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"SEE CANADA FIRST."

A Trip on the Great Lakes

THE personal inspection of the fore-castle revealed a disgraceful state of affairs. The sleeping quarters were visited and found to be filthy almost beyond belief. Vermin of all sorts was in evidence; the mattresses were filthy; the bunks were of hard boards, the walls and floors apparently had not been cleaned for a long time, ventilation was very bad, and many of the crew were sleeping on the batches. . . . There was no mess room. The articles of food we saw were badly cooked and served in tin dishes none too clean. Flies were in abundance and there was a lot of waste food about, some of which was in the bunks. . . . The men complained of bed bugs. The food is carried from the after end forward by the men themselves. They stated that an attempt had been made to get the local health officer aboard but had failed. . . . The cook complained of a superabundance of cockroaches. . . . The men complained of not getting enough sleep en route, being for the most part 14 to 15 hours out of twenty-four on duty and sleep being interrupted. . . . Many will imagine this is more of Russia and will be disappointed when told it is part of a report made by a Board of Conciliation investigating the conditions of men working in the shipping industry here in Canada, with special attention to that God-forsaken part known as Ontario and Quebec. Of course, the representative of capital makes a statement to the press in which he does not refute the findings of the board, but denies ownership of the ship "Corunna"; by making this statement the object is to shift responsibility for such conditions on to someone else. The statement reads: "The steamer 'Corunna' is neither owned nor operated by the Canada Steamship Lines and the Department of labor has been notified to this effect."

Many people would naturally think these conditions applied only to this one boat after reading the above statement in the daily press, but "The Board in its investigation have discovered that on many ships there were continual changes in the personnel of the crew, in some cases the crew having changed completely three times up to date (July 28 - 21), and can only come to the conclusion that the conditions, especially in the fire-hole, are such that the men have thrown up their jobs. . . . As before pointed out, the conditions of the sleeping quarters, sanitation, and hard work have, in the opinion of the Board, been the causes of so much transient employment. . . . It is not all important to know who owns this boat, as one gang of parasites is as bad as another, but it is very instructive to see how our masters try to twist any statement made by the workers, and the manner in which they will deliberately lie when making statements in the press. First, regarding ownership, this Board states: "With reference to the ownership of the 'S.S. Corunna' I beg to state that Lloyd's Register for 1920 states that she belongs to the Black Diamond Line Steamships, which is owned by the Dominion Iron and Steel Company at Sidney, N. S. . . . Since that date the D. I. and S. Co., has been absorbed by the British Empire Steel Company and the Black Diamond Boats were taken along with other assets. . . . Further investigation on the part of the Board revealed the fact that

a number of the directors of the British Empire Steel Company were also directors on the Canada Steamship Lines. . . . This shows a remarkably close association between the two companies."

This resembles a One Big Combine with many names, one part giving orders but acknowledging no identity in the "skin game." The company claimed that only "ten disgruntled employees" had called for a Board of Enquiry, but during the investigation it was found that "after the new schedule of wages had been announced by the Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, there was great dissatisfaction, and the seamen employed by them at Midland, Ontario, being members of the union, had threatened to go on strike, but at a meeting held on the above date (11th April, 1921) at which there was a fair attendance of at least seventy-five representatives of the men it was decided to wait until a Board of Conciliation had been secured in accordance with the Act." And what number of men did this committee represent? "Membership in the union was investigated and it was discovered that there were some twenty-one hundred members (2,100) on the list in good standing." Here is a body of men working under the vilest and most degrading conditions possible, even under capitalism, and when they protest, the acknowledgment from their Christian masters takes the appropriate form of lies and misrepresentation of the actual facts. "We don't acknowledge the existence of a dispute!" As though there was no reason at all for grievance and rebellion among these workers, when we find that they are denied even the common decencies of sanitary accommodation, as was found that "there are no baths or showers on this ship," and "on the passenger steamers a sharp inspection is made daily so far as the passengers' conveniences are concerned, but those of the crew would appear to be sadly neglected." The stinking atmosphere of the fore-castle will to some extent be realized when the Board "recommends that steps be taken to have this grievance remedied without delay. It would appear that the idea seems to prevail on many ships that all the ventilation necessary is a port hole, no intelligent study being made as to the circulation of the air."

Both the "intelligent study" and the labor to ameliorate these conditions would mean the hiring of more men, and this means expenditure, calculated as loss of dividend, therefore the Board's recommendations cannot be complied with. In making profit, the capitalist has very little thought for anything else, and in many cases, if it were not that some laws stand in the way really safeguarding the continuance of the exploitation process, the ravages of capitalism would sweep away many more millions than even the black plague. Here is one gang that ignores everything, as was found, "a ship can clear an inland port with a crew palpably too small to operate without danger." What do they, the owners, care about danger? The smaller the crew the less expenditure for operation. There is no rough weather during summer time, so there is no danger of losing the boat, that is the vital and most important matter—preservation of private property. When any matter—preservation of private property. When any matter—a number of vessels were examined and they hear, "a number of vessels were examined and it was found that the machinery was dangerously exposed and left itself to accidents, in bad weather

especially," they only sit back and say, "we don't acknowledge it." These people know this exists and have known it for years, but the workers have been at their mercy and are at their mercy today. should a man fall sick, it was found that no medicine for first aid could be found on these boats. "The general manager admitted the subject having been neglected." Of course, when a sailor becomes sick he is "sent to a hospital, but unless the sickness has occurred through the fault of the ship, the sailor is obliged to pay his own hospital fee and medical attendance."

When a member of the crew falls a victim to fever, which is the most likely thing he would do, this would not be classified as the fault of the ship, therefore he claims no compensation and pays the hospital bill, providing he has been fortunate enough to save a few dollars. Again, when he happens to be caught in one of the winches and mangled, the Board also finds "several cases where the seaman has met with mishap and apparently through ignorance or neglect of someone has received no redress." Therefore, it is quite evident a case of "heads I win, tails you lose," in any case the worker suffers. The company, not being anxious to report accidents to the Compensation Board, this is considered as not being a dangerous occupation and assessed at a low rate. If all accidents are reported, then the rate per employee would be high and would eat into the general rate of profit. There's not much ignorance attached to this,—just "neglect," but not neglect of dividends.

In order to obtain some idea as to the position these men are in to pay doctor's bills, the Board asks "to take the wages of a wheelsman, for example, in 1915 during eight (8) months of service on the Great Lakes, which is the maximum period of employment in the year, at the scale as submitted to the Board: he would earn \$336.00 and his board for that period. If he were a married man, and a large proportion of these crews are married, he would of necessity have to support a family on this sum. . . . The 'Labor Gazette' for 1915 gives a fair cost of ordinary living for a small family as \$719.16. This means that he would have at that time to deprive his family of what is usually considered as essential. He has nothing to go on with for a supply of clothing for himself and family, as it certainly appears that he was in very bad financial straits and was evidently underpaid. . . . In 1920 the wheelsman's wages have been raised up to \$880.00 for the season. . . . The 'Labor Gazette' for that year shows that the cost of living for a small family was \$1,212.12. It will then be seen that although his condition was improved over 1915 he still is not in a satisfactory financial shape to meet the requirements of his family."

Bad as this is, with hunger staring the men in the face, the company, not satisfied that they have wrung the limit out of the "disgruntled employee" ordered a 30 per cent. reduction in wages, beginning with "the season." The report states: "The heavy reduction in wages at the beginning of the season put the seamen into a pecuniary condition as bad as 1915, which was bad enough. The Board is of the opinion that the reduction was much too sweeping, and after careful consideration believe that a ten

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The "Economic Factor" in the Materialist Interpretation of History

Being a reply to a letter of enquiry arising out of a friendly controversy between two comrades concerning the "Economic Factor" as all comprehensive in the Marxian system, and concerning also "Race," "Natural Environment," "Cultural Influences," as directing influences in the march of events in history.

By C. STEPHENSON.

"In the middle of the century. (the 19th), two men sought to incorporate in their philosophy the physical basis which Hegel had ignored in his spiritism—recognizing that life is conditioned by an environment and not an abstraction for metaphysics. H. T. Buckle in his "History of Civilization in England" (1857), was the first to work out the influences of the material world upon history, developing through a wealth of illustration the importance of food, soil and the general aspect of nature upon the formation of society. Buckle did not as is generally believed make these three factors dominate all history. He distinctly stated that the advance of European civilization is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws and an increasing influence of mental laws, and 'the measure of civilization is the triumph of mind over external agents.' Yet his challenge not only to the theologian but to those historians whose indolence of thought or 'natural incapacity' prevented them from attempting more than the annalistic record of events, called out a storm of protest from almost every side. Now that the controversy has cleared away, we see that in spite of Buckle's too confident formulation of his laws, his pioneer work in a great field marks him out as the Augustine of the scientific age. Among historians, however, Buckle's theory received but little favor for another generation. Meanwhile the economists had themselves taken up the problem, and it was from them that the historians of today have learned it. Ten years before Buckle published his history, Karl Marx had already formulated the 'economic theory of history.' Accepting with reservation Feuerbach's attack on the Hegelian 'absolute idea' based on materialistic grounds (Der Mensch ist, was er ist), Marx was led to the conclusion that the causes of that process of growth which constitutes the history of society, are to be found in the economic conditions of existence. From this he went on to socialism, which based its militant philosophy upon this interpretation of history.

But the truth or falsity of Socialism does not affect the theory of history. In 1845 Marx wrote of the young Hegelians that to separate history from natural science and industry was like separating the soul from the body, and 'finding the birth place of history, not in the gross material production on earth' but in the misty cloud formation of heaven. (Die Heilige Familie p. 238). In his 'Misere de la Philosophie' (1847), he lays down the principle that social relationships largely depend upon modes of production, and therefore the principles, ideas and categories which are thus evolved are no more eternal than the conditions they express but are historical and transitory products. In his famous 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' (1848), the theory was applied to show how the industrial revolution had replaced feudal with modern conditions. But it had little vogue except among Socialists, until the third volume of 'Das Kapital' was published in 1894 when its importance was borne in upon continental scholars. Since then the controversy has been almost as heated as in the days of the Reformation. It is an exaggeration of the theory which makes it an explanation of all human life, but the science of dynamic sociology rests upon the postulate of Marx."

Ency. Britannica (11th ed.)

Abstract from history article contributed by James Thomson Shotwell, P.H.D., Prof. Hist. in Columbia University, New York City.

Dear Comrade,—

Received your letter with pleasure. As well as I am able within the time at my disposal, I herein comply with your request for information on certain matters raised in a dispute between you and an opponent of yours, on the Marxian theory of history, i.e., the Materialist Interpretation. In compliance with your further request for the non-Marxian testimony of the "Britannica" on the Marxian theory it is also herewith.

You say your opponent considers any Socialist source of information on the Marxian theory of history as of no authority. The Materialist Interpretation, then, is in bad case with him, if only the voices of its enemies are to be heard. What should we think of an administrator of the law who would only hear one side of a case? Instead of holding the

balance fair, I think he would be degrading his office to that of executioner.

In the main, your opponent's objections are pointless and ineffectual because he appears to be unaware of the issue that divides the Materialistic and Idealistic schools of philosophy. Else how could he, for instance, raise the particularly pointless objections to materialism, "that the term 'material' does not allow for human thought as a factor," and 'that human thought is not material as material must partake of matter, and matter is only such as possesses weight or dimension.' No one has claimed that the mind, or thought or idea are material substances, any more than it has been claimed for nutrition. Are all our ideas, as claimed by the Materialists, images, formed by the mind, of experienced things of the material world? Or have we ideas as claimed by the idealists, which transcend experience, being innate in the constitution of our mind and independent of experience: principles of knowledge, the categories of time and space, and cause and effect, concepts whose truth we know beyond doubt intuitively; but which we can not know by reason and analysis? In like manner and to the same effect, it is claimed that the knowledge of moral principles, and of God, soul, immortality, free-will, etc., is knowledge which can only be arrived at intuitively and not by matter-of-fact reason and analysis. The dictionary has it: "Intuition, the power of the mind by which it immediately perceives the truth of things without reasoning or analysis." Thus to the Idealist there are two kinds of knowledge; to the Materialist only one. The point in dispute, is, as to the source and nature of such conceptions as named, and this gives occasion for the terms Materialism and Idealism being applied to the opposing schools. The dispute is not at all as to whether thought is a factor in the historical process. Both schools allow for thought as a factor, neither of them denying its influence, least of all the Materialists; for, are not they, everywhere, the hated who sap and mine against the citadels of entrenched orthodoxy, ignorance and that slavish apathy whose other name is mental indolence? And what purpose, indeed, could Marx, himself arch-materialist, have had in view in devoting his whole energies and great ability during his mature life up to his death in harness, to the increase of human knowledge of that very historical process? And whether your friend considers the influence of Marxian thought good or evil, he can hardly deny that it has influenced scientific enquiry and theory in the domains of history, economics, and politics, for, as the "Britannica" has it: "The science of dynamic sociology rests upon the postulate of Marx." As a further consequence of its influence on thought, there is involved the translation of thought into act and into fact. It is thus with increasing measure that Marxian theory influences practical affairs in the life of our time.

In respect of what I have to say on the Materialistic Interpretation and in justice to that theory, I must call to your minds, what you will both realize, the inescapable limitations, the inadequacies inherent in all brief and summary definitions or explanations. The corollary to that is the dictum that the essence of any school or system of thought, religious or secular, is not to be found in any particular phrase, formula or part of the system, nor in any one man's contributions to it. Its essence is only to be found in the whole body of it. It is hardly necessary to point out, especially in respect of what is known as the Marxian School of Scientific Socialism, that that dictum has been grossly neglected, sometimes in a spirit of partisanship, sometimes in ignorance, though oftener through malice by reason that it takes issue with orthodox teachings and the old familiar ways of thinking to which we, however, have become habituated. The dictum, however, has received its most malicious abuse at hands inspired by private in-

terest, such as Marx spoke of when he spoke of the domain of political economy, that in that domain, "free scientific enquiry meets not merely the same enemies as in all other domains. The peculiar nature of the material it deals with summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the Furies of private interest."

On the point at issue between Materialism and Idealism, dictionary definitions, as I said, are inevitably inadequate because of their brevity; nevertheless, any dictionary will, I think, show that that dispute is as to which belongs priority, thought, or the world of material qualities and forces. The dictionary has it: "Idealism, is the doctrine that in external perceptions the objects immediately known are ideas, that all reality is in its nature psychical, i.e., mental." In other words, it asserts that there is a conceptual world of the mind that is independent of the race's life experiences.

Materialism rejects the doctrine of Idealism, by taking the position that ideas are the reflection of the material world in the mind of man, and translated into forms of thought. Its attitude to the problem of man and his place in nature is a naturalistic one, based on the biological sciences. It asserts that the whole man, as evolved from lower forms of life, with the physical as well as the psychical traits native to him, his instinctive tendencies and aptitudes of whatever kind, emotional or mental, is an outcome of the interaction of organism and environment, natural and social. Thinking itself, it has been truly said, is but an outcome of the necessity for man of getting out of trouble. As his instinctive traits determine for him what is worth while he is thus driven to be an active factor in his environment. The materialist claims that intelligence is not the original shaper and final cause of things, but that thought is but man's mental response to the stimulus of his material environment. That mental response carries with it, however, as a further consequence, the translation of thought into action and action into the fact of an adaptive adjustment, either by conforming to the conditions of his environment or by changing the conditions for good or ill, as the outcome may be.

