

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

850

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C. JANUARY 16, 1922.

FIVE CENTS

The Peace Fakirs

"IT'S an ill wind that blows no one good;" or, as a follower of Dietzgen would put it, misfortune, like all other things, is relative. The painful position of the slave class has made possible the "jobs" of the labor fakirs; and from the peace-hunger of a war-weary world, from the eagerness of those whose sons and brothers have been killed and maimed and ruined, from the suspicion directed to the League of Loot, from the premonitions of a new war—more scientifically horrible, more ruinous and devastating, has arisen the most popular parasite of the day—the Peace Fakir.

There is in society today a considerable section constituting a sort of middle-class, commonly called the middle-class. It consists of capitalists who hesitate to admit they are such, and of white-collared workers who do not know enough to know that they are workers. They do their work mostly with pen and ink and have a deep, fathomless veneration for scraps of paper. They are the chief support of the Peace Fakirs.

It would seem that the Peace Fakirs had very slight material to work on. There have been in "civilized" times about 9000 peace treaties concluded, every one of them intended to last for eternity. On the average they have lasted about two years*. Some still persist in having hope for the nine thousand and first. It is with singular precision that wars follow the attempts to preclude them. From the Amphictyonic Councils of the Ancient Greeks preceding their era of internecine strife to the arbitration propaganda of Napoleon III. a few months before the Franco-Prussian war, to the Hague Conference of 1899 with its sequence of the Russo-Japanese War, the Balkan War and the bloodfest of 1914-18, we gather experience all along tending to the conclusion that the way to war is lined with peace conferences. The Treaty of Versailles resulted in 22 wars in Europe and it is rumored that the present Washington conference may be even more successful.

Despite the evidence of the centuries "hope springs eternal in the human breast" and the Peace Fakirs continue to grow popular. Washington, they say, is not Versailles; for here is the American people with a long list of virtues we had not realized before. Viscount Bryce says the American people are essentially peaceful; they have no hankering after Imperialism. Mark it! the American people who tar and feather conscientious objectors, who lynch negroes, who perpetrate Centralias, who build Fort Leavenworths and conduct civil war in West Virginia, are essentially peaceful. American capitalists no longer look with lustful eyes to the oil of Mexico; the Philippines have been submerged in mid Pacific, Wall Street has relinquished its ninety per cent. share of Canadian industry; and all this without our knowing it. But it must be so, for Viscount Bryce says the Americans are an essentially peaceful people with no hankering for Imperialism. On this, then, build your hope for the Washington conference.

Lord Robert Cecil says that with the American people "the ardor of youth is not contaminated with cynicism and suspicion;" that they have not heard of Machiavelli and Frederick the Great. Note it well! Yankee business dealings and Tammany politics are not "contaminated with cynicism and sus-

picion;" the U. S. Senate is a body of pure minded ignoramuses who have not heard of Machiavelli or Frederick the Great. On this then build your hope for the Washington Conference.

J. Ellis Barker says the Anglo-Saxon race will not separate and fight, for it is one race. Our school histories must have erred indeed, for there we read that the Anglo-Saxons squabbled for years in early Britain; that Anglo-Saxon Yankees fought for independence from the motherland in 1776 that Anglo-Saxon Yankees fought Anglo-Saxon Canadians in 1812; that Anglo-Saxon Southerners fought Anglo-Saxon Northerners in 1861. But J. Ellis Barker is an honorable Peace Fakir and assures us that the Anglo-Saxon race will not separate and fight.

Nicholas Murray Butler, being a professor and a respectable sage, draws up some simple formulas for solving the problems that confront the human race. The first is the expansion of Japan without aggression, and the second the open door and integrity of China. Simple indeed! Japan must expand without expanding, and our statesmen must devise some way of eating up China without eating her up. The sage has solved the problem, so put your trust in the Washington Conference—unless, of course, you are "contaminated with cynicism and suspicion."

There are more Peace Fakirs than can be counted; but we can cover the balance of them with that most general of all fakirs, the Press. Here is a typical editorial on the four-power treaty, culled from the Philadelphia "North American:"

"The great fact is that statesmanship has found a formula for the establishment of peace . . . a simple arrangement of understanding and cooperation based upon candid conference and good will."

Here is the great fact, they tell us, and the fact turns out to be a formula. One would almost expect that every instrument of war had been lost in mid-ocean. It is only that they have left states equipped with submarines and aeroplanes to keep the peace on a basis of good will, when they confine the ordinary criminal, equipped with nothing but his arms and legs, in gaol. The Press is but describing Arthur Brisbane's "Four Gentlemen highwaymen trying to agree not to cut each others throats over the spoils."

Has the Washington Conference done anything to safeguard the world against war in the future? No—it has only in accordance with the development of the technique of destruction, decided to do away with certain useless weapons that draw considerably on their limited financial resources. The submarine and cruiser have replaced the capital ship; Henry Ford offers the current junk rate; so as "business" they shall be scrapped. The development of chemical warfare has made much of the old "preparedness" a foolish expenditure. George Bernard Shaw summarized the net results of the conference when he said:

"Their submarine and airships will all be commercial ones; their explosive factories will be mere dye works; their gas plants will provide chemicals for ordinary industrial purposes; the working drawings of the latest magazine-rifle will be hid securely in a pigeon hole. And the next war will be just as likely to occur, and be much the same when it does occur, as if the Powers were visibly armed to the teeth."

Neither peace fakirs nor astute statesmen have

done away with war; nor have those conscientious pacifists who make a clear case with much labor that there is no satisfaction in being killed nor no pleasure in being blown to pieces, and proceed to eliminate war by showing it to be unproductive, or cruel, or contrary to the New Testament. War, with its evermore terrible prospects, will be with us so long as we support an economic system that results in violent aggression on the less developed countries with their natural resources and trade potentialities. To those who disregard the class nature of society, the phenomena of class society is beyond explanation. Here lie the pacifists. Exploitation proceeds from violence, persists by violence, necessitates its own violent extension, and can be ended only by the overthrow of the exploiters by the exploited—and that too probably by violence. Peace is not made by scraps of paper, or by a spirit of brotherly love, but is only to be made by the development of class-consciousness in the slave-class. F. W. T.

WORRIES FOR THE BOSS

If in a future war France were in the anti-British camp, she could do England a very great deal of harm as she possesses a wide net of Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian ports and could decide the war for the Pacific coast. But the world may very well break out over some European issue instead of about the Pacific coast, and here the interests of England and France strongly diverge. France is England's nearest neighbor. England considering, before the war, that it did not befit her position as a first-class power to allow Germany a navy representing 60% of the British, now would have to consent to America having a navy equal to the British navy, and in addition that the Japanese alliance be cancelled, that Japan in spite of this be allowed 60% of the naval power of England and that beside all this France, keeping 880,000 men under arms, should have a navy equal to that of Japan. This is too much for John Bull's stomach. But this is not even all. The French demands called Italy into the ring. Italy says, that France is not a Pacific, but a Mediterranean country and if she is to have such an enormous navy, that would endanger Italy's position in the Mediterranean. For this reason Italy demands the same privileges for herself which are to be granted to France.

Another dispute arises in the question of naval armaments concerning the submarines. The submarine boat is a weapon, the future is all before it, but even in its present infancy it can make itself very much felt by countries depending on overseas imports for their food supplies. England's home-grown bread supplies would last her not more than seven weeks. The attack of the small German submarine fleet could be beaten off by England, only because Germany did not possess a sufficient number of naval bases. Besides, the radius of activity of the submarines was much smaller then, than at present. If France is allowed to build submarines, she will be ten times more dangerous than Germany in this respect, as she has plenty of naval bases all over the world. And it is precisely this, that France has in view. Briand, in his fighting speech openly declared: "Big battleships are weapons for rich countries,—France is a poor country and needs sub-

(Continued on page 3)

* See "War," Novikov, p. 17.

