

WESTERN CLARION

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EVENTS

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FIVE CENTS

Liberalism and Socialism

THE subject of this article is Liberalism and Socialism. To do justice to the subject is not possible in the space at my disposal, but I hope to make clear the essential antagonism and conflict of ideals which exists between both these political creeds and social philosophies. Further, I trust to make clear our Socialist contention that Liberalism, once the political expression of a progressive movement, is now decadent and bankrupt of any liberating message to mankind, and that its function in that respect in these modern days has developed upon the Socialist movement.

Before proceeding with the subject proper, I wish you to disconnect in your minds any association between Liberalism as an historical movement and the Liberal parties of everyday current politics. Those parties calling themselves Liberal are trading on the traditions attached to the name, and are well recognized as the ins or the outs of the ruffing game for the spoils of office. It is, in fact, significant of the decadence of Liberalism that it is without distinctive party expression on the political field today.

The roots of both the Liberal and Socialist movements are to be found in the economic conditions of their respective epochs.

Karl Marx has somewhere said that it is axiomatic in the science of political economy "that all true political representation must be, and can only be, based on definite economic interests." This axiom, or universally accepted truth, in the science of political economy is well worth noting, as it contains within it a guide to working class political activity.

The sixteenth century marked the later and flourishing period of what is known as the era of handicraft production and of the petty trade in character with it.

A rapid change was taking place in society. The middle ages had witnessed a continuous improvement in the tools and methods of production which resulted in an ever increasing quantity of surplus products for exchange. This increase of commodities for sale stimulated trade and commerce between countries. New routes to the far east and the new continent of America had been discovered, and settlement of the latter begun. The beginnings of the world market appear. This expanded market reaching upon production stimulated productive activity and enterprise, and handicraft methods in one industry after another began to give place to manufacture with sub-division and co-operation of labor in the factory. Work for a livelihood, which had been characteristic of handicraft production, began to give way to investment for profit characteristic of capitalist enterprises. This was a shift of base, revolutionary in character and consequences. For the craftsman, as individual producer starting and completing the product, independent because he owned his means of production, is now being driven off the market by the new superior methods of production, and reduced to the status of a dependent, propertyless proletarian.

These great changes in the social economy of the period mark the rise of the commercial and industrial middle class to a position of importance in the State. Their interests were now challenging the landed interests for first place in economic importance, but so far, they were without that political power which had become necessary to safeguard and to further their interests prosperously.

THESE ARE THE Socialist Party of Canada CANDIDATES

VANCOUVER ELECTORAL DISTRICT

DENNIS, J.
EARP, Sidney
HARRINGTON, John David
McQUOID, William
SMITH, James Ferguson
STEPHENSON, Christopher

PRINCE RUPERT ELECTORAL DISTRICT BURROUGH, J. H.

Feudalism was a system of status based upon land tenure in which no man could be either lordless or landless, though long before the sixteenth century there were considerable and increasing exceptions to the ancient rule. Its institutions, laws, and customs were obstacles to the mounting ambitions of the middle class in their pursuit of wealth. In every channel of trade, in every avenue of productive enterprise they met with the monopolizing privileges of the feudal barons or the interfering regulations of the corporate guilds. There were restrictions against the acquirement of property: there were imposts to be paid in every port of landing and in every market place, and tolls on every highway which wound its way through a lord's jurisdiction. The guilds regulated prices and qualities of goods, and how and where they could be produced.

And so, out of this social situation Liberalism and its doctrines evolved as the expression of middle class revolt.

As bearing on the Materialistic Conception of History as a theory of historical development it is to be noted that this middle-class did not of their own free will and initiative raise themselves into this position in the State, but that the developing forces of production had thrust them into importance and finally into the open class war against the landed aristocracy for the overthrow of the unprogressive feudal order. The middle-class or bourgeoisie were, for the time being progressive in this sense, that though inspired by their own economic interests while carrying on their ultimately victorious struggle with the feudal landed interests, they were the blind, unconscious agents in freeing the forces of production from the institutional bonds of feudalism. In this sense Liberalism was also progressive.

By their slogans and war cries the liberal bourgeoisie gave moral terms to their economic necessities. But these moral terms, when translated into the economic terms which alone are capable of defining the issues and motives inspiring the class struggles of history, were individual liberty to acquire property, freedom in production and trade, freedom of contract, equality before the law and special privileges to none, especially none to the landed nobility.

In its formative days as a political creed, not only were the ideals of Liberalism of freedom on an individual property basis progressive, but also they were capable of appealing to the self-interest of the masses of men, because in an age of small scale production it was comparatively easy to acquire the inexpensive means of production, and apparatus of trade.

But today, production and trade on the grand scale require huge capital and credit for equipment and operation. The independent self-sufficient craftsman owning his own tools is of the past, and is forced, as such, out of one industry after another by the competition of the mass of the laboring population, divorced from ownership in the means of production, a propertyless proletarian.

What has the Liberal to say in this modern situation to the proletarian? Only to repeat the traditional cries of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Today we have the gigantic industrial equipment and the apparatus of trade owned by a numerically small class and operated for their profit. Individual property in these things is an utter impossibility for the commonality of men.

How then shall the common man satisfy physical need and psychological instinct for control over his means of life in our day? "There is only one way," says the Socialist, carrying the message of Socialism, "and that is by social ownership of the means of production."

Nevertheless, a warning; the Liberal's phrases are seductive. Is he what is known as a constructive Liberal? Remember those four old men at the Peace Conference. All Liberals. Or are they Liberal reformers under the guise of Laborism or of Socialism? Beware of them. They would dull the edge of your spirit of revolt by soft ideals and soft phrases of social reform through the co-operation of classes.

In spite of all the workmen's compensations, mothers' pensions, free hospitals and such like betterment for the working classes, the workers to this day remain essentially enslaved. C. S.

The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times. So long as the total social labor only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labor engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labor, arises a class freed from directly productive labor, which looks after the general affairs of society; the direction of labor, State business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.—Engels.

The League of Nations

At an early stage in human history the necessity for combinations of rival factions became apparent. The struggle for existence made imperative such alignments. The weaker tribes, even though bitterly opposed to each other, often found it necessary for their mutual preservation to combine their forces when some strong and hostile tribe threatened their destruction.

Since the inception of class society this tendency towards group co-operation has not ceased. Medieval history is replete with examples of national and provincial alignments for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of invading forces. This was a period of migration. The great European States of today were then in the process of formation. The incessant wandering of tribes and races, all bent on the same errand—seeking what they might devour, was obviously conducive to keen competition which in turn led naturally to combination.

The early years of the capitalist system were marked by numerous cases of national unions. The "dual alliance," the "triple alliance"; alliances holy and unholy stand out plainly in the labyrinth of combinations through the course of the last few centuries. When one section of Europe succeeded in reaching the pinnacle of commercial importance the less fortunate competitors could solve their problem only by a concentrated attempt to undermine the position of the victor.

Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland and France in turn enjoyed a season of supremacy on the commercial field. But not for long was this supremacy to remain uncontested. The lesser lights were continually formulating ways and means to ensure their own aggrandizement at the expense of the common enemy. One by one the leading powers succumbed to the inevitable and made way for a temporary successor.

With the great industrial inventions of the 18th century the competition became ever more intense. The manufacturing class had now the means for producing commodities at a rate unknown and unthought of before. The discovery of new lands made possible new markets for the products of field, factory and mine. For a brief period the demand for commodities was greater than the supply. But soon came the change. The machine was perfected at a rapid rate. The productivity of labor increased enormously. The discovery of new continents had its limitations. The foreign markets began to contract. A crisis was imminent. It eventually arrived.

From that time up till the present the necessity for national alliances was repeatedly emphasized. The more there was to sell, and the smaller the dimensions of the market, the greater the need of effective concentration in the ranks of the capitalist class. Self-preservation was the great incentive for group dominance. There was no possibility for absolute expansion. The machine and the market prevented this. But one faction could grow and become powerful by selecting temporary confederates, whose needs were pressing, and in conjunction with these crush the aspirations of all contenders. Even before the Great World War the industrial nations of Europe were divided into two hostile camps. The interests of the various states determined in which camp they were to be found.

