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FIVE CENTS

The Washington Conference

For many weeks, the Washington Conference has been heralded as the great harbinger of peace; with watchwords of peace, democracy and prosperity it has been acclaimed the one hope of the world. Now, with a characteristic flourish of official trumpet, it has assembled; for weeks it has talked and dreamed; its dissolution is spoken of as an early probability, and in so far as the world knows, it has said nothing, done nothing, solved nothing that could not have been accomplished equally well without it.

The Conference was called to discuss possibilities of armament limitations and to find a common agreement on the "problem of the Pacific"—not at least of egotistical reasons, but true. True, because for the first time the burden of armaments has become tolerably heavy; in the second, because failure to reach a mutual understanding involved the continuance of militarism and the practical certainty of a world war in the almost immediate future. So far the relative importance of the two items stated in the reverse order to that named and therefore the key to the situation is the "problem of the Pacific." What is this problem? Precisely the same problem of setting capital everywhere in its growth and development—the problem of trade, the problem of securing markets for the profitable disposal of exploit-

ation surplus. The question is not a new one, nor are the factors of the problem the outgrowth of today. They dovetail into the forgotten things of yesterday and are a related sequence of the trade ambitions of a day when imperialism was not. The roots of the question go back to 1853, when the American, Commodore Perry knocked at the doors of Japan, demanding admittance. The Japanese—having previous experience of white ambitions for Dominion—were lusty for the "rights" of their own caste. What availed the war-gear of a primitive people against the science of civilization? Japan learned then, that the mystic East could face the lusty West only on the terms of the West; only with the weapons and psychology of the West. And so thoroughly has the lesson been acquired that in 3 generations Japan has risen from an ancient feudalistic 3rd power in the world. The shogunate is but a memory; the Daimyos has been succeeded by the emperor; and a "god descended" absolutism has given place to the "constituted democracy" of a "god-dowered" oligarchy. To the thundering music of big guns, Britain and America forced an entry into Japan—as into China—but he would be indeed a desperately bold admiral, who, today, would sail into the seas of the Rising Sun and let loose even a quib.

Up to 1890 there was room for development. The race for the world market was not quite so intense. Imperialism was but foreseen in the future. More or less "peaceful penetration" was steadily going on in the Orient, the progress of civilization was preparing the field for the coming clash of interests. The "great powers" were gathered round the council table with jealousy, suspicion and treachery, their common and constant ambition, considering the partition of China. Britain, foremost in the race of Capital, was firmly established in Asia. By sea and land, from the straits of Bure to the treaty ports Britain owned; controlled; dominated. None was powerful enough to say

her "nay." She had compelled China to open her doors; had prior voice in the dictation of her policies; controlled her customs; had compelled "concessions" in the rich valley of the Yangtze; compelled agreements, that in these concessions none should come before her.

In those days European policies were directed against the expansionist, territory-grabbing ambitions of Czarist Russia. And just as in the later days Britain hemmed in German expansion, so at that time she put a ring against Russian advance. She checked Russia from entrance to the Mediterranean; put her off from Asia Minor; countered her designs on Persia; prohibited her entrance to Afghanistan and India; forced her to the only way open to her—to the far East, to Eastern Siberia and the 18 provinces of the magnificent resources of undeveloped China. So, in brief, matters stood in 1894.

Meanwhile Japan had been steadily developing. She could read the mind of the West. She saw the designs of the West and understood their significance. She saw China—her coveted and natural outlet and market, slipping away; saw the steam roller of Russia creeping down upon her shores—and she resolved to stop the advance. Korea was the bone of contention. Korea almost touches Japan. It is really part of China, but its situation is such that it commands Japan, i.e. commands the trade routes of commercialism. Hence capitalist Japan could not allow that peninsula to fall into "foreign" hands. The seesaw of struggle over Korea, between Japan and Russia (and superficially China), produced internal troubles in Korea, and from those troubles sprang the pretext for the China-Japanese war of 1895. Japan was wholly victorious in that war, but, because of the guile of the "Northern Wooer," acquired little advantage from it. But the war produced two important results. It brought Japan into recognition as a power to be reckoned with in the East, and it completely shattered the day dreams of Chinese partition by the Western Powers.

Ten years later the control of Korea again occasioned the Russo-Japanese War, the result of which definitely created the "problem of the Pacific." It made Japan dominant in the waters of the Orient. It entered Japan in the lists as a world power; it brought her into the arena of international politics; it sharpened the advance of eastern exploitation; quickened the pulse of commerce with the new wine of Imperialism; an accelerated progress towards the insoluble impasse of the present, and by the Treaty of Portsmouth, created "revanche" between Japan and America. For, by American interference Japan considered herself deprived of the full fruits of victory. This victory of Japan also broke the awesome influence of the "Russian bear" in the chancelleries of Europe, and centred politics on its instant successor, "Drang na Ost." Also, it formed the basis of several treaties,—the Franco-Japanese agreement, which brought Japan a loan of 12 million sterling; the Russo-Jap Japan a loan of 12 million sterling; the Anglo-Jap agreement; the Anglo-Russian convention; and the American Treaty of 1908—all more or less "securing Chinese integrity." Also it confirmed the Anglo-Jap treaty of 1902, which, in addition to that "integrity," is a contract by Britain to recognize and safeguard Japanese "rights and interests" in the East,

and is obligatory on Japan to safeguard British "rights" there. How faithfully the bond is observed, we know. In 1910 Japan "annexed" Korea—closing that part of the Chinese Empire to the "open door." Britain has—partly as a result of late Russian influence—practically closed Tibet, and the Yangtze Valley, and other nations have succeeded in reconquering "Chinese integrity" with "special interests." Thus were formed the national combinations, which preceded—and led up to—the Great War. Even then (consciously or not) Germany was becoming an "outsider," and it was in 1908 that the Kaiser crusaded against the "Yellow Peril," probably as an overture against that combination of Western Powers, which already blocked the supremacy of the German empire. Now let us look at what this means, and its bearing on the Washington Conference.