The question that hangs on the issue between Materialism and Idealism, is, are we to depend upon the supposed higher, innate ideas, the eternal and absolute truths of Idealism for our guidance in the affairs of life, or, are we to reject them and take experience for our guide? Materialism says the latter, and even says further, that the so-called eternal truths and verities of Idealism are, after all, but the mental reflections of humanity's experiences of the material world, distorted or sublimated by the imagination. Moral concepts are the product of human association, are the outcome of a generally felt necessity in any community for a rule of life and let lives being lived up to in some sort of fashion. Those others, the concepts of God, the soul, of freedom and immortality, have also their causes in the material world. They are attempts to escape from the real world of bitter experience by idealizing it. It has been said, the mind needs system and abhors the unknown and the anarchic. Also, the insatiable heart of man longs for comfort, consolation and support amidst the evils, the oppressive conditions and frustrations incidental to life in a so largely alien world. Hitherto mankind has found what satisfactions and consolations it could by the fictitious way of belief in an independent world of spirit, such as the factory girl may fly to the fictitious world of the Duchess novelettes, or the "movie" show, in order to escape for a time the dullnesses and dread realities of life in a factory town. Materialism, however, calls for a rigorous facing of realities. So may we gain intelligence for re-creating the world.

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THE "ECONOMIC FACTOR" IN THE MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.

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Your opponent's objections to the Materialist Interpretation are certainly not well founded. One statement he makes, that Marx considered the economic factor the **only** factor to influence history may be disproved by reading Marx. Any number of instances may be found in his writings of where he takes account of other factors. One or two such instances I will quote in due course, and also indicate where others may be found. Marx certainly considered economic factors as basic factors of social progress, and he recognizes that their influence in history is manifested in more ways than through class interest. Continued economic development beyond the primitive subsistence level, once of necessity entailed on all members of the human family, makes freedom from unremitting toil for the essential of mere physical existence possible, if not for all, at least for increasing numbers as productivity increases. Time free from the strangling grip of physical needs is the room of human development. Energies are liberated, observation, enquiry, reflection, speculation, the powers of reason and imagination overstep the narrow bounds of brute necessity, diversity of economic activities ensues, the arts, literature, religions and philosophies and the sciences, refinements and extensions of our cultural life appear. The "state of the industrial arts" and the "state of the cultural arts" inter-act upon each other to a degree, merge into, modify, and become a necessity to each other. Progress becomes cumulative, and in some less than satisfactory degree, rounded off. It has also so happened, as a historic necessity, that economic development has given birth to the principle of private ownership with its corollaries, the competitive principle, and also the social classes having divergent and conflicting economic interests: mastery and servitude has been in various forms, though always composed of property owners and the propertyless, the dominant social relationship of human beings down through the later ages of organized society—antique slave owners and chattel slaves, feudal lords and rising capitalist class, and the land lords, modern capitalists and propertyless wage proletarians. The political history of those societies is largely a history of their class struggles. These struggles, each in its time and place have ended either in one class attaining supremacy in the struggle and by obtaining control of the powers of the centralized state, thus direct a reconstruction of society in their own interest, or else, the struggles have ended in the common ruin of the contending classes. The centralized political state evolves out of the necessity for a stabilizing power amidst the anarchic conflicts of economic interests which result from competitive struggle for control of the means of life. But the state enforces stability primarily in the interest of the dominant social class who control it. Marx took account of this two sided effect of the influence of economic factors on history, i.e., (1) economic development, laying the basis of general progress in all the arts of livelihood and culture. And (2) as giving occasion for social classes and the political state, and, class interest, giving rise to class struggles, and, as the outcome of the struggles, political development.

Thus far I have merely indicated in crudest outline the effect of economic factors or forces on general progress and the progress and changes of the forms of social organization. The influence of the economic on history is also to be seen in the inter-tribal, racial, and national conflicts for territory, for trade routes by land or sea, for markets and sources of raw materials, coal, oil and ores, etc. It is in the sense that I have tried to describe, that Marx considered the economic as basic. "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life." (Preface, "Critique of Political Economy.") The use of the qualifying term "general" implies there are other factors, though they are not so influential. Here I quote one instance where Marx insists on these other than economic factors

being taken account of. In chapter 47 of the third volume of "Capital," he discusses the "Genesis of Capitalist Ground Rent," and in the section devoted to "Labor Rent, or the Unpaid Surplus Labor of Independent Producers," he has, in part, this to say (p. 919):

"The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers, determines the relation of rulers and ruled. It is always the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers, which reveal the innermost secret, the hidden foundation of the entire social construction, and with it the political form of the relations between sovereignty and dependence. In short, of the corresponding form of the state. This does not prevent the same economic basis from showing infinite gradations in its appearance even though its principle conditions are everywhere the same. This is due to innumerable outside circumstances, natural environment, race peculiarities, outside historical influences, and so forth, all of which must be ascertained by careful analysis."

See also quotations in "Geordie's" articles on the "Labor Theory of Value," now appearing in the "Clarion." One feature of these articles is, that they serve to illustrate the cultural power of the material conditions prevalent at any particular time in social life. The concept of "Value" is seen to arise only in certain definite historical conditions of production and exchange, and, that with every change in those conditions, an approximate change takes place in the concept.

Your opponent says that Engels modified Marx's statement. If he means by "modified," moderated, it is only necessary to read Engels to disprove that. What Engels did in his later years was not to detract the power of the economic as a factor in history, but to make war on some who were over-emphasizing its influence to the neglect of other factors. It is significant of the virility of the Materialist Conception that Engels, and others since, by reason that they stand on Marx' shoulders, who himself had only one man's life time to work in and the comparatively limited material of the science of his day to draw upon, have to take account in a more exhaustive manner of other factors than the strictly economic which also influence human conduct and cultural growth. As my quotation of Marx shows, it was a question with him as to the relative efficiency of various material factors in enforcing habits of life, whose daily discipline shapes men's habits of thought, and not a question of the economic factor alone. Another quotation from Marx will show that that was his position. See "Geordie's" article in the August 1st issue, in which the quotation from vol. 1, p. 69, states, in effect, that the notion of human equality must have acquired the fixity of a popular prejudice before all kinds of human labor (human labor in general) could come to be regarded as equal and equivalent.

"SEE CANADA FIRST."

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per cent (10 percent) reduction would be more reasonable, especially in view of the fact of the slight percentage in the decrease of the cost of living as given by the "Labor Gazette." The reduction made this year in the pay of the masters (captains) and engineers was only ten per cent. (10 per cent). It is difficult to understand why only a ten per cent. reduction was made in their cases, and nearly thirty per cent. in the cases of the rest of the crew, unless it be that it was anticipated that there would be considerable difficulty in replacing the certificated staff, whereas in the latter case, it was expected to take full advantage of the widespread unemployment of labor on shore.

The task was not so "difficult" when a little consideration is given the subject, to ascertain why the master class can take such a large slice out of the wage slave; it only requires a favorable opportunity when they pouce on the worker with full force, never considering the wage-slave as human. "Mr. Enderby testified that when his schedules were being made the company had solely in view what they could afford to pay, but did not consider, in any case, the conditions of living imposed upon their men. It would

appear to be evident that the reduction this year was made with the object in view of taking advantage of the abundance of men and labor conditions generally throughout the territory served by the company from which their men are recruited."

As the vulture treats its prey so the capitalist class use their slaves; but their motto seems to be, where there's life the pickings are good. Men drift around in the aimless sort of way, no record behind them and very little to look forward to, no record except that of a pitiable slave with the sweat and blood sapped out, to furnish the parasite with the luxuries of life but, "Britannia rules the waves." Many of these men listened to the call of their master and accepted the invitation to take part in "the war to end war"; some of the men have returned only to find that a greater war is going on—the war to end classes. In order to ensure some measure of protection for themselves against the rapacity of the employers the men join in union with one another, but the masters refuse recognition of the union.

Union men are discriminated against. "General manager Mr. Enderby has admitted in his evidence that at least one officer had been reprimanded for this practice, he having collected and insisted upon the surrender of union books by those men who were being employed." With the men in poor financial shape the union must likewise be in the same position: not even satisfied with this the master class intends to break all power of resistance of the workers, smash the unions, disintegrate them, then impose conditions that no person could stand any longer than one trip, when he jumps off without his paycheck, glad of relief. The company is safe, as there are many men willing to try the west and as many more anxious to make their way east. The married man tries to stick to the ship; he cannot jump off so easily, unless it be overboard. He tries to provide for his family; when he sees he cannot do so sometimes a note is found in his clothes, as: "The Board had reported to it the case of an assistant cook whose body was recently found in the river, on whose person was found a letter stating that he had committed suicide because he found it impossible to keep his family going on the small wages he was in receipt of."

The Board made some recommendations in order to ameliorate these stunning conditions, but please notice how our kind-masters deal with the suggestions. The company writes the following: "I am instructed to advise you that the Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, cannot accept the recommendations of the Board for the adjustment of the alleged dispute in question." While the workers endure these tortuous conditions, both in the fire-hole and on decks, with no prospect of better things in view, the company advertises its services in the daily paper as follows: "There is never a dull moment aboard ship, a wonderful orchestra plays every day and you enjoy a masquerade ball, when prizes are presented to the best dressed ladies and gentlemen. Round trip from Toronto, \$108.00." ("Mail and Empire," Toronto).

The working class, owning nothing but labor power, are divorced from the machinery of wealth production, they are permitted to work only when it is profitable to the capitalist class. The sole function of the wage slave (in the case under review, workers aboard ship) under the present system of society is to produce and provide the luxuries of life for a parasite class. What the workers produce is taken from them, excepting the few miserable crumbs that are grudgingly thrown to them and upon which they are supposed to raise successors to fill their places in the fire-hole or on deck as the case may be. These few crumbs constitute the diet of the wage working class under the wages system, and while the workers will be compelled to unite in order to resist the arbitrary will and dictation of the capitalist class, if only to preserve the power of combat, the goal must be the social ownership of all wealth socially produced. When that condition is reached a sailor on the Great Lakes may more closely resemble a human being than the water rat his present conditions make him resemble now.

J. BRAMMELL.

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DOMINION ELECTIONS

THE political trumpet has sounded from the headquarters of class rule, and the government, as the saying has it, "goes to the country." In the present case Mr. Meighen names the question of tariffs as the pet issue, and his government in fact hangs its hat on that peg as on any other. In politics as in war some more or less plausible excuse is required as a rallying cry, and if it happens to be time worn it is the more likely to appear important and difficult of settlement.

To the wage workers of Canada the question of tariffs is of no more importance than the shape of the prime minister's hat. Tariffs concern those who own and control in a greater or lesser degree the products of labor, and labor these days is quite plainly in the same position of hunger and want whether it be located in a country of free trade or of tariff protection. No solution lies there of the worker's problem, and no solution will be found by anyone but himself.

In spite of appearances the worker has only one problem, and that is to secure unto himself the means whereby he produces the necessities of life. The necessities of life are produced by the working class alone, and world wide working class misery and destitution serve only to illustrate it.

Present day society is based upon class ownership of the means of life. Election cries will express the class interests of those who give voice to them, while the promises issued by the several competitive master class political parties will be generous, while the productive processes are in the hands of private owners the share of the wealth enjoyed by labor will be a slave's portion.

The election will appeal to the worker as an equal with his master. His condition of wage servitude will be forgotten or, if alluded to at all it will be pictured rosy in terms of foretold continuous employment and prosperity. The antagonism between master and wage-slave, propertied and propertyless, will be denied existence and its burial advocated and prophesied in the happy co-operation of capital and labor.

The condition of misery and hunger of the wage workers of all lands today, sharpened and brought into relief more noticeably through widespread unemployment, is but the inevitable condition of class ownership of the means of wealth production. The worker's interests as a producer and non-owner are opposed to those of his master, owner and non-producer. The political expression of the two must stand opposed, and while the machinery of State is in the hands of the master class it must be used to conserve their interests, consequently the interests of the working class are opposed to those of all sections of the master class, whatever their parties may be called, and a working class political party must oppose all other parties, to the end that the working class may take control of the machinery of state.

The Socialist Party of Canada has already four candidates in the field. Comrade W. A. Pritchard will contest the constituency of Nanaimo, Vancouver Island; Comrade J. D. Harrington will contest Barrard; Comrade T. O'Connor, Vancouver Centre;

and Comrade J. Kavanagh, South Vancouver. The Winnipeg comrades are in convention at this date of writing and other parts of the country are yet to be heard from. Volunteer workers for organizational work are urgently required, literature must be distributed, meetings arranged and funds collected. The expenses will be heavy and the heavy election deposits must not keep us out. All comrades are urgently called upon to help, financially where possible and in all cases with personal aid. Working committees must be active in the various constituencies, and they must proceed with organizational work at once.

HERE AND NOW

Following, one dollar each: Cumberland Lit. and Athletic Assn., H. A. Black, J. E. Lindberg, H. Vindeg, W. Mitchell, W. R. Miller, G. Ross, C. Cezar, G. Sangster, R. W. Hattley, H. Judd, J. Harries, A. Smith, W. J. Inglis, F. A. Charters, F. E. Moore, A. Stedman, G. W. Fairidge, Geo. Rossiter, Geo. Wallick.

Sid. Earp \$5; M. Vanger \$2; T. Roberts \$2; W. Hoare \$4; J. Glendenning \$9; G. Kabrugi 50 cents; J. J. Egge \$2; J. Fraser \$2.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 30 August to 13 September, inclusive, total \$46.50.

The "sub" barometer, "so fair" last issue, has cracked up again and, (to be truthful) if we are not surprised—considering the working class pocket—we are privileged to be disappointed.

It seems to be that when we do not hoist screaming signals of distress and speak quietly, whispering our woes, we inspire more anxiety among the blessed sub-hunters, but be it known to all men (in caution), that the "Clarion" printer is become a dread person with a faculty for figuring and a holy distrust of the ungodly. With him, the matter of working class education is stated only in terms of cash calculated in the form of printer's costs, and when confronted with his side of the story we are impressed with the weight of his unwelcome ideas. Conveyed to our readers, this impression means that we must have more "Clarion" subs. This is intended as a whisper to that effect. Lie in wait for the unwary. They need education and the "Clarion" needs subs., ergo—even things up a bit by reducing our fear of the hungry printer.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Katherine Smith \$5; Oscar Motter \$5; Jock Henderson \$5; F. Clark \$1; B.L.J. \$2; G. R. Ronald \$1.

Above, C. M. F. contributions from 30 August to 13 September, inclusive, total \$19.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Comrade Stephenson's article "What is a Point of View?" which appeared in last issue, will be continued in the issue of 1st October. Some further points raised in the letter of enquiry dealt with by him in the present issue will also be attended to in next issue if possible.

NOTICE: Local (Vancouver) No. 1 will elect campaign committees on Tuesday 20th September, at 8 p.m. All workers willing to help are requested to attend.

PHRASE WORSHIPPING

H. G. Wells wrote a satire on "The Misery of Boots" wherein he emphasises the foolish practice of suffering pain in order to be fashionable. "Boots" however, is not the only folly which the wise animal inclines to.

He is given in a lamentable degree to copying, and indulges his vent in all his manifold activities, aping his superiors, so called, in airs, dress and gait, and suffering with a patience, the more remarkable because it so rarely manifests itself in efforts which make for comfort and security. It is furthermore worthy of note that this proclivity is best expressed by the term I use above—aping—

Swift has given us a revision of what the horse should think of man; let us be thankful the ape cannot speak.

But more than fashion in dress, is the havoc wrought by slavish worshipping of phrases. The labor press is not free from this vice. If some hack discovers in his reading a felicitous phrase, and boldly claims the lights of discovery, it is seized upon within a short time by every ink-spiller in Christendom. And however appropriate its advent may have been, its subsequent usage is generally vague in meaning, where it does not actually deceive.