Today the international situation is vastly changed. A League of Nations is demanded but not such a league as of yore. In the present combination it is not a question of a balance of power between two evenly matched groups of nations. Rather is it the objective to include all the great powers. A few of the unorthodox, and erstwhile enemy, countries are temporarily excluded. Even those are to be admitted when occasion permits. A few backward undeveloped sections, which are not as yet blessed with stable governments that allow unfettered exploitation on the part of the great powers, are not eligible for membership. They must prove their worth by erasing the barriers that stand in the way of foreign capital. When they meekly submit to being civilized and capitalized they are, then, re-

garded as suitable partners in this laudable enterprise.

The main purpose of the present league is to avert another 1914. Another such catastrophe, and capitalism is doomed. Everything possible must be done to cope with the situation. During the past few years the tendency towards disintegration has been very pronounced. In Russia the old regime collapsed. In Germany, Austria, Italy, and England the structure is rapidly crumbling. Nothing can be done to avert the downfall of class society. But sagacious co-operation on the part of the big capitalist nations may easily retard the revolution for a time. Ergo—the league. So far as we can see the most important work that will come before the league executive will be the preparation for the next war. This problem must be carefully handled, or disastrous results are sure to ensue.

So far as the victorious nations are concerned they are practically unanimous regarding the advisability of belonging to the league. There is one exception — the United States. In the big European countries, any opposition to the covenant that may have existed was merely the work of irresponsible individuals or cliques. No great interests within any of the Entente Allies were arrayed against the league. Why such should be the case in the U. S. appears strange till we understand the situation.

During the greater portion of the war period the U. S. was the store house of the belligerents. When they required food, clothing, munitions, guns, tractors, aeroplanes or submarines they had recourse to the commissary. But nothing tangible was given in exchange. The gold reserves were soon depleted after the commencement of war. Goods could be purchased only on credit. Loans totalling 10 billions of dollars were made to their partners by the U. S. capitalists. Payment was to be made when victory was assured. Britain was the Allied banker. She financed many of the European states to fight and others not to fight. With the war over their debts were forgiven them by their banker—Britain. A glance at the division of the spoils would be sufficient to show how the banker could be imbued with this spirit of generosity.

The post-war situation was a perplexing one. There was no possibility of settling accounts with the creditors. Europe was left in straightened circumstances. To obtain anything, even in the future, the U. S. must again assist financially to reconstruct the shattered mines, factories, oil wells, and fields of her embarrassed debtors. So interwoven and interrelated have the capitalist class of all continents become that a working agreement must be made between them. Whatever profits accrued during the war were largely made up of bonds, debentures, securities, mortgages, and other paper evidences of property ownership. An international league embracing all business associates appeared to be the one means of adjusting affairs.

But in the United States there happen to be clashing interests within the nation. The overshadowing issue in the recent election campaign was the league or no league. The real reason for the division was not given to the public. "The papers 'id it handsome." We were told harrowing tales about our boys being forced to go Europe to fight were the covenant accepted without drastic reservations. Strange as it may seem they were forced to do precisely this same thing before the subject of the league was broached. It was not on sentimental grounds that the opposition was directed.

Article X was the bone of contention. Wilson's statement that this article was the heart of the covenant was well made. Here the territorial integrity of all members of the league is guaranteed. The great manufacturing and commercial interests in the U. S. cannot afford to guarantee the territorial integrity of Europe and Asia. Here they find their great competitors. Their altruistic associates of only a few months ago are today their business opponents.

Previous to the war, England, Japan, and Germany did the bulk of the South American business. While engaged in feats of arms this trade was necessarily neglected. The business houses of the U. S. supplied the deficiency. Regardless of the demoralization of the war years, the manufacturers of Europe are rapidly renewing their former trade affiliations. Especially is this true of Britain. Her business acumen is forcing the U. S. to release its hold on the South American market.

The only possibility of the American capitalists gaining a new and profitable field for exploitation is by expanding in the direction of the Orient. In all other foreign markets the American enters into competition at best on an equal footing with the capitalists of other countries. In many instances, and in widely separated places, he finds circumstances that place him at a profound disadvantage. In China, however, the field is decidedly favorable. The altruistic attitude of America in refusing to accept a cash indemnity during the Boxer rebellion in China has always left them "persona grata" in the minds of the Chinese merchants. This good feeling was greatly enhanced when the U. S. refused to accept the decision of the peace conference in regard to the "Shantung steal," and insisted on an amendment to the peace treaty rectifying the matter in such a way that the national integrity of China would be assured for the future.

But, again, the problem arises, no matter in what direction the U. S. moves in order to extend its foreign markets there is no possibility of avoiding an encroachment on either Britain or Japan. For the American business man to subscribe to a league covenant which guarantees the territorial integrity of the two countries whose holdings must be encroached upon would be downright foolishness. Of course, it may be asserted that even were the league proposal endorsed it would still be a mere "scrap of paper" that could be deserted at will. But such drastic action as this is possible only in cases where the aggressor is able to hold his own in opposition to all the forces that can be arrayed against him. Ethical considerations can be wiped out only by brute force. Such a favorable position is not occupied by the U. S. today.

Other interests in America like the big bankers and international traders who have interests in all countries are for the league. So long as the world situation is sound they have nothing to lose and much to gain by a league of those sections in which their interests are located. They own no personal or private property in tangible form. Their wealth consists of bonds of all countries and industries. Anything that tends to strengthen the position of international capitalism and sweep back the rising tide of revolution is considered worthy of their endorsement. Their outlook extends beyond the boundaries of any one country, for the simple reason that their interests do likewise. Between these two conflicting groups the quarrel is.

From the workers' standpoint it matters not who wins, he loses. League or no league he is still one of millions of downtrodden, oppressed, exploited slaves. Since the inception of political society we of the working class have occupied this mental position and must continue so to do 'till ignorance and apathy make way for knowledge and action. None of the problems confronting our masters on either side of the league concern us. We have no interests to lose or conserve. Our only hope lies in the direction of a league of workers who understand their class position and act accordingly.

J. A. McD.

Canadian Workers' Defense League

Send all money and make all cheques payable to A. S. Wells, B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, 220 Bannatyne Ave., Winnipeg.

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON V.

WE concluded our last lesson to take it up this week under the divisions made by Lewis Morgan in his "Ancient Society."

1st.—Lower Status of Barbarism.

This period commenced with the infancy of the human race, and may be said to have ended with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and of a knowledge of the use of fire to cook their fish. Man was then living in his original restricted habitat which must have been a warm climate because his natural subsistence was wild fruits and roots, and in a future lesson we will find that all the earlier civilizations arose where this virgin fertility of the soil was the prominent factor in early human development.

2nd.—Middle Status of Savagery.

It commenced with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire, to the invention of the bow and arrow. Cultivation at this period was unknown, and until the invention of the bow and arrow hunting was too precarious. The fish diet gave man more independence of climatic conditions and the soil's fertility, enabling man to spread over a greater portion of the earth, following seashores, rivers, lakes and streams, leaving the original habitat.

3rd.—Upper Status of Savagery.

It commenced with the invention of the bow and arrow and ended with the invention of the art of pottery. The bow and arrow made hunting safer, and man again was able to enlarge his subsistence and spread over a greater surface of the globe through his increased food supply obtained from hunting.

4th.—Lower Status of Barbarism: From the production of the art of pottery which is the most effective test that can be selected to fix a boundary line between savagery and barbarism, and all tribes that never attained the art of pottery are classed as savages, whether by original invention or adoption. In finding this lower status of barbarism's termination and the commencement of Middle Status of Barbarism, Morgan states that a difficulty is encountered in the unequal endowments of the two hemispheres which began to influence human affairs after the period of savagery had passed. He says it may be met by the adoption of equivalents.

In the Eastern hemisphere domestication of animals, in the Western hemisphere the cultivation of maize and plants by irrigation and the use of stone in house building, have been selected as sufficient evidence of progress, to work a transition out of lower barbarism to middle barbarism.

It leaves in lower barbarism those tribes that made pottery but were without cultivation of maize and plants in the west, and domestication of animals in the East.

5th.—Middle Status of Barbarism: Commenced with the domestication of animals in the East and cultivation of maize in the west, terminating with the invention of smelting iron.