In the heyday of barbaric antiquity, the great plain of Jexreel constituted the battle ground of the nations. There, wave upon wave of armed force clashed and died. Egypt and Assyria, Elam and Hittite, Persian and Greek, struggled there for the mastery of the earth. Because, there, the trade-routes of the world dipped to the shores of the Great Sea. There were the avenues by which wealth came; there were the pathways of the ancient plunderbund, the roads along which armies marched; the bridgeheads between East and West. Thus, whoso controlled them, owned the wealth of the world, and influenced the destinies of its peoples. But when slavery had broken the bonds of the old society, when the economic of exploitation had impoverished and devastated them, one and all, and shut off the means of life from struggling life itself; and developed new needs, new conditions, new necessities, and with them other centres of activity, the sceptre of power passed to other lands and peoples, reorganizing in new form and detail the restless processes of social life. To Carthage and Rome came dominion, and for the same mastery of wealth they too challenged supremacy of the Mediterranean. With the rise of capital, consequent on the discovery of new commodities and markets, and from these new trade and necessities, the battle front surged on fields of the low countries. For there were centred the activities of the new commerce, there were the highways of wealth commanded, and from there could be controlled the growing activities on the waterways of the Baltic and the North Sea.

But from fiefs and towns came nations and centralized authority, and trade expanded from coastal seas. Out across the oceans, nations grew into Imperialist empires with all the panoply of institutions which Imperialist capital signifies. Wealth increased, and with its increase, the means of further wealth. Surplus outflowed in continually increasing volume; primitive countries were invaded; primitive industries destroyed; primitive societies broken up; primitive peoples transformed into challenging trade rivals. Now, on the outskirts of the world, on the line between day and night, the cold world and its institutions, broken down and decayed, its peoples surging in the grip of the greater industry; Imperialism, desperate with increasing necessity; East and West meet, and wait, tense in the pregnant silence of irreconcilables.

The Orient is, thus, the last hunting ground of the

(Continued on page 8)

The Collapse of the South Wales Coal Trade

By J. T. Walton Newbold

DURING the last ten or fifteen years the South Wales miners have come to be regarded by critics, both friendly and hostile, as being in the very fore-front of the revolutionary movement in this country and their lodges, economic classes and conferences as the natural and, almost, the original home of advanced opinion as to the ultimate objective of the workers and the correct means of getting there. They have been bracketed with the engineers of the Clydeside as the twin hopes of the British proletariat. They have struck the imagination of the class conscious workers just as they have attracted the attention and excited the hostility of the capitalist press and the bureaucratic administrators of the capitalist state.

Viewed at the present time or within recent years and not over the whole period of working class development since the Industrial Revolution, it would, indeed, seem as if the engineers of the Clyde and the miners of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire had inherent in themselves some characteristic which for all time singled them out from amongst their fellows of the working class. Such an idea, such an impression, would, however, be an illusion resulting from taking too short and too narrow a view. It has only been as a result of certain influences, in certain conditions, that the workers in these two important industries in these two widely separated areas have taken the lead in the ranks of the organized workers.

It is neither as a consequence of some innate characteristic of race or racial admixture, nor some peculiarity inherent in engineering or in mining, nor yet a mere chance, that these two bodies of men have adopted an attitude and propagated a theory which have made them at once the heroes and the models of the revolutionary elements of Great Britain. There was a time when the hand-loom cotton-weavers of Lancashire and of Lanarkshire, the stocking-frame workers of Nottingham or other sections of the textile operatives were in the van of progress. On other occasions it was the miners of the Tyne, the iron-puddlers of Staffordshire or, at a later season, the dockers of East London, who made themselves the bane of all respectable and law-abiding citizens.

At one time it has been one set of workers and at another it has been quite another. Certainly, the school of thought associated in so many people's minds with the Rhondda has had an influence longer and more potent than some of these others, but scarcely greater than those who constituted the Working Men's Association and advocated the Charter.

The Industrial Unionists Idea.

The idea of the sufficiency of organization of the workers at the point of production in one all-inclusive union comprising all engaged in that industry and direct action by those workers, in conjunction—somehow to be contrived—with workers in other industries similarly organized with a view to enforcing demands, however drastic—that may be said to be, in essence, the theory adopted from America into the Clyde area and into the steam coal lodges of South Wales.

This idea was, relatively speaking, strictly correct. It was an idea which would develop naturally in the minds of men thoroughly imbued with the fundamental concept of Marxism, the materialist conception of history—the history that the determining factor in the affairs of social life is the method of production then prevailing—and who were completely immersed in the everyday problems of working class life in the very self-contained mining towns and villages of South Wales. It was, particularly, an idea which took hold upon and expanded in the minds of men who not only worked together in association, great numbers of them doing the same kind

of thing and contributing to the mass production of a single undertaking, the colliery, but who were continuously made aware of their great numbers and, living in one great community, where everyone was a miner working at the same colliery, had exactly the same problems to face, and the same employer to encounter.

Their conditions, whether at work or off work, their identical impulses to solidarity, were not paralleled anywhere else in industry outside of mining except, to some extent, in great centres given over to engineering and shipbuilding on a large scale, such as Clydebank, Govan, East Glasgow, or Barrow-in-Furness.

Such were the general causes pre-disposing the miners of South Wales to adopt and to work out in practice the theory of Industrial Unionism.

Now, let us inquire into the peculiar circumstances that have given a special stimulus in South Wales to a theory and practice which seem, at first glance, to recommend themselves to intelligent miners everywhere, and to all workers in large scale production at all times.

The Importance of Shipping.

Capitalism, in Great Britain, has, during the last seventy years, come to depend increasingly upon the import of raw materials and of food, and the export of manufactures. The natural resources of this country have, for one reason or another, become altogether inadequate to supply either the workers or the machines they tend with the means to keep them constantly running. Also, the product of the industry has grown far beyond the capacity of the home market effectively to absorb it.

The development of overseas trade and the productivity of industry have, in this country, continuously reacted upon each other. During the last fifty years a greater and greater part of the product of British industry has been going overseas in the form of means of production—in other words, there has been a constant increase in the export of capital. Upon this capital there has fallen due, at yearly or half-yearly intervals, interest which has been brought home, mainly in the form of tangible commodities. British capital has been a means to production and to the growth of overseas commerce all over the world. The articles of this commerce have, moreover, converged upon or issued out of the ports of Great Britain. British capitalism, in becoming a system of world-wide extent, has come to depend, ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, on the sufficiency—and efficiency—of the shipping industry.