The Collapse of the South Wales Coal Trade

(Continued from last edition)

BY J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

Diamond cut Diamond

The most notable feature of French economics and politics, during the last fifteen years, has been the enormous expansion of the French steel industry and the financial and other means taken to promote this, the essential industry of militarism. The French foresaw a clash between British and German industrialists. They foresee another between the British and the Americans. They hope, on the morrow of this latter conflict, to stand forth as mortgage-holders and military dictators of the World. Hence, the French have not been content with the Saar coalfield and remembering that "at best the whole (Pas de Calais) field is only the tail of the more accessible Belgian coal measures," have been drawing closer their bonds with Belgium and exploring ways and means for seizing the Ruhr coalfields. Having taken over the ore-fields and blast furnaces and steel plants of Lorraine during 1919, in 1920 they commenced a clamour for the delivery to them of German coal from the Rhineland.

By the Spa Agreement of July 16th, 1920, they obtained from Germany the promise to deliver 2,000,000 tons of coal per month. "One of the conditions" was, however, "that Germany should be paid the f.o.b. prices which were current in England." We are told that, "at the time, the French resisted this condition very strenuously, as the British coal-owners were quoting very high prices" (Compendium, 6/12/20.) By October—when the M.F.G.B. Executive approved of a strike on the datum line—Germany was delivering 250,000 tons more coal than were required of her under the Agreement.

The coal was transferred by the German Government to the French Government. It did not necessarily remain the property of the latter, but might be sold to some bonafide "societe anonyme" with headquarters in France and its owners in Cardiff, or to some South Wales speculator with his agents in Rotterdam, Antwerp, Rouen and elsewhere over Western Europe. Neither was the coal, necessarily moved from the German pit-tank. Its buyers could stock it on the Ruhr coalfield, out of sight of Messrs. Smillie and Hodges, or move it to some Continental depot, ready for release on the morrow of the strike, so as to depress the demand for South Wales coal and to convey the impression to the readers of the *Western Mail* that this was the direct result of "the disastrous action of the men."

How They Smashed the Miners

The German coal deliveries, in themselves and in accord with the Spa agreement, were a god-send to the coal-owners and the Government. When the miners had threatened to strike in February, 1919, the *Colliery Guardian* (21/2/19), was reporting:—

"In January, 1918, the stocks of coal in the Ruhr district amounted to 3,000,000 tons, but at present there are none."

The French and Belgian mines were either out of action of quite incapable of producing an export surplus, and very little, if anything, was available from the Saar. Had the leaders of the M.F.G.B. advised a strike in February, 1919, and not been flattered and fooled by Mr. Lloyd George, who, in his terror, permitted Mr. Smillie "to dictate" to him—the selection of four members of the I.L.P., one Fabian and a typical miners' leader as nominees for the Sankey Commission, which was to give these innocents the job of talking till the Army was demobilised, and the popularity of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils diminished, the miners would have won the day, and, horrid thought, brought the "Coupon"

Parliament to terms. The same Sir Robert Horne, who was the Minister of Labour, who sold Mr. Smillie the Sankey pup, was the President of the Board of Trade who, on July 26th, 1920, ten days after the Spa Agreement, assured him of alternative supplies of coal, informed Mr. Smillie and his colleagues that the Government could not see its way to grant their demands for higher wages and reduced selling price of coal. For some reason—reasons are always forthcoming for these things—the M.F.G.B. delayed forcing the matter to an issue for nearly three months. Then, they struck, when the Government was quite ready to defeat them. But some will say, the result was a compromise. Yes, at the moment.

In November last, three things followed on the Strike. E.P.A. was enacted; the price of coal began to fall; and, thirdly, the world crisis, aggravated, if not precipitated by the organised action of the British and American banks to refuse all but the most urgent credits (see *Sunday Chronicle*, 23/1/21), broke over industry.

In December, things went from bad to worse. Collieries went on stop. Ships were laid up. Tens of thousands of miners found themselves without work. The great financial conspiracy to force down prices temporarily as a means to force down wages next; the great financial effort to stabilise the tottering edifice of credit by deflating values, was taking effect. The money magnates were battling against the financial interests of industry and commerce, and they were all battling against the workers in the professed interest of "the public."

The Road to Ruin

Across this welter of conflict cut the active hostility of the French coal consumers, "seeing an opportunity to depreciate prices here and . . . intent to do so, in order that they may have less to pay Germany under the Spa Agreement." (Compendium, 6/12/20.)

Three months later we are informed that:—

France has been able to get coal so cheaply from Germany that she has dictated the price she will pay to England, on the take it or leave it principle. . . . France encouraged both German and American deliveries as a foil to British export prices. She bought American coal heavily. Today France has as much coal as she needs, and she has declared that she is not going to buy from Britain except on her own terms." (Compendium, March, 1921.)

In December, there were 900,000 tons of coal stocked in the Ruhr. About the same time the coal trade received a hint to stock coal here "to be held well into March." The British coal-owners were not enjoying themselves, but the opportunity was too good to be missed. The attack on the miners must be precipitated and preparations made to do battle to regain the French and other foreign markets.

It had been one thing to permit France to receive coal from Germany at prices ruling in Britain. Means could always be found to regulate her supplies from that quarter, and with France heavily in debt to Britain for coal deliveries and shipping services, it was always possible to take from France a considerable part of what she took from Germany. French industrialism was weak. It was quite another thing to find France asserting her independence with the aid of the United States. Before Spa and coal there had been San Remo and oil. American industrialism was strong, stronger than British. America was the creditor of Britain. America was, financially in a position to put the credits of the War Finance and other Edge Law Corporations behind her coal exports. It was not good to hear of a glut of American bunker-coal at Rotterdam.

Beginning in November, becoming drastic in December, and terrible in January, the prices of Cardiff and Newport export coals have tumbled from the prosperity of 1920 down into the abyss of 1921.

—Here are a few typical figures:—

Best Admiralty Large, per ton, f.o.b. Cardiff.			
Sept. 1920.	Nov. 1920.	Dec. 1920.	Jan. 1921.
115/—	120/—	107/6	115/—
95/—	97/6	90/—	97/6
75/—	95/—	25/—	55/—
Best Steam Smalls, per ton, f.o.b. Cardiff.			
Aug. 1920.	Nov. 1920.	Dec. 1920.	Jan. 1921.
95/—	97/6	90/—	97/6
75/—	95/—	25/—	55/—
Best Black Vein, per ton, f.o.b. Newport.			
Aug. 1920.	Nov. 1920.	Dec. 1920.	Jan. 1921.
112/6	115/—	112/6	115/—
95/—	112/6	55/—	80/—
No. 3. Rhondda Large, per ton, f.o.b. Cardiff.			
Aug. 1920.	Nov. 1920.	Dec. 1920.	Jan. 1921.
112/6	115/—	110/—	115/—
110/—	115/—	110/—	115/—
70/—	110/—		
Best Large Anthracite, per ton, f.o.b. Swansea.			
Aug. 1920.	Nov. 1920.	Dec. 1920.	Jan. 1921.
90/—	95/—	100/—	112/6
115/6	120/—	75/—	105/—

(Compendium, 15/9/21).

With Welsh coal of good quality at 32/6 a ton, and selling at a loss; with the exporters stating that it must come down still further to 20/— or 25/— a ton, and with no improvement visible in the European exchanges but rather the reverse, the outlook for South Wales has become, not brighter, but darker, as the months have rolled by. The French coal production is rising; the mines of the Pas de Calais have been repaired in about half the time that the British coal-owners were led to expect, and the quality of the coal is better than formerly.