Upper Status of Barbarism: Commenced with this discovery of iron, and ended with the phonetic alphabet and the use of writing in literary composition. Here civilization begins.

7th.—Status of Civilization: From the invention of the phonetic alphabet with the use of writing, up to the present time.

The important fact that mankind commenced at the bottom of the scale and worked up, is revealed in an expressive manner by the successful acts of enlarging the subsistence through the development of his tools, enabling him to fish and hunt and cultivate, etc. Upon the development of this skill depended man's supremacy over the earth, dominating every living creature. Without enlarging his subsistence, mankind could not have propagated themselves into other areas not possessing the same kinds of subsistence.

1.—While mankind lived on natural subsistence,

upon fruits and roots on a restricted habitat, they were in a strictly primitive stage. Neither art or institutions in this period.

2.—In fish subsistence must be recognized the first artificial food, because it was not fully available without cooking. Fire was likely first utilized for the cooking of fish, and was a great discovery.

Engels says:

"The discovery of the transformation of mechanical motion into heat, the generation of fire from friction developed to the transformation of heat into mechanical motion the steam engine. In spite of the tremendous revolution in the direction of freedom which the steam engine has produced in society, there is no question about it that the production of fire from friction still surpasses it as an agent in the liberation of humanity, because the production of fire from friction for the first time gave man power over the forces of nature and separated him for ever from the animals. The history of man can be regarded as extending from the period of the practical discovery of the transformation of mechanical movement into heat, to that of the transformation of heat into mechanical action."

Fish was universal in distribution and was of unlimited supply; it was the only kind of food at all times attainable. Man became independent of climate and locality; he migrated from his original habitat. He was also able to bake the roots and preserve them.

3.—the remarkable invention of the bow and arrow gave the first deadly weapon for the hunt; gave a powerful influence upwards in human progress, and stands in an analogous relation to the period of slavery, as did the iron sword to the period of barbarism, or firearms to the period of civilization.

From the precarious nature of man's food supply outside of fish areas, cannibalism became the dire resort of mankind. The ancient universality of this practice is being gradually demonstrated.

3.—The cultivation of the soil was developed in the Western Hemisphere as a consequence of the unequal endowments of the two hemispheres, the eastern possessing all the animals adapted to domestication, save one, and a majority of the cereals; while the western had only one cereal fit for cultivation and that the best. It tended to prolong the older period of Barbarism in the Eastern Hemisphere and shorten it in the Western. But when the most advanced tribes in the Eastern Hemisphere had domesticated animals which gave them meat and milk, their condition, without a knowledge of the cereals, was much superior to the American aborigines in the corresponding period with maize and plants but without domestic animals.

This domestication is believed to have developed private property owing to the pastures being eaten up and the men attending the flocks going afar in search of pastures new. The domestication is believed to have developed in the Eastern Hemisphere before cultivation, because various languages have common terms for animals but not for the cultivated plants and cereals. Agriculture is believed to have developed in the Eastern Hemisphere more through the need of feed for the domesticated animals than for the needs of man himself.

This progress of the human race, when halted, proceeded further whenever a discovery towards the production of food was obtained.

4.—Meat and milk subsistence from the domesticated animals provided a permanent subsistence, and was the means whereby the Aryan and Semitic races developed a higher type of man than was found in the Western Hemisphere, where the absence of animals adapted for domestication obtained, unless in the case of the llama.

5.—Unlimited subsistence, through field cultivation with the working of domesticated animals, and the development of crude ploughs through the discovery of the native metals, alloyed copper with tin, producing bronze, and the furnishing of iron tools capable of holding a point or an edge, was a great

event in human experience which formed the basis of civilization. The want of iron tools arrested the progress of mankind. They would have remained in barbarism to the present hour had they failed to bridge this chasm.

Lewis H. Morgan points out that mankind has passed through five different forms of marriage as a result of his change of methods of obtaining a living.

1.—Consanguine Family.

The Matriarchate marriage form consists of a family relationship living together in the marriage relation called the consanguine family, or first form or marriage. Sir John Imbbock was among the first to detect the evidences of group marriages in his "Origin of Civilization." With the invention of the bow and arrow, hunting giving more food, the family which previously took no chances to feed strangers with its limited food supply was able to disregard the customs of their ancestors and marry outside of the family.

Therefore develops, 2. Puhattan Family.

A group of women who may or may not be sisters, is married to a group of men who may or may not be brothers. Even this family breaks up into smaller groups. A man went to the home of the wife and the children belonged to the wife's gens. This custom of marrying outside of the gens is called exogamy; later it became the rule.

Ward says in "Pure Sociology," p. 193-200: 568: "No one was allowed to marry inside of the gens."

3.—A higher developed form of marriage was the Syndyasmian. It was a pairing family, several of them living in communal houses all partitioned off. The fact of them living in this manner is a proof of the feebleness of the family organization to face alone the hardships of life. The relation of the pair continued only at their pleasure. The husband could put away his wife at pleasure and take another wife and his wife could do so with equal rights.

4.—Patriarchal family marriage allowed one man to marry many wives, followed in general by the seclusion of wives.

5.—Monogamic Family is founded on marriage between single pairs, with exclusive habitation.

This form of marriage, which exists today, was the outcome of private property. The men folks, taken away from the tribal community with the need of pastures new for the domesticated animals, inaugurated the private ownership of the domesticated animals by those who attended them.

The descent of the children, who previously were named after the mother, was changed to the descent of the man.

This exclusive pairing family, which made it possible to trace descent in the male line and laid down the personal and economic interests of man through the development of private property, now demanded this form of marriage to enable him to trace his own offspring. This private property, developed out of land and animals, accomplished monogamic marriage.

The family, instead of being the basis of the State, we find has no power over the State, but is a creature of the State. The family became a social institution first and a moral institution afterwards. The State prescribes the forms in which families may be legally established, and determines the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the offspring, and establishes laws of inheritance.

The State can change the laws and precepts of marriage without affecting its own existence and general powers, but the economic conditions have a destructive influence on the family.

With the lack of employment for instance, and the drifting of young men into the cities, with a steady decrease in the number of marriages, our industrialism has, through economic necessity, pro-

(Continued on page 5)

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EDITORIAL

B. C. ELECTIONS.

BY the time this reaches the hands of the readers at outside points in B. C., the election date will be past and gone, and the bare dry bones of party politics will have been laid to rest, for a time.

As Socialists we regularly bow our heads to the charge as regularly laid against us that we are not in "practical politics." Practical politics is the scurvy game engaged in by office holders and office seekers, wherein the candidate's lien upon title to personal virtue is based solely upon the claim that his opponent has less conscience than himself, and has been or hopes to be more successful than he in driving a good bargain while in the harness of office, to the detriment of "the people" and the aggrandizement of himself or his party. At election times this song is always sung, and always sung to the tune of "honesty." Honesty! Humbug! This is politics in its surface appearances; and it is how it is generally understood by the mass of the people to apply.

What is this that produces honest men who are so devoted to the furtherance of our welfare? The class that controls the power of state are, by virtue of that control, secure in their control over the means of life. Each political party is an expression of class interests. With contending parties (such as Liberal and Conservative), their mutual claims to honesty and charges of dishonesty would encourage the belief that in "honest" government (by them), lies the key to the solution of our troubles today.

What is our trouble today? It is poverty?

We are all poor,—those of us who have to work to live. We see the evidences of poverty every day — men, women and children, ill-clad, half-starved, badly housed.

Is it unemployment? Thousands of workers are now unable to find employment. Is the expenditure of \$200,000 in Vancouver, just commenced, a measure that goes to the root of the trouble, for instance?

The trouble is not here. Confronting the evidences of poverty are everywhere evidences of wealth; the stores and warehouses are full of it in the shape of commodities, which, in a general sense, accounts for the many unemployed.

What does productive employment mean? Productive employment means the production of commodities for sale. For sale by their owners, not by their producers, and for use by the purchasers. We have a class of owners and a class of non-owners. The owners do not work and the workers do not own. Here is the root of the trouble.