British shipping has become more and more important, and whoever wishes to find the vital nervous system of British capitalism must give his attention to the industry of transport, particularly of overseas transport, by means of which the actual circulation of the commodities themselves is alone made possible. The credit system is but a reflection. Here, at transport, we are face to face with reality. Incidentally we are confronting—power.

During the last half-century, British merchant shipping, in becoming steam shipping, has become utterly dependent upon coal for bunkering purposes. Coal, suitable for ship furnaces, has been the particular product of South Wales. The superior qualities, for use in the stokeholds of swift and luxuriously furnished passenger liners, the various grades of smokeless steam coal, have been almost the monopoly of South Wales.

The Fuel of the Navy

But indispensable as the coals of South Wales and, consequently, the labor of those who produced the coal of South Wales, have been to British Shipping as the most vital service of British capitalism, they have been even more necessary to the armed might by which the British Government has guarded

the British merchant marine, British commerce and the far-flung dominions and protectorates of the British Empire. The British navy has steamed upon South Wales coal. It has been South Wales steam coal which has made it possible for the battle fleets, cruiser squadrons and torpedo flotillas to show the Union Jack restlessly, ceaselessly, on every ocean and on the farthest sea.

The ever accentuated competition of naval armaments, the building of vessels that must show no smoke upon the skyline, and must sacrifice any amount of money to gun-power, armour and speed, the increasing requirements of coal for the navies of France, of Italy, and of other Powers have, from 1884 to 1904, and still more from 1904 to 1914, and, during the War, when hundreds and thousands of coal-burning auxiliaries were taken into the Fleet, made incessant, repeated, and above all, regular demands upon the producing capacity of the South Wales steam coal collieries and the efforts of the miners employed therein.

It is no exaggeration to assert that no section of the workers of the whole world—not excepting the shell-makers, warship repairers and merchant shipbuilders of the Clyde at the height of the Great War—have had more potential bargaining capacity, greater negotiating strength, than the Admiralty steam coal miners of South Wales had up to Armistice Day, 1918.

Though, of course, this tremendous power was never fully appreciated, much less exerted, it was intuitively realized by the Government and the capitalists. The whole fabric of capitalism and of the Empire was at the hazard of the emotional masses of South Wales. British capitalism and, behind it, the most efficient of all its Departments, the Admiralty, realized that they must never drive South Wales into the arms of the revolutionaries, while yet they were dependent upon them for the fuel of the Navy. In circumstances such as these the practice of Industrial Unionism and the elaboration of the theory of the adequacy of the Strike have had much to recommend them. They have had the semblance of an efficacy which has owed far less to them and to their exponents, amongst check-weighmen, agents and lodge officials, however eloquent and however impetuous, than to economic factors that are rapidly disappearing.

From Coal to Oil.

For, partly as a result of the very natural desire of the Admiralty to obtain alternative sources of fuel supply, but mainly for reasons of a technical character, the British Navy and, with it, the other navies of the world, are abandoning the use of steam coal and are adopting, in its place, oil. Ever since 1903 the British Government, through the Foreign Office or the Admiralty, has been persistently seeking, on the one hand, to secure officially or unofficially, control of the future reserves of oil fuel, and, on the other, to utilize oil for the drive of every kind of warship, from the submarine to the super dreadnought. Admiral Sir Wm. Pakenham and, in fact, the gentleman himself, have recorded the fact that Sir Marcus Samuel, when Chairman of the "Shell" Transport and Trading Company, was constantly impressing upon the Admiralty the necessity of adopting oil fuel in the Navy. Of course, there were vested interests at work to secure the change but the paramount consideration was technical. Owing to the developments of torpedo warfare, a warship must have a very great speed and be quick to answer the helm. To add to the already high speed and to do so whilst using coal would necessitate an entirely disproportionate increase in bunker capacity, and, consequently, in dead weight. It would require very heavy engines, and would add greatly

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Classes and Class-Consciousness in Class Society

NO doubt the correct way to write an article on any subject is to commence at the beginning and work towards the end, touching a few of the sidings and way points as we go along. This method however, has its difficulties, as it is sometimes hard to tell which is the beginning, and which the end of a subject, and furthermore, very often neither the beginning nor the end is in sight. Particularly is this true of human society; we know very little about the beginning, and the end is over an unknown trail.

Consequently, I have come to the conclusion that the best way to write an article is to start right in the middle of the subject, or as near the middle as possible, call the starting point zero, and work both ways like a thermometer.

The advantage of this system is easily seen. In the first place it does not matter where we begin, or where we finish. In the second place, whenever we think of anything we can write it down without considering whether it is exactly in order of sequence or not. And lastly, we cannot be expected to exhaust the subject, or say the last word.

Now let us start in right where we are and examine classes just as they exist in human society at the present time, also briefly investigate the basis of classification, and the causes and degrees of class-consciousness. What do we mean by classes in human society? and upon what conditions or circumstances do we base our classification? We hear people speak of the upper class, the lower class, the middle class, the upper ten, and the submerged tenth, the leisure class, and the common people, the educated class, and the professional class, the merchant class, the artisan class, and the agricultural class, etc. We might go on indefinitely, but this is enough to illustrate. These classes are generally referred to as social classes, and no doubt correctly, inasmuch as the classification is based on degrees of wealth and poverty, culture, education, craft, and caste, etc. The classification is very often quite arbitrary and the lines of demarcation are as a rule very indefinite. These so-called classes are merely social groups or factions, that may, or may not, be antagonistic to each other, but do not constitute distinct and separate classes in themselves. I do not remember ever hearing anyone try to explain the line of demarcation between the lower class and the middle class, or between the middle class and the upper class. There is only one certain way to distinguish a member of the middle class, and that is when we find him sitting astride of the fence that separates the slave class from the parasite class, apparently in a state of terror lest he may fall off, either on one side or the other. The middle class is a kind of fifty-fifty proposition. It's name should be zero. It is the point where two extremes meet and blend.

But what of the other two classes just mentioned? The slave class, and the parasite class, more often referred to as the working class and the capitalist class, or the subject class and the ruling class, etc. The class that does all the work of the world and owns nothing but its ability to produce wealth, and another class that owns all the wealth of the world, and performs no useful labor. There we have divisions of classes, a line of demarcation, by means of which normal human beings in civilized society may be classified in one or the other of the two classes, regardless of the gentlemen who sits on the fence, and as this classification is based on the economic conditions, or the economic situation, of the classes concerned, these classes are correctly termed economic classes, to distinguish them from the numerous so-called social classes.

