facts, conspire to testify to our ascent from marine ancestors living in the immensely distant past.

In the nine months of his prenatal life man epitomises his æon long evolution. The backbone of the unborn child is prolonged into a moveable tail, its toes and thumbs are apolike, and three months prior to birth the babe's body is covered with hair, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet alone being bare. The child's nose is distinctly monkey-like, its head is abnormally large, and its arms, like those of its simian ancestors, are extremely long. First fishlike, then reptilian, later still resembling a hairy quadruped, the developing babe proclaims to all unprejudiced minds its relationship to the other backboneed creatures of the living world.

Further testimony to the truth of evolution is supplied by the geographical distribution of the faunal and floral populations of our planet. The botanical and zoological provinces of today present powerful evidences of an evolutionary character. It is universally acknowledged that Australia and New Zealand have been separated from the main land masses of our globe for many millions of years. The evolutionist therefore expects to discover that the flora and fauna of these continental islands constitute an array of life in several ways peculiar to its habitat. And he should also find unequivocal evidences relating to ancient forms of life. Each of these anticipations is adequately realised. The only important higher mammal resident in Australia at the time of its discovery was the dog, and this animal arrived with the native races of that region.

The bats and rodents dwelling in this area easily reached it by flying or swimming there from adjoining lands. Australia is the home of one of the oldest and least evolved of terrestrial orders, the Marsupials or pouched organisms such as the Kangaroo. It is also the last refuge of an even lowlier group, the Monotremata, whose expiring representatives, the Duckbill Platypus, a small beaver like creature with a beak and clawed and webbed feet; and the echidna, a spiny ant-eating animal, are confined to this region. These archaic creatures lay eggs which contain not only the protoplasm from which the embryo arises, but the food yolk which nourishes it until it emerges from the egg, when it begins to suckle at its mother's breast. The birds of Australia are remarkably peculiar, and a volume might be written on the facts relating to this region which strongly support the doctrine of evolution.

In terms of the theory of special creation organic forms ought to be found in situations most suitable to their general advantage. That plants and animals are more or less adapted to their natural habitat is undeniably true; in conditions in which they never occur in a state of nature, when introduced into an alien environment by accident or design. The rabbit was an entire stranger to Australia yet, when taken there by man, it multiplied beyond all precedent. The watereress, again, when introduced from Europe to New Zealand, grew in the rivers to a height of 8 or 10 feet. Innumerable important plants sent from the Old World to the New, and from the New World to the Old, add to the beauty of landscape and garden, and in the case of the potato, usually add to the food supply. Wheat, unknown in America as a normal growth until transported from Europe, became one of the most valuable crops of the Western Hemisphere. Scores of similar instances exist, all of which indicate that the ideal habitat of any particular organism is seldom that in which it normally dwells. Other causes, then, than those ascribed to supernatural design, must be responsible for the past and present distribution of living forms.

In ocean, island, peninsular and continent, alike, all the world over, the phenomena of distribution point to evolution, and to that alone. There is space available for a few salient examples drawn from island life, but these might be greatly multiplied by illustrations from continent or sea. Dotted throughout the oceans and ascending from immense depths are various islands of volcanic origin. These stranded peaks are distant from continental lands; they rise from the abysses of the sea, are on all sides surrounded by deep water, and are therefore unlikely like the British Isles to have once formed part of the adjoining continent. Consequently we should find fauna and flora of oceanic isles displaying modifications such as separation from the organisms from which they are descended must ultimately produce. Changed climatal conditions also should show their influence. Both these requirements are completely fulfilled. There is in each instance potent evidence that these deep sea islands were from time to time invaded after their formation by stray arrivals from adjacent land.

Darwin, Wallace and other biologists have fully established the striking facts now to be presented. The Azores form a group of islands nearly 1,000 miles from the shores of Portugal, which emerge from ocean depths of from 2,000 to 2,500 fathoms. These volcanic islands have existed for millions of years, yet they contain no mammals whatever except those carried there by man. Birds are abundant, there is one bat, there are various insects, and 74 species of beetles. With the exception of 14 species of beetles, and one bird special to the isles, all the other animals are European except 19 beetles native to the Canaries and Madeira, and three that have drifted over the ocean from America. Even the beetles peculiar to the Azores are clearly related to European species, while of the 500 species of plants, 40 are confined to the isles, although they are obviously descended from European forms.