Some one discovered in Homer where the bard sings of the snare laid by Vulcan to trap his erring spouse: "Came Apollo of the Golden Bow." Or perhaps it was Hotspr's "Came there a certain Lord." And then after "Came" everything, when Lisagary penned his magnificent phrase, "Bismark prepared the war, Napoleon III. wanted it, the great bourgeoisie looked on. They might have stopped it with an earnest gesture. M. Thiers contented himself with a grimace," he little realized how his words would be reiterated a thousand times weekly in all the radical and intelligence organs of 1920-21. Everything is a gesture nowadays. If you propose to start a study class, you are told society cannot be saved by a gesture. If you seek to enlarge the sale of some book, you are met with the suggestion that a gesture should not be confounded with a revolution.

The logic is perfect. It is unanswerable. It has one fault, its apparent truth obscures its measureless stupidity. Between the action contemplated, and the term applied to it is a chasm distant as the interstellar spaces. But the radical press and their intelligence contributors affect this style of reasoning, and all the labor press howl in chorus. The Misery of Boots Forsooth!

In his "Civil War in France," Marx says: "The proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for their own purposes." He then goes on to demonstrate why. What goes before and immediately follows this sentence is a searching analysis of the working class and its relation to class government. No matter: A section of the working class who estimate noise as the one revolutionary factor, have torn the sentence from its context, and hold it as a guiding star. In itself it is meaningless. Perhaps that explains its popularity. For of a surety, meaning is not an essential factor in some quarters. Take the "vivas" of Latin peoples. No doubt in France and adjacent countries "Long Live" this and that, has significance and force, lustily shouted by males on the rampage. It has historical force, and traditional values. It belongs. And its use is never outraged, by combinations childish and hysterical, as when introduced interminably in working class periodicals published in England. "Long live the Social Revolution," "Long live the Class Struggle," sounds more like the cry of an ignorant police spy than evidence of revolutionary fervor where the social revolution is yet a thing remote.

Then there is the famous denial of Marx by Marx himself, which has at last wandered from the books of Spargo and his kind. These wise men are very fond of commiserating Marx on his latter day expounders. Whenever they have cause to object to working class activity, they invariably sigh, "Poor Marx! no wonder he said, he was not a Marxist." Of course Marx did not say it, a fact which has little weight with them, but which ought to weigh greatly with us. In the early days of Marxism, there appeared in France a school which fastened upon Marx's fair hair, and perpetrated even greater departures from his philosophy, albeit calling themselves Marxist. Asked what he would be, should he go to France, Marx replied he did not know, but at least he would not be a Marxist.

Copying the mouthings of literary cheap jacks is not any more edifying than aping the fashion of social cheap jacks. The master class are willing to expend vast sums to fool the workers. Those who speak for the workers should endeavor to prevent them from getting this service free, gratis and for nothing.

Concerning Value

Machine Industry and Wage-Labor—Capital as Dominant Factor in Production.

Cost of Production of Commodities—"Apologetics" in Political Economy.

Price of Production and Value.

BY GEORDIE

Furthermore, in the capitalist system of society the economic equality of the workers of the pre-capitalist era is supplanted by the economic equality of the capitalists which decrees the principle: equal profits for equal capital, and enforces this in industry, commerce and finance, as well as free competition survives in any of these spheres. This means that capital, instead of labor, has become the decisive factor. No longer the quantity of labor incorporated in a commodity, but the cost of production, determines the price. Hence the tendency of competing capitalists to reduce the cost of production by increasing the labor of the workers.

—H. Cahn, "Capital To-Day," p. 38.

The price of production includes the average profit. We call it price of production. It is, as a matter of fact, the same thing which Adam Smith calls "natural price," Ricardo "cost of production," and the Physiocrats "prix necessaire" (necessary price), because it is in the long run a prerequisite of supply, of the reproduction of commodities in every individual sphere.

"Capital," Vol. III, p. 232.

The whole difficulty arises from the fact that commodities are not exchanged simply as commodities, but as products of capitals which claim equal shares of the total amount of surplus value. If they are of equal magnitude, or shares proportional to their different magnitudes.

—L. C., page 296.

The exchange of commodities at their values, or approximately at their values requires, therefore, a much lower stage than their exchange at their prices of production, which requires a relatively high development of capitalist production. —L. C., p. 298.

During that earlier part of the Capitalist era which came in with the Industrial Revolution and occupied the greater portion of the nineteenth century the outstanding feature was the prevalence of free competition in industry. Capital had invaded, to a greater or lesser extent, all spheres of industry, and had reduced the free and independent craftsman to the condition of wage-laborer; the development of the machine having rendered obsolete his old hand tools. All the "factors of production" were now capital. The machine was owned by the Capitalist and was his capital; the labor-power he had bought as his capital; the resources of the earth, so far as they had been appropriated, were capitalized. The commodity appeared no longer as the product of labor, it was the product of capital and, by virtue of the capitalist's ownership of the means of production, it was his property until he sold it. This he would only do at such a price as would bring him what he considered a reasonable return on his capital expenditure. This he had to get, seeing that he had engaged in production for no other purpose than the realization of this very profit. That equality which must exist between commodities in exchange was, therefore, no longer a matter of labor-cost. It was a question of the respective capitals employed.

Capital was the dominant if not—in appearance at least—the only factor in production. This condition of affairs was reflected in the economies of the time by the concept of the "cost of production."

"Ricardo" says Marx, "gave to classical political economy its final shape, having formulated and elaborated with the greatest clearness the law of the determination of exchange value by labor-time." (Critique," p. 70.)

He had no sooner done this than the spokesmen of the subject class of wage-workers, created by capital itself and now becoming more or less conscious of its class interests, drew the logical conclusions from this theory and began asking awkward questions. They wanted to know how came the discrepancy between labor-cost and value; whence came rent, interest and profit and whether these parts of the products of labor might be in justice appropriated by people who had not in

any way participated in production? These questions they answered to their own satisfaction by the formation of various "exploitation" theories. This line of thought culminated later in the theory of "surplus-value" elaborated by Marx. Henceforth capitalist political economy was on the defensive and confined its attention very largely to "apologetics," that is, to the elaboration of such theories and the presentation of the facts in such a way as to conceal the fact of exploitation and to justify the existing order. It is a matter of no moment that this, in many cases, was done unconsciously. Now the facts of exploitation cannot be explained away, but they may be ignored or obscured, and this theory of the cost of production is much more convenient for this purpose than the labor theory. Apart from all this, however, it is very useful in explaining the superficial phenomena of the period and, in the hands of Marx, as the "price of production" it was used to good effect in his analysis of the system. In what I have further to say at this time I shall follow Marx in the main.

This particular phrase—the cost of production—is very often misunderstood. It does not mean the mere expenses involved in the production of a commodity. It means the expenses of production plus the average rate of profit prevalent at the place and time. From the capitalist point of view this profit is one of the expenses of production seeing that the commodity could not, or rather, would not be produced in its absence. The average rate of profit is, of course, brought about by competition. Capital naturally seeks those employments paying the highest rate of profit. Those industries paying a high rate would be subject to an influx of capital. This would result in increased production with a consequent increased supply of commodities on the market. This would bring about lower prices and thus tend to lower the rate of profit in that industry. On the other hand the industries paying a low rate of profit and which capital had, in consequence, neglected, would suffer from decreased production, resulting in decreased supply and higher prices. This would tend to increase the rate of profit in those industries. Of course, no actual level was ever struck, because of defective mobility of capital or because of special conditions existing in many industries. It is sufficient that there was a tendency to an average rate. (See on this point—"Wage-Labor and Capital.")

It is readily seen that this competitive process will account for the striking of an average rate of profit, but it does not account for the general level. That is to say, it will account for an average rate of, say, 20 per cent., but it does not explain why it is 20 per cent. and not 15 or 25 per cent.

"The general rate of profit," says Marx, "is actually determined: (1) by the surplus value produced by the capital; (2) by the proportion of this surplus value to the value of the total capital; and, (3) by competition, but only to the extent that this is a movement by which capitals invested in particular spheres seek to draw equal dividends out of this surplus value in proportion to their relative magnitudes." (Capital, vol. III, p. 431.)

It is a matter of average productivity of labor, that is, of the degree of exploitation.

Let us assume an average composition of capital of 4 to 1, that is, 80 per cent. constant and 20 per cent. variable capital. That means that of every 100 dollars invested 80 dollars go for raw materials and depreciation of machinery, while 20 dollars are expended in wages. Let us further assume that the rate of exploitation is 100 per cent. That is, that the laborer requires half the working day to reproduce his wages. But in another way this means that the laborer produces two dollars in values for every dollar he receives in wages. The rate of surplus value is therefore 100 per cent.

Now, then, for every hundred dollars invested we have embodied in commodities the 80 dollars constant capital, the 20 dollars variable capital and 20 dollars surplus value, which makes a total of 120

dollars.

Assuming that this particular investment resulted in the production of 100 commodities the price of production of each one would be one dollar and 20 cents. The actual price at which they were sold—the market price—would, in obedience to the law of supply and demand fluctuate around the price of production so formed.

Now, if the average composition of capital obtained generally throughout all industries, it is clear that the prices of production would approximate to the real values of the commodities and, as a matter of fact, we may assume this to be the case where the average composition of capital does obtain. This is as near as one can ever get to an apprehension of the value of any commodity. But, in actual practice, the various industries are at very different stages of development and are of varying compositions of capital. This introduces a certain complexity into the question and results in considerable deviation of the prices of production and therefore of the market prices of commodities from their values. More of this anon.

THE CARE OF THE SICK.

In the socialization rapidly taking place under capitalism one of the interesting phases is in the care of the sick. The advances made in therapeutical appliances and surgical implements, the development of those machines like the X-ray, microscope, camera, etc., which greatly facilitate the acquirement of knowledge and which has led to specialization in the science of therapeutics, has caused a revolution in the methods of caring for the sick as marked to the observer of social phenomena, as that in any field of industry.

The simple instruments of the general practitioner have given way to the complicated machine which is far too expensive for the average physician to own, consequently, they are concentrated in the hospitals and in order that physicians may have access to them the patients are, more and more, being sent to those social institutions, and the individual care of the sick bids fair to become the exception rather than the rule.

In connection, or rather as an outcome of this endeavour of the doctors to care for the most patients with the least expense to themselves, has arisen a competition among the doctors for the exclusive privilege afforded by the hospitals, and they resort to the same methods of freezing out competitors as their brothers in the industrial world. The necessity of cheap care for the greatly increasing number of derelicts cast up by the capitalist system gives ample play for this practice. The physicians join the staff of a hospital, giving a medium of advice to the ward patients for the privilege of exploiting the resources of the hospital for their own private patients and the profits accruing therefrom. Woe betide the outside doctor who ventures to butt in on what the staff doctors assume to be their own exclusive prerogatives.

The consequences to the patient are as usual. Those who have the money and can pay well for special care recover in a large majority of cases; those who have not money recover sometimes, but quite as frequently continue to drag out an existence unless death intervenes, which quite frequently is the case.

The socialization of the care of the sick under capitalist control is for profit with all that entails. The socialization of the care of the sick under the control of the proletariat, when he who needs the care is the one who will get it, will alleviate the most of the suffering of the working class that the abolition of the wage system does not otherwise abolish.

KATHERINE SMITH.

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 20.

CHINESE OPIUM WAR: CRIMEA; U. S. A. CIVIL WAR.

BY PETER T. LECKIE

ENGLAND violated for years the laws of China against the importation of opium, which China believed to be demoralizing to her people. China endeavored by vigorous measures to enforce her laws against the opium traffic; she seized 20,000 chests of opium valued at ten million dollars and dumped them into the sea.

England bombarded China's coast and burned miles of territory until China shouted for peace, which was granted by Christian England on condition of the payment of a war indemnity of \$21,000,000 and that England be permitted to introduce her opium into China.

The British government continued persistently to impress upon China the importance and advantage of legalizing the opium traffic, by imposing upon it regular import duties and so to secure a large revenue from its use.

The Chinese, though fully realizing this advantage of raising revenue never wavered in their indignant refusal of the opium traffic.

The heathen Emperor's declaration was:

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowering poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes. But nothing shall induce me to derive a benefit from the vice and misery of my people."

In 1857, a second conflict occurred over the opium question. British forces attacked the Canton from gunboats drawn up in the river, opened fire upon an unarmed, defenceless city with narrow streets crowded with women and children, that some papers of the time asserted a more horrible or revolting crime had never been committed in the ages of barbarian darkness.

The Emperor's palace, with all its curiosities and artistic treasures of centuries was set fire to and destroyed deliberately. Britain obtained a perpetual lease of Hong Kong and five ports were thrown open to British traders.

Redpath says, in his "Universal History":—

"Thus by the law of the strongest, by the law of the cannon was China compelled to expose her teeming millions to the ravages of a life-destroying drug of Turkey, presented by the hand of Christian England. It was the work preparatory to the successful planting of Christian missionaries. The mockery needs no comment."

We have arrived at a revolutionary period when insurrections broke out in almost every country of Europe. A very valuable history of this period is to be found in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," by Karl Marx himself.

The Chartists of England intended to hold a large demonstration and procession, which was frustrated by the military under direction of the Duke of Wellington. McCarthy, in his "Short History of our Own Times," says that nearly two hundred thousand persons were sworn in for the maintenance of law and order, "and it will always be told of an odd incident of that famous scare, that the Prince Louis Napoleon, then living in London, was one of those who volunteered to bear arms in the preservation of order. Not a long time was to pass away before the most lawless outrage on the order and life of a peaceful city was to be perpetrated by the special command of the man who was so ready to lend the saving aid of his constable's staff to protect English society against some poor hundreds of thousands of English workmen."

The period of 1844 to 1848 was one of strikes, lock-outs and especially 1847, was one of financial panics as a result of the gambling in railway speculation. When a large calico printing firm failed in Kilmarnock, the firm's creditors seized the workers' wages

as part payment of their accounts; the creditors had the law on their side. The smashing of factories and burning their owners' houses, in the forties was no unusual occurrence. The factory condition was such that millowners were magistrates and had employees brought before them for refusing to work when refused an increase of wages which they had asked for. Johnstone's "History of the Working Classes in Scotland," p. 310, gives us one of these incidents:

"A Dundee case, raised in parliament, gives us a light on the factory conditions of this period. Six factory girls in the employment of Messrs Baxter, their ages from 14 to 20 and their wages 5/6 and 6s. a week, had the audacity to ask for an increase of a halfpenny a day; the request was refused; after dinner they did not return to work; by the rules of the mill they could be fined time and half for under-time; but next morning Mr. Baxter, instead of fining the girls, had them arrested and marched through the streets under police escort to a private office where there was a magistrate, one of the Baxter family, and the overseer and manager of the mill. The judicial Baxter there and then sentenced the girls to 10 days hard labor."

Baxter was a free trader and had subscribed £600 to the Anti Corn Law League. The depression of trade waned, and with 1849 becoming prosperous wages rose as the demand for labor increased. The workers were gaining increases and winning strikes up until the outbreak of the Crimean War, which interrupted the supplies of flax, hemp and jute, when wages again fell.

The Crimean War was a conflict of the ambitions of France and Russia over the Turkish Empire, each wanting to peg out spheres of interest and influence on the quivering body of the sick man of Europe, who was supposed to be sick unto death. Great Britain supported the Turks because of the danger of Russia obtaining the possession of the Straits and Constantinople, which would allow a passage for Russia's navy into the Mediterranean Sea which might interfere with Britain's trade routes.