Now don't try to get out of it by claiming that although you are a worker, you own a little property, or that, although you are a capitalist you do a little work, by such an argument you are merely trying to get one leg over the fence. The working class, as a class, owns no property in the means of wealth production. The capitalist class, as a class, does not perform any useful labor; it does not even do its

own dirty work. Its hirelings are drawn from the working class.

Owing to the fact that the economic interests of the working class are diametrically opposed to those of the capitalist class, it necessarily follows that the two classes must be at all times antagonistic to each other. This antagonism manifests itself from time to time in disputes and clashes over wages, hours of labor, working conditions, and so forth, between groups of workers and capitalists, now in one industry, again in another, but it is not generally recognized as a conflict of class interests by either of the classes concerned; it is supposed to be a result of the avarice and duplicity of certain individuals or groups. This being the case, the government (which is supposed to be of the people, by the people, and for the people, and to act in the interests of the people), is very often called upon to settle the dispute, which it occasionally does. However, as the government is in reality the executive committee of the capitalist class, it very naturally decides the dispute in the interest of that class, and then the people, that is the capitalist class, plus the majority of the working class, declare that justice has been done, and so it has, justice from a capitalist class point of view.

The idea never seems to enter the mind of the average worker that justice, like everything else in the universe is merely a relative proposition consequently he cannot figure out how it is that the working out of justice always seems to catch himself or some other worker or group of workers, where the chicken catches the axe. Nevertheless, after he has been through the ordeal of capitalist justice a few times the idea begins to leak into his cranium that there is something rotten in Patagonia. At this point it is almost safe to introduce him to the works of Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, and other Socialist writers, as he is likely to be in a frame of mind susceptible to Socialist propaganda. For we must remember that the mere fact that a worker is discontented, that he knows he is a worker and that his employer is something else (may in fact be almost anything else), does not make the worker class-conscious; if it did the whole working class would have been class-conscious long ago.

Before a worker can become conscious of his position in human society, he must understand that society is divided into two distinct economic classes, a master class, and a slave class, and that he is a member of the slave class; he must also understand that the economic interests of these two classes are, at all times diametrically opposed. To understand this he must have some knowledge of the Marxian law of value, he must know something of the economic basis upon which class society stands. It is also necessary that he should know something of the causes, origin, and evolution of class society from its earliest inception, consequently, he must study the materialist conception of history. He must also learn to apply the dialectical method of reasoning to every phase of human activity, otherwise, he will be continually losing himself in the swamps of capitalist class psychology.

Now this may seem rather a large order at first glance, but after all it does not require such a great effort if one really wishes to learn; it is not so much what we must learn, as what we must unlearn. Before we can get new ideas into our heads, we must get some of the old ones out. We must discard nearly everything that has been crammed into our minds in the home, in the school, in the church and in every institution of capitalism; this is the difficult part. Furthermore, there is no regularly prescribed dose of knowledge; the only rule that can be laid down is that each worker learn as much as he can, no one can know it all, and the amount of knowledge acquired by each individual will depend on the time and opportunity at his disposal, the effort he makes, and his ability to understand.

It is safe to say that no worker who thoroughly understands his class position in human society can ever be influenced by ideas of nationalism, or by the

drivel of patriotism, and yet there are many who call themselves Socialists that are influenced by such ideas. It may also be pointed out that even a limited knowledge of the fundamental principles of Marxian economics makes a worker immune to opportunism, and all schemes for reforming capitalism. Likewise, a fairly good understanding of historical materialism is an antidote against all the various brands of superstitious drivel that are peddled throughout the world in the interests of capitalism, in other words, it is a sure cure for ghosts.

Regarding the question of how a class-conscious worker should act, I might say that the main reason why he should be class-conscious is that he may know how to act in his own class interests, under all circumstances, without advice from anyone else. There are, however, many ways in which a worker can demonstrate that he is class-conscious. For instance he can vote the Socialist ticket, if he has a vote, and the opportunity to use it. He can also support the Socialist press, in preference to the prostitute press of the capitalist class, and this is a very important point, here we have no barriers to contend with, there is nothing to prevent any worker from being a subscriber to a Socialist paper. On the other hand, our anti-political action friends would have us believe that there are millions and millions of class-conscious workers whose fingers are just itching to get at the throat of capitalism, but they cannot express their opinion by means of the ballot, because they have not got a vote. If this is true, one would naturally expect to find the Socialist press swamped with subscribers. But such is not the case. Even the so-called Socialist and Labor parties that have platforms broad enough to accommodate the whole human race, with the possible exception of John D. Rockefeller, and the Pope of Rome, are forced to beg continually, for support for their press. The truth of the matter is that the percentage of workers who are class-conscious is as yet, very small, unless we extend our classification to include almost every degree of radicalism, which we cannot afford to do. There are many other ways in which a worker can demonstrate that he is class-conscious, but I will not take up space to enumerate them here.

Among other views in connection with class-consciousness, we occasionally hear the remark that because capitalists as a class, always act in their own class interests, (that is, they always vote a capitalist class ticket, support the capitalist class press, and other capitalist class institutions, etc.) they must of necessity be class-conscious, and that this fact would indicate that they are more intelligent than the workers, who do not act in their own interests as a class. I do not see it that way. It is true, there is a small percentage of capitalists that do understand this class position in the same way as a Socialist understands his, but the majority do not. All that the average capitalist does in his own interests, is to do as he always has done. Continue to believe the same things he always has believed. Support the same church, the same press, the same political party, that he always has supported. Do, as he has been trained to do, from his infancy. In short, act like a trained monkey. This, I maintain, requires neither "brains" nor education; all that is necessary, is to howl with the pack. When we know it to be a fact that the majority of the workers can be depended upon to act in the interests of the capitalist class at all times, and directly in opposition to their own class interests just because they have been trained to do so, surely it is logical to assume that the majority of capitalists can be depended upon to act in their own interests on the same principle. In fact, I have an idea that if the capitalists were really class-conscious, if they understood the trend of social evolution, if they had any idea of what the future may have in store for them, they would not always act as they do at present. Anyhow the moral for the workers is to study, and prepare themselves for the new society, no matter how their masters may see fit to spend their time.

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Western Clarion

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VANCOUVER, B. C., DECEMBER 16, 1921.