It is not surprising that collieries are being shut down and that work is irregular. It is not only the miners but the railwaymen and the dock-side workers who are suffering, and must continue to suffer. Freights have toppled down; hundreds of ships are laid up—something like 5,000,000 tons, and are selling at one-fifth of the price at which they were acquired. Liquidations of companies are the order of the day in Cardiff. Mushroom fortunes are collapsing and millions of money have been lost in shipping in South Wales during the last nine months.

Many miners have been deceived by the lavish expenditure "out of revenue" on extensions and improvements by the Powell-Duffryn and other big colliery companies. Millions of money that would otherwise have had to be paid over to the Exchequer as Excess Profits Duty have been charged to "capital expenditure," and used with little hope of high return but in a feverish desire to make such economies as may make it possible to continue production at a profit. It might as well be spent in that way, think the companies, as be handed over to Sir Robert Horne, who, elevated now to the Exchequer, never seems to forget that he was once legal adviser to the Scottish coal-owners, and has tempered the wind to the shorn lamb.

With Horne at the Exchequer, and Stanley Baldwin, formerly director of Baldwins, Ltd., and the G.W.R. Co., at the Board of Trade, not to speak of Sir Philip Lloyd Greame, of the F.B.I., at the Department of Overseas Trade, the coal capitalists are getting sympathetic treatment, but, for all their scheming, their friends are getting deeper and deeper into difficulties.

difficulties.—"The Communist" (London.)

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Dialectics

(Concluded.)

By F. J. McNey

ALEXANDER POPE approached the subject from a different angle, and arrived at practically the same conclusion, but not knowing what he had discovered, or even that he had discovered anything, he wandered off again into confusion worse confounded, he says:

"One thinks on Calvin heaven's own spirit fell;
Another deems him instrument of hell:
If Calvin feel heaven's blessing or its rod,
This cries there is, and that there is no God.
What shocks one part will edify the rest;
Nor with one system can they all be blest.
The very best will variously incline,
And what rewards your virtue punish mine."

Pope is here considering good, bad, right, and wrong, as moral concepts, and has noticed that the same man may be considered a good man and a villain by another group, all at the same time. This, no doubt, is a very confusing state of affairs to a metaphysician, but it is a proof of dialectics, one of the best. History just swarms with such dual personalities.

With men, who, at one time or another, have acted as a combination villain, and hero, all in one, at the same time. In fact, every hero is an inverted villain. Where would it be possible to find a better illustration of paradox than this? Where, a better proof of the interrelation of all things and ideas? But, if a hero and a villain are one and the same thing; if the qualities of a hero and a villain may be combined in the same person, at the same time, how is it possible to distinguish between, or classify, heroes, and villains, at all? Let us suppose that of two antagonistic groups of people, each has a hero of its own. Now the hero of each group is the villain of the opposite group. Which is the hero, and which the villain? If we examine the character of two such hero-villains, we may find very little to choose between them, as far as character, and conduct, is concerned, but we will find considerable difference between their desires, and opinions, and theories of right, and wrong, based on the conflicting economic interests of the groups, or classes, they represent. Men and women who understand dialectics do not worry their heads about either heroes or villains. They know that the thoughts and actions of men are determined mainly, by economic conditions, and economic interests, modified to some extent by education or lack of education, historical, and mythical, tradition, inherited characteristics, and so forth. They know, furthermore, that every great man, or hero, is merely the exponent and advocate of the economic interests of some particular group, or class, in human society, and consequently, the villain, tyrant, and bad man of every other group or class, whose interests are in opposition. Everything that such a hero-villain may say, or do, or leave undone, no matter what it may be, is right from one point of view and wrong from another, and the group, or class, that has the power or might to enforce its view makes its view right, for the time being. Thus we see the codes of ethics, and theories of right and wrong, are also relative and variable and as much subject to the law of change as anything else in the universe.

"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth."

These lines from a poem written by James Russell Lowell in 1844 express, perhaps the best known, and best understood, form of dialectics, the evolutionary form, the exchanges brought about by time, not only in material objects, but also in ideas, theories, customs, morals, the good, the true, and the beautiful, etc., arising from the material conditions. For instance, five hundred years ago it was quite true to say that the horse was the quickest and best means

of locomotion known to man, but it is not true today. Five hundred years ago it would have been untrue to say that men could fly; it was not even customary with prophets at that time, but it is quite true to say that men can fly today, not with wings of course, but with machines made for the purpose.

Now in conclusion I wish to say a few more words about the exaggeration and misinterpretation of dialectics. In the opening paragraphs I have mentioned some of the exaggerations. The evolutionists, that are so evolutionary, try to run ahead of evolution. The revolutionists, that are so revolutionary insist on having a social revolution, even though the great majority of the workers are opposed to it. The dialecticians, that are so dialectical consider it superfluous to define, explain, or classify, the terms and phrases they use, such as, "direct action," "mass action," "use your economic power," "long live the class struggle," and so forth. And to be honest about it we must admit that such terms and phrases are far more romantic, and far better sucker bait, without being defined and explained. But some people are not so romantic; they like to know what they are talking about themselves, and to have others understand them as well, consequently, they try to the best of their ability to define and classify, the words and terms they use. And while it is impossible to give a word or learn a definition that will hold good forever, it is quite possible, if we are not in too much of a hurry, to give it a definition that will be logical at the time of speaking, and that may hold good for a year or two, at the end of that time we can revise it again if necessary. We will do very well if we "keep abreast of truth," as Lowell says, without trying to run ahead of it. Let us see what Dietzgen has to say in this connection:

"Language is only reasonable when it classifies the world and distinguishes things by different names."
"Thus our science of understanding finally culminates in the rule: Thou shalt sharply divide and subdivide and further subdivide to the utmost the universal concept, the concept of the universe, but thou shalt be backed up by the consciousness that this mental classification is a formality by which man seeks for the sake of his information to register and to place his experience; thou shalt furthermore remain aware of thy liberty to progressively improve the experience acquired by thyself in the course of time, by modifying thy classification."

But there is another way in which the dialectic method is misunderstood, and misapplied. This, we might call the reverse method, for want of a better name. The idea seems to be, to find out what the average capitalist thinks, says, and does, and then think, say, and do, the opposite. And while this system works out all right in a large number of cases, it occasionally leads to some very ridiculous conclusions. For instance, if the average capitalist always has the best of everything properly cooked for his dinner, then of course the revolutionary worker must insist on having the worst of everything badly cooked. True, that is what we generally get. But, while it is dialectically possible for a necessity to become a virtue under certain circumstances, it is a poor policy to make it so on every occasion. Again, if the capitalists always wear good clothes, and live in good houses, then the highest ideal of the workers must be hovels, and overalls. Not long ago I heard a man (who evidently imagined himself to be a revolutionist of some kind) advocate that the workers should boycott capitalism. He was, not only a champion of overalls, which he said no worker should be ashamed of wearing as his best apparel, but he went further and suggested that we all learn to go bare-headed and thereby save the price of hats, and at the same time strike a savage blow at capitalism. Just imagine the psychology of a revolutionist who would advocate that the worker should deliberately, and voluntarily, lower their own standard of living, as a revolutionary measure. But it is only one of the many paradoxes of human life. It takes all kinds of men, and all kinds of ideas, to make a world, and we must deal with the world as it is, not

as we might like to have it, always remembering that the only thing that is absolute, the only thing that has no beginning, and no end, is the universe, and the only thing that never changes, is the law of change.

WORRIES FOR THE BOSS.

(Continued from page 1)

marines." "There can be no doubt"—he maliciously remarked, "that England never intends to use her battleships against France and that she probably keeps those battleships for the purpose of sardine fishing; but then let her allow poor France to build submarines for the botanical exploration of the ocean bottom."

