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War in the Pacific—What For?

Part 2.

BY ROBERT KIRK.

(Part 1 appeared in "Clarion" Nov. 16.)

NO doubt some reader will be influenced by the press accounts of progress made at Washington towards a favorable basis for the reduction of armament.

He may conclude this to be a sincere attempt on the part of the ruling class to give the world a respite from war.

Alas, such is not the case, but is instead the outward show to appease the pacifists upon whose shoulders fall most heavily the burden of taxes for the upkeep of the State forces.

These taxes must be paid by bourgeois society for industrial expansion.

In support of this, let me cite for a moment a similar condition which developed in 1910, when the war clouds were gathering over the Atlantic, and the race for naval construction became most frenzied.

At that time Great Britain decided to lay down two keels for each one laid down in Germany.

A decision arrived at after the great "Peace" conference at the Hague in 1909, when the Agenda on armaments was precisely the same as that drawn up at Washington, November 1921.

In an "open letter," addressed to an English contemporary, Prof. Hans Delbruck of Germany had this to say concerning the cause of armament:—

"Full of alarm concerning the new arisen maritime power England has thereupon enormously strengthened her own armaments, and from all sides are now heard complaints of the intolerable burdens which are laid upon the peoples.

"It is a great exaggeration to attribute these armaments simply and solely to the German-English opposition; there are many other States and parts of the world in which obtrusive rivalries call forth armaments; but assuredly one of the most important elements of all is the tension which I have just described between Germany and England.

"This tension cannot be got rid of. The Germans . . . will insist for all time upon the possession of a fleet which compels the respect of even England; and we shall the more certainly do this since our trans-oceanic trade and mercantile fleet are rapidly improving and extending."—(Emphasis mine.)

That is a frank admission that armament is not the cause of war but, instead, is simply the effect of the way in which trade is carried on.

It is refreshing compared with the nauseating panegyrics appearing in the press today.

Moreover, the best of living writers having claims upon the title of thinkers will admit that the war of 1914-18 was the outcome of trade rivalry; the very terms of settlement made that clear.

A settlement which made the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles look like a scene from Ali Baba.

"Where instead of settling the claims of oppressed peoples they each submitted programs of territorial aggrandisement and economic advantages, while at the same time they (the Allied representatives), presented enormous indemnity bills the total of which exceeded by billions the aggregate wealth of the enemy countries."

Disarmament conferences have followed each other in a steady stream since 1899, when the Czar of Russia proposed that the nations of the world should cease to develop their armies and navies beyond their (then) present strength.

And each in turn, like every "Peace" conference, has failed miserably to establish a basis upon which they can all agree.

Take for example, France, the most brazenly imperialist country in Europe today and watch the moves made by the Government and the declarations made by its representatives at Washington while discussing reduction of armament.

Replying to Secretary Hughes' outline of a basis for naval reduction, Briand had this to say:—

"You have shown us the way; you have shown us that it is no longer a question of groping in the dark for a way out of the difficulty, you have struck out boldly the opportunity for us by setting the example. I say, Mr. Secretary, that we are back of you."

How far the French overnment was willing to go, in support of Hughes' basis of reduction is shown in the press despatch here quoted from the daily press December 7th, but a few days previous to Briand's reply:—

"The Chamber of Deputies (Paris) yesterday adopted provisionally the naval budget of 844,000,000 francs which covers the commencement of, and progress on three light cruisers, six torpedo boat destroyers, twelve torpedo boats, twelve submarines and one airplane carrier in addition to three cruisers and twenty-four submarines."

This weighty contribution to the future peace of the world will be further increased if the following report from Washington, December 16th, is correct:

"The British delegation learned that the French plan provides for ten 35,000-ton super-dreadnoughts in the ten years subsequent to 1925.

"These vessels of a type similar to the American battleship Maryland, would give France a capital ship tonnage of 350,000, as against 315,000 for Japan and a preponderance of new "post Jutland" type of craft over all nations."

While the hands of America, Britain and France are raised high in amazement at the perfidy of France, the sheet is still wet where the signatures of Balfour, Hughes and Kato are appended to a naval agreement between them to discard the oldest and most obsolete craft and retain those which are most efficient of pre-war days and those that embody the net experiences of the war.

Ships like the Colorado, the Hood, and the Mutsu, whose displacement is greater than any other fighting ships afloat or is intended by the naval programme of other nations; ships whose gun batteries are the highest calibre, and whose speed is that of express trains.

Fleets made up of craft like these and of vessels of immediate pre-war days can afford to be less, numerically, than was the case in former days. They displace, too, a considerable amount of manpower, as every known device for conserving this is embodied in them.

So governments may be able to show the taxpayers that they have considered their interests by reducing active workers aboard these ships to the naval reserves, thus reducing expenses by reducing pay (reader, let's have a drink!).

Naval engagements in the near future will be of such a character that an entire fleet will be wiped out in a few hours. A big reserve then is necessary to man new fleets in course of construction, and in case of such a disaster.

From all of the foregoing one may deduce the fact that Washington will be no more successful in arranging a basis upon which society can rest at peace, undisturbed by thoughts of war,—no more so than Paris, Versailles, London, Geneva, and the Hague on previous occasions.

What bourgeois society has failed to take cognizance of is that capitalism is organized for war and not for peace.

Under capitalism industrial activity can only proceed in spasms; yet so prolific is machine production, the output of labor can only be consumed in war.

On the other hand, so great is the cost of war, the levies made on industry, industrial stagnation soon follows and the workers for the major part of peace time are casually employed. It is then that competition becomes keener between the sellers and whenever trade can be carried on friction is generated.

So back we come again to the only potential market for the surplus of sellers and sellers of surplus. Writing in the November issue of "Current History" (New York) Stephen Bonsal has this to say about this market:—

"When I say that China was our great market I merely state what most people will admit; but when I add that China, far away and disturbed, today the Cinderella of world politics is a market of almost limitless possibilities I shall be thought to indulge in a figure of speech or at best to be merely expressing a pious wish. Nevertheless, it is a fact that cannot be successfully controverted.

"For proof of my assertion let us look at the carefully compiled figures of our export trade for the first six months of the current year, as furnished by the matter-of-fact statisticians of the Department of Commerce.

"These figures reveal that Russia is off the commercial map and that our German trade, naturally enough, is greatly reduced.

"In fact, in every column radical reductions are revealed, not merely from the figures of boom years, but also by comparison with what were our exports in normal times. It is only when we come to China, in part famine stricken and with her trade and transportation disturbed and even crippled by unfavorable internal and external problems, that anything like a basis for optimism is noticeable.

"Now, these figures show that, in spite of all these unfavorable conditions and heavy handicaps that await adjustment at the Pacific conference, our exports to China for the first six months of 1921 have increased 12 per cent!

"This fact is intrinsically important, but it also possesses a phychological value of great importance, for it gives the first indication of a favorable change in the commercial chart of our world trade, upon the maintenance and growth of which depends, among other things, the high living standard (!) of American labor. . . .

"Here plainly, then, across the Pacific, with its hundreds of millions to be clothed and fed, is the cure for present unemployment and an available and most opportune substitute for European markets, which will be disturbed and may prove unprofitable for years, long lean years to come."

Here, too, are attracted the sellers from other nations; sellers whose profits from industry are also affected by conditions in Europe, and with interests in China which cannot fuse.

For instance, the United States will trade machinery with China and receive in exchange raw silk and silk substitutes. These materials will be transformed in American factories, and the products will place still further in the background of a world market the textiles of Great Britain.

The machine in China as elsewhere in the world will supersede handicraft production and reduce the value of output as well as increase quantity. Hence, given unretarded, development under the tuition of America, China will supply the world with silk to the same degree at least, that Britain supplied it, formerly, with linen and cotton goods.