The Crimean War, like all wars, had its profiteers and its blunders. Food was sent where it could not be landed. Trussies for hay were filled with manure and cargoes of boots were all for the left foot. Turkey was preserved from disaster to prevent a Russian outlet to the Mediterranean.

After the Crimean War came the second war with China over the opium, which I have already drawn your attention to. General Sir William F. Butler's "Life of General Gordon," says

"In the long service of English wars with China which began 1839-40, opium was from first to last the cause of the trouble."

We come down now to the Civil War in America between the North and South to control the political power and give expression to their economic interests. A book entitled "Cotton is King," says:

"If they, the slaveholders, could establish free trade, it would assure the American market to foreign manufacturers, would secure foreign markets for cotton, repress home manufacturers, force a large number of North men into agriculture, multiply the growth and diminish the price of provisions to feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates, produce their cotton at one-third of the former prices and rival all other countries in its cultivation, monopolize the cotton trade throughout the whole of Europe and build up a commerce and a navy that would make us rulers of the seas."

The Union of the States of America in the first place was economic. Judge Millar, quoted by Bryce in vol. 1 of "American History," says:

"It is not a little remarkable that the suggestion which finally led to the relief, without which as a nation we must have perished, strongly supports the philosophical maxim of modern times, that of all the agencies of civilization, and progress, commerce is the most efficient. What our deranged finances, our discreditable failures to pay our debts, the sufferings of our soldiers could not force the several states to attempt, was brought about by a desire to be relieved from the evils of an unregulated and burdensome commercial intercourse."

Montgomery's "Leading Fact of American History":—

"The States quarrelled with each other about boundary lines, about commerce, about trade. If a farmer took potatoes from New Jersey to New York he might have to pay 10 to 15 cents tax a bushel. If a New York merchant

sent boots to New Jersey he might be taxed 10 cents a pair before he was allowed to sell."

"The Union gave every citizen of the United States equal rights in all States to buy and sell in all parts of the country. Thus entire freedom of trade was secured throughout the country."

The Civil War, in short, was a political struggle to secure possession of the big stick, the State.

The northern capitalists wanted to build railroads, and collect tariffs.

The southern slave owners wanted free trade and the right to hunt down fugitive slaves.

The north was so far from abolishing slavery that it passed a resolution, December, 1860, prohibiting any future amendment interfering with the slave traffic within the bounds of any existing state.

The south did not secede to maintain slavery but to repudiate the two to four million dollar debt.

The south proposed to abolish slavery to get European support when the war was going against them.

The negro was changed from a chattel slave to a wage slave because it was more profitable. Like all other wars we had the workers fighting on both sides a quarrel which was none of their business.

The Civil War was won because of the higher developed means of producing wealth by the north.

The McCormick reaping machine, which allowed the women and children of the north to be employed while the men fought was one of the superior economic advantages.

The usual war graft was employed. \$17,000,000 out of a \$50,000,000 million order, shoddy uniforms, rotten leather and adulterated rations were sold to the government, and the northern capitalist fattened on the life blood of their fighting slaves. Here was laid the foundation stone of the wealth and power of the majority of today's fortunes. It was stated upon the floor of Congress that "the movement of armies had been conducted more with a view to carry on trade than to strike down rebels."

A glance at the south adds further proof of the superiority of wage slaves to chattel slaves as a means of exploitation. In a short time the rails of the street railroad at Richmond were taken up to make armour for a gunboat and the old ploughs, spades, axes and stoves were gathered from the plantations to be made into weapons of war. The south being a one crop country, depending on foreign trade, had its industrial life paralyzed the moment the blockade was applied.

The only sign of working class opposition to the war was the uprising against the exemption clause of the draft, which enabled the wealthy to escape from military service, and New York was in the hands of a mob for a few days in 1863. The plutocracy arose immediately after the war. Iron, steel, bank and railroad interests, using illegal methods of calling the roll, omitting the representatives of the Southern States (although present), and proclaiming a military dictatorship over the Southern States. This same class is howling today because of the revolutionary ideas of the workers.

The Republican party lived on the glory of the emancipation and enfranchisement of the negro, conferred by their tender conscience, yet the solid republican states of Ohio, Kansas, Minnesota and Connecticut, between 1865-1867 defeated by referendum measures granting the suffrage to negroes residing in these states, but they needed the southern negro vote to obtain the political power from 1867 to '76. When the Republican party became strong enough to control political power without the negro vote they did not protest against the disenfranchising of the southern negro.

After the Civil War, when industry fell to pieces owing to over-production and the panic of 1873, we saw its effect in a reduction in wages and a few small unions swept out of existence. The first Centennial celebration of Independence (1876) found

(Continued on page 7)

The Answer

There is overproduction because of underconsumption, there is underconsumption because of lack of purchasing power, there is lack of purchasing power because there is unemployment, and there is no employment because of overproduction.—(Rochester "Herald.")

THE key to the above 'vicious circle' is in overproduction. In the cause of that lies the solution of the puzzle.

Capital presupposes wage labor, and wage-labor, in turn, presupposes dispossession of the means of life, obviously, since no one would labor for wages who could otherwise acquire a living.

This is the fundamental on which our present society rests, and all the complex and intricate phenomena of modern life is determined and brought about by the nature and character of that organization. How this organization came to be, we need not here enquire; the mere statement of the fact is apposite to our present purpose.

The nature of capital, then, is wage-labor, its character, production for profit. Naturally, therefore, its sole business is the accumulation of wealth. But the wealth accumulated rests in individuals at first, with further development, in corporations. The organizations of capital automatically turns the whole productive activity of society into profit for the owners of industry, and just as automatically does it strip the actual producers of all the wealth they are co-operatively instrumental in producing. Production is a social act; it can only be carried on harmoniously through joint effort and industrial co-ordination, and through this co-ordination the whole of society is a wholly individual affair. The whole of the surplus belongs, by property right, to the "captains of industry," i.e., the capitalist class, and this process of dispossession is entirely legal, because the ruling class—that is, again, the capitalist class,—has enacted it so. And its ethic of slavery is also entirely moral, because it conserves the interests of the same ruling class. Thus, the "opportunity" of the worker is the opportunity to labor—when he can find a master; his incentive, the necessity of escaping from absolute starvation; and our much-belauded industry, the industry of the slave compound.

Distribution, being individual, interest in its acquirement is single, i.e., it is the motive impulse of business. Hence there is an unabating struggle for possession. Also, the greater the possession, the more deadly and unscrupulous is the struggle, on the one side, and on the other, the more impossible for the small owner to maintain his possession. Consequently, accumulation not alone centres on the owners of private property, but is continually augmented in ever fewer but ever more powerful groups, blotting out business opportunities and competitive endeavor, and dropping the total society ever deeper into the surge and effect of proletarian impecuniosity.

The accumulation of wealth does not mean the amassing of money, of hoarding and saving, of having a sporran full of "yellow Geordies." Business amplitude will not permit of that and social necessity does not require it. Accumulation of wealth means, in reality, the accumulation of exploiting power, the concentration of the productive forces in corporate minorities, the re-investment of all surplus (over-necessity) in productive activity, so that greater profit,—and with it greater power—may accrue. That is to say, greater power to crush all competition from the wealth fields of the world. "Freedom of trade,"—i.e., freedom to garner everything to itself,—is the watchword of all business, and it dare not lag, on pain of death, in its pursuit of the game.

Yet this accumulation is fatal. For, in proportion as capitalism garners and accumulates, in proportion as it reinvests and develops, it delimits itself. It narrows its sphere of subsequent conquest, it checks its rate of future advance; it sets ultimate bounds to its field of endeavor; it is, at length, actually compelled to erect barriers against its own progress. Because self-interest—competition—demands the lion's share of commerce; it must have the widest market; it must have the largest control; it must pro-

duce cheaply; it must regulate both production and market to its own all-absorbing self-interest, no matter at what cost, or at what sacrifice to society.

But to produce cheaply means the greater industry. It means the elimination of waste and overlapping, of friction and inefficiency, ultimately of competition in production. Which is good and much to be desired. It also means the reduction to its lowest terms of the component elements of necessary labor. To which we set the seal of approval. For the minimum of necessary labor is the prime condition of ultimate achievement, the foundation from which society can attain to the peak of possible development. But the shutting off of labor in production closes the doors of the world market. The inability of society to buy results in the regulation of production to the effective market; and the necessity of that regulation, in turn, demands the widest control of whatever market is available. Hence we come to conflict and deceit; to luxury and want; to vice and filth; to disease and stagnation; to the waste of the idle, but eager and willing forces of production; to the appalling destruction of consummated capitalism.

Capitalist private property is the ultimate cause of it all. The private ownership of the means of life necessitates the production of human requirements only for profit. Self-interest, pre-determines each competitor to the struggle for greater gain, and free competition ensures the elimination of all but necessary labor. But this competitive struggle involves the production of the greatest volume of commodities to meet the full market demand. For, only in the sale of commodities can the surplus of exploited labor be realized, while the mass profit of the transaction is in ratio to the mass volume, and necessity of cheap production displaces uncertain labor with the tireless machine. All competition is subject to like conditions. It is presented with the same problems, is moved by the same impulse, and is determined by the same laws. Consequently, we have the phenomena of over-production on one hand, and on the other, the complete inability of the limited labor forces to buy back what their machine slavery has produced. Hence production can only take place when the master class can secure a profitable market. But the development of the capitalist system itself, progressively destroys the market, because it impoverishes the one creative force of production, whereon all the others rest.

Over-production and under-consumption are but incidentals of the capitalist system of society. They are not original elements, but secondary causes, solely derived from commodity production. They are merely the evidences of a society approaching dissolution. The primal features of the "vicious circle" consist in that there is no employment because there is no profit to be derived from production; there is no profit in production because there is no market; there is no market because there is no purchasing power, and no purchasing power because of unemployment.

The remedy is obvious. The abolition of capitalist private property, i.e., property in the means of life. The abolition of class control of natural resources; the abolition of production for profit, and its corollary, wage-labor. And, instead, the social ownership of social necessities; the social control of all resources; the social management of social production, and all industry carried on for the use and benefit, and all industry carried on for the use and benefit, of all men, but not of one class but of one society. Then, but not till then, will the vicious circle of crises disappear. Then will feverish activity, alternated with feverish stagnation, give way to the abundance of social plenty. Then will competition and exploitation in perity. Then will competition and exploitation in affluence and appalling poverty offend us no longer; the entangling confusions of class law and class morality disgust us no more. And all their inevitable consequences, their untold iniquities, their unmitigated vice, their sordid depravity, and the bloody course of political civilization will melt away from us like phantasms of medieval night and, like a butter-

fly from its chrysalis, society will emerge from the bondage of capital, and grow into full-winged beauty, with all its wonderful powers and potentialities, its impassioned aspirations, and dauntless mind, free and untrammelled, individually enjoyed, but socially possessed, as they are socially created. That is the answer to the problem. R.

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

(Continued from page 6)

the workers in a condition of servitude more pitiable than the colonists under the tyranny of George III.

When trade began to revive, economic conditions, with further development of machinery, brought about corporations and joint stock companies and the disappearance of the individual capitalist as an active participant in the productive process. The capitalist henceforth can be an infant, idiot or imbecile person, with ownership protected by law, and live on the productive energy of others.

Although trade began to revive, wages were cut still lower owing to the glut of the labor market. Things became unbearable, 16th July, 1877, saw the railway strike, which extended to other industries, and the workers were forced to realize what the civil war had been fought for when the capitalists, with all the power of the State, used it in a bloody defeat of the workers. This was the first great fight between so-called capital and labor in America.

The rise of corporation and joint stock companies reduced the numbers of establishments of wealth production from 13,514 in 1850 to 11,193 in 1900, even although the population had increased 50 per cent. and the territory occupied had doubled. So we see the opportunity of the worker to pass out of his class is becoming not only more difficult, but practically impossible so far as the prominent industrial establishments are concerned. It is reckoned that 30 billions of dollars of wealth has passed from the competitive system into the control of a score or more individuals. The government is a committee to manage the affairs in the interest of the capitalist class.

Thousands were unemployed in the cotton industry of England as a result of the Civil War, but they sided with the north while the higher classes favored the south, and vessels were built for the south, e.g., the "Alabama." The States received 15 million dollars compensation from England for the "Alabama" incident. The 'Alabama' claims were disputed by England 1862, 1865, 1869, 1870, but when the European political sky grew threatening with France and Germany, Great Britain herself made overtures on January, 1871, and a tribunal awarded the above damages September, 1872.

Note: The British slave trade was abolished by parliament on the 25th of March, 1807. Slavery itself ceased to exist in British possessions in 1834. The French did not abolish slavery until the revolution of 1848. The slave trade was abolished by the United States in 1808, but slavery itself continued in the country for more than half a century after that. The negro slaves of the United States were freed by Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of January 1st, 1863, the system was finally abolished by constitutional amendment in December, 1865.

FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

For the Drought Stricken in Soviet Russia.

To All Labor Organizations—An Appeal for a Great Cause!

Fellow Workers,—Twenty million workers and peasants in the Volga region in Soviet Russia are dying of hunger! The crops there have been completely ruined by an unprecedented drought. Russia which for seven years has been devastated by world war, civil war, and foreign interventions, caused by base manipulations and intrigues of the great capitalist powers, is now unable to cope with this new catastrophe. For the first time the workers' republic surrounded by a hostile world, is crying aloud for help to the workers of the world. Comrades! Soviet Russia is the only fortress, the only bulwark of the workers against capitalism, and we cannot afford to

(Continued on page 8)

FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 7)

forsake her in this, her darkest hour! The working class in Europe, although themselves pushed to the starvation line, are already responding magnificently. The members of the General Federation of Labor of France have voted one day's wages for the starving on the Volga. From other countries similar heroic sacrifices are being made.

Fellow Workers! You must realize that the greatest bulk of the necessary help must come from us here in Canada, and from our comrades in the United States. We must now be ready to make greater sacrifices than we ever have been called upon to bring to the Altar of Class-solidarity!

Comrades! We can save Soviet Russia if every one of us gives one day's wages to the famine stricken on the Volga. Poverty is haunting our own doors, but we still can exist with one day's wages short—Soviet Russia cannot, without this sacrifice from us—and the cause demands that we give it gladly.

The Winnipeg Famine Relief Committee for the Drought Stricken in Soviet Russia, which is composed of delegates from all local progressive labor organizations, and which by consent of other similar committees in the Dominion, has become the Central Office of all these committees, is sending this appeal out to all labor organizations in Canada. What will your answer be to this appeal! The fate of millions of starving little children, the fate of Soviet Russia, depends upon this, your answer! Can the workers of Canada rise to such a lofty, heroic sacrifice and save Soviet Russia? Remember! your answer must come quickly, or it will come too late.

In view of the urgency of help needed, this committee has set October 18th as the closing date for this appeal. Bring this question before the next meeting of your organization, and let us hear about your decision.

Yours for the Famine Stricken,
The Press Committee.

Help Famine Stricken Workers and Peasants in Soviet Russia

Twenty Million of Our Drought Stricken Workers and Peasants—in Soviet Russia—Call for Our Assistance.

How Much Will You Give to Help Them?

- Will you feed 100 children today, at a cost of only 5 cents per child?
A total contribution of \$5.
 - Will you feed 20 families today at a cost of only 25 cents per family?
A total contribution of \$5.
 - Will you feed 10 families to day at a cost of only 25 cents per family?
A total contribution of \$2.50.
 - Will you feed 20 children today at a cost of only 5 cents per child?
A total contribution of \$1.
- You must give all you can, and give and give again.
Send all remittances to—
P.O. Box 3591, Station B, Winnipeg, Man., secretary,
Miss A. Schultz.