CONCERNING THE ELECTIONS

ON December 6th there were placed before the workers of Canada the names of half a dozen S. P. of C. candidates for election or rejection. They were all rejected!

Why? Because of working-class ignorance, which is the subject of another story.

The vote recorded has been already characterized as a disappointment. A vote from a wage worker for a Socialist candidate we take to be, speaking with reservation, a vote cast by that worker in his own interest and with some measure of understanding behind it. In judging votes recorded for our candidates, we take into consideration therefore, the particular field in which the candidate was nominated and our estimate of the degree of understanding of the workers in that area.

In Nanaimo riding, we confess to a disappointment and, for that matter, a surprise! We thought the workers in that riding knew more than is indicated by their vote of approximately eleven thousand for their masters' candidates and four thousand in the name of their own—W. A. Pritchard. Disappointment or surprise must be determined by comparing results with previous judgment, and here our previous judgment appears to have been at fault.

In Burrard, the vote for Comrade Harrington is higher than we expected it would be, considering the measure of Socialist propaganda that has previously covered that riding. Vancouver Centre measured up to and beyond expectations, taking the constituency into consideration with votes recorded in previous elections. Vancouver South was something in the nature of a surprise: but only to those who themselves blew a bubble which was picked by nothing else than working class ignorance.

Now to Manitoba. (In passing we may record that Comrade H. A. Wiertz was a candidate in Bow River, Alberta. His exact vote has not come to hand but it is understood to have been very small. His candidature was entered at the last moment, therefore we had no notification of it previously announced.) In Manitoba, Comrade R. B. Russell was defeated by the Workers' Alliance policy, an organization the present composition of which we described last issue. We are not kicking about it; we are simply stating the fact.

The Workers' Alliance of Winnipeg, under the direction of the Communists, entered this election in order to defeat R. B. Russell, and they succeeded. Thereby hangs a tale. Events will yet determine whether that tale is to be told.

We are about sick and tired of the practices of lying, deceit, double dealing, shuffling, scheming, trickery and deception that now masquerades in this country under the name of Communism, which pleads tactics as the convenient pretext for every miserable practice engaged in and which has hidden behind the ethic of working class loyalty, free from exposure, in order to further its own ends. All in the name of the working class!

There is preached to us constantly—organization, working class unity—and all that goes with it. We

shall be able to discuss these matters as time goes on. We have discussed them before. The glaring fact before us now, however, is that we have to set our house in order. If, in order to do that we have to burden these columns with controversy, criticism and a measure of that party strife which has been a deplorable feature of some other Socialist journals in recent years—deplorable, as of no educational value to the uninitiated—we shall do it with regret. But we are ready—if unwilling—and able to do it, if it is needed.

The working class has much to suffer from. Its latest affliction is illusion, the stock in trade of its new prophets. Illusion—the hope engendered of something that the prophets know cannot be realized—this and sound working class education cannot live in the same house in agreement together.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

Note Change of Address.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 which has occupied the old church at 401 Pender Street East, have been ordered to move to make way for a Chinese Mission. New quarters have been rented at
157-179 Cordova Street West
Vancouver, B. C.

Rents are high and moving day may again be a feature to be reckoned with, although we hope not, for the sake of the comrades who undertake the task. Send mail for Clarion or the Dominion Executive Secretary to P. O. Box 710.

Election Results—

Vancouver Centre—	
Stevens (Coalition)	10,493
Gale (Liberal)	5,538
O'Connor (Socialist)	1,866
Batson (Independent)	39
Burrard—	
Clark (Coalition)	12,072
Macdonald (Liberal)	6,827
Harrington (Socialist)	2,735
Vancouver South—	
Jadner (Coalition)	4,893
Odlum (Liberal)	4,130
Richardson (I.L.P.)	2,827
Kavanagh (Socialist)	810
Richmond (Farmer)	312
Nanaimo—	
Dickie (Govt.)	6,903
Booth (Liberal)	4,143
Pritchard (Socialist)	3,995
Winnipeg North—	
McMurray (Liberal)	3,743
Russell (Socialist)	3,190
Blake (Coalition)	3,042
Penner (Communist)	596

Expulsion of Robert Walker as Member of S. P. of C
Robert Walker, of Cumberland, B. C., has been expelled from membership in the S. P. of C. Sufficient time was given to him to enter a full denial of the report of his speech in the "Cumberland Islander" at the banquet to the Governor-General of B. C.

Concerning the referendum on the matter of affiliation with the Third International. Many places are still to hear from. Membership of some locals is spread over a wide area. The vote will be given in these columns when all returns are in.

SOURCES OF ERROR

If the human mind were a perfectly working logical machine, mankind by now would have been far further advanced in progress and happiness. But no mind is often burdened and influenced by a number of harmful biases and prejudices. Some of these, such as national, race, class, industrial, professional and intellectual, are more or less sectional and overlapping in extent. Others influence all mankind almost without exception. As a source of error and illusion, the bias of the

feelings is proverbial—"The wish is father to the thought," and so on.

We either contract or are taught dislikes to places, sects, parties, nationalities, etc. We meet a man without knowing his "label" and are charmed with him; meet him again when we know what he is, and, by the "association of ideas" principle, he is now "a dog with a bad name," and so all is changed!

Man, as a being formed for action, takes pleasure in physical and mental action irrespective of consequences; because he is so charged with energy that he cannot be comfortable if it does not get free vent. A conviction that the way is clear for free exercise of our activities—a belief—in as much a necessity of happy existence as action itself. Doubt, therefore, depresses us. Shakespeare's Laertes, like his Hotspur—"a wasp-stung and impatient fool"—represents the impulsive temperament; Hamlet the more rational mind. Nietzsche also points out the universal desire to discharge energy whatever may follow; hence, deduces the conclusion that self-preservation is not the first law of life. His "will to be powerful" and dominant, accounts for a bias whose effects on others runs from mere pin-pricks and friction, all the way up to mass murder, misery and destruction.

If an occupation satisfies our inner craving for action, and is also pleasing to us in itself, we are liable to exaggerate its worth and be blind to its consequences. Thus, we find studies or Movements pursued far beyond their original, necessary purpose, and so degenerating into a mere consumption of vacant energy, and becoming a sheer waste of time that ought to be employed otherwise.