But the establishment of the machine means also the development of power. And this development calls for the release of capital for exploitive purposes, in extracting from nature coal for fuel, which has scarcely been touched in China. Again comes a

(Continued on page 5)

The Collapse of the South Wales Coal Trade

(Continued from last edition)

BY J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

No wonder Sir Charles Greenway, Chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd., whose 52 oil tanks at Skewen are as obvious as a blow between the eyes to the South Wales miner, can say:—

"In the shipping industry it is already clear that the oil-driven vessel is rapidly forcing the coal-burning one from the seas." (Compendium, June, 1921.)

That spells FINIS to the bunker trade of South Wales. It also marks the beginning—or the middle—of the end of the notion that membership of the South Wales Miners' Federation—or the M.F.G.B.—with complete organisation at the point of production, is in any conceivable way adequate to the needs of the present and the future.

The Owners Face the Future

The coal-owners of South Wales have realised, for some considerable time, that the era of inordinate prosperity which they have experienced and which has raised them to such giddy eminence of wealth and power was not destined to continue indefinitely. They have been made aware of the progress of this displeasing revolution brought about by the adoption of oil fuel for merchant and warships. Changes of this sort are always sensed in advance by those who are in daily touch with the rise and fall of prices, either of commodities or of stocks as quoted on the many markets of capitalism. The owners have known that the time was rapidly approaching when they would require to find other markets for their coal, or other enterprises in which to invest their capital, if they were to continue to receive profits thereon at an equivalent rate of interest to those they had been receiving in the past.

Such knowledge has, undoubtedly, acted as an added incentive to their endeavours more thoroughly and more scientifically to organise, not merely the productive side of their business, but also the several stages of marketing the product and of sharing amongst these agencies the profits in the trade in such a way as to make the various branches of the coal trade one continuous system of collecting tribute.

During the last ten years there has gone steadily forward in South Wales a process of absorption of independent coal producing companies by their more powerful competitors, of amalgamations of great colliery undertakings, of inter-change of shareholdings or of directors, which has resulted in the grouping of the chief firms in the industry and the area around such giants as:—

The Consolidated Cambrian, Ltd.
The Powell Duffryn Steam Coal Co. Ltd.
The Ebbw Vale Steel, Iron and Coal Co., Ltd.
The Tredegar Iron and Coal Co., Ltd.
Cory Brothers, Ltd.
Baldwins, Ltd.

At the head of the group of interests arranged about the Consolidated Cambrian, Ltd., and which now includes the huge business of Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, are four leading personalities—Lady Rhondda, Seymour Berry, D. R. Llewellyn, and Sir Archibald Mitchelson. There are about twenty-six colliery companies in which one or more of these individuals is a director, whilst the manner and varying intensity and complexity of their financial relations is too bewildering in their thoroughness to touch upon here. There is no man in British capitalism who is a director of more companies than Seymour Berry. He is a veritable Stinnes. The normal production of his collieries is well over 12,000,000 tons a year.

Around the mighty Powell-Duffryn, of Bargoed and Aberamman, joined to it either by extensive shareholdings of themselves or their chief directors, are the Ocean Coal Co., Ltd., the Lewis Merthyr Consolidated Collieries, Ltd., and the Rhymney Iron Co., Ltd., whilst it has been rumoured that the octopus of the Rhondda and Risca, the United National Collieries, Ltd., is being absorbed by "P.D." D. R. Llewellyn and directors of Baldwins, Ltd., and the Cardiff Collieries Ltd., are also entrenched in the share list.

The Ebbw Vale Steel, Iron and Coal Co., Ltd., which has affiliation with the Consolidated Cambrian, through joint holdings of the Beynons, and of the latter in the Fernhill Collieries, Ltd., has practically monopolised the Western Valleys, and dug itself well into the Eastern Valleys also.

The Tredegar Iron and Coal Co., Ltd., and its subsidiaries, have fourteen square miles of land, about half a dozen up-to-date collieries of the largest size, and the practical monopoly of the Sirhowy Valley. They have, also, a link through Colonel Wyllie, with the United National Collieries, Ltd.

Cory Brothers, Ltd., are established, directly or indirectly, in the Aberdare, Rhondda, Ogmore and Neath Valleys.

Baldwins, Ltd., though chiefly in steel, have interests in some half dozen collieries in the Avon Valley and in South and West Glamorgan.

"A Purely Academic Discussion"

In coming together in these great amalgamations and alliances, the coal-owners have not only brought competition within manageable proportions, but they have also gained control over reserve funds and current revenue accounts adequate to finance big extensions, economics and improvements. They have made it good business to invest heavily in constant capital by way of larger pits, conveyor installations, coke ovens, by-product plants, electric generating stations, and engineering shops. They have been able to effect the many economies only practicable in large scale production and, with added resources, to develop such side lines as patent fuel manufacture and to cultivate new markets.

Gradually, during the last thirty years, the coal-owners of South Wales have trenched upon the interests of the railway companies and broken down the power of the landlords, making themselves, to a great extent, masters of the former, and, frequently, buying out the latter. Today, in ownership as well as in function, the railways of South Wales have become elongated colliery sidings connecting the pit-head with another part of the owner's property, the docks and the ships in which the coal is carried away to home and foreign ports of discharge.

At every stage of production and delivery the coal passes, as it were, along a continuous band, an endless chain of agencies, each of which takes a modicum of surplus-value and transfers it to the common fund, the ultimate and aggregate profit of the syndicate with many tentacles.

Besides those who actually handle the coal are others who, perhaps never seeing it, yet pass it by repeated book-entries and transfers from colliery company to broker, from broker to merchant or exporter, and from exporter to foreign buyer.

The colliery proprietors of South Wales have so utilised their enormous profits and the ease with which they have got bank credits or investment capital through A. Mitchelson and Co., as to establish themselves along this chain also as brokers, merchants, exporters and foreign buying agencies. They have bought up shipping companies and repair yards in which to refit their vessels. Furthermore, they have become their own underwriters and insurance brokers, and, with the totality of these separate parts of the trading profit, have set up their Atlantic and Status Investment Trusts and gone into Amalgamated Industrials, Amalgamated Cotton, Jute Industries, Associated Furnishers, manure manufacture, newspaper and publishing business, cinema operation, and a hundred and one other activities characteristic of finance capitalism.

The end of the steam coal "boom," and the commencement of the slump in the export trade, finds the coal-owners of South Wales able either

(i) to secure almost the entirety of such profits as there may be left in the coal trade, or

(ii) to buy and sell coal, at home or on the Continent, or in South America, regardless of whether it is raised in South Wales or in Westphalia, or the Saar or the Pas de Calais, or anywhere else on the planet, or

(iii) to withdraw their capital from collieries and the coal trade, and to re-invest it anywhere else in the capitalist system.

Moreover, they have contrived a syphon-system of commercial and financial connections of such a character that, within the company and common law, they can, if they so desire, run the profit entirely out of the coal production side of their business into broking, shipping, importing, carriage, insurance, and what they choose.

No wonder that the miners are going to be allowed to examine the books of the companies under these conditions, and with every superficial appearance of equity, have their wages regulated in accord with the rise and fall of the earnings of the colliery companies! It would seem that, after all, the study of the financial organisation of the South Wales coal trade may result in something more informative and more urgent than what a bright, young official of the M.F.G.B. described as "a purely academic discussion"!

The Export Trade.