The process of wealth production in present day society is social. That is to say, the individual processes of handicraft workmanship are no longer generally in operation. Labor is sub-divided, so that in the productive process not one man produces the commodity, but the labor of many men is necessary to the process. The complexity of the machinery operated in the productive process obviously stamps it as the result of a social development. The workers collectively operate this machinery in the production of food, clothing and shelter, and these things belong thereupon to the owners of that property, who hold that food, clothing and shelter for

sale. The return to the worker, in the shape of wages, amounts on the average to a sufficiency to enable him to continue to expend his energy in the productive process. All else accruing from the sale of the commodities he has produced goes to his master.

Our "trouble" lies, then, in this exploitation, which is made possible through the private ownership of the means of wealth production, to which we must have access in order to live. Schemes there are aplenty to relieve us. In the expediency of these election times, contending factions among our masters for control of the powers of State rival one another in the application of the soothing balm.

But the sore will not heal; the trouble is deep rooted. It goes to the foundations of society itself. Its cure cannot be effected by doctoring its surface eruptions. The Socialist Party of Canada will continue to harp upon the "trouble" continuously when the election is over, to the end that the workers may understand why it is that their miseries must continue while they operate the machinery of wealth production in a system of production for profit, whereby they produce everything, and own nothing but the energy required in the productive process.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Our news of Comrade Charlie O'Brien is meagre, but we are informed that he has been dismissed on the deportation charges, which have now been dropped. He is still charged with "Criminal Anarchy," as far as we know. "Criminal Anarchy is the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means. The advocacy of such doctrine either by word of mouth or writing is a felony." (Penal Law, State of New York, sec. 160). The charge against O'Brien under this law is that he sold to an informer "attached to the police force of the city of Rochester," a copy of the Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party of America. There are humorous passages in the law, even this one. Sec. 161 of this Penal Law says (sub. sec. 3), anyone is guilty who "openly, wilfully and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing the assassination or unlawful killing or assaulting of any executive or other officer of the United States or of any state or of any civilized nation having an organized government because of his official character, or any other crime, etc." The substance of sub. sec. 4 is ten years or \$5,000 fine, or both. The name of the informer referred to is Ezra L. Kauffman. We hope O'Brien will fare well, and that these silly charges will be dropped.

Comrade Moriarty has introduced the "Clarion" to the news-agents in Toronto as noted under "Clarion Sales Agencies" in another column. A selection of pamphlets can also be seen at the same addresses.

Comrade Goudie, St. John, N. B., attended a gathering recently of friends, most of whom are "Clarion" readers. Among themselves they collected \$32 for the C. M. F. Comrade Goudie has already sent in moneys collected in this way.

The "Province" (Vancouver) had a news item on the 23rd November, saying that some trouble had arisen over Jack Kavanagh refusing to sing the National Anthem at a meeting at Terrace (near Prince Rupert). Comrade Kavanagh reports that the anthem was sung sure enough, but the singing was accomplished by two members of the audience, disturbers. He reports good meetings held in and around Prince Rupert, and he expects to visit Ocean Falls, which is in the Prince Rupert District.

Last heard of, Comrade Frank Cassidy was at Edmonton. We expect soon to hear from him as being en route through Alberta.

Word received from Comrade Pritchard shows a change of address. He is in the Provincial Jail, Winnipeg, having been removed from "The Farm" on account of rheumatism. He is attending to store supplies in the jail, and teaching school to the inmates.

Here we have been outlining the need for a labor college time and again, and the government takes the initiative and starts one in jail with W. A. P. as dominie.

(It won't do you any harm to get into jail nowadays. That one anyway. The Manitoba Labor College!)

Keep the subs. up. This issue and last show better returns than during the previous month.

THE CLASS THAT IS ALWAYS BEING LOOKED AFTER.

(Reflections of a Simple Voter)

Motto—An apple a day (palliative measure); keep the doctor (revolution) away.

DURING an election campaign, no matter in what country it is being held, there is one class in society that is always being well looked after—according to all the claims made by politicians—and that class is the working class. It is well they have such public spirited men outside their own ranks who realize the importance of the toiling, and consequently happy, mass of mankind. The doctrines of the various countries depend upon their voting intelligently, and therefore no efforts are spared to develop their appreciation of the things that have been done for them. Being not only intelligent but grateful, it is not likely that their benefactors will be overlooked on election day. It can be safely stated that the hand that feeds them will not be bitten very severely in B. C.; their chief difficulty is only to distinguish which hands holds the grub.

Now, it is apparent that the concentration of all efforts to improve the conditions of the working class by the Liberal and Conservative parties eclipses all their efforts on behalf of the Capitalists. Of course, their affairs receive "a little" attention in Victoria after the elections, but they are of so trivial a nature during election time that the reaction of them would only distract the minds of the Working Class from all that has and will be done for them. They are the important people just now. They have votes, and as our demagogues say, "They are the most important class in society today." They have a public duty to perform and as they have "Saved the world for democracy," they will now see they get the fruits of their victory. Now all these efforts are made for and on behalf of the working class, not by and through their own efforts. Their desires and needs are felt by a certain group of individuals who are to take their prayers into the sacred halls of legislation, and by diligent and conscientious intercession with some power endeavor to have these wishes transmuted into the living and concrete expression of social welfare. The positive proof of this act having been accomplished, can always be verified by seeing in black and white the writings of the necessary legislation in the Statute Books. After such is accomplished the saviors can safely stand in the public tribune and exclaim with Christ—"It is finished." The old political parties have done so much for the workers that they might just as well let it go at that, as it must look extremely doubtful to them that there is anything left for the working class to do now but just simply keep on working.

There is one unpleasant feature that presents itself in this consuming desire to look after the workers. There is the insinuation of an almost child-like need for care,—a desire to keep them from straying out of the paths of virtue that the feet of the working class are used to treading in the interests of society. It is sometimes necessary to ask them not to keep on working so feverishly,—(it dulls the brain) and then a fund is sometimes necessary to assist them until such times as it is expedient that their natural desire for work can find a healthy outlet in the mill, mine or factory they may select as the field for seizing the great opportunities of life. Then again their women folk sometimes find they cannot afford to expend the necessary funds for the proper nourishment of their children, but they are not overlooked. It is sometimes found possible to give them a greater freedom than the home affords, by encouraging them into the shady avenues of commerce. Everything is so carefully covered by a forethought that would be the admiration of a society less intelligent than our own.

Where do the poor capitalists come in on all these schemes? So forsaken and so neglected are they by our humanitarian friends that we are inclined to believe they must be grown up and quite able to look after themselves. Maybe they are free from all these pleasing ailments that the social quacks are sworn to cure, maybe they have no need for the medicine they prescribe for the halt, the maimed and the blind—Working Class.

Our Attitude on Moderation

Editor's Note.—The following letter explains itself. It was sent by its signatories jointly to the Moderation League, who stated that they hoped to publish all the replies received to their queries. So far, the following reply has not been published by them.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
Local (Vancouver) No. 1.

401 Pender St. East,
17th November, 1920

J. S. Glynnes, General Secretary,
Moderation League,
Vancouver, B. C.

Sir,—We, the undersigned candidates on the Socialist Party of Canada platform for the Vancouver City Electoral District, are each in receipt of your letter of the 5th inst. containing a copy of your platform, your principles and aims, and a copy also of the resolution of your League, passed on the 3rd instant. We are also in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, in which you request our reply to the former communication asking us, in response to the terms of the aforementioned resolution, to say whether we are prepared to carry out the objects of the Moderation League, independently of our Party affiliation.

Since we cannot look upon these matters otherwise than from our Party or working-class standpoint, and since your League calls for our pronouncement upon this question, our reason for adopting this viewpoint must be, though briefly, set forth.

In our Party's continuous educational campaign of over fifteen years, we have laid incessant stress upon the status in society of those who produce the wealth of society. Whether they be wage workers or salaried employes, they serve only as producers of wealth and they enjoy no vestige of ownership in that wealth when it is produced. The so-called capitalists of industry, upon whose shoulders the burden of skill in directing the various industrial processes is supposed to rest, are in reality to day engaged, not in industrial supervision, but in the shadowy by-ways of credit and finance. They are the useless inheritors of the bourgeois class of Liberal tradition from whose efforts was supposed to result

the extension of trade and commerce, and the development of industry.