For England that other fact must seem very significant too, that the American government as well shows an interest for botanical research. The explanation of this fact is very simple. In case of a world conflict, blockade by help of submarines will play a very important part in the struggle between America and Japan. America is preparing not only her own submarines in case that England were to fight on the anti-American side, but is very willing to allow France a considerable submarine fleet,

The same is the case with the air forces

What can be expected from Washington?

It were ridiculous to approach this question from the point of view of disarmament. The issue is not even the limitation of armaments, but the establishment of such relations between both naval and land forces which by not giving any considerable superiority to any one of the several state groupings, would compel to come to an agreement upon disputed questions. This was the view of the international stock exchange too,—the value of war industry shares did not fall, in spite of the positive Wilsonian trills of Messrs Hughes and Harding.

The capitalist powers are so afraid of a new world war, that once they have got into the blind alley of the disarmament question, they will be forced to try and demarcate their political and economic interests. They tried it in Versailles; the results are known. In Washington they tried to untangle the skein of contradictions in one field, the far eastern question,—but they did not and will not succeed. They can not succeed for the simple reason, that questions of world-wide interest cannot be solved without Germany and without Soviet Russia

If, in order to avoid complete chaos and a new war, the former victors will make an attempt to unravel the tragic international knot, they will have to forget Versailles and Washington, and summon a new international conference where all nations and states will be represented. This conference would differ from all previous conferences by recognising three facts in the first place: 1,—that America is the wealthiest country of the world. 2,—that Russia again exists as a first class world power, again uniting all her territories from the Pacific to the Bering, and 3,—that the former victors will hasten their own ruin if they continue their efforts to shove the unbearable weight of economic burdens on to the shoulders of Germany and Russia instead of rebuilding the world's economy by common effort.

—Rosta Wien.

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Vancouver, B. C.

Official organ of the S. P. of C. Published twice a month.

Subscriptions: Canada, 20 issues, \$1; Foreign: 16 issues \$1.

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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:

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Foreign, 16 issues \$1.00

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VANCOUVER, B. C. JANUARY 16, 1922.

KEEP TO THE LEFT!

THE Party referendum (still incomplete) on the matter of affiliation with the Third International on the basis of the 21 points has provided the means of excuse for separation from the Party and its policy to some of those who voted for affiliation on that basis.

Local (Winnipeg) No. 3, voted 25 for and 11 against affiliation, and at the meeting following upon the recording of this vote they passed a motion "resolving" Local No. 3, of the S. P. of C. into a branch of the Workers' Party of Canada. The resolution reads:

"Whereas, the majority of Local No. 3, S. P. of C. have by their vote declared for affiliation to the 3rd International, and whereas the minority of Local Vancouver have already arranged to form in conjunction with the left wings of S. P. of C., a separate form of organisation to carry out the obligations imposed by their adherence to the 3rd International, and whereas, it is impossible to continue to function in the S. P. of C.—therefore: "Be it resolved that Local No. 3, cease its affiliation to the D. E. C. of S. P. of C., assume all financial obligations of the Local, and proceed to form a provisional branch of the Workers' Party of Canada."

Fulfilling their end of the bargain, a document entitled "The Parting of the Ways" and ending with the words, "Workers of all Countries unite" has been issued in Vancouver, signed by four members of Local No. 1, (J. Kavanagh, R. W. Hartley, J. G. Smith, A. S. Wells), "on behalf of twenty members of the S. P. of C." The names of the twenty members do not appear, of course, and the document is supposed to be accepted as a pronouncement made by the 24 members of Local (Vancouver) No. 1, who voted for affiliation. (Local No. 1, voted 24 for affiliation and 37 against). Responsibility for it, however, rests only with its four signatories who kindly signed "on behalf" of twenty others. Some of the twenty had not seen it before they saw the printed sheet.

Now we have not set out here to score any points nor, for that matter, to write a polemic concerning divided viewpoints. We have in mind many comrades at outside points who, for lack of a plain statement of fact, may find it difficult to understand these happenings.

It is no easy task to take up any writing that is controversial and quote fairly from it to the advantage and instruction of the reader. The practice of quoting arbitrarily from books and pamphlets that have been written to present frankly partisan viewpoints, notably on policy and tactics among Socialists has been indulged in shamelessly during these recent years by many ink-spillers who choose to saddle the exalted with their own ill considered prejudices. This practice is generally adopted to bolster up a weak case, and reference to the source of the quotations made usually discloses the fact that they are made to apply where they are not intended to apply. The case, of course, is altogether different where text-books or books on science are consulted and references are made in proper order.

However, the application of all this is that in quoting to suit everyone from this pronouncement, "The Parting of the Ways," we recognise the diffi-

culties, but so far as the S. P. of C. is affected we may fairly say the basis of disagreement as laid down is that while the S. P. of C. is one of the clearest of the Marxist groups on this continent and has carried on educational work for many years, it has not attempted to guide the working class in its struggles against its capitalist masters; it refuses to accept the task laid down by the Third International; it prefers the academy; it is an academic institution, not a political party of the working class; its attitude of non-participation in every day affairs leads to sterility.

That is a fair summary of the charges laid at the door of the S. P. of C. The secessionists say that while in the past they have worked with those who voted against the Third they can do so no longer. They say, "The issue before the revolutionary working class is the Third International and proletarian control, or the 2½ International and compromise with the exploiters. To us the road is clear. We will go forward with the revolutionary workers of the Third International." That's practically all they have to say concerning their intentions.

Then follow the signatures of those four who are so tired and weary of the "academy" after all these years and who will no longer work with us. One of them never did at any time work with us; he joined the party (a few months ago) in order to vote us into the Third. Two others are in much the same boat. The matter of getting genuine signatures must have been hard on Comrade Kavanagh.

As to the points of disagreement with us, we do not propose to cover these here at this time. Those points, generally speaking, have been the subject of controversy in these columns during several months last year. We are past the phrase-making stage now on the part of our secessionists who have argued for affiliation, and we are now looking for the application. Local Winnipeg (majority section) have laid it down that they, in agreement with the minority of Local Vancouver, have allied themselves with the Workers' Party of Canada. That's the application of it, and there is little use in arguing any more about Theses, Statutes, Conditions or points. The actions of these "affiliators" who have separated themselves from us measure the weight and worth of their case. Their first action, in allying themselves with the Workers' Party, constitutes their first violation of the 21 points which they have pledged themselves to observe, uphold and act upon.

Point 18 says: (Conditions of affiliation). "In conjunction with the above all Parties desiring to join the Communist International must alter their names. Each Party desirous of joining the Communist International must bear the following name: Communist Party of such-and-such country (section of Third Communist International). The question of denomination of a party is not only a formal one, but it is a political question of great importance . . ."

It is to be borne in mind and insisted upon that the question of affiliation with the Third International was argued upon the basis of the 21 points. The vote was called on that basis. This applied in all countries where the matter came up for decision. Those who opposed affiliation opposed it on that basis and those who supported affiliation supported it on that basis. Those who opposed affiliation held that the 21 points could not be lived up to. Those who supported affiliation held that the 21 points could be lived up to.

The 21 points are already broken; they are broken by those whose first pronouncement says they will observe them. They have pledged themselves to support a position they have already retreated from. This strange proceeding has a history.

In Europe practically all parties split ever affiliation with the Third Int. on the basis of the 21 points. Several Parties that were affiliated with the Third in 1919 withdrew in 1920 when the 21 points were laid down as the basis of affiliation. This simple fact disproves the false statements made and erroneous ideas entertained that this is a question of "for or against Moscow," and such like nonsense. As has so often been said and seriously meant, the question has been, affiliation on the basis of the 21

points. Sentiment undoubtedly played a large part in influencing the judgment of many. But we were not called upon to vote on the question on the basis of sentiment, but on the 21 points. These constituted the practical working basis. The first action of the secessionists is to dodge their obligations. Their Party should be called the Communist Party.