During the last twenty years the coal-owners of South Wales have established a valuable connection not only with France and Mediterranean ports, but also with consumers in Spain, Portugal, and along the sea-board and the settled parts of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. The activities of Lord St. Davids and his brother, Sir Owen Philipps, in developing the railway facilities and shipping business of South America and the harmonious relations they seem to have maintained with the colliery proprietors, whose business they have not invaded, except for a few years and on a small scale, have resulted in the opening up of important markets for bunker and railway fuel from South Wales. These outlets are, however, threatened today with serious competition from the United States, whose capitalists have very considerably increased their interests in South American concerns as a result of the Great War, and the transfer of British foreign investments to American purchasers. Capital in railways and other public utilities tends to give preference to coal from its own country of origin.

Again, since the Entente Cordiale of 1904, the considerable coal trade which for many years had existed between South Wales and France has, until recently, assumed greater and greater proportions. The connection established from Paris has become, with the expansion of South Wales capitalism, a connection to Paris. The undertakings founded by the Guerets and the Plissons have become auxiliaries of the Consodidated Cambrian and its subsidiaries.

According to a recent authority:

"France is short of coal. She is still shorter of coal that makes good coke; and the foreign coal that lies nearest to her eastern metallurgical districts—that of the Saar basin—is not a good coking coal either."

Now,

"Whether coke moves to ore or ore to coke, in any iron industry, is a matter of relative costs. In the conditions existing as between north-

(Continued on page 8)

Dialectics

By F. J. McNey

At the present time when the revolutionary movement the world over is in a somewhat chaotic condition, when the principles, policy, and tactics, of all Socialist parties, are being called in question, it might not be out of the way to say a few words concerning dialectics, the method of reasoning so much talked of by Socialists, and apparently so little understood.

Some of the more enthusiastic revolutionists would have us believe that the progress of social evolution is so swift, that it is useless for a Socialist party to commence to write out a platform, or declaration of principles, as it is sure to be obsolete before it is finished. They also hold that all things in the universe are so closely connected, and interrelated, that it is useless to try to define, or classify, anything. If this is a correct interpretation of dialectics, and dialectics is a correct method of reasoning, we may as well all sit down and do nothing, as according to this nothing can be done.

However, it is well to remember that although everything is changing, and that nothing within the universe, that is, no part of the universe, endures forever, in the same form, nevertheless, there are some things that endure for a considerable length of time, and in some cases change very slowly, social systems, especially, endure for hundreds or thousands of years. Therefore, it is quite possible for us, if we hurry a little, to analyze a system of society before it gets past us, and to formulate a few general principles that will be applicable as long as the system exists. The conflict of classes, for instance.

It is true that all things in the universe are connected, and related, as parts of one whole, but that is no reason why we should not define and classify them. It is just as important from a dialectical standpoint to recognize the difference, as the likeness, between things. It is by observation, experiment, and comparison, that we arrive at all our knowledge. And it is only by comparison of things, one with another, that we get to know their relative quantity, quality, or attributes, and if there was no difference, there could be no comparison. We cannot say that a thing is large unless we have compared it with something of a similar character, that is smaller. Note, that there must be both a difference, and a resemblance, between things, before they can be compared. Now it would be nonsense to go to all this trouble of analyzing, and comparing things and ideas, unless we make some record of the difference, and resemblance we find between them. That is, we must give them names to distinguish them from each other, and explain what the names mean. We must also divide them into groups, varieties, and species, etc., according to greater or less resemblance, in order that we may better understand them. Thus we see that it is necessary to define, and classify, both things, and ideas. But as everything is in motion, and the character,, and relative position, of things, are continually changing, these definitions, and classifications, must of necessity, be more or less temporary, and general. And when I say temporary, I do not mean that they stand good only for a week or two, I mean that they do not stand good for all time.

The dialectical method of reasoning starts from the proposition that there is nothing constant except the law of change. That there is no thing in itself, but everything is a part of something else, and all things are parts of the universe. That a thing is, what it is, only at a certain time, in a certain place, under certain conditions, and in its relation with other things. This applies to ideas (the mental reflexes of things) theories, customs, and morals, etc., as well as material objects. Such terms as right and wrong, good and bad, virtue and vice, truth and error, large and small, are merely relative terms, the meaning of which vary in accordance with change of time, circumstances, or point of view. It would be ridiculous to apply any of these terms to the universe as a whole, which is all existence, because the universe contains all there is of everything, and is therefore absolute, and not comparable to anything. On the other hand, everything that exists within the universe, that is, all parts of the universe, are relative, and in a continual condition of change. Everything that has a beginning must also have an end. Birth, growth, decay, and death, are merely changing forms of matter within the universe. When we speak of a certain thing, an act, or object, being good, we mean that it serves our purpose for the time being better than something else would do, that it is more in harmony with our wishes, and interests, than something else would be. At another time, in a different place, or under different circumstances, the same act or object may be considered bad, and so forth.

The dialectic method is not by any means new, although it is the highest form of reasoning. Frederick Engels, tels us that "The old Greek philosophers were all born natural dialecticians, and Aristotle, the most encyclopaedic intellect of them, had already analyzed the most essential form of dialectic thought." However, the Greek philosophers could not develop the dialectical method of reasoning to its highest form owing to the fact that they did not have at their disposal the necessary knowledge of scientific and historical facts. It remained for the German philosopher Hegel to apply the dialectic method to history. Again to quote Engels: "Hegel had freed history from metaphysics—he had made it dialectic; but his conception of history was essentially idealistic. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's 'knowing' by his 'being' instead of, as heretofore, his 'being' by his 'knowing.'"

It was Marx and Engels that made this improvement on the Hegelian system, and placed the dialectical method of reasoning on a materialistic basis. But independent of Marx and Engels a German tanner, Joseph Dietzgen, worked the dialectic method out for himself, and brought it to its highest form, in his book entitled, "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Also, from time to time, some of the bourgeois scientists have applied certain phases of the dialectic method, to certain branches of modern science, but none of them have applied it in its entirety to history, or to human society as a whole. For instance, Engels tels us that, "Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, nature works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution. In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years."

But Darwin only applied certain forms of the dialectic method, to one particular branch of science, biology. However, the point is, that the dialectical process going on in nature is so obvious, that some scientists, and philosophers, are forced to notice it, and record it to some extent, even against their will. And not only scientists, and philosophers, but some of the poets, have occasionally stumbled on to some phase of the dialectic, without knowing what they had stumbled unto, or even knowing that they had discovered anything in particular. It is the peculiar faculty of a poet, very often, to be able to say as much in a few lines of a poem as would cause a scientist, or a philosopher, to write a book, for the simple reason that a poet is never called upon to prove anything he may say in a poem. He is writing poetry, and if he sees fit to introduce a little philosophy at times, that is his privilege. If the idea comes into his head he writes it down, even if he does contradict himself in the next verse, and we may take it or leave it. Thus, Shakespeare stumbles unto one phase of the dialectic method in the following lines:

> "O, mickle is the powerful grace that lies
> In herbs, plants, stones, and their true qualities;
> For nought so vile that on the earth doth live,
> But to the earth some special good doth give;
> Nor aught so good, but, strained from that fair use,
> Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.
> Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,
> And vice sometimes' by action dignified."

Compare these lines from Shakespeare with a passage from Dietzgen. "No absolute morality, no duty, no categorical imperative, no idea of the good, can teach man what is good, bad, right, or wrong. That is good which coresponds to our needs, that is bad which is contrary to them. But is there anything which is absolutely good? Everything and nothing. It is not the straight timber which is good, nor the crooked. Neither is good, or either is good, according to whether I need it or not. And since we need all things, we can see some good in all of them. We are not limited to any one thing. We are unlimited, universal, and need everything. Our interests are therefore innumerable, inexpressible great, and therefore every law is adequate, because it always considers only some special welfare, some special interest."