Today, the development of industry, through the evolution of the various productive industrial processes, has reached a point where the world's workers, attending these machines in mill, mine and factory, are alone able to produce an over-abundance of food and clothing and the general necessities of life, and they are able to do this with these machines running at less than half capacity. In the meantime, their masters, directly and in the shape of financiers, press owners, pulpiteers and politicians call for more production. More production! Why? Because, in a productive system that is based upon the production of food, clothing and shelter—not to be used by the community when needed, but to be sold for profit, the realization of continuous profit depends upon continuous production. The more production, the more profit.

The system we live under, the capitalist system, is so perfected as a wealth producing system, that its workers are able to produce more than the everyday conditions of its markets will allow it to consume. The productive glut is chronic. At the present time there are mountains of commodities to be sold and no market to sell them in, while at the same time the workers are actually in need of relief from hunger and want. They lack not only the comforts of life, but the decencies of good food and clothing. Yet they have by their energies produced those mountains of commodities that lie awaiting sale. More production is the popular cry, while at the same time the capitalist class close the gates of their factories and workshops in the face of those who would produce more.

To us, candidates of the Socialist Party of Canada, there is but one viewpoint upon any public issue, and that is the class viewpoint. All other issues are but momentary cries that will suffer abandonment in a moment of industrial crisis. In this election, there will be many workers no doubt who will concern themselves with what they may consider to be a properly balanced Moderation Act. We have this to say to them, that the day is not far off when circumstances will compel their attention to their bare need for bread. Thousands of wage working

men and women are without employment in Vancouver today. The unemployed condition* is serious for them. Like their fellows in other parts of the world, their productive capacity, when employed, is so great, that now and then they are compelled to withdraw their energy from production so that the surplus product may be gradually disposed of through the avenues and channels of the world's market.

The life experience of the wage worker is just plainly eat, work and sleep, and if he cannot find work he loses sleep and eats as best he may. In the best of times, over a period of years, calculated in terms of personal material worth, his possessions are nil. From the beginning of his life's journey to the end his function is to work, and the closer his point of contact with the machinery of wealth production, the more miserable is his experience. He works for wages, or he may be engaged in an employment where salary is the word, but in any case, on the average, the amount of that wage or salary is determined by the cost of those things necessary to feed and clothe him so that he may continue in the labor process. He owns nothing and has nothing to sell but the energy generated in him through the consumption of those necessities.

The issue that should interest him in this election is the class issue. His interest lies in aligning himself with all others of his kind, so that the product of his labor may be his. No Moderation Act and no Prohibition Act can alter his condition as a wage worker whose product belongs, not to him as producer, but to his master as owner. No side issue can obscure the main issue and the root cause of the world's trouble today, the exploitation of human labor for private gain. We stand for the social ownership of those things that are socially produced. Clear away that issue first of all, and all other contentious matters will be easily adjusted.

We are, yours, etc,

- J. DENNIS
- S. EARP
- J. D. HARRINGTON
- W. McQUOID
- J. F. SMITH
- C. STEPHENSON

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

(Continued from page 3)

duced prostitution on the one hand and a demand for it on the other, because of the inability of young men to keep a home. A peculiarity also of our modern industrialism is the development on the one hand of factories and towns where females predominate, as in the textile industry, and predominant male populations as in the mining and lumber camps.

Therefore, we see how the economic conditions are becoming more and more the most dominant factor in shaping man's social institutions in every department of human activities. We will trace the influence of this factor in all human progress since man enlarged his subsistence by the invention of his first tool to aid his means of production.

Our next lesson will deal further with this primitive stage of humanity, where woman lost her position of equality and became the subordinate of man.

PETER T. LECKIE

CULLED FROM THE "PROVINCE"

(Vancouver), November 16, 1920.

Tool of Profiteers.

Now that Wrangel's effort has failed, it will do no harm to tell the real genesis of the Crimean movement. Wrangel was not a supporter of the old regime, nor, at the outset anyway, did he intend unlimited action against the Bolsheviks. He was in reality the tool of a powerful business organization with headquarters in Paris, in palatial offices in the Avenue Mareheau.

This company, called the Russo-French Society of exploitation of South Russia and Crimea, was formed at the beginning of the year with a capital of 12,000,000 francs by a group of Franco-Russian financiers and industrialists, of whom M. Kamsuk of the Banque Du Nord was the most prominent. They included the principal shareholders of the iron mines of Krivolrog, and of Russia's most valuable collieries in the Dontez basin, south of Kharkov.

Piped Wrong Tune.

The company bought in France very large stocks of clothing and supplies for Wrangel's army, intending to finance their operations by the sale of grain and other produce from the Crimea; later they hoped to continue business with exportation of iron and coal. They actually succeeded in bringing some shiplands to Marseilles, which were sold at a good price.

Paying the piper, they called the tune, and insisted that a liberal form of government be established in the area occupied by Wrangel. In accordance with their policy his offensive was directed toward Ekaterinoslav and further north in the direction of the Donetz basin. Unfortunately they were powerless to control the reactionaries from Constantinople attracted by their general's success.

(Verb Sap.)

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Total C. M. F. contributions received from 12th to 24th November, inclusive—\$49.95

HERE AND NOW.

Following One Dollar each: J. T. Redfern, J. Stark, Tom Mace, R. C. McCutcheon, T. B. Miles, Emil Unger, Hilda Alta, Man Yee, J. A. Charters, W. J. Kennedy, R. Sievwright, C. Steen, O. Rayner, J. Lidgerwood, A. Shepherd, F. Neale, Wm. Murray, B. W. Sparks, Ed. Meek, M. H. T. Alexander, B. Dworkin, G. Svingster, R. Near, T. Beattie, W. Bennett, \$8; J. F. Maguire, \$5; J. J. Macdonald, \$5; Roy Addy, \$2.25; W. Ayres, \$1.61; T. Rimmer, \$2; A. Tree, \$4; J. A. Peterson, \$2; H. M. Bartholomew, \$2.25; Chas. Foster, \$2; A. H. Penfield, \$2; Wm. Staples, \$2; J. M. Sanderson, \$2; J. Watson, \$3; J. B. Ray, \$2; C. W. Blair, \$5; Wm. Dourey, \$7; A. S. Wells, \$1.50; A. Kinnaird, \$1.75.

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ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

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Concerning Value

By H. M. Bartholomew.

Article 5.—Final Utility.

WE come, now, to a consideration of a theory of Value which is associated with the name of the late Prof. W. Stanley Jevons, and which has been accepted by many pseudo-Socialists as an integral part of Socialist philosophy. For instance, Shaw gravely tells us that:

"Now the exchange value is fixed by the utility, not of the most useful, but of the least useful part of the stock."—"Fabian Essays," p. 14.

Jevons, in opening his case, says that:

"Repeated reflection and inquiry have led me to the somewhat novel opinion that value depends entirely upon utility."—"Theory of Political Economy," p. 1.

We have seen, in a previous article, how Ricardo deals with this "somewhat novel opinion."

Jevons, in examining the exchange value of any given commodity, applies, to the realm of commerce the Utilitarianism of Bentham and of Mill. Indeed he tells us that:

"I have no hesitation in accepting the Utilitarian theory of morals which does uphold the effect upon the happiness of mankind as the criterion of what is right and wrong."—*Ibid.*, p. 23.

Jeremy Bentham advocated the Utilitarian theory in the most uncompromising manner. His words have become classical:

"Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters—pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we think; every effort we can make to throw off their subjection will serve but to demonstrate and confirm it. In words a man may pretend to abjure their empire; but in reality, he will remain subject to it all the while. The principle of utility recognizes this subjection, and assumes it for the foundation of that system, the object of which is to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and of law. Systems which attempt to question it deal in sounds instead of sense, in caprice instead of reason, in darkness instead of light."—"Principles of Morals and Legislation," ch. 1.

It is upon the foundations of Utilitarianism as expounded by Bentham and elaborated by Mill that our learned Professor of Political Economy bases his analysis of exchange-value. He says:

"Pleasure and pain are undoubtedly the ultimate objects of the Calculus of Economics. To satisfy our wants to the utmost with the least effort . . . in other words, to maximize pleasure, is the problem of economics."—"Theory of Political Economy," p. 37. (Emphasis Jevons).