The socialist movement in the U. S. A. has been for a year or two in something of a turmoil over tactics and various forms of organisation. Communist propaganda and underground organisations have been common subjects under discussion in that country. The chief trouble there, here and elsewhere seems to have been that manifestos and written documents emanating from Russia have been taken to be words of command to be blindly followed. Heroics, stage-play and thoughtlessness have exaggerated the danger at present to be encountered and in many instances these practises have invited it needlessly. The Communist Party buried itself underground and two years' burrowing were necessary before it came to its senses. Even at that it had to be "instructed" as to what course to follow. It first claimed that the Third International required it to go underground, and then claimed that the Third International instructed it to come to the surface as soon as possible.

In any case, the Canadian Communist Party imitated these practises in a measure, although its life history was brief. But it has followed the course set south of the 49th parallel. The 21 points which were so all-embracing and which formed the basis of action in the U. S. A. have now been found to be impractical and they are to be conveniently forgotten. After all the "militancy" and bluster, revolutionary phrases and so forth, the same people who were responsible for these heroic utterances have now, as the Workers' Party, or as the organisers of it, appeared in their true light. The U. S. A., in the organisation there known as the Workers' Party, has set the lead in assembling a hotch-potch of reformists and opportunists, and the same characterises the Workers' Party in Canada. In Western Canada the new party, where any interest is taken in it, is looked to hopefully by labor politicians who desire election to parliament on an opportunist platform. Organisation and a reform platform will do the work. All the revolutionary phrases ever penned will not cover the bare fact when it shows itself in action. The Workers' Party, the party that is to carry out the dictates of the Third International is an opportunist party at present disguised. So far as the 21 points are concerned, they are ignored. Safety First is the watchword.

Now, to compile all the facts and happenings of the international socialist movement of the past year or two that have a bearing on these matters would take a volume. Splits in Socialist parties have been so common that the spectacular nature of the occurrences has come to the stage where it no longer attracts very much attention. Indeed, we have reason to think that such errors in judgment and evidences of false information concerning other countries found in Russia in the past year or two may be in a large measure charged to an international host of truckling delegates seeking favors for themselves. However it may be, the Third International seems to be learning that scraps of paper, drawn up as 21 points or in any other formula, cannot operate uniformly as a basis for working class action in all countries. They too have had their bubbles.

The "Parting of the Ways" relates something about there being two positions only—the Third International and that known as the 2½ International. That is a lie, and those who framed the document know it. Already there has grown up a Fourth International, the main objection of which to the Third is that the Third has abandoned its revolutionary program and has turned opportunist. In England, the Communist Party is now being called upon to pronounce a definite stand on its indeterminate wibbly-wobbling on the matter of alliance with the labor party, a course they would like to follow but cannot, evidently. So far as we ourselves are concerned, the business of trying to palm the 2½ Int. on to us is a weak effort towards heroics that has no

effect. We're used to the heroics and are now anxious to see the practical work and the manner of its execution on the basis these people have committed themselves to. Failure is the result so far.

We have had divisions in the past, in the S. P. of C. We have rid ourselves of members time and again whose bent lay in the way of opportunism. Much of the argument then given us has been given us now. Arguments look nice on paper, clothed in vague language that commits their authors to nothing in particular. As we said, we're past the stage of argument over the meaning of phrases. Now we're to see the word translated into the deed.

Well, with all this, there's a great big world outside full of people who don't know what these quarrels in the kirk (as you may say) are all about. We don't want to be led into the blind alleys other socialist papers have fallen into, where they seem to spend all their time cutting one another's throats while the boss busies himself uninterruptedly in all the ramifications of the exploitation and governing process. We have not been at any time very guilty of that and we hope to be able to attend to the business of removing from the minds of the working class the false notions they have concerning themselves and the uses to which they are put in the productive process. At the same time it is necessary that one or two matters be cleared up and it will be necessary from time to time to devote a little space to that end. The policies we now hear advocated by those who have imagined themselves to be "leftists" we have heard argued and advocated by every known brand of reformist and opportunist for many years. Nowadays the sentiment towards Russia is exploited to the limit and used to cover a multitude of sins.

Clause 2 of the 21 points has captured the imagination of many a man who has made up his mind while looking through a trade-union office window—from the outside. The thousand and one arguments we have heard to the effect that we should direct the activities of the workers in their every day struggles, through the trade unions, etc., officially to be done as a Party—these, when they come to be translated into actual practise are seen to be the common stock-in-trade of our old friends the politically ambitious or trade union leaders-cleet who have been at the same game for many years and who somehow needed the S. P. of C. to further their ambitions. These things cannot be judged on a reading of scraps of paper but on the actions and utterances combined and compared of the people involved. The policies of the Third International have been seized upon by groups here and there as favorable to their own ambitions, and when the wordy battle is over and the atmosphere is a little cleared we see the same old game being conducted under a hotch-potch programme of "revolutionary reform" with a leaven of illusion. Opposition on our part, not once, but often in past years has earned for us the title "anti-trade union." We have not been in that position; we have been now and then "anti-trade unionist,"

when we have been required to frustrate the efforts of schemers who would use us for their own purposes.

In the present case we have paid little attention to the unsavory details, petty spites, deceitful practices and despicable conduct generally that has called itself Communist "tactics." Even to do that in detail would fill a volume. We can deal with that if need be as time goes on. In the meantime we do not propose to further examine any more windy utterances or phrases, new or second-hand. We are looking for the fulfilment of the bold words. The case against affiliation has been largely built up upon the contention that the 21 points could not be carried out. That contention, so far, would seem to be proved. The secessionists themselves have proved it. They are now busily engaged in dodging their own judgment. Marx and Engels wrote "Workers of all Countries unite," and the Third International added—"On the basis of the 21 points." When the talking is done, practical every-day work becomes the guiding factor. The task of our secessionists is to reconcile the 21 points with the every day facts of life as we find them in Canada. The first move leads to the abandonment of one point they previously insisted upon. They are running away from their own arguments. Armed, as usual, with "tactics" for an argument, they will soon be able to account for all this and to "explain" it. So be it. Apologetics and reform policies are good mixers.

There are some young members of the Party whose enthusiasm and sentiment have been fully exploited and made to govern their judgment. The experience they may gain, even if the result may be disappointing to themselves, will help to strengthen their critical judgment for the future. They will not take long to learn that revolution does not arrive by any simple registration of any sentimental interpretation of an agreement or of an international mail-order process. Experience will teach them that. We bear them no ill-will whatever; we are all in the same school of learning when all's said and done.

As to the newer policy or programme of instructions followed by the ex-Communists who are now the promoters of the Workers' Party: by the time these lines appear they may have changed again. Anyway, we are obviously dealing with men whose own powers of judgment have been suspended. They suffer instructions to govern them in all things. It's all right for a time, but it will not last. A "popular" party to attract the masses, with a few bosses as a secret governing council to direct its policy is the latest illusion. Everything but reality! When the realistic stage comes along and men themselves focus their attention on the hard, everyday facts that are sticking out everywhere, we'll have fewer pipe-dreams and less sentimental twaddle. In the meantime, in spite of its colored draperies the new Party is discovered to be of the old order—a reform party. We wish it were otherwise.

power and return the "stakes in the game." The objective of capital is profit—and more profit. Its whole machinery of organisation is based on greed and need of gain; its every institution devised for the production of more gain. "Gain" is its standard of "success" and measure of propriety, before which there can be no other ethic.