We see in the above quotations that Shakespeare anticipated Dietzgen, at least to some extent, in this one particular phase of dialectics. That is, in the form dealing with man's relation to, or his use of, the material objects he finds himself surrounded with. Shekespeare noticed that a thing which at one time is a nuisance, or a menace, and therefore bad, may, with a change of time, place, or circumstances, become useful, or beneficial, and therefore good. That the most deadly poison, is, not only useful for many other purposes, but may, under certain circumstances, if properly used for medical purposes, heal wounds, relieve pain, and actually help to prolong life. Reasoning from this premise, he arrived at the conclusion, that the human conduct, or qualities, generally defined, and classified, under the terms virtue, and vice, were also relative, and variable, when considered in connection with a change of time, place, circumstances, or personal opinion, etc.

(To be continued.)

TERMS FOR THE STARVING

Millions may die in Russia so far as the "International Famine Relief Commission," which sat last week in Brussels, is concerned. While sympathizing with the human efforts to relieve the famine, the Commission decided that no credits could be granted. The sins of the old Tsar's government have been visited upon the Russian babies. The "existing debts and other obligations," say the Governments, "must be first recognized by Soviet Russia. Without such recognition, it is declared, there could be no security against the next Russian Government repudiating the present Russian Government's debts, or against any other European Government repudiating its war debt to ourselves. There seems now to be nothing left for decent people throughout Western Europe to do but to attempt, in whatever piecemeal fashion they privately can, the discharge of the elementary duty which their Governments have repudiated as completely as Soviet Russia has repudiated Imperial Russia's foreign debts.—"Manchester Guardian."

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ENTER—THE WORKERS' PARTY

NEW working class parties are interesting to us, not when the self appointed prophets, well anointed with their own past errors and self-sufficient in their shallow conceit are busily engaged in a sort of literary shadow-boxing with an imaginary and worthless enemy, but when they lay down to the scrutiny of our wondering gaze the actual basis of their performances, done or to be done. The business of pining to be "taken on" by somebody is regularly accompanied by a process of beating the air in an effort to attract attention, with the well rehearsed tricks practised to seduce the interest of the inexperienced, by the common tout at a penny fair.

"The bearings of this observation lies in the application on it." (Dickens)

Thus in the past year we had a storm-in-a-tea-cup sort of occurrence in eastern Canada. Our friends the Communists discovered us to be worthless and of no earthly use to the working class, and they decided, after sundry individual issues of several papers, (vol. 1. No. 1. being then the hall mark of up-to-date opinion) that the time for action was here, so they held a convention. Nothing that existed in the way of a working class political party was any good, and therefore a smart stepping and well ordered party was on the agenda for immediate formation.

What happened? We'll judge by results—it's an unkind way to judge, sure enough—and say: Nothing. In saying this we're not forgetting the poor devil who sat up nights and pored over countless clauses of a Constitution that was, for the new party to have proven an invincible rock upon which to build. Genius unrewarded. Toilsome nights over a scrap of paper!

As for us—we had our time of chastisement. We couldn't quite gather the drift of the matter in looking for the logic in it, but we gathered the idea that all that was necessary to the success of the Communists was the death of the S. P. of C. But somehow or other we kept on breathing, even though every breath drawn was to have been our last, and we're still alive to hear the hymn of hate or the song of praise, and to criticise the music.

It having been found to be a grievous error that a corner in wisdom could be maintained intact, our friends discovered themselves to be unpopular. A new organisation and a popular one became, in course of time, the order on the dispatch sheet. Some thingmust be done. What must be done? Why! Hold a convention! Of course.

Thus comes into being the Workers' Party of Canada, born, Toronto, December 11th 1921. Now for "the application on it." These were the organisations represented, as given in the official minutes of the proceedings.

The Ukranian Labor Temple, Winnipeg. One Big Union, (Timmins) Ontario). Workers' Alliance, Winnipeg. Russian Progressive Library, Toronto. Ontario Labor College, Toronto. Jewish Workers Educational League. Guelph Workingmen's Club. International Workers' and Soldiers' Association, Hamilton. Lithunanian Educate Circle. Melland Lodge 131, I. A. of M. Fabian Society, Hamilton. The Young Peoples' Jewish Socialist Educational Club, Toronto. Finnish Socialist Organisation of Canada. Bulgarian Socialist Society, Toronto. Progressive Stuuy Club, Sudbury. U. N. U. X., (Toronto). Montreal Labor College. Workers' Educational League, Toronto. Kitchner Labor Club. Womens League for Peace and Freedom, Workers League Montreal, Jewish Proletarian Culture League, Workers' Educational Club, Ottawa.

The chairman was J. Macdonald, Toronto, lately of the I. L. P. The chief business of the convention seemed to be to read the now familiar standard funeral oration over the S. P. of C., judging by the reports of speeches made. Special space in this connection is given to one Popovitch, of Winnipeg. He must have been judged to have been good at it. We don't know whether Popovitich is really a well trained liar or just a fool, but he has managed to invent a membership that we "once had" of 3,000. He must have mistaken our past reports for the figures of the national debt. But we have a notion that it pays to give attention to anyone who represents, or claims to represent a large number of foreign born men. They're recognised as "good pay."

The next item of business on the agenda, in order of importance, was the election of nine delegates to form a Provisional Executive Committee to carry on until—take it easily, dear reader—the next convention, which is to be convened three months after date. That's action!

The only disappointment we have to register is that three more months must go by before we shall see the fruits. But we have a promise, this time from the U. S. A. Strange as it may seem, our industrial life is managed from the U. S. A. So too, it appears, our working class efforts are to be managed from there also, or it may be that copied is the proper word. Anyway, a Communist Party there means a Communist Party here. The death of a Communist Party there means the death of the Communist Party here. An effort to produce a "popular" party there means an effort to produce a "popular" party here. The abandonment of the underground route there means its abandonment here. The convention program there means a convention program here. An attitude assumed there means an attitude assumed here. Here follows a pronouncement issued by the American Labor Alliance:

"The Workers' Party is a conscious effort of Labor to again take up the siege against its ancient enemy. From this beginning of revolutionary consciousness will grow the party of action that will unite the workers and strike off the shakles of slavery. It will enter into their every struggle, it will defend them and lead them to battle. It will organize them in the shops and mills, in the mines and fields. No element of American labor will be exempt from its penetrating and life-giving force. It will lead the workers to unity and thru unity to victory.

Out of the Pit, Labor is springing to battle!
United, the victory is ours!"

Such nice words have come our way for many years. They make continuous and pleasant reading. Our interest lies in "the application on it."

As for us, we're past being astonished at anything in the way of new programmes. Not even if we were to receive the stamp of approval ourselves would it astonish us. Fact is, we have a hunch we command rapt attention, for there seems to prevail a notion that if only the S. P. of C. would change its shirt the whole world would change with it. There lies a further field for education.

HERE AND NOW

At this season of the year, when, in spite of appearances contrariwise, most men consent to be regarded as human and are sometimes even caught yielding their features to a smile, it seems a callous and matter-of-fact business to introduce to the festive atmosphere such a sordid matter as pence.

It is worthy of note that Christmas in Protestant times, has never succeeded to a place among Caledonian holidays. Merely to state that fact is not to explain it, but we cheerfully and hereby surrender any and all rights in the exactitude of historical lore to the care of those who venture to lay claim to it.

But Christmas,—being a quarter day and therefore a rent day—is thus heavily handicapped among the discerning, and any companion vessel to the carafe that may appear to be the favoriite at this time may be taken to drown the memory of a landlord's sorrowful countenance as well as to celebrate the joy there is in eluding him.