This view of economics has been held by leading economists other than Jevons. There is no need to quote lengthy passages from John Mill. His arguments in favor of Utilitarianism are too well known to be cited here.*

But let us to Jevons and his theory of Value!

As we have seen, that theory is the application of Utilitarianism to Economics. A commodity possesses value only when it is useful, and its value is determined by the quantum of its utility. Senior says:

"Utility denotes no intrinsic quality in the things which we call useful; it merely expresses their relations to the pains and the pleasures of mankind." Encyclopaedia Metropolitana.

In other words, the value of any given article is determined by the amount of pleasure or pain which its possession gives to the possessor. And Jevons endeavors to measure, by mathematical formulæ and algebraic expressions, the locus of the curve of human greed, and to found his conception of value upon that firm (!) foundation.

We have seen in a previous article, that a commodity possesses no exchange-value unless it is useful. We would think that there need be no laboring of this elementary point of economics, but our Professor is at great pains to make it clear, and is good enough to squirt all manner of mathematical

formulæ to make this point clear. He says:

"The ore lying in the mine, the diamond escaping the eye of the searcher, the wheat lying unreaped, the fruit ungathered for want of consumers, have no utility at all."—"Theory of Political Economy," p. 43.

That is platitude reduced to its final imbecility! But no matter. He grows eloquent and clear:

"Nor, when we consider the matter closely, can we say that all portions of the same commodity possess equal utility. Water, for instance, may be roughly described as the most useful of all substances. A quart of water per day has the high utility of saving a person from dying in a most distressing manner. Several gallons a day may possess much utility for such purposes as cooking and washing; but after an adequate supply has been secured for these uses, any additional quantity is a matter of comparative indifference. All that we can say, then, is, that water, up to a certain quantity, is indispensable; that further quantities will have various degrees of utility; but that beyond a certain quantity the utility sinks gradually to zero; it may even become negative, that is to say, further supplies of the same substance may become hurtful and inconvenient."—*Ibid.*, p. 44.

Or, a flood may sweep everything away and drown a "person" who might, without a quart of it have died of thirst!

This luminous method of economic analysis is applied by our professor to bread and to clothes and continues:

"Utility must be considered as measured by or even as identical with, the addition made to a person's happiness. It is a convenient name for the aggregate of the favorable balance of feeling produced,—the sum of the pleasure created and the pain prevented. We must now carefully discriminate between the total utility arising from any commodity and the utility attaching to any particular portion of it. Thus the total utility of the food we eat consists in maintaining life, and may be considered as infinitely great; but if we were to subtract a tenth part from what we eat daily, our loss would be but slight.** We should certainly not lose a tenth part of the whole utility of food to us. It might be doubtful whether we should suffer any harm at all.

"Let us imagine the whole quantity of food which a person consumes on an average during the twenty-four hours to be divided into ten equal parts. If his food be reduced by the last part he will suffer but little; if a second tenth part be deficient, he will feel the want distinctly; the subtraction of a third tenth part will be decidedly injurious; with every subsequent subtraction of a tenth part his sufferings will be more and more serious, until at length he will be upon the verge of starvation."—*Ibid.*, p. 45-8.

All of which, no doubt, is very illuminating and advances our knowledge of value greatly!

Then our learned Professor is kind enough to indulge in his favorite mathematics in order to illustrate, this, his most exquisite reasoning on the theory of value in exchange. But he returns, at length, to his water illustration. Thus:

"We cannot live without water, and yet in ordinary circumstances we set no value on it. Why is this? Simply because we have so much of it that its final degree of utility is reduced nearly to zero. We enjoy every day the almost infinite utility of water, but then we do not need to consume more than we have. Let the supply of water run short by drought, and we begin to feel the higher degrees of utility of which we think little at other times."—*Ibid.*, pp. 52, 3.

These "higher degrees of utility" are the determinant factors in exchange value. According to Jevons, one umbrella is very useful; a second umbrella is a luxury, and a third mere useless lumber. And he tells us that the exchange-value of an umbrella is determined by the "final utility" of the least useful umbrellas.

Let us, to cite Jevons' pet phrase, "examine this matter a little more closely." If the stock of umbrellas upon the market is sufficiently large that each member of the community is enabled to purchase two umbrellas, then, since the second umbrella

is not so useful as the first, it would be policy to ticket half the umbrellas at \$3 and the remainder at \$1.50. But no man will purchase an umbrella at \$3 when it can be obtained for \$1.50, and so the umbrellas are purchased at the latter price. Or, to quote the words of Jevons himself:

"I shall, therefore, commonly use the expression final degree of utility, as meaning the degree of utility of the last addition, or the next possible addition of a very small, or infinitely small, quantity to the existing stock."—*Ibid.*, p. 51.

Again:

"In exchange for a diamond we can get a great quantity of iron, or corn, or paving-stones, or other commodity of which there is abundance; but we can get very few rubies, sapphires and other precious stones. Silver is of high purchasing-power compared with zinc, or lead, or iron, but of small purchasing-power compared with gold, or platinum, or iridium. . . . Nothing can have a high purchasing-power unless it is highly esteemed in itself; but it may be highly esteemed apart from all comparison with other things,** and though highly esteemed, it may have a low purchasing-power, because those things against which it is measured are still more esteemed."—*Ibid.*, pp. 80-1.

So that, we find, that not "utility" but "esteem" is the measure of value of commodities. But then Jevons sets the whole matter right in this way:

- 1—"Value in use equals total utility.
- 2—Esteem equals final degree of utility.
- 2—"Purchasing power equals ratio of exchange."

—*Ibid.*, p. 81.

How scientific, how enlightening, how truly, truly philosophic is all this!

Turning from the mathematical formulæ and the logical ambiguities of Jevons for a moment, let us seek a short and concise exposition of "final utility" from the hands of Prof. J. S. Nicholson:

"Suppose that on a desert island A possesses all the food, so many measures—(say pecks—of corn, and B all the drinking water, so many measures (say) pints. Then A, taking into account present and future needs might ascribe to the possession of each portion of his stock so much utility. The utility of the first few portions of corn might be regarded as practically infinite, but if his stock were abundant, and a speedy rescue probable, the utility ascribed to successive portions would be less and less. In the same way B might make an estimate of the utility of successive measures of his drinking water. Now if we regard only total utilities from the point of view of each, both are infinite. If an exchange were made of the total stocks of the two men, the position of neither would be improved. But if A sets aside (say) half his stock, then it may well happen that he could advantageously exchange the rest against part of B's drinking water. In precisely the same way B might set aside so much of his stock for his own consumption, and then the utility of the remaining portion would be much less than the utility he would gain if he obtained in exchange A's surplus. Thus, if the two men exchange their remainders, both will gain in utility. . . . The remainders, both will gain in utility. . . . The utility of the last portion of corn retained by A (or of the water by B) is the final utility of the stock retained, and similarly the utility of the last measure obtained in exchange may be called the final utility of the stock purchased."—Encyclopaedia Britannica, sect. re "Value."

Such is the theory of Value which is associated with the name of the late Prof. Stanley Jevons, and which has received considerable support from economists and publicists during the last few years. **Next Article: "The Final Utility of Final Utility."**

*It should be noted that Mill did not apply Utilitarianism to his analysis of exchange-value. See his "Principles."

**It is obvious that Jevons had the wealthy and well-to-do class in mind when he wrote these lines.
***What has this to do with exchange-value then? Compare this sentence with his statement: "But the word Value so far as it can be correctly used, merely expresses the circumstance of its exchanging in a certain ratio for some other commodity."—*Ibid.*, p. 77.

Falling Prices

FOR some considerable time there has been much clamoring for price reduction, now the economic tide has set,—apparently—in that much desired direction. But, it not infrequently happens that the maturity of desire, fails to bring satisfaction, fails to round the measure of "promised joy." Alas! And the present era of "price cutting" (for lack of a better name) may prove, all too convincingly, that, as Muller puts it "the dream of the reality may be better than the reality of the dream." Indeed, without at all assuming the critical role of prophet, we may confidently assert that the reality will be of the nature of tragedy, to thousands of us who dream gay dreams in the bourgeois palace of ambition.