Yet, although profit is its first objective the competitive character of capital transforms this profit into accumulation, into centralised accumulations of wealth absolutely beyond the reach and availability of society. Capitalist class competitive production for sale at a profit determines and compels that the utmost available surplus of production shall be invested and reinvested, simple and compound returns in productive industry, in order that there shall be more power to extract more profits, for yet greater power. So that in its last orientation capital would be one gigantic blood soaked unity, a unity of destruction. That is capitalist progress and expansion, a progress which is a sycophant to the strong and a bullying tyrant to the weak, a progress which demands a "place in the sun" only to displace and eliminate all others.

This process of accumulation of surplus investments finally capitalises the whole world. It drags all peoples with whom it comes in contact into the bourgeois ring of capitalist civilisation. It breaks down all other systems of production and ties all nations to the ethic of the greater industry. But as it drags and breaks and ties world peoples to itself, so also does it narrow and limit the "field of its glory." It devours with sateless rapacity concessions to syndicates, transmutes its golden spheres of interest into leaden and armored competitors and closes, with the finality of destiny, every door and possibility of the world market.

As labor applied to nature is the only source of wealth this precession of industry is, at the same time, the precession of the social forces of production. The greater market demand the greater is the expansion of the labor forces requisite to supply it. But competitive production compels a constantly increasing modification of industrial technology. Giant machinery is installed, with greater power and higher speed. Efficiency systems eliminate all waste motions, seek to make the fleshly man as automatic as the tireless monster he is chained to. The race of accumulation is intensified; the capacity of labor augmented; while, concurrently, the need of labor is curtailed. Thus, as the volume of production is progressively increased, the application of labor in industry is progressively decreased. The need for a market grows, while its purchasing power diminishes. The volume of production is, of necessity, studiously calculated; capacity production is normally shut off; the labor forces are wasted and destroyed in stagnation; and the whole society is ruthlessly crushed beneath the gathering weight of destitution and torn asunder with the explosive disensions of class antagonisms.

Consequently "more production" means more unemployment. It means, not a better life and opportunity, but a deeper slavery, ended only in death. And per contra, "less consumption is accentuated, not voluntarily, but compulsorily, and is quite obviously no solution to capitalist problems. Capital today cannot produce,—not "more", but at all—because the bankrupt and disrupted conditions of the world forbid further accumulation.

Capital is facing Waterloo. It can no more return to its storied "prosperity" than the shadows of waning day can swing in the path of the morning, or developed life return to its primal egg. We are standing on the threshold of a new age to a wondrous society, whose glory we shall never see but whose advent is certain as sunrise, and whose destiny is golden with gladness.

The sign posts of progress are clear enough. Europe is a tottering wreck, shattered and divided by war and diplomatic scheming for future markets and resources, debt burdened beyond all possibility of recovery. Soviet Russia, bombed and blockaded and tortured by capitalist machiavellianism for 5

(Continued on page 7)

"More Production"

FOR the past 6 or 7 years, we have been assailed with much verbosity of a new world. Nice, oh so sweet, plans have been laid for our future, and rosy dreams, dreamt of all good times in store for us—after and when. But after and when never comes. As we advance, they fall back, back with chill despair into the "never never" and the soft platitudes of a meaningless idealism perish on the lips that utter them. So we drift, yet fully hopeful, deeper into the wilderness of poverty with our life conditions steadily worsening, and the frosty touch of penury biting ever deeper into our being.

And our conditions must steadily grow worse, for the causes of those conditions are chronic and impossible to be remedied within the frame of modern society. The slogans of capital are of no avail;

they are but echoes from another age. "Be thrifty and save." "Be frugal and economise." "Work harder and talk less." "Produce more, consume less." What are these? What, but the strangling cries of a doomed ruling class, who dare not allow us to do the one or permit us to do the other? What can be more ridiculous than to urge a slave class to thrift? more stupidly dull than "produce" in a market stagnant with production? more absurd than economy in a system that can only flourish in wretched spoliation? or show forth, in more startling relief, the coxcomb vanity of bourgeois "superiority"?

Capital lives on credit; lives, moves and has its being on credit; and the longer it lives the more credit it requires, yet the more difficult that credit is to obtain, because, the more difficult it becomes to dispose of its enormous spoliation, to extend its

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Summary and Conclusion Continued

BY PETER T. LECKIE

WE have seen that marriage has come through various stages with the changed methods of production, and polygamy has been in existence in almost every country at some particular period.

Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, the good Emperor who was crowned by the Pope in 800 as Emperor of the West, at Rome, issued an ordinance in 802.

"If priests keep several wives or shed the blood of Christians or break the canonical law, they shall be deprived of their priesthood because they are worse than the laity."

This fact was proof that polygamy was not a rare thing in the 9th century. Charlemagne decreed that a prostitute be brought to the market square naked and flogged, while he himself, the most Christian king, had no less than six wives simultaneously. We find even the Great Luther having no objections to bigamy. When King Henry VII fell out with the Pope because of his refusal to sanction a divorce, Luther wrote to Chancellor Brink of England, January, 1524, that on principle he could not object to bigamy since "it was not in conflict with holy scripture." When asked to give consent to the double marriage of Henry VIII, Luther also agreed to the Landgrave of Hessa, Philip I., to have two wives, March 1540. He also wanted his consent kept a secret from the peasants.

David Hume, in his essays on polygamy and divorce, tells us: "In Tonquin, sailors, when the ship comes in, marry for the season, and are assured of the strictest fidelity to their bed."

"In Athens . . . the loss of many citizens resulting from war or pestilence the Republic allowed every man to marry two wives.

"The ancient Britons had a singular kind of marriage, as ten or a dozen joined together and took an equal number of wives in common, and the children were computed to belong to all of them and were provided for by the whole community."

Mutual defense in those barbarian days is believed to have been the cause. We also had the incident of the Franconian District Council of Nuremberg permitting every man to have two wives, as a result of the reduced population at the end of the 30 years war in Germany. Although marriage has passed through various forms, the religious ceremony was not a part of it until the 9th century, and it was made a sacrament of the Catholic Church by a decision of the Council of Trent, as late as the 16th century (1545).

We also notice that although marriage is associated with social and religious institutions, they are swayed with the rate of wages and price of corn.

The Boston marriage license bureau during the war showed how marriages had fallen off amongst the middle class as a result of the high prices of living such as school teachers, clerks, salesmen, etc., while machinists, electricians and other trades whose wages kept rising with prices, seemed rather incited to marriage. Although we have emphasized the economic factor we have not forgotten the various factors which have been causes, and effects, becoming causes.

The natural environment, fertility of the soil, climatic conditions and geographical positions of countries had quite an effect on race and national characteristics. We noted the characteristics of the Scotch people, how they differ from the English, and saw the superstition of various people being a result of their impotence when measured with the great forces of nature they had to contend with, exciting their imagination and attributing to supernatural power the storms, earthquakes, thunder, etc.

The diversified landscapes of mountains and valleys islands, rivers and gulfs predisposed man to a belief in a multitude of divinities. A vast sandy desert, the illimitable ocean, impresses the idea of a oneness of God.

St. Gregory the Great assures us that a Bishop wrote a letter to the river Po in Italy which had overflowed its banks and flooded church lands. We are told it at once subsided when the letter was thrown into the stream.

Luther believed that a stone thrown into a lake in his vicinity caused a storm because the devil kept his prisoners at the bottom of the lake.

We also noticed the superstition of the country folk as compared with the people living in cities.

While it is quite possible to explain the various characteristics as the product of natural surroundings, in different countries, it falls short in explaining the changes that have taken place in one and the same country where natural surroundings have remained the same.