The Bermudas comprise another group of Islands

700 miles from the American Continent. The presence of rats and mice is easily explained by their being carried thither by man, and the solitary land vertebrate indigenous to the islands is a lizard related to an American species, but which has developed into a peculiar form. The bats and birds are little changed from their ancestors on the neighbouring Continent, but the land shells, like those of the Azores, present a large number of special forms. The Azores, then, were mainly colonised from the European continent, while the Bermudas were supplied with their floral and faunal organisms from America.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

BY THE WAY.

(Continued from page 4)

of government and the country's control in general is not conducive to aid productivity of industry, starvation is not the result of civil war. Rather are both starvation and civil war due to a climax in the historical development of certain economic and political conditions. "... the inner political forces of a country come in conflict with its economic development, which at the present day is practically true of all political force, the battle always ended with the destruction of the political force. Without exception and inexorably, economic development has attained its goal." No, the proletariat does not want civil war. As a matter of fact, neither is the bourgeoisie anxious for it. But, in the effort to maintain power, the ruling class leaves nothing untried. And it certainly would be rather foolish for the proletariat to say: Masters, we know that we are the great majority, we suffer as we have suffered never before, but we see that you are determined to fight if we insist on taking things into our own hands; please, don't bother yourselves, we quit.

As regards universal suffrage, in order that this reply may not be unduly elongated, I shall just quote from Engels' "The Origin of the Family," pages

210-11: "The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage. For as long as the oppressed class, in this case the proletariat, is not ripe for its economic emancipation, just so long will its majority regard the existing order of society as the only one possible, and form the tail, the extreme left wing, of the capitalist class. But the more the proletariat matures toward its self-emancipation, the more does it constitute itself as a separate class and elect its own representatives in place of the capitalists. Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It can and will never be anything else but that in the modern state. But that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer of universal suffrage reaches its boiling point among the laborers, they as well as the capitalists will know what to do."

Finland, about the time of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, is an example of the proletariat testing its suffrage and gaining through that suffrage a majority in the national legislative body. Their victory proved the limited nature of the suffrage within the capitalist state.

Before ending my part in this discussion, I wish to emphasize certain points, which, I think, will help us to understand this question of force.

Man makes his own history, but he does so only with the material at hand. The clumping of society's economic forces within the private property relationship sends one country after the other past the zenith of its economic life. The forces of production strain the political forms. The minds of the mass are more or less rapidly alienated from the support of things as they are and they are compelled to take control of affairs into their own hands, thus freeing the further evolution of economic and social forces.

Differentiate between social and political revolution. "... force plays... a revolutionary role, ... it is in the words of Marx, the midwife of the old society which is pregnant with the new, ... it is the tool by the means of which social progress is forwarded, and foolish, dead political forms destroyed." (Engels in Landmarks of Scientific Socialism.)

Some may think that if what has gone before is true, it precludes the necessity of further educational activities in attempting to get more workers to adhere to Communism. Not at all, the more the merrier. Only, let us not be mistaken to think that a proletarian revolution is impossible unless the mass consciously supports the Communist program altogether. All that is necessary, given the favorable socio-economic and political conditions, is a working class ready to institute itself as ruling class.

While we must carry on the work of drawing as many as possible to study and adhere to the principles of communism, a task which will continue after the proletarian revolution, yet we have another function, that of getting the mass to realize especially one point in the communist program: "that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class."

P.S.—Clev. News. 8/16/23.

"Communist Strikes Spread in Germany. Situation Outside Berlin Viewed as Precarious. Berlin, Aug. 16.—(By A. P.)—Although the Communist strikes in Berlin have ended the situation elsewhere is precarious, according to reports reaching the capital.

The Communists are said to control the town of Hlshstadt, having disarmed the police. Many persons are reported to have been injured in a clash between Nationalists and Communists at Arnstadt.

Leipzig is without gas or electricity in consequence of a strike of the municipal workers.

Eighty arrests were made at Halle following a fight between Nationalists and Communist factions, and on Tuesday the police at Herne were obliged to withdraw before a riotous mob. The forces of occupation restored order.

The situation in the province of Saxony is reported as threatening."

HERE AND NOW.

We seem to be crying in the wilderness, Here and Now. At any rate, our total cash receipts since last issue are almost negligible in Clarion subs.

We know the Clarion is not alone in having to worry over finance these days. The condition of near bankruptcy seems to be general and apathy seems to rule all around. A campaign for Clarion subs. would help considerably in breaking the apathy and in dusting out the cobwebs from the working class mind. There is no better time to begin than now. Certainly there is no time more urgent than now.

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PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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