In every period of market expansion, economic development has been carried forward to a new stage of social condition, to a new triumph of production. This expansion of the market, with the temporary demand, calls forth the effort to supply that demand, gives a new impetus to commerce, a new confidence to prosperity, and through the competitive necessity of profit production, unleashes a new volume of credit, in order to benefit from the new opportunity. Consequently the expansion of the market brings about a wider spread of prices, a higher form of production, a greater volume of surplus, an advanced state of necessary enterprise. And when the sudden but temporary demand has been suffocated with the mass of over-production, the inevitable slump comes. Bills are presented—dis honored credit goes short, confidence becomes panic; prices react to the fear of bankruptcy.

But this reaction of prices is not the ordinary fluctuation of a competitive market. On the contrary, it is the stagnation of a market that is dead: the "sleeping sickness" of over-production. Nevertheless, the new status of industrial and commercial enterprise does not decline to the old plane of the "normal"; does not revert to the conditions of a previous period of "prosperity"; and the new prices, which are a reflex of the new organization of merchandise production, oscillate more or less violently in the anarchy of surplus depression, but find a new equilibrium in the higher vantage of economic development.

The present condition of society, with its threat—its certainty—of augmented suffering, is nothing new; is neither strange nor surprising. It is the evidence of wrong ideology or divine visitation. It is but the natural fruit of capitalist production; the inevitable climax of the sordid frenzy of accumulation.

For the triumph of victory in "the last war" (which) the total activities of society were impressed to service. Every man had his job; every woman her place in the war-machine, every child performed his quota of service. Every available unit was withdrawn from useful production; all unnecessary production eliminated; everything was subordinated to the "essentials" of war propagation. Hence the satisfaction of social necessities, and to meet the growing demands of an unprecedented war market, capitalist industry was keyed to a new intensity of exploitation. But to do this capital had to sacrifice its ancient gods. It threw aside its ethic of individualism; re-seated the fallen Dragon of efficiency; unmasked its faith; demolished its moral right; evolved new concepts of woman and her function, of man and his service; abandoned its fiction of payment; played with unlimited credit; and in the hour of its fierce trial, desecrated its holy of holies, property right. That is to say, that in actual fact, it repudiated its idealistic philosophy, and established the truth of historic materialism. Thus laying the foundation stone of the new society. What happened?

The mighty demand of the war market found a ready response in profit production. The doors of capitalist opportunity were wide open; credit was advanced to derive the utmost of advantage from the great "prosperity." Capitalist industry was electrified to activity, with the most tremendous im-

petus that ever thrust it forward to its final dissolution.

But the war ceased, and with its cessation the war market vanished. The war hordes were disbanded; munitions were unneeded; supplies were curtailed. Governments gave up housekeeping. But the chaotic production of capital went on unabated. The impulse of competition to secure the maximum of surplus made the wheels of industry hum with the song of profits.

To support this continued industry in the interests of capital, to rehabilitate the disorganized "peace" market, and open up new channels of trade, credit was advanced to further high levels; prices soared to unheard of heights. The once favored warriors, flung on their own resources, discovered the meaning of retrenchment. Wages sagged beneath the pressure of higher credits, and the ever-growing supply of labor-power. The war-wasted countries, bankrupt and desolate, found their purchasing power gone. Thus production went on, (thereby hastening the ruin), the long outstanding credits were called in, and, lo! there was no money wherewith to meet the obligation. Because, forsooth, society had not the price to buy the product of the feverish activity.

That is where we stand now. That is why business is nervous, why prices break. It is the flurry of trade, anaemic for lack of sustenance, dying for want of a market, and is, in reality, the harbinger of industrial stagnation.

But breaking prices are not the indications of a return to the "normal" of pre-war times. Those times are gone as irrevocably as the days of Julius Caesar. Economic development has carried society forward to a new conditional level, and the impress of the new conditions will be reflected in the "normal" of new effects, which in due season will be registered upon the plastic consciousness of social man.

The explanation of social phenomena is to be found in the nature of social organization; the color and condition of the one determines the color and condition of the other. Precisely as the structure of a machine determines the character of its operation; and precisely as the building of a machine to perform a particular function, demands a knowledge of physical law, so the formation of a society which will fulfil, to their completest, the necessities and aspirations of man, must be the work of a clear understanding of sociological evolution and its laws. If society hurts us, cursing, or wishing, alters neither the fact nor the causes. Clearly, society does not injure all. Clearly can society be organized beneficially.

But the incentive to such organization, apparently, can only come forth from the buffetings of exploitation, can materialize only when that exploitation has developed to such an extent, that the utmost activity of social effort fails to sustain society itself.

And that day is close at hand. We are now going down into the depths of an industrial depression, a depression that, being co-extensive with capitalist production, must be world wide; a depression which will be as grim and as bitter as its preceding exploitation was violent and intense; and out of which, however devious the way, there is but one escape—working class ownership of the means of wealth production. R.

Literature Price List

- Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
- Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
- The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
- Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. 1, Marx). Single copies (cloth bound), \$1.00; 5 copies, \$3.75.
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.
- Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
- Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 Copies\$2.00
- Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.
- Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.
- The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Single copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.
- The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.
- Ancient Society (Louis H Morgan), \$2 15
- Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (F. Engels) 90c
- Value, Price and Profit (Marx)—Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.
- Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy (F. Engels) 90c
- Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis), \$1.75.
- Civil War in France (Marx) 35c
- Life and Death (Dr. E. Teichmann) 90c
- History of the Paris Commune (Lissagaray) \$1.50
- Class Struggle (Kautsky), cloth, 90 cents; paper, 35 cents.
- Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History, (Kautsky), cloth, 90 cents.
- Puritanism (Meily), cloth, 90 cents.
- Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen), paper, 55 cents; cloth, \$1.
- Origin of Species (Darwin), cloth, \$1.
- Information Respecting the Russian Soviet System and its alleged Propaganda in North America (Martens), per copy, 10 cents.
- The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia (Kaplan), per copy, 15 cents.
- Savage Survivals (Moore), cloth, \$1.
- Law of Biogenesis (Moore), cloth, 90 cents.
- Social Studies (Lafargue), 90 cents.

Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

(All above post free). All above literature can be obtained at the same prices, post paid, from—J. Sanderson, Box 1762, Winnipeg, Man.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

LOCAL (VANCOUVER) No. 1

EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

POLITICAL ECONOMY: Every Sunday afternoon, from 3 to 5.

HISTORY: Every Thursday evening, from 8 to 10.

An additional class is now being formed on elementary economics. This class is especially intended for those who are commencing the study of this subject for the first time. Intending students should come to the class room now, or send a note of name to the Secretary of the Economic Class. This class will begin as soon as intending students get together and arrange a suitable date.

Classes meet at 401 Pender Street East. No fees are asked and no collection is made. All that is required is an earnest interest in the subject taken up. All points raised and all questions asked are fully discussed. Membership in the Socialist Party of Canada is not a condition of membership of these classes.

You are earnestly invited to attend.

LOCAL (WINNIPEG) No. 3—EDUCATIONAL CLASSES.

ECONOMIC CLASS: Every Friday at 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS' CLASS: Every Sunday at 11 a.m.

These classes are already well attended, and the number of members is increasing. The classes meet at 530 Main Street, Winnipeg, and all workers are requested to attend.

MANIFESTO

— of the —

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

(Fifth Edition)

Per copy 10 cents

Per 25 copies \$2

Post Paid

Socialist Party of Canada Election Manifesto No. 3

TO THE ELECTORS OF VANCOUVER

THE Socialist Party of Canada in entering this election asks not for your vote but for your attention. That is our only concern; consequently we are quite as active the day following, as we are the day previous to voting, and any day between.

This election cannot solve the problems which everywhere demand attention. In fact to harken to the average politician one could well imagine that they were not of this world at all, but were a sort of Punch and Judy shadow show, pounding each other with words, for the amusement of the crowd.

But the serious-minded individual must realize, sooner or later, that the past six years have drastically revolutionized the social relations between men. The problems are not new, by any means, but they have become more pronounced, more menacing, and altogether insisting upon a solution.