The Marxian theory is "that the mode and manner of obtaining food, clothing and shelter is the directive force in the history of man and the most powerful in creating and shaping our social institutions." We did not ignore Britain's geographical position during the Napoleonic wars, which gave her a start in the development of capitalism, also her natural resources of coal and iron, making the development of machinery possible. The sudden introduction of feudalism into England by William the Conqueror, who kept the greater part of his army in his own pay and established the feudal system of government, gave England an advantage over France where the royal authority was inconsiderable, the lords were everything, but the bulk of the nation were accounted nothing. It was the excessive power of the king in England which gave rise to the spirit of union and concerted resistance of the barons and rising commercial class, that forced the Magna Charter, 1215.

William the Conqueror divided up the land of England into 60,250 military fiefs, all held of the crown on pain of forfeiture to take up arms. He reserved to himself the exclusive privilege of killing game throughout England and enacted the severest penalties on all who attempted it without his permission. The suppression or mitigation of these penalties was one of the articles of the Charter de Forests, which the barons afterwards obtained by force of arms against Henry III.

The House of Parliament was not in two sections as now. The king found an easier means to obtain taxes by inviting representatives of the counties and boroughs instead of sending the tax collector through the country. Henry Hallam in "English Constitution," p. 24, says:

"There is no difficulty in answering the question, why the deputation of boroughs was finally and permanently engrafted upon parliament by Edward I. The government was becoming constantly more attentive to the wealth that commerce brought into the kingdom, and the towns were becoming more flourishing and independent. But, chiefly there was a stronger spirit of general liberty, and a greater discontent at the violent acts of prerogative, from the era of the Magna Charter, after which authentic recognition of free principles, many acts which had seemed before but the regular exercise of authority, were looked upon as infringements of the subject's liberty. . . . through the necessities of the king . . . To grant money was the main object of their meeting."

The date of the House of Commons' birth is given by Pears' Cyclopaedia as 1258, but De Lolme in the "Constitution of England" dates its beginning 1295.

The House of Commons began to petition for redress of grievances as well as provide for the necessities of the crown. In 1309 they make eleven com-

plaints, some of which are in connection with the king's purveyors seizing quantities of victuals without payment: concerning the customs on wine, cloth and other imports; that the current coin is not so good as formerly; that collectors of the kings' dues at fairs and in the towns take more than is lawful. These are some of the complaints made.

The House of Commons began to use its economic power to obtain a redress to its complaints by refusing to grant subsidies or money before their petitions were heard, and also by combining their petitions and grants of money in one bill.

This method was a general practice of the Commons in Charles II's time after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, called the Restoration. The House of Commons tacked the particular bills they wanted passed to their money bills.

If we just pause for a moment and note the particular legislation passed and other happenings during the period of Charles I., the Civil War, and the Revolution, we will see a very clear expression of the new economic class.

The Star Chamber, which was used by Charles I. in the most unjust and brutal manner against his opponents, became such a scandal that it was abolished in 1640.

The East India Co. charter, 1600.

Employers could lift beggars and force them to work in Scotland, 1605.

1606—Coalmasters given this privilege.

1607—Metal work owners given this privilege.

1619, 1623, 1632—Monopolies to manufacture soap, rope, also wool and fishing monopolies.

1628—The Bill of Rights against the illegal fines of Charles I.

1631—Importation of clocks prohibited.

1640—Torture for heresy ceased in England.

1641—Manufacturing monopolies.

1641-49—Any British subject could capture a Scotch vagrant and dispose of him to any employer of labor.

1642-49—The Civil War.

1644—All servants forced to work for same pay as formerly.

1648—Charles I. executed, and the Commonwealth declared.

1651—Navigation law; all imports to be carried in British ships.

1658—The stage coach used for transit.

1660—Wool exports prohibited because of the need of home industry.

1661—Monopoly of needle manufacture.

1663—Roads improved for transit.

1664—New York captured from Dutch.

1678—First stage coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow.

1670—Hudson Bay Company's charter.

1671—Miners' children in Scotland sold at baptism to work in mines; the miners were buried in unconsecrated ground; that is the reason the miners were looked upon as an inferior people up to a decade ago, the stigma being left.

1675—Greenwich Observatory built.

1688—Glorious Revolution.

1693—East Indies Co. charter.

1692—Bank of England Act.

1694—Bank of Scotland Act.

1690—Fishing monopoly abolished because servile labor was too costly.

1697—\$4,000,000 tally sticks exchanged for Bank of England shares.

1696—Eddystone lighthouse built.

1707—Union of Scotland and England, because of the heavy duties felt by Scotland; she, being a poor country, obtained free trade on condition she would give up her separate Parliament.

We found the Reformation in Scotland was also

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

economic. The hatred against the financial exactions of the church was strong among the people, but the covetous eyes of the aristocracy on the church property was the real motive force.

Thomas Johnstone in his new book on the working class of Scotland tells us when King Charles I. revoked the land grants made to Scottish nobles, after the Reformation in October, 1626, the nobles began to swallow their hatred towards the Presbytery, and in 1638, in order to preserve themselves, not only joined, but actually led in the signing of the Covenant to resist Popery.

Commerce abolished 45 Saint Days because they served no useful purpose. The Clergy Act of 1598 decreed Monday as a holiday, making it unlawful to cut the Lords' corn, the reason given being because the people were turning Sunday into a hunting and pastime day.

The commercial class took the control of the burghs away from the clergy. The church was subjecting them to great taxation. In Edinburgh the master cordwinders paid 1d. a week to the Altar of St. Crispin and the apprentices paid 6s. 8d. when entering the trade.

The church controlled half of the revenue of the country and the nobles coveted this wealth, while the commercial classes wanted to free themselves from paying tribute to Rome; this is the secret of the Reformation in Scotland.

Trade had developed in Scotland to the extent of monopoly and protection. In 1686 the linen trade was granted a monopoly, and the act decreed that all Scotch corpses be buried in Scotch linen. The clergy officiating at the funeral had to see this was carried out.

This Act was rescinded in 1707, when the woollen interests convinced the legislature that it was more fitting to bury Scotch corpses in Scotch woollen garments.

People were forbidden to wear English made clothes; if found doing so they were compelled to hand them over to the hangman to be publicly burned.

Rogers says there was a regular slave market in Aberdeen from 1740 to 1746, when 600 men and women were kidnapped from rural districts and sold to slavery in the American plantations.

The Scotch miners were freed from their slavery, because they were too expensive, in 1799.

The miners thought they were freed in 1775 with The Act passed without opposition. The Preamble to the Act shows its reason to be carried unopposed by mine owners. Persons were discouraged from coal mining because they were bound. Many new coal beds were discovered and remained unwrought to the great loss of the coal-owners. The new Act dubbed the miners free as it was only the new miners that were to be free.

The bound miners under 21 years of age were to serve 7 years longer.

Between 35 and 45 years: to serve 7 years more.

Wives and children to be freed at the same time. If the miner combined to raise wages, two years were added to his service.

The miners had great demonstrations of their supposed freedom, but were disappointed to learn the above terms.

The development of the steam engine and the need for coal, with no one anxious to go to coalmining because of its degraded position, with the wages of free labor in the mines of England lower than the expense of the bonded mine slaves of Scotland, brought the liberty Act of 1799, which freed the coal miners of Scotland.

This just reminds me of a question put at our history class, thus:

"Did the emancipation of the Chattel Slave come about by the education of the slave?"

Answer: "No!"

Q:—"What is the use of educating the wage slave? don't you think it is a waste of time?"

Answer:—"No, there is no analogy; the emancipation of the chattel slave was to the economic interest of the master class because free labor was cheaper; but as free wage labor is the cheapest it is possible to get or because he costs nothing to start

with, needs no attention when there is no work, needs no medical aid when sick, the master class cannot find a cheaper system of slavery to emancipate the wage slave in his economic interest. Therefore the wage slave will have to emancipate himself."