The influence of the physical on the mental very largely accounts for the various "anti" movements against the things that injure the body and thereby damage the mind.

The Socialist Movement needs and demands the cleanest and most self-controlled thinkers—"a word is enough," etc. When under Socialism it "pays" to have all the people "wise" the various impediments to sound thought will tend to disappear.

"HERE AND NOW" AND "C. M. F."

Just at this moment, when we come to compile the figures of our "Here and Now" and Clarion Maintenance Fund" budget, we are confronted with a pile of chairs, bench forms, cabinets, book-cases, bundles of books, papers, stove-pipes and so forth, clothed in a mantle of kalsomine and settled inextricably and securely in the middle of the floor—an imposing pile. These constitute our "effects"; they comprise what Comrade Stephenson would no doubt describe as our "material equipment."

Somewhere in this pile our records are to be found, and they will not be found before this issue goes to press. We cannot therefore point with cheerful Caledonian scorn in this issue to the skeletal cash accumulation of the past two weeks. We'll let it pass this time and we'll drop not even a hint concerning the need for finance.

But we may as well remind you of our postal address—Western Clarion, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C. Our old Joss House is now inhabited by the heathen Chinese, under Presbyterian direction. Presbyterian theology, as a landlord, expects to extort more money from the Chinese, in Jesus' name, than it get from us.

The furniture pile will be demolished by next issue.

MANIFESTO

— of the —
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
(Fifth Edition)

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Stupidus and Sapiens

(Re-printed from the "Clarion" April 29, 1911)

By D. G. MacKenzie

THE vista opened out by the patient research of the archaeologist, the ethnologist and the biologist, in the attempt to unravel the unwritten history of man is one in which the most exuberant fancy can revel endlessly. Gradually there has been unfolded to us picture after picture until we see, far in the past, beyond even the earliest tradition, man first emerging from the forest gloom of primeval days. Low of brow, long of arm, short legged, huge muscled, grim of aspect, the direct forbear of the human race, yet lacking all vestige of aught we are accustomed to associate with humanity. Dwelling as the beasts of the forest, wandering through the day in search of food, grubbing for roots, climbing for fruits or nuts, crouching at night in a cave or on the limb of a tree; mating as the beast. A beast in all things, naked and unashamed. Where do we find in him any of that human nature we speak of so glibly? Where any conception of good or evil, of decency, or morality, or faith, hope and charity. Where is the soul which has been the source of so much anxiety to his posterity? Where the habits and customs, where the laws, human and "divine"?

As says our Haji—

"What rock'd he, say, of Good or Ill,
Who in the hill hole made his lair;
The blood-fod rav'ning beast of prey,
Wildier than wildest wolf or beaf?
"How long in man's pre-Adamite days
To food and swill, to sleep and breed,
Were the Brute-biped's only life,
A perfect life sans Code or Creed.

Yet, this is a man, blood of our blood, and bone of our bone. Our relationship to him is undeniable, and its closeness a mere matter of a few hundred thousand years. A long time! Not it! A mere turn of the glass compared to the ages between that ancestor of ours and his far away forbear, the slimy, formless amoeba.

That man, urged onward by the same mute irresistible forces that have brought him to the threshold of manhood, passes over that threshold, and, generation by generation, approaches us of today, just as we are pressed onward to the tomorrow we know not. At the stern mandate of necessity he adapts himself to new conditions, devises new means of gaining his livelihood, creates tools and weapons, and ever improves upon them.

"Yet, as long ages rolled he learned
From beaver, ape and ant to build
Shelter for sire and dam and brood,
From blast and blaze that hurt and killed."

Age by age, we can trace the march of our fathers towards us, ever, as they come, profiting pain-

fully and slowly by the accumulated experience of past generations; growing in knowledge, growing greater in brain and less brutish in body. Ever impelled by the stern necessity of obtaining a better hold upon the means of life. Improving their dwellings, their boats, their clothing, their tools and weapons. Discarding the rough stone weapon for the polished, that for the flint, thence to copper, to bronze, to iron.

Free, wandering, warring, hunting, lawless, propertyless, "ignorant," savages. Living thus for nigh three hundred thousand years before the first dawn of barbarism even. Then, finding a new source of food supply in the cultivation of the soil, swinging open the gates of Eden and passing out on the way that led to labor and to slavery, to progress and to civilization.

That ancient forbear of ours, the child of the manape, the scientists call "homo stupidus"—stupid man. Us they call "homo sapiens"—wise man. Oh, fond conceit! Wise man! We, who revere the antiquity of a civilization barely ten thousand years old, and that with lapses. Who invest with a halo of heaven-born sanctity a mushroom system of property of little better than a century's growth. Who bow before the altars of "eternal" deities discovered but yesterday. Who crystallize our miserable modern characteristics as "human nature"—as it was in the beginning and always shall be. Who elevate to the ludicrous dignity of divine law an upstart moral code coeval with shopkeeping. Who conceitedly plume ourselves upon the possession of a higher ethical sense than our rude forbears, and daily and habitually stoop to practices which the most untutored savage would abhor. Who lie, and cheat, and thieve, and prey upon one another. Who rob, ravish and oppress the weak and cringe before the strong; who pander to lust and prostitute for a pittance: who traffic, traffic, traffic in all things—in manly "honor," in womanly "virtue," in childish defencelessness, in the flesh and blood of kith and kin, in the holiest of holies or in the abomination of abominations; and who crown our achievements by pouring over the festering heap of our iniquities the leprous, foetid slime of hypocrisy.

Wise man! Wonderful creature! Lord of creation! Hub of the universe! For whose uses all things, the quick and the dead, were especially created: the stars and the planets, the sun by day and the moon by night to light him: the earth, the seasons, the winds, the rain, the waters, the lightning, the metals, the mountains, the plains, the valleys, the forests, the fruits, the beasts, the fishes, the birds, the bees, the fleas and the flies and the corned beef and cabbage.

help by struggling against their bourgeois. They could not give us machinery and tools because the means of production are still in the hands of the world bourgeois. Taking this fact into account the Soviet government has often proposed to the capitalists to enter into commercial relations. Every new victory of the Red Army was made the ground of a new offer of peace to Western Europe. The Soviet government was of the opinion that it was preferable to accept certain burdens than to allow the whole economic life of the land to be destroyed.