Anybody can easily find or adopt an excuse for anything, and to those who won't have such help as is here offered, the Winter Solstice will serve the most pernickety—the rejoicing that comes with the warmth of the returning sun, as the books have it. So be it that our readers are as other men (and women) are, for the time being in good humor, our fell design may have its way and we may venture to introduce a New Year effrontery from a personage no less important than the Postmaster. He speaks:

Post Office, Vancouver, B. C.
15th December, 1921.

Notice to Publishers

Newspaper rate of postage on and after the 1st January, 1922.

In accordance with the amendment to the Post Office Act passed during the 1920 Session of Parliament, newspapers and periodicals printed and published in Canada daily, three times a week, twice a week, weekly, fortnightly or monthly, sent from the office of publication to regular subscribers and to newsdealers resident elsewhere than in the place of publication will, on and after the 1st January, 1922, be subject to postage at the rate of one and one-half cents per pound.

Francis E. Harrison,
Postmaster.

That rate is exactly double the present rate. The high cost of spreading ideas! We can't hope for credit at the P. O. (With all their faults they're wiser than that). So we fall back upon our history—this time upon the history of a month, stated in terms of cash received and too easily counted.

We record here a solemn warning to the patient ones who read these notes that we are bordering on the serious and are near to invoicing their interest for what it will bring in cash.

This time we'll let the figures pipe up their weak-voiced financial chorus. It's really only a whisper for a month.

Following $1 each: M. Dase, A. Korin, P. A. Askew, J. Wright, R. C. Johnston, P. F. Howden, W. B. McIsaac, Geo. Aspden, C. W. Blair, P. L. Hilland, Geo. Schmidt, W. G. Hoare, J. Leslie, R. Sinclair, F. Mollenberg, A. Taylor, Ed. King, J. Knight Fraser, C. F. Schroeder, Local Edmonton, F. Harman, J. Chrystall, J. N. Smith, J. A. Untinen, H. Taylor, J. Olson, W. Van Meer, D. Srigley, R. Hunn, T. Eaemon, J. Stark, E. Chambers, J. Peacock, O. Finnetig, J. Piggott, J. Donovan, John A. Mitchell, Wm. F. Rampe, G. Gerrard, T. Moore, A. Robertson, G. F. Ritchie, W. McQuoid, O. Larsen, M. Cassin, G. Lee, A. V. Laurence, A. Leopold, P. Brendler, F. Eriksen, J. V. Hull, A. Woodall, N. Lackmance.

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Following, $3 each: S. R. Davy, Geo. Schott, H. Ross, F. Cassidy, N. Sachle.

Wm. Erwin $5; W. Ayres $10.22; T. Robley $4; B. E. Polinkos $4; E. Rhodes 50 cents.

Above Clarion subscriptions received from 1st to 20th December, 1921 inclusive, total $113.72.

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Geographical Footnotes to Current History

The Case of Albania.

Prior to the Great War the workings of Economic Imperialism could best be traced in areas outside of Europe—in Asia and Africa especially. But one notable effect of the War has been the reduction of large areas of Europe itself to the status of colonies, or "spheres of interest"—with de jure independence, but de facto dependence on one or other of the big surviving Powers. The tendency towards the formation of "economic world groups," so attractively described by Naumann in his Mittel-Europa, was tremendously accelerated, and has now completely obliterated the *one-time distinction between European and non-European peoples and territories.*

An interesting example of the emptiness of political "independence" is afforded by the case of Albania. Down to a month or two ago no one knew exactly what had happened to that unhappy land. True, its name still appeared on the map. But what the country status was, and where precesely its frontiers ran, were dark mysteries—almost as dark as the ultimate fate of Memel, and the territory adjacent thereto, handed over by the Treaty of Versailles to the "Allied and Associated Powers," and since used as a French and British base in the Baltic.

Then, in September last, somebody discovered that Albania had been "admitted to the League of Nations" last year. A British representative at the Geneva Conference announced "definitely and without reserve" that the British Government recognised the sovereignty and independence of Albania. And the League issued a vague statement about a "forthcoming" decision on the Albanian frontiers. Simultaneously, it was announced that the Italian Government was worrying about "additional guarantees" for the integrity and independence of Albania; and the British Government intimated its "cordial desire to achieve this end, and thereby promote the interests of—Italy!" At that date Jugo-Slav forces were occupying Northern Albania, doubtless with the altruistic aim of saving the League of Nations any trouble in the matter of deciding on frontiers; and more recently these forces have advanced westward and southward. Some 12,000 Greek troops are at the same time concentrated on Albania's southern frontier—only waiting, of course, for the League's decision before piling their arms and returning home. And the League has convened a *special meeting to see* what can be done about it all.

A *happy situation for a free and independent* State. What is at the back of all this tangle of rival "interests" and hostile armies? The map explains a great deal. Albania has some 200 miles of seaboard on the Adriatic. Jugo-Slavia wants more coast line. She wants Durazzo, as a port for her southern territory—whose "natural" outlet, Salonica, is now Greek. Italy needs, directly or indirectly, to control the port of Valona, commanding the entrance to the Adriatic; for Italy's eastern coast line is useless unless she dominates that sea. And Italian capitalists are ready if duty calls, to do their bit for civilisation by "opening-up" Albania. For the Albanians, a primitive people still in the stage of patriarchal clan organisation, inhabit a land believed to be rich in "entirely unexplored and unexploited mineral wealth"—a land, therefore, which, though European, is a fit area for "Colonial expansion." And so they are having a taste of the blessings of civilisation. —J. F. Horrabin, "The Plebs"

The "Broken Hill" Man

Described by Joseph McCabe.

We have just discovered the most interesting human bones that have seen the light since science first began to talk about the antiquity of man, writes Joseph McCabe in the London Chronicle in an article discussing the recent find of a prehistoric skull in South Africa. They are at least half a million years old. They bring man nearer to his poor relations, the apes, than he ever was before. And they throw most important new light upon the fascinating story of our evolution.

The bones were found in a cave in Rhodesia. It had long been known for the weird and beautiful shapes of its stalactites—oozing of lime, like giant icicles, from its roof—but of late years it has had a more solid attraction. A vast bed of animal bones, steeped in phosphates of zinc and lead, was discovered in it. The cave became the Broken Hill Mine.

Now, sixty feet below the surface, under a vast charnel house of dead elephants, lions, and other beasts, we have found the skull and some other bones of the most primitive man known to us.

In this case we need not wait for geologists to quarrel with each other about the age. The skull is one of the most perfectly preserved that we have, and the brutality of the brain that once lodged in that grisly cranium leaps to the eye, as the French say.

I take down from the top of my library the whitened skull of a low type of Australian, and compare the two. The Australian is a gentleman, an academician beside this. I run over the photographs of all the primitive human skulls we have, and this old-world African is nearer to the ape than any.

The skull found at Piltdown a few years ago, though four hundred thousand years old, is too respectable to brook comparison. Only the skull-cap of what is known all over the world as the ape-man of Java comes near it; and the new skull is decidedly inferior.

We can with great confidence visualise this semi-human being who thus breaks upon us out of the mists of antiquity, so carefully has the skull been sealed in its hiding place until science was born.

The eyes glower from beneath heavy and very broad bony ridges which would almost serve to ram a fellow human. The forehead slopes backward at a depth that would disgust a Bushman. The huge bulging upper jaw and massive back of the head need no clairvoyant to read this man's story.

He was an eating and breeding and fighting creature; a heavy, powerful slow-moving savage, with long and fearfully strong arms, with curved thighs which made him stoop, his only clothing a thick coat of hair.

How did he get into Rhodesia? Here is a large part of the interest of—let us say it frankly—the human beast. The nearest skull to this was found in Java; the next nearest in Sussex.

Picture that great triangle in your mind, and you get a good idea of the cradle of the human race. Most of us have long held that it was on land which is now below the waves of the Indian Ocean (as we know), a lost bit of Africa which once connected it with India.