We find that the mechanical development, with the innumerable mechanical contrivances, gave a decisive preponderance to that industrial element which has colored all development of our civilization. The leading characteristics of modern societies are, in consequence, marked out much more by the triumphs of inventive skill in the field of producing food, clothing and shelter, than by the sustained energy of moral causes.

The development of commerce, with the rise of free cities and their intercourse with other countries, has put commerce in the forefront as the great leveler to break down national boundaries, realized the brotherhood of men, and the broad mind of toleration that was absent previous to commercial development.

The discovery of America through economic needs, the invention of printing, with the first maps and sea charts which appeared in England 1489, was a dominant factor in breaking down the power of the Church. Lecky in his "History of Morals," speaking of the Reformation, says:

"The theology of Christianity paralyzed the intellect of Christian Europe until the fourteenth century. The revival which forms the starting point of our modern civilization was mainly due to the fact that two spheres of intellect still remained uncontrolled by the sceptre of Catholicism.

"The pagan literature of antiquity and the Mohamedan schools of science were the chief agencies in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom."

We maintain it was the need of commerce that forced the adoption of the literature and science that Lecky mentions, because of the voyages of Columbus 1492, his second voyage 1493.

Jamaica was discovered 1494.

The Cape of Good Hope and Neofundland 1497.

South America 1499.

Brazil 1500.

Balboa first saw the Pacific Ocean from the Isthmus of Panama in 1513.

Mexico was discovered 1522.

Conquest of Peru 1528.

The trade of Genoa was on the brink of destruction by the irruption of the Tartars and the Turks.

The circular visible horizon and its dip at sea gave the belief of a globular figure of the earth. Columbus tells us his attention was drawn to this subject by the writings of Averroes.

In Genoa, Columbus met with little encouragement. He was encouraged by Queen Isabella of Spain, although the irreligious tendencies if this idea were pointed out by the Spanish ecclesiastics and condemned by the Council of Salamanca. It's orthodoxy confuted by the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Prophecies, the Gospels, the Epistles and the writings of the Fathers St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory and others.

When men believed the Sun to be simply a lamp revolving around the earth they had no great difficulty in believing that it was one day literally arrested in its course, to illuminate an army which was engaged in slaughtering its enemies.

Lecky, in his "History of European Morals," speaking of this intellectual darkness says:

"The period of Catholic ascendancy was, on the whole, one of the most deplorable in the history of the human mind. A crowd of superstitions barred the path of knowledge. Not until the education of Europe passed from the monasteries to the universities, not until Mohamedan science and free thought and industrial independence broke the spectre of the Church did the intellectual revival of Europe begin. The inventions of the mariner's compass, of gun powder and of rag paper were all indeed of extreme importance, but no part of the credit of them belongs to the Monks."

(To be continued.)

"MORE PRODUCTION"

(Continued from page 5)

long years, is in the bitter clutch of famine, with the allied nations, vulture-like, deliberately looking on, callously allowing famine to run its dread course in the hope that this menace to their sacred property may be dumbfounded and hurled down in the fierce wash of its agony and calamity. "By their fruits shall ye know them." America, first of creditors (proud symbol of slavery), is forced to the forefront of Imperialist development. But her coveted "gold"—her power of exploitation,—overshadows her with disaster. For how can she traffic in commerce? Russia is suspect, Europe a broken ruin, on the verge of an outbreak which may develop "red." Her former allies confront her on every hand with new antagonisms, and the little "yellow Britain" of the Orient, which America herself helped to arouse from barbarism, has seized and holds every point of vantage available—in the eastern Pacific—in China and its adjacent countries, in Siberia and Kamchatka. Thus society lies prostrate, while the "mandatories" carve out new "spheres" at the point of the bayonet; commercial development is crippled and overreached, and the scene and circumstance is set for another devil's game of "democracy."

Out of, and because of this situation, out of this "watchful waiting," out of this scheming and counter scheming comes our social hunger-fests and degradation, and all the untold suffering they entail. Because, forsooth, property, and not man, is the prime incentive of conduct; because wealth, and not need, is the first objective of production; because class law, and exploitation, dominate society; and social welfare, social progress, and social cohesion, are of no moment in the flinty ambitions of accumulation.

That is why, although willing to work, we cannot obtain employment. That is why statesmen are helpless—they are but the menials of the owners of industry. That is why that industry perishes "in the valley of the shadow;" why our living standards fall, and will continue to fall; why the producing class drags out its pitiful existence in penury and suffering, and why all society decays in the miasmatic swamps of idleness. Because—let us emphasize it—purchasing power has vanished; markets are gone; no new fields of exploitation sufficiently large can be found; and industry stands still—in a satanic grandeur of impotency and possession—incapable of motion and expansion, unless for a red and fiery hour—capital can find a respite in the new war hovering closely on the political horizon.

But, beyond that alternative the society of Capital is finished. It can no longer fulfil the functions for which it was organized—the preservation of society. It has served its time and purpose; drawn together and coordinated the latent forces and powers of its possible development; given them an unimagined scope to play and a new foundation of potentiality. But it can do no more. It can no longer sustain society, no longer satisfy the hungered heart and craving mind of a new age. It has become a brake on progress, wasting the forces it has brought into being, and preventing their formulation consonant with the needs and knowledge of today. Its philosophy of the ideal is a withered and discredited relic, the society it seeks to maintain has become the scorn of intelligence; the power of its influence are dark with corruption; its democracy the citadel of slavery; and its vaunted civilization a reproach to the enlightened thought of progress. Its puny institutions of yesterday, nicked with the hard eyed gods of trade, are lifeless and uninspiring. And although they still stand, proud in the blue crowned day, in the seeming of authority and permanence, and the never ending stream of life flows in and out among them, they are, nevertheless,—like the clustering piles of antiquity—like the myths of heroic ages—like the folk ways of immemorial time—the gaunt and pulseless symbols of a vanished civilization.

R.

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

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 means of production, 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-increasing 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.

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Thus "The Drifter," in "The Nation" (New York). He's a cheerful sort of stiff even in his moments of gloom.

The practise of editorial terror manages sometimes to evoke a note of cheerful abandon, however, even in a subscriber who has been induced to turn the wheels of his attention to finance. As, for instance:—

Dear Mac:

Let you should inflict upon a human being made in the image of God a punishment (which he could not bear) for the simple reason that he does not send you two bones, why, here it is.

I could suffer the loss of wealth, health, friends, father, mother, sisters, brothers, home, heaven or God and religion, but to lose my Clarion, why, if it came to an issue of "Your Clarion or Your Life," I would be inclined to say, "You may take my life it is no good without my Clarion."

A clock tells the time, a feather tells the way the wind blows and the Clarion tells whence, whither and why.

So you see I pay two bones to get this information so I may know.

Well, how goes the battle? Better send names of any other delinquents and I will rustle them up a little.

The old globe keeps spinning but it's sure getting mixed up in some places a bit. What?

Well good luck, and keep your old quill a floppin'.

Yours,

J. H. G.

There now! It's not often we allow such prejudices to appear in the columns of the "family journal," but we're just perverse enough to put a spoke in "The Drifter's" wheel for the sake of appearances. Further testimonials will be looked for, even to the verge of poetry. We'll even excuse the poetry, under conditions that may be guessed.

The storm of our wrath will burst forth in a deluge one of these days over the matter of scanty finance. It has been brewing a long time. We have not the courage to set a financial figure away up in G as an object to be attained. Disappointments are so hateful! What we're trying to do is to get our readers to set it. If they can't do it we can't, and there's an end of it.

But there's no G about these figures. Our readers, we trust, will key up the spinet a bit next issue:

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