Form branches everywhere, and affiliate with the Central Office at the above address. Collect funds, grain, etc. and ship to the Central Committee, advising when done so.

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The negotiations between Litvinov and Brown will not be confined merely to the questions of relief work for the famine districts of Russia but will be extended to the clearing of the political relations between Europe, America, and Soviet Russia.

Brown, the representative of Hoover, has stated that the Americans will begin at once with the work of relief. There are eight thousand tons of food stored in Hamburg and Danzig which will suffice to feed many thousands of persons during a month. Food transports will arrive in Petrograd, Riga, and all the Black Sea harbours every fourteen days. The transport in Soviet Russia will be in the hands of the Soviet government and the distribution will be in the hands of the local authorities. The question of distribution of clothing comes for the moment in second place. The plan of organization can for the present only be generally announced since the manner of relief can only be laid down after practical experience. The relief work will be continued so long as the distress of the districts concerned makes it appear necessary.

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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 means 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-increasing stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

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

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

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

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By PETER T. LECKIE

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FIVE CENTS

The Tariff Issue

It appears we are threatened with an election. It would appear further that the main issue is the tariff. A good issue. For it will be next to impossible for labor misleaders and their capitalist allies to fail to confuse the issue. And it presents a splendid opportunity for our industrial overlords to divide the forces of labor, and to set the horny handed country against the agitating town.

The object of a tariff is to shut out foreign competition from the home market, thereby allowing native exploitation a free hand, and thus providing local capital with a stepping stone to competitive vitality in the world market. It is a device intended to give advantage to particular interests invested in the potential wealth of a nation. To certain interests, at certain times, it is a weapon of great merit in the internecine struggle for profit. But not to all industries, nor continuously to any.

At present, in Canada, the cry is that without a tariff Canadian industries must perish; that the tariff is necessary to curtail imports and foster the growth of export trade; that without it, Canada will not only not maintain her position, but must retrograde. Canada thus comes into line with Imperialist progress, and as capital is industrial in character, Canadian business and manufacturing interests, represented and voiced by Premier Meighen, seek (and must obtain) wider influence in wider spheres of trade. The agrarians, on the other hand, desire free trade—or reciprocity—because, as producers of raw material, they require free access to agricultural tools and implements, mechanical goods and manufactures, to enable them to hold their own with their co-producers the world over. So the country workers see their interest (apparently) in cheap production and abundant exchange, while the townsmen—traders, small producers and their working forces, together with a goodly portion of the industrial proletariat, vision their welfare in the exclusion of foreign competition, and the (as they think) consequent operation of local industries. But, while undoubtedly the interest is there in both cases—the direction in which they see it is a mirage.

Since 1900, Canada has become an industrial country. Her exports have grown by over one billion dollars. She has acquired a favorable trade balance and a little voice in the scope of commerce. Wages have multiplied by two since then, but cost of living has risen by three, and although the counters of purchasing power have increased in number, they have greatly declined in actual value. Population has increased, but its working numbers have fallen, in ratio, and its security is ever more uncertain. Wealth has assumed a mighty magnitude, but it is centred in vastly fewer hands, and although the standard of living has been potentially augmented, to the vast mass it is lower than it has ever been. During this period there have been changes in tariff policy, but in no case did they alter the condition of the proletariat. And they cannot. Because all fiscal policies are traders' interests, formulated by economic condition and colored with economic necessity; they have no fundamental connection with social well-being. In reality, the need for the tariff is rooted in far deeper considerations.

The economic destitution of war-worried Europe has spread its shadow over the whole world. None can escape its effects, none turn them to advantage. The capitalist system has developed so far that victory or defeat are of identical effect on the common life of the world. It has ripened so thoroughly that

supremacy or otherwise has lost its ancient significance and its vaunted "freedom and prosperity" have become but archaic symbols of a vanished epoch. The organization of its wretched life has been quite shattered by war. The old conditions have passed away, and the new conditions—vague, formative, and unadapted—are not yet established. Nor can they be until the transient groping of the progressive social forces, struggling (unconsciously) to meet the new requirements, shall clearly vision the need, and specifically determine their stability.

This common life of the world is the support of the business of the world. To flourish and prosper, business must serve the need of the world. If it does not do so business cannot survive. If the mead of service can no longer be rendered, the function of business—as originally derived—is obsolete, and if the special needs of modern business cannot be harmonized with the common needs of society, society, through its manifold forces, through whatever phases of turbulence and chaos, will assert itself and shatter the whole fabric of existing form. For society is paramount and will not be denied. If, and when, business ruins society, society, in reaction, must ruin business.

During—and for the prosecution of—the war, Europe was compelled to forego all but war industry, and fight for "place in the sun." That is, fight for the right of way to the world market. The war market, therefore, took the first place. It was imperative, and would brook no economic considerations and was insatiate in its demands. In normal times, exports always pay for imports. But for the reason given, there were no exports, and the imports could bring no return. But they had to be paid for somehow, and the accommodation was effected by exporting collateral and by funded debt. The result of the former is reflected in the shattered European exchanges, of the latter in European liquidation, in its woeful destitution, out of which may come a protracted struggle for a new social balance, or which may lead to proletarian revolution, but which, in no wise can return to pre-war capitalist production and "prosperity."

Came "victory" and indemnity. The former left America first creditor nation, the latter called forth Imperialist protection. But, "creditor" nation implies an enormous volume of commerce, and a superior control of the market. Because its credit and interest are returned in commodities, which must be re-exported or sold directly in competition with home production. European imports are largely raw materials. They are worked up into finished manufactures and exported to the ends of the earth. America does not want such products. She is a maker and exporter of finished goods herself, and as such requires an ever-growing market for their sale. Consequently, to save exploitation for her own industries, to prevent the entrance of commodities akin to home products, to cut loose from bankrupt finance, and to keep clear of European diplomacy—which it cannot come with—and entanglements, America stiffens her tariff, in hopes of averting disaster and competition.

Canada is in precisely the same condition. Being "one of the hard faced ones who did well out of the war" she has greatly expanded her commerce and industries, changed her balance of trade, and has definitely become a world competitor. Like America, it is a country of raw material. Large capital is in-

vested in its potentialities; its growth demands wider markets; it seeks to supply, to the greatest extent, its own domestic needs, and at the same time,—and also to the greatest extent, to accommodate the demand of the foreign market. To preserve her industrial advance and trade balance, to stimulate exports, to cut off European low cost manufactures, and to obtain a less precarious customer than bankrupt Europe; these are the main causes and objects of protective tariffs.

But creditors must take what debtors have to offer. If they don't, they stand to get nothing at all. Europe is highly industrial. It lives by supplying manufactures to the world. And it is efficiently organized for that purpose. Canada is not—yet. Canada is one of the supply bases of raw material. As such, it was (pre-war) a borrowing country, i.e., capital was invested in its resources for industrial supplies. Or in other words, Canada received manufactured goods for the development of its natural wealth, and paid for them out of its raw production. The war has created a new condition. Canadian resource, being capitalized, Canada has inevitably become industrial, and like its own Niagara—by the momentum of its own progress is relentlessly whirled deeper into the maelstrom of the greater industry. So it comes, that if Canada must take manufactures in trade, it will strive to offset their price reactions by tariff imposts. It will strive to increase its volume of raw supplies in repayment, and for the residue, and its own increasing surplus, it will, therefore, be enabled to meet world competition on an equitable terms, and by its own growth, hold the scales of exchange credit even. So our capitalists figure it out, correctly enough in its own sphere.

But the capitalist economic is a most contradictory affair. Capital can suffer no limits to its expansion. It can brook no barriers to its progress. Yet, out of its own waste of the productive forces, it gathers restrictions to itself. Out of its own necessitous limitations, it inexorably limits its own necessity. The national indebtedness can only be paid to the nations themselves, and paid only in commodities. But the volume of that debt,—even its compounded interest—is far beyond the feeble capacity of the limited social powers in actual production. The desperate need of nations compels them to export in ever greater volume, yet the constantly falling ratio of the actual productive forces renders increasing imports prohibitory. The economic checks to imports, which now exist in Europe are exaggerated by political contrivances for Imperialist aggression. European nations are in liquidation and under dictation to creditors. Nevertheless, those broken nations take their owners in tow. That dictation spells ruin to capitalist Imperialism. In reaction, that bankruptcy involved the creditors in chronic stagnation. Low cost production threatens the market supremacy of power, and compels the most rigorous trade repressions in the interest of unlimited trade.

The reduction of those irreconcilables is our masters' business, not ours. We have nothing to do with tariffs. Our issue, in this or any election, is the abolition of capital and its wage slavery. In any political society, the working class is a slave class, producing all wealth, which the master class appropriates, because they own and control the machinery of social production. And simply because of that ownership, the producing class must toil

(Continued on page 3)

The Rumbblings of Change

By H. M. Bartholomew

THE old metaphysician believed that things are static, unchanging, immutable and unrelated. He spoke much of the "eternal verities" and the unchanged and unchangeable moral concepts of religion.

Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends the universe and the multiform phenomena thereof, as being in a continual process of movement and inter-relationship; as a continual procession of cause and effect.

The old methods of thought have been destroyed by the onward march of science. We now know that things are not static, but in a process of constant change; that the Greek philosopher who wrote "Nothing is so constant as change," was much nearer to a true conception of universal phenomena than the metaphysicians of the sixteenth century.

Engels wrote:

"Nature is, then, 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."

Since those words were penned the evidence supplied by all branches of science as to the correctness of dialectical methods has increased in such volume that it has almost become a "fashion" to "think dialectically."

Be that as it may, we must regard things, not as absolute and eternal, but as constantly changing and in relation to all other things. And when we apply this method of investigation to the capitalist method of wealth production we shall find that we obtain many and rich results.

Time was when politicians spoke of capitalist production as if that method of production "had been, is and ever will be." But the advance of scientific understanding of various phenomena has placed this view into the discard. We know that capitalism has not always existed, that social institutions have constantly changed and that the existing social order is rapidly changing under our own eyes.

Marx, in a famous passage (too long to quote in full) tells us:

"Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Marx here employs the famous "negation of the negation," which is such an important part of the philosophical system of Hegel. There is not the space necessary to analyse this particular concept in anything like adequate manner. It must be sufficient to the purpose of the present writer if he merely points out that each system of society contains within itself the germs of its own dissolution, and that the new social order develops "within the womb of the old" until it can no longer be contained therein. It is then that the new "becomes incompatible with the integument" of the old; the integument is burst asunder, the new order emerges into the light of day. It is the negation of the negation.

If we regard Capitalist production as something static and immutable, then can we argue regarding "eternal verities" and the "gross immorality" of the "wicked Socialist." But if we adopt (as we surely must) the dialectical method of reasoning, then we can ignore these appeals to "eternal rights" and examine the tendencies of capitalist production.

What is the general trend of the existing social order? Is it towards Socialism; or can it be said that the general tendency is away from that social system known as the Socialist Commonwealth? If the many writers in the press would try to confine themselves to these important questions when they are

penning their wild declamations against Socialists and Socialism, they would contribute something of importance to the world of political thought!

The analysis of capitalist production which enabled Marx to formulate the law of capitalist accumulation has proven correct. Trusts and cartels are to be found dominating the chief industries of modern production. **Something approaching industrial despotism can be found in the highly developed industrial countries of the world.**

This centralization and concentration of capital has gone hand in hand with increasing productivity of the workers, and with this "industrial reserve army" constantly growing in numbers. Surplus commodities are produced in quick order, and the markets for these huge accumulations of commodities are constantly becoming smaller. The inevitable result is long continued trade depression, with all the attendant evils of unemployed workers, idle factories, etc.

At the present time, if we take a bird's eye view of the world of capitalist production we shall find many facts which will reveal to us the chronic state of affairs from the viewpoint of the master class.

During the last week the writer has scanned the newspapers with great interest. He finds his "yellow sheet" containing reports of "13 Airplanes Sent to Mine Fields," and of "the invading miners forming battle-line to rush boundary." And when he reads the reports he finds that there is a battle royal going on in West Virginia.

On the same date he finds the same paper reporting to the effect that the German authorities have called out the police of Berlin to "guard against uprisings," and that the greater part of Germany is "seething with unrest."

In another issue we find that the workers of New South Wales would "rather go to jail than pay taxes," and that "government officials start to sing 'God Save the King,' but the band plays the 'Red Flag.'"

In Britain the unemployed situation is serious. Another issue of the same journal contains a photograph of "the serious riot of 5,000 unemployed returned soldiers." And when we read the report of this disturbance we find that 5,000 men applied for fifty jobs, and that the ensuing riot was so grave that 500 mounted police were employed, and even then the rioters did damage to the extent of \$5,000,000.

And as I write, I find that the latest issue of this wonderful "organ" states that unemployed riots have broken out all over Britain, that there are serious disturbances in India, that "the Irish question" has taken a turn for the worse, and that serious riots are taking place in France and America. And thus we might cover the whole world of capitalist production with our analysis and find that unrest is everywhere, that the misery and degradation of the working-class is such that "the integument of capitalist production" may soon be burst asunder.

Nor is the capitalist class enjoying its present position. The industrial depression has hit them very seriously. Bankruptcies are more numerous than ever, and the accumulation of capital into fewer and fewer hands proceeds apace. Verily was Marx correct when he wrote: "One capitalist always kills many."

Before the writer lie two reports in the press of recent date, which reveal the serious position of the capitalist class. The first reads:

"If Europe is to be saved from a wholesale bankruptcy two things are essential. It must have gold and it must stop printing paper money. Another year of the printing presses and all Europe will have paper money which never can be redeemed." (Austin Harrison).

The other report shows the bank clearings for the month of July, and reveals to us the extent of the deflation due to the industrial depression. It reads as follows:

"Bank clearings for the month of July show to what an extent deflation is proceeding in Canada and

the change which has come over the manufacturing areas of the Dominion.

"In Montreal the clearings for the month of July are reduced over \$148,000,000, as compared with the same month last year, in Toronto the reduction is about \$35,000,000. In Winnipeg the decline of \$6,000,000."

These are straws which reveal to us the way in which capitalist production is tending. The rumbblings of unrest can be heard on every hand, capitalist production is digging its own grave, and it remains for the working-class to give it a good hearty push!

HERE AND NOW.

Following \$1 each—G. Beagrie, H. Harris, D. Stewart, W. J. Kenedy, G. Albers, R. Dickinson, A. Padgham, R. A. Fillmore, B. Dworkin, W. H. Camfield, Mrs. Cameron, J. Bennett, Mrs. Griffin, C. Shinewald, R. C. Mutch, R. Near, P. Brown, J. Young, M. A. Stewart, A. R. Sinclair, G. Morris, L. N. Olson, Wm. Bennett, H. Wallstrom.

Following \$2 each—F. V. Smith, J. Pollock, W. Daniel, Wm. Kastler, O. Erickson, Wm. Bracs, \$11.50; Sid Earp, \$4; "C. M. C." \$1.50; A. Dinkfalt, \$1.70; S. R. Davy, \$1; Wm. H. Gall, \$3; H. H. Thomas, \$5; N. T. Sachle, \$1; H. W. Herrman, \$5.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 11th to 25th September, inclusive—total, \$72.70.

Now that the winter season is approaching (with all its terrors) study classes will be forming all over the country. That is to say, we hope they will. Literature and Clarion sales are likely to climb up a little; certain it is that they can't climb down. The subscriptions total this issue shows a tendency towards "steady" and we are in hope. We don't quite know the manner of extra long dollars for subs., it's something in the nature of an art and all Clarion readers should learn it. Forceful expressions, wheedling and persuasive eloquence—these have their uses at times—try them out, and if they fail, try the plain honest truth; the Clarion needs subs. and deserves to get them.