The new discovery strongly confirms this, and it will not be pleasant reading for the Americans who have just gone to look for the remains of primitive man in Central Asia.

Lemuria, the lost continent to the east of Africa, was probably the region where some accident of time brought man's ancestor down from the nut-laden trees, and bade him "work for a living." From the centre he would pass easily to Asia and Africa; and he would reach Europe by the routes which bring the Babylonian merchants ages afterwards.

The Broken Hill man is a specimen of one of the early waves of human distribution. He had travelled far, you may suspiciously say—to Sussex and Rhodesia—for so beetle-browed a creature. That is precisely what the general public finds it so difficult to grasp.

However long a time it is since this primeval savage trod the soil of Africa—and it will assuredly prove to be more than half a million years—he was already more than a million years old! If Baron Rayleigh and some of our greatest physicians are right about the age of the earth, this figure will have to be multiplied by more than twenty.

I doubt it. The problem of man's slowness in developing is bad enough already. It is certain that this poor stunted creature represents more than a million years of development.

It is the greatest find yet. A real missing link has been recovered. And, if you look at it right, it is a link with the future. If a Shakespeare was evolved from this kind of thing, what can be evolved *from us? It is worth trying.*

WAR IN THE PACIFIC—WHAT FOR?

(Continued from page 1)

clash between groups of capitalists and the wreckage of such international institutions as Chinese Consortiums.

Remember also how dependent Great Britain is upon the rest of the world for raw materials, her own resources extremely limited, and now strained under quantity production, and you will readily understand the reason for a foreign policy which retards whenever possible the development of countries under her imperial wings.

This has been the case with India and Egypt and it is so with Northern China, where Great Britain together with Japan fosters the monarchal designs of a more or less feudal aristocracy.

On the other hand, one can readily understand why the United States, more fortunate in the possession of greater resources, can afford to pursue a policy towards southern China which is more liberal in character.

This, too, throws still more light upon the policy of the "open door," a policy which on the surface appears as a free-for-all chance to other countries to get into China and exploit it.

Further, it gives one a better perspective of Japan's policy of a "priority of rights" and why Great Britain is attached to the latter country.

Japan's intention towards China for the present is to keep her as the supply house of raw materials (Japan, like Great Britain being in possession of an extremely limited supply) while she becomes the skilled artisan, transforming these raw materials into commodities.

Two policies of an aggressive character which accounts for much of the civil strife in China, the success of either involving, as they do, the control to a large extent of the political machinery of the country.

It is in China we must look for the overt act that will precipitate another social catastrophe rather than in America through any anti-Asiatic movement. And the active agencies in China supplied with funds from outside powers, to further their individual, national interests, must soon commit that act.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

J. Leslie $1; H. G. Mingo $1.50; O. Larsen $1; E. Rhodes 50 cents; W. Clarkson $1.88; "B. L. J." $2; J. A. Mitchell $1; T. Moore $1; A. V. Laurence 80 cents.

Avove. C. M. F. contributions, from 1st to 29th, December, 1921, inclusive, total $10.68.

:o:

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Toial	$173.35

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

BY PETER T. LECKIE

I have endeavoured to follow the development of society from primitive times, from the scientific Socialist standpoint. Our opponents have accused us of ignoring other factors and putting too much stress on the economic factor. We have not neglected the various other factors, such as the fertility of the soil, the abundance of fish and game in the early period of human society.

Marx points out in "Capital," Vol. I. p. 199, that the earth is the original larder and also the original tool house, supplying primitive man with food and stones for throwing, grinding, pressing or cutting, etc.

In another part of Marx's work he says: "Aside from the more or less developed conditions of social production, the productivity of labor depends on natural conditions. They are all reducible to the nature of man himself such as race etc., his natural surroundings. The outward natural conditions can be divided economically into two great classes; natural wealth in the means of subsistence, such as the richness of the soil, fish, abounding waters, etc., and natural wealth in the means of production, such as useable waterfalls, navigable rivers, woods, metal, coal, etc. In a primitive community the first is of paramount importance, on a higher plane of civilization the second is most important."

We have seen how the invention of bow and arrow as a means of increasing man's food supply, was a great step forward, which was followed by the domestication of animals and agriculture. This greater means of life, allowing man to stretch over a larger surface of the earth, not only enlarged his environment but broadened his mentality.

We studied the effects of natural environment in lesson 8, showing the earlier civilizations arising where the fertility of the soil was greatest, e.g., Peru, Mexico, Egypt, India, etc.

We discovered that the laws, morals, ideas, in all these stages of development, were the ideas of the ruling class. Not however, had we a ruling class until man could produce more than his own keep. The agricultural stage brought about the private ownership of land, while the pastoral stage brought about the private ownership of the herd, and ever since the inauguration of private property in the means whereby people live history has been a history of class struggles.

In these various stages of development we also find that the medium of exchange, or what we call money, is also a reflection of the economic conditions such as the following:

Cattle, during domestication.

Grains and tobacco, during agriculture.

Skins, during the hunting stage.

Metal, because of the cumbersomeness of the above money in the increased and more highly developed means of production.

We also find the religion of the people was a reflex of their economic conditions. Lecky says, in his "History of European Morals":

"St. Appollonius explains Egyptian idolatry with the most intelligent rationalism. The ox, he thought, was in the first instance worshipped for its domestic uses. The Nile because it was the chief cause of the fertility of the soil."

Ed. Clodd speaks of moon worship, in "Animism," having flourished before the agricultural stage; a connection is traced between the Lunar phenomena and the food supply.

"The approach and duration of the periods of supplies of uncultivated foods is measured by the successive re-appearances and gradual changes of the moon, to which the savage attributed his food supply. He regarded the moon as the source of moisture, which is greater at night than in the day time, without which vegetation would perish. In this way the moon was regarded as the efficient cause of the growth of animals and plants.

"In the argicultural stage that impetus was given to the Sun and Earth worship when the more potent influences of the Sun became recognised."

Our Monday and Sunday are the offspring of the Gods of the Druids of England before the introduction of Christianity, named after the Moon and Sun Gods.

Even Christmas is the relic of the pagan praise of the turn of the year from short day light to longer daylight.

The ancient people of England began their year on the 25th December and called it mother night. In 1644 Puritan England passed an Act of Parliament forbidding any religious services or merriment on Christmas day, on the ground that it was a heathen festival.

Charles II, revived the Christmas celebration, but in Scotland, where Puritanism and Protestantism was more firmly established, we find Christmas is not a holiday even now, outside of Bank holiday. All is "business as usual," with the exception of Bank employees.

The Ancient Peruvians looked upon the ocean as one of their power gods, calling it Mother Sea of Gods, because it yielded the fish which they largely depended on for food. To the Red Indians, heaven is a happy hunting ground which reflects their manner of getting a living. Our good and holy people reflect theirs as a place paved with gold and running with milk and honey, therefor if that does not reflect our methods of living, where these things satisfy our material desires, what other relation can it have to man.

The idea of good and bad, with other morals, are relationships between individuals, tribes and classes, and vary as these relationship change, as a result of the changed methods of production. Prof. Seligman, in his "Economic Interpretation of History" (wherein he quotes various writer who called attention to economic influences), points out that if originiality can be properly claimed by those writers and thinkers who not only formulate a doctrine but first recongnise its importance and its implications so that it thereby becomes a constituent element in their whole scientific system, there is no question that Marx must be recognised in the truest sense as the originator of the economic interpretation of history.

Seligman says: "A thing was originally good in the material sense in which we speak of goods and commodities. We speak of a nail being no good without desiring to pass any moral judgment on it. The original meaning of dear was not ethical but economic. A commodity can still be dear although we do not love it."