The foremost problem of mankind is to maintain life. We are here through no wish of our own, but being here we desire to remain. Certain conditions are essential to that end; we must have food, clothing, and shelter. Mankind differs from all other animals in the methods whereby he obtains these needs, and we wish to call your attention to that fact. At first sight this would seem superfluous, but if you have never considered the question before, you will be surprised to learn that you have entirely overlooked a thing, because you see it everywhere.

Now, all animals and insects find their food and shelter in such forms that they are readily utilized by means of their natural functions—their claws, beak, teeth, etc.

But man (and some few animals and insects in a very rudimentary and crude manner) must use tools or implements. In the lowest stage of man's development we find him using tools. The food he eats, and, either for comfort or ethical or artistic purposes the clothes he wears, are never obtained in sufficient quantities to guarantee him life, without the aid of tools.

This is a very significant fact, for if we observe the conditions of very low forms of human development we are at once aware of a tremendous difference between their social life, and that of man in the higher forms of development—say in Vancouver.

Among the savages, the native bushmen of Australia for instance, every one procures his own sustenance. And every one has something to eat and a shelter, providing no natural obstacles or conditions forbid.

But in Vancouver and elsewhere within the confines of civilization, we are conscious of the fact that a large proportion of mankind have insufficient food and clothing, and many have to live in crowded and unhealthy shelters. We know also, that everywhere within the confines of civilization there is

an abundance of everything needful to man.

We are less conscious of the fact, that while so many people live on the verge of destitution, a relative few have all their wishes gratified, no matter how extravagant or how numerous they might be. It will also be noted that these fortunate few are not required to produce, or in any way procure any of the things they possess in such abundance.

They may be drunken, dissolute, unwholesome specimens, as many of them are; they may be imbeciles, as some of them are; or they may be mad; it matters not, wealth flows in upon them, without effort on their part. When we are really conscious of this fact we must ask ourselves why it can be.

Let us then return to the fact that man must, if he would produce food, clothing, and shelter, use tools or implements.

In a low stage of social culture, man can apply himself direct to mother nature; all he requires can be obtained with little effort. Fish-hooks of bone, gut from animal sinews, or plant fibre, a slender straight stick hardened by fire; with these he may supply his simple wants.

But when we seek to supply our needs, we are required to use, or assist in the use of a very elaborate and complex machine, over which we have no control, and which belongs to a class. Just as no one man can use it, so can no one man own it. Therefore it is owned by a class, the **Capitalist Class**; and used by a class, the **working class**.

The working class hire their capacity to operate this machinery, to the capitalist class, receiving wages, and surrender to the owners all the product of their toil.

We cannot produce without their permission, and they will permit us to use their machinery only when they can reap a profit from our labor. So that the earth is no longer used for mankind at large, but for a favored class, the owning class.

A very few chapters from history will acquaint you with the conditions under which ownership prevails. You will find that very frequently mankind has altered the conditions of ownership, when those conditions prevented him from securing subsistence and comfort for himself and his offspring. But he does this successfully only when he is conscious of his power and realizes the nature of his troubles. So that now a struggle is in progress; the capitalist class to retain, the working class to obtain ownership of the means of life; this is the **Class Struggle**.

We are not responsible for it any more than we are for the struggle for existence in the animal world; we merely call attention to it, and to the fact that whoever is returned in this election, this struggle must go on.

Why not attend our meetings and hear working class politics discussed by members of your class?

Professional Optimism

WHILST business was proceeding in an atmosphere of prosperity, we were spared to some extent the continued notification that "Everything was lovely." Now, it can always be observed that when the periods of depression or slackness are upon us, there is always someone hollering out that there are no grounds for pessimism, that everything is for the best. When it is necessary to assert what should be evident, it is always a sure indication that a hidden fear lurks behind this professed optimism. When we are pleased with ourselves and our conditions of prosperity we do not, as a rule, tack a sign up that things are rotten, but it seems when things are tending in that direction the only thing we really need is a tonic labelled "optimism." Changing conditions are only mental, according to this age of brain workers, and so as a mental tonic labelled "The Will to Believe," becomes the antidote of 20th century ills of the social body.

Now the wisdom of the 20th century surpasses everything that has preceded it, and one has only to glance through the advertising columns of our leading magazines today to see what some individuals will do (for a consideration) to make one's brain the marvel of the age. We are led to believe that quite a number of our fellow-men have submitted to various processes, by which the increase

of grey matter in their heads has developed to such an extent that an X-ray examination would surprise the most sceptical. These are practical men too, and what results have been effected in the communities blessed with the increased wisdom! We are afraid it is being hid under a bushel, or if it has been reserved for our benefit later on, maybe it is this surprise that is behind our professional optimism, and not the fear of realities that loom ahead.

As a matter of fact, if we believe all we hear, optimism at the present is specially warranted. In British Columbia, we have a regular galaxy of talent only waiting the endorsement of the electors to show how they are going to make this Province at least, if not fit for heroes, pleasantly endurable. Of course there is the possibility that those with whom this decision rests may make a disastrous mistake and not recognize the correct method of selection. However, they have handled such things before, and being wise beyond any preceding generation, there is every hope that the spirit of optimism will be vindicated.

Now the happy outlook is not confined to B. C. The one great hope of many years is about to be accomplished. The era of "cheapness" is in view. An optimistic prospect no one will dispute who has been living under the H. C. of L. Everything is going to be cheap, and so our savings are at last going to be worth thinking about. It is only to be hoped that the workers have not been foolishly

squandering the results of their high wages during the prosperous period they have passed through.

It has been hinted at times that the workers had been allowing their great opportunity to buy out the capitalists with their savings to slip by, in an orgy of riotous living. Now that things are getting cheap the opportunity of getting control of industry at bargain prices should be looming ahead. The possibilities of the future in the mystic realms of prices, forbid us launching into an intoxication of optimism that would possibly be laid at the doors of the Moderation League.

During the past few years the analytical brains of men have been at work on the mysteries of prices, which promised to soar beyond the heavens, and judging by the results of their investigations the conclusions they arrived at were so startling they could not be presented clearly to the unthinking mass who did not know these mysteries were beyond the control of ordinary mortals. The incantations of the mystery men have been uttered, and lo! the fall in prices. If you listen attentively you can hear your fellow men explaining it. The "price of labor" was the foul spirit behind it all. Its day will soon be done now, and so everyone can see the "cheap" spirit has come amongst us again. Of course, as we all know, the falling prices of commodities started the mental sleuths on their bright discovery of the villain, although he was suspected all along and openly accused of the crime, but could not be run to earth. He sneaked out in the sugar market; how he chose such a conspicuous place we will not disclose for the present.

Whilst the health or derangement of the internal organs of the human body have the effect of causing an optimistic or pessimistic outlook on life (without taking into consideration any counteracting influence of the development of the individual mind), it can be seen that the various derangements of the social system in evidence today cause a somewhat similar effect on the social body, which, of course, is made up of the collection of individuals. The varying outlooks of the individuals comprising any community will naturally be subject to the influences around them, and they can only interpret the various phases of these forces in so far as they understand them. If the changes occurring are apparently detrimental to their usual security in the means of life the outlook is not cheerful, but hopes can be utilized as a solace for a time. If the social disturbance continues without any apparent move towards bettering things, those who are the sufferers throw off the mental balm of "optimism" and use their intelligence to escape from the conditions that they object to.

Professional optimism is the "mental balm" of those who wish to escape from facing the realities that have to be understood. Intelligence and understanding are distinct from the emotional effects of good or ill-health, although not altogether unaffected by them. In a healthy state of society men will have no difficulty in solving the questions that disturb the social body. The results we see today are only the indications of a "gouge" derangement of society.

H. W.

NOTICE.

LOCAL (VANCOUVER No. 1, S. P. of C.

Owing to the Campaign Meeting in the Pender Hall, 804 Pender St. W., on Tuesday, November 30th, the Regular Weekly Business meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 1st.

NOTICE

VANCOUVER SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN MEETINGS.

Empress Theatre Sunday, Nov. 28
Headquarters, 401 Pender St. E. Monday, Nov. 29

Pender Hall, 804 Pender St. W. Tuesday, Nov. 30
All Meetings 8 p.m.