Notice of Suspension of Robert Walker, of Cumberland, B. C.

In "The Cumberland Islander" (B.C.) of Saturday, August 20th, 1921, appeared an article entitled "Complimentary Dinner to Lieutenant-Governor." This was a report of a reception given to the Lieutenant-Governor of B. C. at Cumberland, 18th August. Speeches were made and a speech alleged to have been delivered by Robert Walker, member-at-large of the S. P. of C., is printed in the issue mentioned of that paper. Letters between Comrade Walker and the D. E. C. have been exchanged as the speech reported violates our principles, and he has been suspended for thirty (30) days dating from and including 20th September or until such time within this period that he may publicly, within the columns of "The Cumberland Islander" issue a full denial of the report.

The managing-editor of the "B. C. Federationist" (A. S. Wells) and the "B. C. Federationist, Ltd." have been served with warrants by the City of Vancouver Police Department, charged with offering for sale a pamphlet the contents of which constitute an infraction of the Criminal Code. The pamphlet is thought to be "Left Wing" Communism, An Infectious Disorder," by Lenin. The case came before the Police Magistrate on the 26th, and was adjourned under request of Counsel for Defence, for a week. The "Federationist" last issue indicated that financial help would be needed. Contributions may be sent to this office and they will be forwarded.

Development of Educational System

CAPITALISM has attained its supremacy today over all other forms of production through its development of machinery. That achievement, and the education of the workers, are the two great historical functions of capitalism.

With the discovery of steam and its application to machinery, providing a motive power far superior to any previously existing, a new era in industry was begun. Increase in production over and above what was required to supply the producers with the necessities of life resulted in surplus products of great magnitude.

Under the handicraft methods, which had prevailed throughout the civilized world, the surplus was not so greatly in excess of requirements of the workers, and industry was carried on largely in the homes of the workers themselves with simple hand tools and looms run by hand and foot power (wind, water and horse power being used to some extent in agricultural districts, chiefly), or the worker became an itinerant jobber carrying with him the tools of his craft and setting up his workshop wherever occasion required. Sometimes, if he furnished the material and sold the finished product, he became a master craftsman and built up a business, employing apprentices and journeymen. In that case he became a permanent fixture, and around his and like operations grew up the village or burg; otherwise he remained a wandering worker applying his skill to the material furnished by his employer, occasionally rising to the position of contractor or entrepreneur. The technical processes of his trade in either case and the disposition of his products required but little learning. Keeping accounts was a very simple matter. Trade took the form of barter, easily managed through fairs, when the producers in the various industries met and exchanged their wares, or later through pack peddlers (those prototypes of the modern merchant) who bought and marketed the goods at a greater distance.

With the discovery of steam and consequent development of machines, the methods both of production and distribution underwent a radical change. The greater size of the tools of production necessitated permanent accommodations. The worker was unable to own the more expensive tools, and it remained for those master craftsmen who had succeeded in establishing themselves to carry on the new manufacturing methods which set in.

Competition for markets began with the greatly increased productiveness of the workers applying their labor-power to the machines. Surplus products piled up in the hands of the owners of those machines. The possession of the latest machinery giving temporary advantage to the owner of that particular machine by making it possible for him to produce more and cheaper commodities, thus enabling him to undersell his competitor.

But with the machinery came the need of workers who could read and write, measure and calculate, and the distribution of surplus commodities, trade relations with foreign countries and the establishing of the credit system increased the need of an educated proletariat if the capitalists were to compete successfully in the world markets. So we see the capitalist extending his technical learning to the workers and even opening the doors of the colleges to the more fortunate of the working class, doors which had previously been closed to any but the ruling class. The competition among the workers for the better paying positions facilitated the educational process, until modern popular education has resulted. The latest example of this is Japan.

However, with the technical education which the workers have appropriated to their own use has come the knowledge of surplus value and the materialistic conception of history, thus establishing an entirely new school of thought which is spreading so rapidly that the capitalists have become alarmed, as is evidenced by their efforts to circumscribe proletarian education. The laws recently enacted by the New York State Legislature called the "Lusk Anti-Sedition Law" state: "Every person, corporation or society conducting a school or course of instruction in any subject in the state must be licensed by the State Department of Education to continue its work." All of which is a case in point. The capitalists want only such education for the workers as will redound to their own particular benefit. See Manifesto of Carnegie Institute. But it is too late. They have already placed in the hands of the workers the intellectual weapons which, if wielded with sufficient skill, will prove a boomerang to their own most cherished institution—wage labor.

KATHERINE SMITH.

(Note: Credit is extended to Comrade John Kernher for the general outline of the above.—K.S.).

If we turn to the production of useful articles, we find that the worker with the best modern machinery can make two hundred pairs of boots in the time it took the old cobbler to make one pair. The best modern weaving machine can weave two hundred times as much cloth as the old handloom. What is more, the new machines go on weaving while the workers are away at dinner, and should a thread break, the machine stops of its own accord. For the manufacturing of matches, a machine exists that turns out 144,000 boxes of matches per day. At one end it takes in solid blocks of pinewood, at the other it runs the finished matches into boxes, closes the boxes, puts them in packages of a dozen, and seals them up! Again, all these wonderful labor-saving machines are the products, the handiwork of Capitalism.

Capitalism has completely altered the position. Capitalism's great gift to man has been to increase productivity enormously. Capitalism has put into our hands tools and machines so gigantic and so productive that they make the greatest tools of the past seem mere playthings. In doing so, it has completely wiped out the iron reason that condemned the masses to poverty in times gone by. It has made communism and culture possible together. In the past communism meant poverty for all; thanks to Capitalism, communism today would mean wealth for all.

"Ah," you say, "but have you not just shown that we haven't got wealth for all?" True! Capitalism has solved the problem of production, but it has left another problem unsolved. That problem can only be solved by an educated working class. Next month we shall see what that problem is.

J. P. MILLER.
—"The Plebs."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The question has been asked: Can ore deposits, soil, climate, etc., be termed means of production?

Answer: No! In the science of economics they are technically classed as natural resources. The means of production are the material equipment used for carrying on the productive process. This equipment comprises such things as buildings, machinery, implements, tools, utensils and appliances of any kind, for dyeing, brewing, and chemical processes, railroads and rolling stock, ships and other means of transportation!

Raw materials, are such as ore in the billit, coal, oil, wool, cotton, logs, seeds, hides, etc. Also, the finished goods of one industrial process may become the raw material of another, as hides, the finished product of the cattle industry are in turn the raw material for leather, and leather for the boot and shoe industry; lumber for the building and furniture trades; agricultural products for stock raising, etc. These are termed production goods, to distinguish them from what is termed consumption goods, which last are sold to the ultimate consumer. C. S.

THE TARIFF ISSUE

(Continued from page 1)

--(to live)--on the terms of surplus appropriation, receiving in return merely the sustenance of labor reproduction. That is the simple cause of all--or most--of our trouble, and of all our poverty and degradation. No amelioration scheme can alter it, no tariff--or master class legislation--can turn its effects aside, and no reform whatsoever relieves its economic incidence. World wide, the working class is in precisely similar conditions--free trade, or protection, Liberal government or Tory. Because, government of any kind is the subjugation of the working class to the exploitation of the ruling class, and can in nowise be altered by any ruling class initiative. Unless we can absorb and master that, we can absorb and master nothing. R.

Ten Minutes' Talks With New Students

Production and Poverty.

AT the present time somewhere about one worker in three is unemployed or is working such short time as to be for all practical purposes in the same position. In addition, millions of those who are on full time have had their wages so seriously reduced that their position is not very noticeably better than that of the unemployed. Never before has there been such mass poverty. Try as we may to disguise the fact, Britain is simply a gigantic workhouse, a land of beggars.

What is the explanation? We're told that economic conditions necessitate large numbers of unemployed, and sweeping reductions in the wages of the rest of the workers; that, regrettable as it may be, it is impossible for industry to provide the means of life for large sections of the population. Wages, education grants, unemployment doles, all are cut down, because the country; so it is asserted, cannot produce the necessary wealth.

But can we agree that poverty is inevitable--is in the nature of things? It is undeniable that there was a time when poverty not only existed but was bound to exist. In primitive times, though all men were equal, they were all equally poor, equally uncultured, and it is easy to understand why. All men were poor because man's tools were so crude, so primitive that they sufficed to produce only the barest living. In the systems of society that followed

primitive communism--chattel slavery, with its slaves and slaveowners, and feudalism with its serfs and lords--we find that although the slave-owners and the lords were wealthy, the great masses--the slaves and the serfs--were exceedingly poor and uncultured. In those days it was possible for only a few men to have wealth and culture, because although tools had improved somewhat they were still crude. The masses, as in primitive communism, were condemned by the as yet unsolved problem of production to lifelong poverty. Does the same reason for poverty exist today?

Before Capitalism, all works had to be done by power derived mainly from the muscles of men, assisted by the muscles of horses and oxen, and by the power taken from the rivers by means of the old-fashioned water-wheel. Today we use mechanical power. According to one authority, the factories of Britain derive from coal alone the power of 175,000,000 men, and if we add to that the power got from coal used in ships and on railways, the 20,000,000 or more adult men and women of Britain have at their disposal the power of 265,000,000 men. Today a crane can lift ten tons as easily as a boy can lift a box of matches; and again, thanks to mechanical power, a modern steam-hammer can pound a ton of iron into a pancake as easily as a man can crush a walnut with a stone. All this mechanical power is the product of Capitalism.

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VANCOUVER, B. C. OCTOBER 1, 1921

DOMINION ELECTIONS, 1921

B. P. of C. Candidates

B. C. CONSTITUENCIES:

NANAIMO— W. A. Pritchard

VANCOUVER, (3 Seats)—

Burrard: J. D. Harrington

Centre: T. O'Connor

South: J. Kavanagh

MANITOBA CONSTITUENCIES:

WINNIPEG (3 seats)—

H. M. Bartholemew

R. B. Russell

Chas. Stewart

Other constituencies are yet to be heard from. In the meantime, organizational work is commencing, meetings are under way and committees are forming for leaflet distribution, collecting funds, etc. The deposit required for each candidate is \$200 and there is no time to be lost. The money must be found.

If you are interested and willing to help in the work, go to the headquarters in the place where you are; in Vancouver, 401 Pender St. East. There you will be directed to the guidance of the campaign manager of the district where your efforts will be most needed or most effective. In Nanaimo go to Wm. Newton, 235 Irwin Street.

In Winnipeg go to room 1, 530 Main Street. If you can't go to any of these places and you have a dollar to spare, send it to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender St. East, Vancouver, B. C. Mention the constituency or to which campaign fund you wish the donation to apply, and it will be so applied. If no mention is made, the money will be applied to the constituency most in need of it.

But don't forget, if you are not able to help with money, your personal help will go a long way. Now's a good time for us to get a word to the workers of Canada when they're all listening.

Did you see this in the papers the other day?

DATE OF THANKSGIVING IS FIXED BY
STATUTE, FALLS ON NOVEMBER 7!

What's the matter with these governments, are they displaying "Bolshevik tendencies?"

NEIL McLEAN, M. P.

In this last great west, the hope of the homeless, where there is more land and fewer inhabitants to the acre than elsewhere in this great Canadian wilderness, we are visited now and then by one or other of the shining lights from the labor benches in the British parliament. This time the adventurer is Neil McLean, M.P., representing Govan, a Glasgow constituency. Neil travelled around these local parts under the guidance of the Federated Labor Party, after "doing his turn" at the Trades Congress of Canada, held in Winnipeg. Ordinarily, our labor strangers meet us warily, and cautiously try us out to find just what kind of speech they may think we'd like to hear. Our latest visitor, however, judged us by our looks and gave us a dilution of the wish-wash that no doubt counted votes for him in Govan, but which, when received here with an ill grace, made him a trifle cross. He told us we were part and parcel of the world-wide class struggle, and then he

told us that part of our job to be done in that struggle was to exclude Orientals from British Columbia. The Orientals were a menace to our white working class welfare here, they lowered our standard of living, they scabbed on the whites, and so forth. And at the very time of his speech making the shingle-mills of New Westminster, not twenty miles away, were tied up because the Orientals employed in them, and they constitute the greater part of a shingle-mill crew, refused a cut of 10 per cent, while the white employees agitated for a return to work.

McLean had paid a visit to the local Chinatown and he said he was shocked at the housing conditions. About here is where we find him guilty of a failing in the matter of memory. Sure enough, the local Chinese working population do not live in attractive places, but last winter, hereabouts, many white men had no quarters at all, and already the City Council are making examination of Hastings Park to see what accommodation can be figured upon for next winter's workless and homeless. Think of a man coming from Glasgow, of all places, criticising working class housing elsewhere, and becoming "shocked." It comes near to being un-patriotic. We have to confess to an early acquaintance with that hive of capitalist industry, and we claim for it a reputation as the finest collection of slums on earth. Let others have their prejudices in "favor" of other places; let everyone boast his "own home town," but they're "white" slums.

It would appear that McLean, once he found the local temper, would willingly have forgotten his anti-Orientalism which he could not exactly fit into the framework of the class struggle when, to his surprise and discomfiture, he was asked to do so. His bag of tricks contains speeches from all angles. Fifteen or sixteen years ago he propounded the gospel according to the Socialist Labor Party in that same city of Glasgow, where slum tenements are higher than the standard of living and where the Chinese worker is unknown. At that time he voiced his opinions earnestly, now he is voicing the opinions of Trades Congress officialdom which requires, along with Oriental exclusion, the exclusion of any idea of working class solidarity. About the only accomplishment Mr. McLean has acquired in fifteen years seems to be an angry growl at question time. No doubt he learned that from Mr. Lloyd George.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Classes in Economics and History will commence in Vancouver in October for the winter season, 1921-22.

The class in Economics starts Sunday, October 9th, at 3 p.m.; and in History, Thursday, October 6th, at 8 p.m. Classes will meet at 401 Pender Street East, and a good attendance of old and new students is expected. Other classes on kindred subjects may be formed as the season advances. It should be noted and advertised that membership in the Socialist Party of Canada is not essential to class membership. The classes will determine the text books to be studied, the method of study, the form and rules of discussion, and they may sub-divide themselves as they see fit into beginners and advanced students classes if the initial attendance gives promise of this possibility. Another feature that will be or should be taken up is the matter of essay writing on subjects studied. The classes will lay down rules of guidance in this department of study, as conducive to systematic application in study and as an important feature aiding the student to set forth his or her ideas in order on paper. This is for the class itself. We had intended to reprint in this issue from "The Indicator" an article by "Geordie" on the manner of conducting study classes, but at the moment it looks as if the columns are blocked already. However, it will not be amiss in the next.

By the way, agent the threats of one C. Stephenson (a few issues back) to take prompt proceedings in arousing interest in "Geordie's" articles on Economics previously published in "The Red Flag" and "The Indicator," so that we might be prodded into calculating costs of printing in pamphlet form, and to the end that these invaluable articles might thus

be readily accessible to students and writers and to a wider field of readers, we have received a sheet of correspondence in approval.

Some of this has been communicated to "Geordie," and while he appears to be a little "hard of hearing" he is really about the busiest man hereabouts, and time to him is an actual and important fact. However, the "threats" are bearing weight and we hope to be able to make announcement soon that the printing is under way.

By the way (again) we forget to say that the classes aforementioned are free of charge and no collection is taken. Pay attention and voice your opinions, ask questions and get others to voice theirs.