Lecky says: "Good and Evil is nothing less than pleasure and pain. Man has no natural benevolent feelings. He is first governed solely by his interests."

The killing of the aged in tribal times did not become immoral until they could produce a surplus to feed them. Murder of parents was regarded as an act of mercy when primitive man could only produce his own maintenance. Darwin, when dealing with unconscious selection of Barbarians of their domesticated animals points out that the animal particularly useful to them was preserved during famines, while they killed and devoured their old people (and he quotes the instance of the Barbarians of Tierra del Fuego) as having less value than their dogs.

In England in 1030, during the great famine, human flesh was cooked and sold.

It was put to me once that there was no instance in history where the people ate their own kind, unless it was their rotten dead which they dug up during a famine; embalming in Egypt is believed to be connected with this food supply.

Morgan, in "Ancient Society," tells us of a Mr. Fison who wrote and told him of the natives of Australia when first discovered; some of the tribes ("The Wide Way Tribe") "ate not only their enemies slain in battle but also their friends who had been killed, and even those who died a natural death, if they were in good condition. Before eating, they skinned them and preserved the skins by rubbing them with mingled fat and charcoal. These skins they praised highly as having great medicinal value.

We find in the "good book" during the famine in Samaria (II Kings 6 ch. 28 to 30 v.., an incident relating to this human flesh-eating practice: "The King said unto her 'what aileth thee'" and she answered: 'This woman said unto me,' 'Give thy son that we may eat him today, and we will eat my son tomorrow.' 'So we boiled my son and did eat him, and I said unto her on the next day, give thy son, that we may eat him and she has hid her son.'"

We have illustrations of cattle worship in the "good book," where Jeroboam the rebel afraid the people would go up to Jerusalem to worship, "Took council and made two calves of gold and said unto them, 'It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.'"

We saw that when women were the economic dominant class the children were named after the women, with the female inheritance.

I believe this is the reason that the so called supernatural power took on the name of Goddess.

We find that the wise King Solomon angered the God of Israel, not because he practised polygamy with 700 wives and 300 concubines, but because he forgot his god and worshipped the Godesses of his wives. (I. Kings, CH. V. 5.)

The material law has been denied by clever historians. Bebel, in his 'Woman and Socialism," points out that in Numbers, 43, 41, "Jair had a father of the tribe of Juda, but his mother came from the tribe of Manasseh, and Jair is expherly called the son of Manasseh and became heir to the tribe." Again he says, (Nehemiah, 7, 63): "There the children of a priest who married one of the daughters of Brazillai, a Jewish clan, are called the children of Brazillai. They are accordingly not called by the father's name but by their mother's name."

Herodotus, the great Greek historian, 484-424 B.C.) whose monumental work earned for him the title of the 'Father of History,' tells us of the Lycians who recognized maternal law.

"Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian. But they have one custom that distinguishes them from all other nations in the world. If you ask a Lycain who he is, he will tell his name, his mother's name, and so on in the line of female descent. Moreover, when a free woman marries a slave, their children are free citizens, but if a man marries a foreign woman or a concubine, his children are deprived of all civic rights, even although he be the most eminent man in the State."

Livingstone found this form of matrimony at the Zambesi, Africa, in a tribe called Balonda, where the man went to the village of his wife when married.

Dr. Henry Weistocky, who for many years lived among the Gyptsies of Transylvania, and finally was adopted into one of the tribes, reports that two out of the four tribes in whose midst he lived, the Ashani and the Ishale, observed maternal law. If the migratory Gyptsy marries he enters the clan of his wife, and to her belongs all the furnishings of the household; whatever wealth she has belongs to her and her clan; the man is a stranger. In accordance with maternal law the children also remain in the mother's clan. Similar conditions were found in the German Cameroons, that is, next the French Congo, which has been taken from Germany at Versailles. A German naval surgeon found that only children of the same mother recognized themselves as brothers

and sisters. The Chief of Way tribe told him that his heir was the son of his sister. He did not know what father meant when asked if he had no children and, bursting out into laughter said that with them only women and not men had children.

These conditions, with little variation, were found in the Sandwich Islands, in South America, Venezula and Brazil, when they were first discovered.

When man with the adoption of better tools could produce more than his own maintenance, captives became slaves. This was impossible among people living by the chase in the hunting stage or in the pastoral stage, because in this isolated labor the slave would consume as much as he produced, and he could not be held in captivity. I pointed this out as with the Mai tribe of Africa, living in the pastoral stage, but that the tribe next to them, in the stage of cultivation, made their captives slaves upon the land. There is, however, no demarcation line between the various stages, as some of the old customs survive the changed methods of production, although greatly modified. The Paternal Law was existing, as recorded in Numbers, 27-28, yet we find a trace there of maternal law.

Zelophehad died without leaving sons. His two daughters complained bitterly because they were to be excluded from their father's inheritance. Moses decided in this case the inheritance was to go to the daughters, but when the daughters decided to choose husbands from another tribe, according to an old custom, the tribe of Joseph complained of losing an heritage. Therefore Moses decided that the heiresses may choose freely but must make their choice from among men of their father's tribe.

We saw how women were degraded and became the tools of the males when they lost their economic supremacy. Also, the double standard of morality arose between the sexes. The women folks, having been the drudge of man, carrying the burdens of the tribe and doing all the degraded labor of the tribe are coming forth once again as men's equal, because they have taken their place alongside man in the field of wealth production as competitors, forcing themselves to be recognized, just as the American Federation of Labor has been forced to recognize the negro, because he entered the industries of th United States during the war, and if not accepted by the A. F. of L. will be used as a tool to break strikes by the employing class. The negroe papers recognized this when they said it was "not because of any Christian spirit of brotherhood that our people are being recognized, but because of an economic necessity." Therefore, women today are not accepting Christian Paul when he is quoted: "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands," and many other quotations which reflect the Roman conditions at that period. The wife in Rome was looked upon as the head female slave.

We find this drudgery work referred to above performed by the Kaffir women of South Africa and among the Eskimos.

We find the growth of the human race and society has been from the family of the clan, the clan into a community, or tribe, or settlement, into a town; the town to a city; the city to a nation, and ultimately we have every reason to believe that the nations will evolve to a commonwealth of nations.

We find the home of the tribe was the stockaded village, developing to the joint tenement houses of adobe bricks and stone in the nature of fortresses, to cities surrounded with ring embankments with an area large enough for a considerable population with defensive walls of stone, towers, parapets and gates designed to protect all alike and defended by common strength. This implied the existence of stable agriculture, like the feudal system, with the Barons castles with the demands of the art of government, magistrates, military and other offices of authority.

The morals change as a result of the changed methods of production, because the coming to gether of people into tribes, clans, nations, etc., transfer and modify their social relationships. While our opponents put strong emphasis on the great moral laws, we find that after man reached the middle status of barbarism, civilization hung in the balance while barbarians were experimenting with the native metals towards the process of smelting iron ore. Until iron and its uses were known, civilization was impossible. If it was possible to destroy the great iron machinery of today we would no doubt fall back into barbarism.

Eating human flesh did not become immoral until man could produce more than his individual subsistence and it became again moral under famine conditions. At first the range of duty was the family, then the tribe, the state; within these limits every man feels himself under moral obligations to those about him but regards the outer world as we regard wild animals, as being upon whom he may justifiably prey.

The ethics of the savages is, almost without exception, purely tribal in extent. A marked distinction is everywhere made by primitive peoples between injuries to persons inside the tribe and injuries outside the tribe. Crimes which are looked upon as felonious when committed by the savage inside the tribe may be regarded as harmless, or even highly commendable, when perpetrated on those outside the tribe. Acts are not judged by their intrinsic nature or results, but wholly as to whether they are performed on those outside of the tribe.