The Entente imperialists have grasped the fact that if they do not succeed in overthrowing the Soviet government by famine they must bury their hopes. For this reason England is endeavoring by means of economic assistance to obtain a monopoly position in the Russian market. France knew that negotiations, not yet in an official form were proceeding between England and Soviet Russia for the placing of a loan. After the unsuccessful attempt to involve Poland in a war with Soviet Russia France has now decided to win support of the Entente for putting through its claims for the recognition of the pre-war debt by Soviet Russia.

The Soviet government is quite aware that it has to deal with wolves even if they are wolves in sheep's clothing. Russia has never believed that the Entente bourgeois would come to the help of the hungry workers and peasants of Russia for any unselfish reason. Russia, however, did not expect that they would demand the recognition of the Czarist debts from the working population of Soviet Russia who are dying of hunger. The Soviet government declares: In order to save millions of human beings from death by hunger and in order to hasten the reconstruction of the lands which have been destroyed by Entente intervention it recognizes in the name of the suffering population the pre-war debts.

We establish the fact that at the same time when the bankers of France demand the cancellation of their debts to England and America, and when wealthy England is bringing about the cancellation of its debts in America they demand the recognition of the Czarist debts from the impoverished and hungry people of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia is prepared to pay these debts when it is in the position to do so, when by trade with foreign countries, and with the help of new loans its economic life has been brought to the normal level. The recognition of the pre-war debts demands however, the mutual recognition of the Soviet government by the Entente. Without such a recognition our recognition of the pre-war debts would have no international value.

The Entente stands now before the question whether they will render assistance in the revival of Russian economic life or whether they will undertake new political adventures through which they will certainly not conquer us, but will certainly cause us new sufferings and deprivations.—"Rosta Wien."

NOTE CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Send all mail to—

P. O. Box 710

Vancouver, B. C.

(Exchanges please adjust to suit)

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOUTH WALES COAL TRADE

(Continued from page 2)

to the length, tonnage, and cost of the ship. Guns and armour would need to be sacrificed, and as "the battleship is solely a gun-platform," economy has to be sought in other directions. The use of oil fuel results in the ship having to carry a smaller crew and in other ways is productive of many important gains in efficiency. The oil-driven warship has come to stay. She can be fuelled anywhere except in a gale. The British Navy will never, so far as can be foreseen, revert to steam coal. As one ship after another goes out of commission and out of the service—and the original "Dreadnought" is now being "broken up"—the coal using warships will disappear utterly, and with them the indispensability to the State of the South Wales miners.

Again, the great steamship companies, whether for passenger or cargo purposes, are steadily adopting oil fuel instead of coal. Increase in running costs has speeded up this tendency, and, despite the greater price of petroleum, steamship owners are, in view of other economies, having vessels built to burn oil. Furthermore, at the Dockers' Enquiry, and elsewhere, there have been continuous complaints about the congestion prevailing at the docks and in the harbors of this country. The building of new docks would be a long and extremely costly affair. The alternative economy is to "turn the ship round," i.e., to bring in, unload, load and send her out more expeditiously. Here, oil fuel is a god-send. The following are comparative figures regarding the "Olympic," the largest of British ships:—When using coal she had 246 stokers; now, using oil, she has sixty, twenty on each shift. When using coal, it required on each trip 300 men, working four to four and a half days, of 9,600 hours of labor; to coal her; now, 10 men, working for eight hours each, or 80 hours in all, can oil her. She burns 600 tons of oil a day as against 840 to 920 tons of coal.

(To be Continued.)

THE RECOGNITION OF THE DEBTS

Moscow, October 29th.

Carl Radek writes under the above title in "Pravda." "The Soviet government demands the summoning of an international conference in which the Entente states have to present their claims against Soviet Russia. This conference will be called upon to settle all matters of contention between Soviet Russia and its earlier allies. This action of the Soviet government is a great event in the realm of world politics."

After establishing the fact that the Entente, in spite of all its efforts, was not in the position to overthrow the Soviet power Radek writes further: "The very fact that the Entente demands the recognition of the Czarist debts is a proof that they have finally come to the conviction that the Soviet government exists and will continue to exist. The campaign of the Entente against Soviet Russia has changed the land into a heap of ruins. Our industry has been destroyed and for reconstruction we lack machinery and equipment. So far the working class of the Western Europe have only been able to come to our

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON—IRELAND.

BY PETER T. LEOKIE

"Ireland," one historian says, "has been the Cinderella of the British Empire, as the Boers and other parts of the Dominions have received Home Rule. The government of Ireland by England was the outcome of a conquest conducted on a scale of ferocity and cruelty unsurpassed by Germany in Belgium. Each conquest was followed by the confiscation of Irish Lands to English robbers, who drove Irish landlords and Irish peasants to death and destruction."

As early as 1172, Henry II took advantage of the internal troubles of the natives, seized upon the kingdom and conferred the government upon his son John, by whom it was united in 1210. But with successive revolutions it was not entirely subdued until the 16th century. Laws were now established to wear English dress and use the English language. In Queen Elizabeth's time the Protestant church was established, and all subjects were bound to attend its services. The violent manner in which enforcement of these laws was attempted aggravated the rebellious spirit and drove them to insurrection.

Lecky, in his "History of European Morals," tells us, when dealing with the final rupture of England from the Church because of the Pope's perpetual demands, "Ireland on the other hand, had been given over by two Popes to the English invader, on the condition of the payment of Peter's pence" Vol. II p. 92.

At a later date the successors of the English Conquerors became the absentee landlords, draining Ireland of millions a year, which were spent in London or on the Continent, instead of in improving the land of Ireland. In 1847 it is estimated four million pounds or 1-3 of the entire rental of Ireland was paid to absentee landlordism. The inability to pay rent led to evictions of tenants from cottage and land, in most cases without compensation for improvements which had been made.

Therefor, crushed between the upper and lower millstone of exorbitant rents and prohibition of natural industries within half of a century nearly half of the population, (4 millions, as the population of Ireland was 8 millions), were forced to emigrate to the United States. This accounts for the large Irish movement in the States.

With the attempt to crush out their religion, legislation was passed to prohibit Catholics from teaching. Their children could not leave Ireland to be educated abroad, they were prohibited from carrying firearms, buying land, voting for members of parliament, or from holding civil or military positions.