Writing some time back to one Bill Lewin (Calgary), asking him to lay in a stock of ink and spill it in the "Clarion" columns, the astonished editor received this bright word in reply: "It's the easiest thing in the world to think of articles—articles you want someone to write for you, or that you want to have a shot at yourself. It's like smoking enchanted cigarettes. Some time I'll send you a list, but here's a few to be going on with. A series of critical articles, passing in review all the more famous of the Utopias, in the light of Marxism—twenty articles at the least. Note, (by Bill) I was reserving this little item for myself, but pass it on. Do what you can with it; I can't touch it. A series of annotations to the works of Marx and Engels, the smaller ones for a start. In "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," for example (attend, all ye history students! we have mention made of the Eisenachers, the Levellers, Mably, Morely, The Charlist Movement, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Hegel and a hundred matters besides. What are these events, and who are these daisies? (Forgiveness is extended for this levity). The average fellow in the class doesn't know and the pamphlet doesn't say. The information can be obtained; it's available, all right, but to those of my class it is altogether inaccessible. Why, the average Encyclopedia tells you is either skimmed and negligible, or it is so misleading and biased as to be worse. Annotated editions of the main Socialist classics are needed in the worst way. What you really need is an annotation committee, out at Vancouver. Another thing, and this also is required: A series of paragraphs dealing with the principal natural laws so far formulated—from the earliest times up 'till yesterday, given in historical sequence. The historical order will not necessarily be upset if you take the sciences separately, neither will it if you jump from one science to another. In fact, by the latter procedure you preserve the chronology. The laws should be given their classic form then be explained so that the ordinary plug—which means you and me—can readily understand them; then the influence of the discovery of a law in one science, in stimulating researches and development might be touched on. The thing, if properly done, should result in a succinct account of the growth of knowledge—an account with the emphasis placed on positive achievement.

This is just a start (the editor here introduces a violent fit of coughing). I want next a materialist interpretation of the various art movements so puzzling, and apparently so twisted to the average worker: a brief sketch of the history of art, with the economic factors underlined and most of the pageant omitted. You may think this is not required, but if you could hear one quarter of the questions I sometimes have to find answers for you'd understand the necessity all right.

And more of it, much more. The editor thinks that's enough to be going on with meantime. There's no telling what the "Clarion" writers may yet find in the ink pot to disperse the clouds of darkness by the light of learning.

Comrade Leekie's regular article in "Materialist Conception of History" is somewhat belated in this issue, or Peter has busied himself more in paint than ink. However, we are pleased to note lengthy quotations from these articles in several issues of "The Citizen" (Ottawa) and "The Standard" (St. John, N.B.) Both of these are daily journals.

Concerning Value

BY "GEORDIE"

Expenses of Production and "High" and "Low" Compositions of Capital. Varieties of Profits.

"In volumes I. and II. we were dealing only with values of the commodities. Now we have dissected this value on the one hand into a cost-price, and on the other we have developed out of it another form, that of the price of production of commodities."—"Capital," vol. III, p. 192.

"Competition first brings about, in a certain individual sphere, the establishment of an equal market-value and market-price by averaging the various individual values of the commodities. The competition of the capitals in the different spheres (of industry) then results in the price of production which equalizes the rates of profit between the different spheres. This last process requires a higher development of capitalist production than the previous process."—"Capital," vol. III, p. 212.

"What competition does not show is the way in which value is determined and the movement of production dominated by this determination. It does not show the values that stand behind the prices of production and determine them in the last instance. Competition does show on the other hand the following things:—

- (1) The average profits independent of the organic composition of capital in the different spheres of production, and therefore also independent of the mass of live labor appropriated by any given capital in any particular sphere of exploitation.
 - (2) A rise and fall of prices of production as a result of changes in the level of wages, a phenomenon which flatly contradicts at first sight the law of value of commodities.
 - (3) The fluctuations of market prices, which reduce the average market price of commodities in a given period of time to the market value, but in a market-price of production differing considerably from this market value.
- All these phenomena seem to contradict the determination of value by labor-time so much as the fact that surplus value consists of unpaid surplus-labor. Everything appears upside down in competition.

"The existing conformation of economic conditions, as seen in reality on the surface of things, and consequently in the conceptions which the leading human agents of these conditions form in trying to understand them, are not only different from the internal and distanced essence of these conditions, and from the conceptions corresponding to this essence, but actually opposed to them, or their reverse." (Marx here opposes the "real" to the "actual.")—"Capital," vol. III, p. 246.

"In short, under capitalist production, the general law of value enforces itself merely as the prevailing tendency, in a very complicated and approximate manner, as a center ascertainable as regards of conscious fluctuations."—"Capital," vol. III, p. 197.

MARX expressly declares that what he calls "price of production" is the same thing that Ricardo and his school knew as "cost of production." It will be readily understood, however, that the explanation it received at their hands was not the same as that given by Marx. As I have shown, Marx defined the price of production of a commodity as consisting of the expenses of production (cost price) plus the average profit, and showed that this profit consisted of surplus value, the result of unpaid labor.

On the other hand, the capitalist economists held that the effect of competitive production is such that the various parties who contributed to the productive process received, on the whole and on the average, just such a share in the product as was justified by their several efforts. The share that each received was conceived to be a measure of his contribution to the social product. The word "labor" is dropped from the definition of "cost of production," which is now described as "the sum of the efforts and sacrifices involved in production." The laborer receives wages which are the "reward" for his "labor." The financial capitalist receives interest which is the reward for his "abstinence" and "waiting."

By the way, this word abstinence is the earmark of the apologist. It was, no doubt, specially selected as suggesting something painful.

Then the employing capitalist, the "entrepreneur" receives profits. Of these there are several

varieties. There are "wages of superintendence," which are the reward for the labor expended by the employer in directing the labor-process. This is the main item in the category known as "necessary profits," the only profit to actually appear in the cost of production. Then there are "accidental" profits, which the capitalist realizes through a mere conjuncture of events, some fortunate circumstance which enables him to make a surplus profit. Lastly, there are "differential" profits due to the superior ability or business acumen of the more efficient employers. They also are surplus profits and, being akin to rent, are sometimes called "rent of ability." Surplus profits do not enter into the cost of production. There are also monopoly profits which do not here concern us.

The landlord, of course, gets his rent. So far as I know, no economist has had the nerve to suggest that this is his reward for owning the land. The best they can do for him is to show that rent is a differential gain which does not enter into the cost of production and therefore does not affect prices. This brings it into the category of surplus profits. Of course, much of what is commonly known as rent is really interest on capital invested in improvement to the land.

There is an economic law to the effect that "there cannot, at any given time, be two prices for the same commodity in the same market." It is, of course, a matter of common experience that prices will often vary considerably even in adjacent stores. This is particularly noticeable in the small retail trade and may be due to differences in the way of doing business, or simply to the ignorance of the public and the dishonesty of the dealer. Nevertheless, for sufficiently obvious reasons the statement is quite defensible and may be taken as generally true.

On the other hand, it is well known that the expenses of production will vary for the different producers of any given commodity. This will arise from a number of causes, among which may be mentioned the greater or less command of capital, the employment or otherwise of machinery, the proximity to markets or to sources of raw material, the greater or less efficiency of labor employed and to the relative organizing ability of the employers. It is safe to say that no two of the producers of any given commodity will put it on the market with exactly the same expenses of production. Nevertheless, they can only obtain the same price. This means that the individual rates of profit will vary. Some will get more than others. Those who produce under the least favorable conditions are called the "marginal" producers. These are the first to feel the pinch in times of depression and the first to be forced out by falling prices. It was customary among the economists to assert that the cost of production of a commodity was determined at the margin of production. The reason given for this was that no producer could or would stay in business unless it was worth his while, that is to say, unless he received the customary rate of profit over and above his expenses. Marx, however, found reason to differ from this finding and shows that, while in certain industries the cost of production is determined at the point of least favorable production, in most cases it is determined by the expenses of those who produce under average conditions and in some instances by the most favorable conditions. (See "Capital," vol. III, chap. 10.)

It is clear, however, whether the cost of production be determined at the margin or by the average cost, that those producing under more favorable conditions will realize a surplus profit. This surplus profit, as we have seen, arises from differences in the conditions of production and, according to its source, is known as differential profit or as economic rent. In case it is due to greater fertility of soil or of mines, or to the relatively favorable location of the land, it will find its way, sooner or later, into the pockets of the landlord as rent. In case it is due to the superior organizing ability of the en-

trepreneur it will be pocketed by him as differential profit. It will now be seen why it was held that rent does not enter into cost of production.

Now then, this process of equalization which goes on in each "individual sphere of production" extends to industry as a whole. A few preliminary remarks may be necessary here. As we know, every capitalist who engages in industry must be provided with a certain money-capital. This he expends in raw material, in machinery, and as wages. In the process of production the whole value of the raw material passes over into the product as also does the wear and tear of the machinery. No more and no less, however. For this reason the capital so expended is called "constant" capital. On the other hand, the labor expended in the process produces a surplus over and above the amount paid as wages. For this reason the capital expended as wages is called "variable" capital. It is only the variable capital which, so to speak, produces a surplus. The surplus value produced will be in proportion to the variable capital employed. Now the various spheres of industry vary in respect of the proportion which obtains between the constant and variable parts of the capitals employed in them. This proportion is called by Marx the "organic composition of capital." Those industries employing a high percentage of constant to variable capital are said to have a "high" composition of capital. Those in which the percentage of constant capital is lower relatively to the variable are said to have a "low" composition. They are, of course, high or low relatively to what is called the average composition of capital.

Let us now take some examples. In discussing the law of the average rate of profit in last issue I assumed that the average composition of capital was in the proportion of 80 per cent constant to 20 per cent variable and that the rate of exploitation and, therefore, the rate of surplus value was 100 per cent. This would work out at a rate of profit of 20 per cent.

The employer of this capital is, say, a manufacturer of brass goods. For every hundred dollars he expends 80 go in raw materials and wear and tear of machinery, while he pays out 20 dollars in wages. The rate of exploitation being 100 per cent means that for every dollar in wages the worker receives he produces two dollars in value. Let us suppose that the above expenditure of capital results in a complete process by which 100 articles, say basin cocks, are produced. We get, therefore, the following result. We have 100 articles having a value equal to 80 dollars constant capital plus 20 dollars variable capital, plus 20 dollars surplus value, a total of 120 dollars. The price of production and therefore the selling price (at the factory) of these 100 basin cocks is therefore 120 dollars, of which 100 dollars represents the actual expenses of production and 20 dollars are profit. This capital being of average composition we may assume, with certain reservations, that the price of production and also the market price equals the value.

Now let us put all this in terms of labor-time. To do this we shall have to make a further assumption. Let us say that one dollar represents the value of one hour in social labor time. Now then, the rate of exploitation being 100 per cent, means that the value of labor-power is one half that of its product. Wages will therefore be 50 cents an hour. For 20 dollars the laborer will work 40 hours.

We have therefore this result. In the 100 articles produced there are 80 hours social labor in the raw material, etc., plus 20 hours necessary labor plus 20 hours surplus labor. A total of 120 hours which, at one dollar per hour, makes 120 dollars. Each article represents therefore 1 1/5 hours (one hour and 12 minutes) social labor time.

Let us now suppose another capital of higher composition, say, 90 per cent constant to 10 per cent variable capital. The owner of this capital makes

(Continued on page 7)

Factors in the Materialist Interpretation of History

Being a continuation of the article in last issue concerning the "Economic Factor," in the form of an explanatory letter, written in consideration of a controversy on the Materialist Interpretation.

By C. STEPHENSON

Dear Comrade,—I have no doubt I have drawn out this letter on the Materialist Interpretation to a wearisome length. These contents, and what has already gone before in the last issue could very conceivably have been stated better and more concisely. Partly, however, the length of my argument must be accredited to my desire to open out a subject which, while it has its difficulties for understanding, is yet important in respect that it has a bearing on the future of our precarious civilization, for, in the words of Professor Dewey, that future "depends upon the widening spread and deepening hold of the scientific habit of mind." Your argument centred around questions upon which discussion has pivoted down the ages since human beings began to speculate about the career of man, and as answer to which, as conviction was reached, one way or the other, the philosophers have built their systems of philosophy. The questions concern the standards that men are to employ in forming their beliefs. Though already stated in the first part of this letter I will here restate those questions in fresh terms: Have we to resort, for guidance in human affairs, to a super-human authority, to the so-called absolute and eternal truths of Idealism, which, it is claimed, transcend human experience and knowledge based upon analysis and reason? Or, on the other hand, must we organize human experience and depend on human reason and intelligence for authority and guidance?

The terms of those questions state the mental prepossessions which are the respective premises of the opposing schools in philosophy: Idealism and Materialism. Viewed with the Idealist prepossessions, history is seen as a record of good and evil deeds, a struggle between the upper and nether worlds of spirit and materiality; the idea is the starting point, the driving force of history, and great men the creators and initiators of social movements; progress is the progressive realization of the eternal and absolute truths. On the other hand, from the Materialist viewpoint, which is the scientific habit of mind, history is seen as a process of natural history. The process is a question of the inter-action of environmental forces, natural and social, and man as organism, individually and collectively. The environment, however, is the primary fact. To the materialist, the history of society is a process evolving in the cumulative sequence of material cause and effect. So, social movements and ideals are not born in the minds of great men, but arise out of material conditions of existence which impress themselves on the minds of men.

Your opponent contends that "any material factor is an economic factor." Rather, he should say, that any material factor is an economic factor when it functions to an economic end. Words and terms would cease to be of value as signs for things we are compelled to take note of in the business of life, unless we use them in some precise correspondence to those things. Turning to the dictionary we find the term "economy" is derived from the Ancient Greek—(oikos: a house; nomos, a law), or, the law of a household—the rules and regulations by which the management of a household is maintained, i.e., domestic economy. Later, the use of the term has been extended to cover all kinds of functional processes and structures. Thus we speak of the economy of the human body, of agricultural and industrial economy, the economy of a machine, and of a community, tribal, civic or national, also of the capitalist system of production as the world's economy of

production. Things have economic functions and become economic factors. We make reference to economic forces and economic conditions. The complex economy of modern social life, notably its productive and political processes, makes essential for our understanding of it that organized enquiry and knowledge which we know as science. So we have the science of Political Economy which treats of the production and distribution of wealth and its laws. (Note: Distribution in this connection does not mean the transferring of wealth from store houses to consumer. Distribution here means the sharing among a community of the wealth produced. The science enquires into the laws which determine the respective shares of the members and classes of the community).

It will be granted that any factor that is used or taken advantage of, or plays an active part in the production of wealth, and in that respect is instrumental in serving the needs and furthering the life process of individuals or of communities, is an economic factor. In that respect it is a question of economic function. So, sunlight, air, water, climate, geographical and physical features of a country, natural resources in minerals, timber, fertility of the soil, etc., the state of the industrial arts (technology), the material equipment of production and the apparatus of trade and commerce, are all economic factors.