The Balantes (Africa) punish with death a theft committed on a fellow tribesman, but encourage and award theiving from other tribes. This condition is found in several parts of the globe.

E. Belfort Bax, "Problems of Men, Mind and Morals," says: "In prehistoric society the principle of contradiction, and hence of antagonism, lay outside the social group. . . It was opposed as a whole to similar social wholes, to similar kinships outside of itself. This external opposition or contradiction was at this stage the only opposition that it knew."

Each stage in social development has its own methods of production, has its own code of morals which reflects social conditions. Morals are determined by custom and custom corresponds to the social necessities of any given period.

Joseph McCabe, in "The existence of Gods," says: "All that we need to observe is, that morality arose as the formulation of social rules of conduct."

Under feudalism, when money was in its infancy as a medium of exchange, and production was for a local market, usury was a sin. In Deuteronomy c. 23, v. 19-20: "Thou shall not lend upon usury to thy brother," but, "unto a stranger thou mayest." Deuteronomy 14: 21 "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself." but, "Thou shalt give it to a stranger or may sell it to an alien." I think it is reasonable to think that the pious Israelite with an economic turn of mind hated to lose the profit and claimed divine authority to sell to an alien.

We know the church was opposed to usury, but Lecky says: "when man came to understand that money is a productive thing and the sum lent enables the borrower to create sources of wealth that will continue when the loan is returned they perceived there was no natural injustice in exacting payment for this exchange and usury ceased to be assailed."

Fitch, "Basis of Minds and Morals" "The moral code never interfered with the prerogatives of rulers and priests. When the moral code said: "Thou shalt not kill." it did not mean that kings could not kill their subjects or slaves, nor the church should not put to death those who disbelieved. When it said "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," it did not prevent rulers from misrepresenting to their subjects and making war by deceit upon neighboring nations.

In other words, the moral code is made for the subjects not for the rulers. "What sustains an existing order is moral; what threatens destruction to existing things is immoral."

This was clearly stated in Paris 1830 by Raumer: "All these men (Liberals) regard as revolutionary the abolition of evils, whereas the counter revolution they understand as the restoration of these and other abuses.

"Their adversaries, on the other hand understand by revolution the aggregate of all the follies, and crimes, that have been committed, whereas by counter revolution they mean the re-establishment of order, of authority, of religion and so on." Therefore, it is unscientific to associate the terms of revolution and counter revolution with morals.

At the end of the 30 years war in Germany, the population had been reduced from one-quarter to one-tenth in some districts. On February 1650 the Franconian district council of Nuremburg permitted every man to wed two wives, but he should be freely exhorted from the pulpit to avoid ill feeling between them by using discretion and good judgment.

During the late war illegitmate children became war babies and not only separate allowance was made but unemployed benefits are being paid for illegitimate children in Britain.

In Ontario the illegitimate child has now by law a lien on the property of its father at his death although he may have other children. He must also bear a share of its upkeep until 16 years of age.

We have noticed that crime also bears a close relationship to the methods of production, from the injury to animals under the pastoral stage, to water rights of agriculturists, and the severely punished crimes of forgery and the issuing of false money under capitalism.

(Summary to be continued.)

HOOVER'S UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE.

The "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 defines the modern state as the managing committee for the affairs of the bourgeoisie.

To manage the affairs of the bourgeoisie, that is, to solve the problems confronting capitalism today, is becoming less and less of a possibility for the capitalist representatives.

Herbert Hoover's "hand-picked" unemployment conference has probably recognized this truth. For, in the very beginning it was debarred from considering any practical (basic) measures for the "starvation" army. They were warned at the very outset not to delve into the causes of unemployment for fear they might arrive at a radical's conclusion. Nor were they allowed to unearth statistics regarding the conditions of the employed and unemployed wage-slaves of America. All kinds of estimates were made as to the number of unemployed. While before them lay the report of the Bureau of Labor statistics that about six million people are out of work the conference spoke of a million and a half unemployed.

The conference adjourned with recommendations for public construction, but with no power to execute them.

The real issue before present-day capitalism is to reduce taxes and to keep mum about the starvation conditions. As a measure to reduce taxes, the idea of public construction must be set aside. Especially so, if four billion dollars each year or about 85 per cent. of the taxes is to go for war purposes. "Lower taxes," is the chorus cry of the capitalist class. The repeal of the Excess Profits Tax law is a practical demonstration of lessening the burdens upon capital.

Two governmental publications are threatened with suspension, one of them, "The Monthly Labor Review," published by the Bureau of Labor statistics—this bureau furnished the statistics regarding the number of unemployed in the United States. "The Labor Market Bulletin" of New York State will also be discontinued. These two publications have furnished invaluable information for propaganda amongst the workers.

"Our" government evidently has recognized this; and as a measure to minimize government expenses, these two publications—and eventually also the Bureaus—will be removed. They have succeeded too well in digging up the unpleasant facts of life in statistical form, and the apoligists of the system cannot face them. So they must be suspended.

S. Horowitz.

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PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.

2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.

3—The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOUTH WALES COAL TRADE.

(Continued from page 2)

eastern France and Germany, it was easiest for ore to go to coke. It went in enormous quantities after 1901. In that year France raised 7,000,000 tons of ore. In 1913 she raised 22,000,000 tons. . . Of this output, much more than that of the United Kingdom, she exported no less than 10,000,000 tons. She had become the greatest exporter in the world."—(Economic Development of France and Germany, p. 239.)

The cost of coke was 60% higher to a French than to a German or British steel producer. Consequently, France produced only 5,000,000 tons of steel in 1913 against 17,000,000 in Germany and 7,500,000 in Great Britain.

The coal-masters of South Wales were in many instances, great iron-masters and steel manufacturers who were dependent on important ores. The coal-exporters were, at any rate, interested in bringing back a cargo of ore in place of the cargo of coal they had taken over to France.

Germany was rapidly outpacing Britain in the production of steel and, also, of metallurgical coke and coking coal. Britain was short of ore. France had more than she could use. The coal-masters of South Wales, therefore, viewed with eminent satisfaction the prospect of France recovering the ore-fields of Lorraine, and were not unduly perturbed by her occupation of the Saar Valley coalfield, but they felt that she ought to leave the coking coal of the Ruhr Valley, according to the sacred principle of nationality, in the possession of Germany. Also they approved the transfer of German merchant shipping to their own Government, not merely because that conformed with Justice and might result in them acquiring the vessels very cheaply, but because, assured of her shipping, they could control the export of Germany's coal. The coal-owners of the Coalition knew what they were about in supporting Gould, Seagar, Cory, Haslam and Mond for Cardiff, Newport, and Swansea. They anticipated that, having recovered Lorraine, France would require not 21,000,000 tons of coal as in 1913, but about 41,000,000 tons, or require to trade her ore for their coal and coke in an exchange that would run, not between Westphalia and France, but between Wales and France. They had lent their money and advanced their credit, i.e., coal and freights, to France, and now they would receive interest and principal in iron-ore. Thus, in part, would they be compensated for the loss of the steam-coal trade. It was very clever. It was, indeed, too clever.

(To be Continued.)

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THE CLASS ALIGNMENT IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

In "Pravda" of November 6th and 7th Larin writes over the class groupings in the Russian revolution.

On October 1st 1921 the total number of inhabitants of the Soviet republics (not including Khiva and Bokhara) was 131 million. Of these 21.5 millions live in towns and cities and 109.5 millions in the villages. Assuming one dependent for each worker or clerk we get the followig picture of the class composition in the towns: Workers 4,800,000; Clerks 4,600,000, other classes of the population 12,000,000. Rural population: workers 4,400,000, clerks 900,000 and other classes of the population 104,200,000.

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