Laws passed in Henry Eighth's time provided that English statutes were law in Ireland and that the Irish parliament could not meet, that its acts could not be passed without the consent of the King and Council, further, that the Irish House of Lords was composed of Anglican prelates and nobles, and the House of Commons of Protestants who represented one-tenth of the population.

Is it any wonder you had a rebellious people? Yet, fearful of this shadow of independence and determined to consolidate English rule, the Anglican parliament of Ireland, in spite of the protests of the Irish patriots, sold its birthright for a mess of pottage and Ireland lost this semblance of parliament by the Act of the Union of 1800, which assigned Ireland 100 members to the British House of Commons and 28 peers to the House of Lords.

The basis of society in Ireland (except a small strip of land around Dublin, before English invasions) was tribal ownership of land. The Irish Chief, although recognized in the courts of Spain, France and Rome as a peer, held his position upon the suf-

ferance of the people as administrator of tribal laws, while the land and territory was entirely removed from his jurisdiction. In some parts of Ireland the English invader could not penetrate except at the head of a powerful army for almost 400 years after the first conquest. The forcible breaking up of the clan system in 1649 changed the social aspect of the struggle which, Connolly says, fell into the hands of a middle class.

He says: "The so-called Patriot Parliament was in reality like every other Parliament that ever sat in Dublin, merely a collection of land thieves and their lackeys; their patriotism consisted in an effort to retain for themselves the spoils of the native peasantry; the English influence, against which they protested, was the influence of their fellow thieves in England, hungry for a share of the spoils. Sarfield and his followers did not become Irish patriots because of their fight against King William's government any more than an Irish Whig out of office becomes a patriot because of his hatred of the Tories who are in.

"The forces which battled beneath the walls of Limerick or Derry were not the forces of England and Ireland, but were the forces of two English political parties fighting for the possession of the powers of government, and the leaders of the Irish Wild Geese on the battlefields of Europe were not shedding their blood because of their fidelity to Ireland, as our historians pretend to believe, but because they had attached themselves to the defeated side of English politics. This fact was fully illustrated by the action of the old Franco-Irish at the time of the French Revolution. They in a body volunteered into the English army to help to put down the French Republic and as a result Europe witnessed the spectacle of the new republican Irish exiles fighting for the French Revolution, and the sons of the old aristocratic Irish exiles fighting under the banner of England to put down the Revolution."

"And on the other hand. . . King William, when he had finally subdued his enemies in Ireland, showed by his actions that he and his followers were animated by the same class feelings and considerations as their opponents. When the war was over William confiscated one million and a half acres and distributed them among the aristocratic plunderers that followed him.

While they who adhered to the army of James could not expect any consideration after his defeat by William, the hungry horde of adventurers under William who had glutted themselves with plunder for which they had crossed the Channel, showed no more disposition to remember the claims of the common soldier by the aid of whose swords they had risen to power than do the rulers of today show to the returned soldiers when they are no longer needed.

During the American Revolution, when Ireland was threatened with a French Invasion, a large volunteer force was raised to protect Ireland.

When England was occupied abroad, pressure was brought to bear which temporarily abandoned the claim set up by the English parliament to force laws on the Irish Parliament, and also a concession of free trade, enabling Irish merchants to trade on equal terms with their English rivals was inaugurated through what was known as Grattan's Parliament. The political agitators of today never tire in telling us that the period of prosperity attained during this parliament would be restored with Home Rule.

Yet with this boasted prosperity there was an advertisement of a charity sermon to be preached in the Parish Chapel, Meath Street, Dublin, in April 1796, with the statement that in three streets of the Parish of St. Catherine's no less than 2000 souls had been found in a starving condition.

This is really what the Home Rule capitalistic

expression of prosperity will mean for the Irish workers, even although they obtain Home Rule.

We find Ireland did not lose her trade position by losing her parliament.

The invention of the water frame and spinning jenny, by Arkwright and Hargreaves; Crompton's mechanical mule; the application of the steam engine to blast furnaces—all combined to cheapen linen and cotton.

The competition became so keen and, Irish manufacturers, without a native coal supply, being dependent on an English supply of coal while their English competitors before the days of railway transportation had the coal supply at their door, found it easy to undersell the Irish manufacturer.

As long as such machinery was worked by hand Ireland could hold her place on the markets, but with the application of steam to the industry and the introduction of the power-loom which first came into use in 1813, the immense natural advantage of a coal supply finally settled the contest in favour of English manufacturers.

It was stated in the Irish Parliament that the production of linen was twice the production of Scotland in 1799, the figures given being 23,000,000 yards for Scotland as against 46,705,319 yards in Ireland.

This discrepancy in favour of Ireland was credited to the native parliament. But by the year 1830 the port of Dundee, Scotland, exported more linen than all Ireland, although both countries had been deprived of self government.

Why had the Scottish manufacture advanced whilst that of Ireland had decayed?—Because Scotland possessed a native coal supply and every facility for industrial pursuits that Ireland lacked.

The volunteer army during the threatened French invasion in the American Revolutionary period were all Protestants, well armed, they demanded a removal of all their political grievances, political representation and freedom of trade. They won Free Trade, but after the granting of free trade a volunteer convention was summoned to meet in Dublin, to consider the question of popular representation in parliament. Lord Charlemont, commander-in-chief of the volunteers, repudiated the Convention; his example was followed by all the lesser fry, and finally, when it did meet, Henry Grattan, whose political and personal fortunes the volunteers had made, denounced them in parliament as "an armed rabble."

The convention was fruitless and ended in confusion; when the attempt was made to hold another convention it was prohibited by Government proclamation and the signers of the call were arrested and heavily fined.

The Government having made peace with America, granting independence, was able to mass troops in Ireland and the Volunteer movement surrendered without a blow.

Therefor we have seen the patriotic Protestants of Ireland making a great howl during the Great War when some of their Catholic friends have imitated their ancestors, taking advantage of poor England when she was busy at war abroad.

If we look at the Irish Question today we still see it is an economic question as to whether the capitalists of Ireland will keep the surplus value exploited from labor or share it with the absentee landlord.

The Rev. Dr. J. A. H. Irwin, minister of the Presbyterian Church of Kilhead, Ireland, says: "There are two or three factors necessary for progress and prosperity and happiness of any people in any country; first, the right to develop their own industries natural to their soil; second, reasonable means of transit for the transportation of their products; third, a natural, responsible, sound system of fin-