There is, however, another aspect to these factors other than an economic. They have a cultural aspect, in so far as they mould the psychology of a people, in so far, that is, as they mould a people's temperament and habits of thought. In a near similar way, a book may be an article of merchandise and at the same time be an agent of culture for the mind. The torrid climate of the equatorial regions, and the temperate climate of the northern, enforce different experiences and habits of life and thought upon their respective inhabitants. So do diverse geographical and physical features. Mountainous regions and the plains, inland regions and the seaboard, each stamp their particular impression on the plastic psychology of man. In a rough approximate way, the cultural progress of a people corresponds to the state of its industrial arts. Here again, a certain bent of the mind and the nature of its ideas are given by the prevailing method of procuring a livelihood, as likewise by the institutional character of the social organization, to each factor its effect in the measure of its influence on the social life. The cultural effect of such factors is found to characterize the religion, philosophy, art, poetry, literature, folk-songs and stories of any people, though there may be incorporated much of foreign element. So typically, in succession of time, God is a great hunter to the primitive tribesmen, to the Children of Israel in the pastoral stage, he is a familiar patriarchal father; later, he is the law giver during the reorganization after the escape from Egyptian bondage, and the terrible God of War during the conquest of the promised land. And afterwards, when a stiff-necked generation grew prosperous and perverse and, forgetting the "Lord thy God" did worship strange gods—and pay toll to strange priests—he became a jealous God, an utterer of blistering curses and a vengeful chastiser and dispenser into captivity of "my people, Israel." To the barbarian tribes of Northern Europe he was also a God of War. In feudal Europe of the middle ages he was "Overlord," "Almighty Suzerain," "Emperor of Heaven," as whim decreed. In the protestant Northern Europe of the beginnings of the great industry, he is an all-round handy artizan, the "Creator," the "Great Artificer." Since then, an economist in England has told the world that "Jesus Christ, he is free trade, free trade it is Jesus Christ!" Since then, he was seen in steel helmet, jack boots and spurs, at the call of a thousand pulpits, alternately acting as aide-de-camp to Jacky Fisher and Emperor Bill. Since

then, he is rumoured to have handed over the line in disgust to old Nick—full name, Nick Lenin, residence, Moscow, on business day and night and then some, assassinated 3 times, escaped from Russia with a billion American dollars' worth of paper roubles, 500 times (see New York "Times," also Vancouver papers on allee saunce atunt circuit). However, the rumor may be only the state of mind of the bourgeoisie, as in similar case, as when they tell us, that bad times are only a state of mind.

The twofold aspect of those material factors in the habit forming environment of man, the cultural and the strictly economic aspect, has been unnoticed by hasty and superficial critics of the Marxist theory. They see no more in Marx's formulation of his theory than a mere description of the historical process as solely the outcome of class interest. They do not see that a mode of production in social life also determines the relation of rulers and ruled, and that, to quote part of one of my quotations of Marx in last issue, "It is always the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the producers which reveal the innermost secret, the hidden foundation of the entire social construction, and with it the political form of the relations between sovereignty and dependence, in short, of the corresponding form of the State." A definite form of social organization to which must conform their habits of life is determined by the method of the exploitation of productive labor.

In a very sketchy way I have indicated the part played by the conditions of man's environment in the formation of thought, but there is still the fact of social change and progress to account for. Natural environment, climate, physical geography, are comparatively static factors and do not change appreciably during ages, have not, at least, during the historical period, and consequently can not be held accountable for social change. The determining factors of change must be changeable themselves. In the first part of this letter (in the last issue of the "Clarion") I pointed out that economic development, inventions, improvements, new discoveries in the ways and means of procuring a livelihood lay at the basis of social development. I here quote an application of the Materialist Interpretation to the fact of social change by one who is not a Marxist in politics, Prof. John Dewey, one of the foremost liberal publicists on this continent. In one of a series of lectures at the Imperial University of Japan, Tokyo, speaking concerning the factors that influenced the direction of that industrial, political and religious change upon which Europe was entering in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries based upon the increasing productivity which supervened the period of comparative stagnation of the middle ages, he has this to say, in part:

"Upon the industrial side, it is impossible to exaggerate the influence of travel, exploration and new commerce which fostered a romantic sense of adventure into novelty, loosened the hold of traditional beliefs; created a fresh sense of new worlds to be investigated and subdued; produced new methods of manufacture, commerce, banking and finance; and then reacted everywhere to stimulate invention and active experimentation into science. The Crusades, the revival of the profane learning of antiquity and even more perhaps, the contact with the advanced learning of the Mohammedans, the increase of commerce with Asia and Africa, the introduction of the tense compass and gunpowder, the finding and opening up of North and South America—most significantly called The New World—these are some of the obvious external facts. Contrast between peoples and races previously isolated is always, I think, most fruitful and influential for change when psychological and industrial changes coincide with and reinforce each other. Sometimes people undergo emotional change, what might be called a metaphysical change, through intercourse. The inner set of the mind, especially in religious matters, is altered. At other times there is a lively exchange of goods, an adoption of foreign tools and devices, an imitation of alien habits of clothing, habitation and production of commodities. One of these changes

(Continued on page 7)

The "Skilled" Workers

It is not only the inland seas that are a field for extra-special exploitation under the present peculiarly favorable conditions, nor is it only (so called) "unskilled labor" that is losing what few human rights or privileges had been gradually wrung from soulless corporations or individual profit seekers—the shipping on and from the Coast, and the various mechanical trades directly or indirectly dependent on the whole marine industry, recent sickening struggles and apparent acceptance of terms and systems which are in glaring contrast to those happy days of the "aristocracy of labor"—when the machinist, for example, was the indispensable factor, and indeed it was a punishable crime not to be working at (comparatively) good wages! Of course, the average worker had no conception of the opportunity then offered to challenge the whole system of wage-worry and war (and the "class-conscious" slaves were few indeed!) but certain bargains, small and sordid, were made, and some "concessions" granted,—all of which are rapidly dematerializing in the stress of "peace" time. For instance, when a mechanic, after much patience and innumerable rebuffs, is allowed to "start" on a short job (there are no "steady" jobs today!) he is not quite sure what is the "standard rate" of his pay per hour, in the absence or confusion of union control or influence—all he can know for certain is that the old \$10 has dropped to at least— or is it 15c or more! No more "double time" for overtime, not even time and a half for night shifts in some cases, no more "dirty money," and no very strong resentment, as yet, to the return to the hideous old practice of only paying men for fractions of days.

But this is nothing,—merely the fortune of war, or a return to the "status quo." The really serious innovations are the phasing of established customs and relations which were aforesaid considered elementary and indispensable.

The "owner" of a small plant or the boss of a department, no longer seems to contribute any or much material assistance to the job to be performed, beyond the issuing of bald instructions; nobody "answers back," and questions aren't encouraged.

If a machine has to be operated, it may be in passable running order or it may not,—it certainly wouldn't pass a Factory Inspector's test for safety—and if it has anything like a full equipment of handles and wrenches and tools and other parts, the operator considers it remarkably "lucky"—otherwise, he proceeds to supply these missing oddments from his own tool box, finding it quite useless to look around for them or to go to the store, as used

to be the understood practice, and if working on bench or floor, or "outside," he is in far worse plight.

The elaborate toolbox, with its expensive kit of tools, micrometers, etc., which so many of the younger machinists, for example, have become accustomed to carry around, and to which they have more or less cheerfully added wrenches and jigs and chisels and files,—thus actually reducing their own wages by supplying plant for the employer,—all this is inadequate on some class of jobs; heavier hammers are required, shifting spanners and pipe-wrenches, etc., and it will soon be quite impossible for a man to carry on to the job the tools he requires even for a few days' work.

And still the slaves hang around the factory gates and fall over each other in the emulation of getting there first or providing the most tools; still the pace gets hotter, and the dirtier the work the less chance is there of cleaning up for meals or the homeward journey, the self-respect of the wage-slaves at this game can be gauged by his laughter at the horror of a normal passenger in the street car seated next to some of the "black squad,"—he leaves it to the camp-worker or the "yellow peril" to kick against "conditions" or to howl for sanitary specialities. Meanwhile many highly-skilled "mechanics" are totting their tools around and, if permitted, will hang about the premises unpaid until told to "bunch" a clock and start in at 50c per hour, work till finished, and depart "unwashed."

The present stage of subservience of the skilled obviates, too, the employment of a vast army of helpers with whom many mechanics were accompanied. Today the apprentice takes their place, and the heavy lifting and hauling and the fetching of tools and material, has to be got over somehow, without loss of time,—all in the day's work.

Somewhat of all this may be good training for that far-off good time, still coming, when the workers shall own the jobs and all the tools; we are reminded of the slogan raised by the engineering employers 25 years ago, during the 8-hour strike in the old country: "The machine is master." Obviously ownership of the necessary machinery implies possession of its produce.

Pessimism is easy, and perhaps not unnatural, but however bright our ultimate hopes, however strong our basic faith, we have to bravely endure the undeniable present, and teach ourselves to think. Only by understanding present causes can we prepare for future development, and only by working-class ownership can the present evil be permanently removed.

A. C. J.

FACTORS IN THE MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

(Continued from page 6)

It is, so to speak, too internal and the other too external to bring about a profound intellectual development. But when the creation of a new mental attitude falls together with extensive material and economic changes, something significant happens.

The influence of those factors, by weakening and destroying the old prepossessions, prepared the psychological attitude for the new point of view of science and philosophy, but it required, he points out, positive changes in the habits and purposes of life to produce and develop the new method of knowing.

"New found wealth, the gold from the Americas and new articles of consumption and enjoyment tend to wean men from pre-occupation with the metaphysical and theological."

Now material resources and new markets in America and India undermined the old dependence upon household and manual production for a limited market, and generated quantitative, large scale production by means of steam for foreign and expanding markets. Capitalism, rapid transit, and production for exchange against money and for profit, instead of against goods and for consumption followed.

So, typical of the matter of fact habit of mind of this new mechanistic age which moves to reject the metaphysical system of "rights" that is the ideo-

logical foundation of present society organized on a property basis, he further says:

"The modern mine, factory, railway, steamship, telegraph, all of the appliances and equipment of production and transportation, express scientific knowledge. They would continue unimpaired even if the ordinary Pecuniary (i.e., Profit, etc.—C.S.) accompaniments of economic activity were radically altered. In short, through the intermediary of invention, Bacon's watchword that knowledge is power and his dream of continuous empire over natural forces by means of natural science have been actualized."

(Reconstruction in Philosophy.—Henry Holt, N. Y.)

A view of history from the standpoint of the economic is perfectly justifiable and necessary if we are to grasp the full effects of factors which are dominant in society. Nevertheless, as when we discuss the economic causes of war, we do not forget that when the call to war goes forth that the call goes to peoples with different national psychologies, already fixed by historical and natural influences. It approximates to the call of herd leaders to the herd. Such a standpoint is itself a materialistic conception, but there are other material factors. These come within the broad sweep of the Materialistic Interpretation proper, which includes the economic. The relative efficiency of any factor or group of factors in influencing history will, in the long run, depend

on their respective powers to enforce habits of life whose unremitting discipline on the mind results in corresponding habits of thought. In that respect the economic is the most influential. As Marx says "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness." (Extract from preface to the "Critique of Political Economy.")

CONCERNING VALUE

(Continued from page 5)

clothes-pegs. For every 100 dollars invested he expends 90 dollars in raw materials, wear and tear, etc., and pays out 10 dollars in wages. This expenditure, let us say, results in the production of 100 gross of pegs. Now, this manufacturer, who has invested 100 dollars in this business, will expect and will get, on the average, the average rate of profit on his investment. That is to say, 20 per cent. profit. The price of production, and hence, the selling price of pegs at the factory, will be 120 dollars for 100 gross, that is, one dollar and 20 cents per gross.

Let us look at this in terms of labor-time. For every 100 gross of clothes-pegs there are 90 hours represented by raw material, etc., plus 10 hours necessary labor, plus 10 hours surplus labor, making a total of 110 hours social labor-time which at one dollar per hour will be 110 dollars. The value of 100 gross of pegs is therefore 110 dollars. The price of production and consequently the selling price exceeds the value by 10 dollars. The "necessary" labor-time, of course, is that necessary for the replacement of wages.

We shall now consider a capital of low composition. This capitalist is a cap-maker and employs a capital having the proportion of 70 constant to 30 variable. For every 100 dollars invested he expends 70 dollars in materials, wear and tear of machinery, etc., and pays out 30 dollars in wages. This expenditure results in the production of 100 caps. Now this manufacturer can only expect and will not get any more than the ordinary rate of profit on his capital, that is, 20 per cent. The price of production and, consequently, the selling price at the factory of 100 caps will therefore be 120 dollars, or \$1.20 each.

In terms of labor-time, however, we have this result. For every 100 caps there are expended: 70 hours represented by raw materials, etc., plus 30 hours necessary labor, plus 30 hours surplus labor, making a total of 130 hours social labor-time, which at one dollar per hour, is 130 dollars. The value of 100 caps will therefore be 130 dollars which exceeds the price of production by 10 dollars.

The above figures, of course, are quite arbitrary. They serve, however, to illustrate what happens in actual practice, namely, that it is practically impossible that commodities could be exchanged at their values under competitive capitalism. In spite of this, as we shall see later, there is no contradiction of the law of value. It is also important to note that, while a general rise or fall in wages does not affect the value of commodities it will immediately affect their price of production and bring about a rise or fall in prices. This is one reason for the present agitation for a reduction of wages with a view to a reduction in prices.

This ought to be enough for once.

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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 means 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-increasing stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

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

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

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

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Book Review

CIVIL WAR IN WEST VIRGINIA—A story of The Industrial Conflict in the Coal Mines. Winthrop D. Lane. With an introduction by John R. Commons. B. W. Huobach, Inc., New York. Fifty Cents. 128 pp.

AT a time when capitalist newspapers carry headlines conveying information to the effect that armed miners are again on the march in West Virginia, the reading of such a work as this is more than ordinarily interesting.

The publishers should be complimented upon the production of brochures at democratic prices, especially in times of high printing cost, as prevail at present.

The book consists of nineteen chapters first run in the columns of the "New York Evening Post" from February 7th to March 3rd of this year, together with a preface by Prof. Jno. R. Commons of Columbia, and an introduction by the author in which we are told that "the conflict over unionism in West Virginia is neither temporary nor sporadic. It is a deep seated and continuous struggle." Here also a mild mannered castigation of modern newspapers as purveyors of real news is to be found.

The journalistic strain runs through the entire work, albeit of a high quality; it is readable, capable of easy comprehension and direct.

The story of outlaws in high places is told with an impartiality that is to be commended. A proletarian student might easily supply the answers which our author leaves suspended in mid-air. That this is not done might enhance the value of the work to the enquiring worker, for despite the benevolent neutrality assumed, the indictment produced by the mere presentation of the evidence, carefully documented, is damning enough in all conscience. When any doubt as to the authenticity of documents exists Mr. Lane says so unreservedly.

The utopian reformers and purveyors of palliatives, who imagine social ills can be cured by a mere legal enactment should here find food for thought. The law is shown to be openly violated by many of the coal operators; and deputy sheriffs, paid by the state, carry on the owners' business, such as guarding the pay-roll, etc., and in other ways become contributors to the laws' breach.

Life in a coal camp is graphically depicted and the author's reasoning is sufficiently acute to enable him to see that the operators are in a position of power, and that power comes chiefly from ownership.

Houses, stores, churches, school and in some cases even roads are owned by the companies.

But this is insignificant compared to the actual operations of the masters. Injunctions are granted by courts, appeals seem to be easily won when, as in very exceptional cases, the law appears as in favor of the miners; evictions of tenants are secured when trouble arises and an espionage and armed guard system abounds. Yet Mr. Lane could have (and possibly has) found similar conditions obtaining in many other parts of the Land of the Free.

Despite its painted democracy, its almost 120% Americanism sickeningly and constantly boosted; its abhorrence of atrocities in unspeakable Turkey, bleeding Belgium, and tyrannical Russia (both Tsarist and Bolshevik); America will ever be remembered in history as the classic land of the "frame-up," "gun-men," "thug" and real informer in the labor movement.

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W. A. P.

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