

# WESTERN CLARION

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EVENTS

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HISTORY  
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PHILOSOPHY

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FIVE CENTS

## The Social System

Socialism, it is needless to say is not regarded with the eye of favor, and this is so, as far as the people are concerned, because it is not understood. The natural indolence, both physical and mental, of the average human being, induces him to take things on trust and without scrutinising to any extent the source of communication—a peculiarity for which society has paid in blood and agony. Nevertheless socialism, its aims, and methods of attaining those aims, are not only vital questions of today, but they are the most vital questions in the forefront of social activity, and on the answer given to them depends the future of social welfare.

What is socialism? Briefly, socialism, like capital, is a social relation, a social system wherein social relationships are determined by the economic foundation on which that system rests. Societies are organized around the material and machinery of production, and the state of complexity of that organization is according to the stage of development reached by the society. Also, by far the greater part of social activities are centred on the manner and method by which it gains its livelihood. It is apparent that according to the nature and character of the prime base the nature and character of the prime vertical will be, or, to put it better, the superstructure evolved from the method by which society obtains its necessities will harmonise with the base from which it springs.

In our own day, the economic foundation of society is capitalist property right, i.e., the right of one class, the capitalist class, to own as private property the material and machinery of wealth production and distribution necessary for the continued life of the total society. The method of capitalist production is commodity production, or production for sale, at a profit. This condition gives rise to its relentless competitive struggle for a "place in the sun," since the more production and sales under those terms, the more profit accrues to the owner. The individualist philosophy of capitalism, founded on its idealistic conceptions of social progress, determines that this competition shall be "free" in order that the incentive, the enterprise, the ability and idealism of the individual shall have free play and scope, unhampered by any class restrictions, the resultant necessity of which is efficient and cheap production.

But of necessity, one class in society, owning the means of life, must expropriate the non-possessing portion of society. What then? Simply this, that since that other portion must have access to those means of life or die of starvation, access to those means can only be had on the terms imposed by the owning class and the terms are, that, unless that class can find a market for its commodities in order to realise the profit contained in them, industry shall not operate. The expropriated class, therefore, since its life condition is controlled by another class, is in subjugation to that class. The workers of this society therefore, being subject to the capitalist owners, are wage slaves.

To sell a commodity is to exchange it for another commodity of equal value. Exchange under capitalism is on a currency basis, and commodities, we may assume for purposes of illustration, exchange at value expressed in terms of money. But manifestly, there can be no exchange without production, and it is equally clear that there can be no production without the application of human labor. But that labor, as pointed out, is slave labor, being deprived of freedom of that which is required

traffickers in commodities buy and sell in the most advantageous market. The incentive of capitalist competition, therefore, acts along the line of economy in production, thereby once more compelling the incentive of the workers in the same direction—economy in the production of their labor-power—which simply means the reduction of the standard of life to the lowest possible level of subsistence, consistent with efficiency.

But that is not all. The application of machinery not only displaces social labor, but it increases its productive capacity enormously, and the capitalist ownership of the machinery of production involves the same class ownership of what is produced. Hence, while labor power receives its market value, wages, it does not receive its productive value—surplus. The conclusion of which state of affairs is, that efficiency and invention in production not only displaces social labor but at the same time enhances productive power, creating a surplus of labor power on the one side, to a surplus of commodities on the other. This oversupply of commodities lowers the market price of the necessities of life, thereby lowering the price of the commodity labor power, and as the value of a commodity is the value of the socially necessary labor in it, the social community cannot buy back what it has produced in value, with the price—wages—which it received for its commodity labor power. Simply that what the worker receives in wages is not equal in value to what he produced in the same period. Further, as the capitalist cannot produce unless he receives a profit, and as the community, society, cannot buy back this surplus, industry comes to a stand and the producers who create this surplus starve because of their own industry.

Socialism proposes the abolition of this anarchic state of society, by the transference of capitalist property right in the means of life to collective society. So that the social commonwealth shall own and control, direct and administer all the social affairs, activities and necessities, that in the fullest sense the supreme control of its own life conditions shall be vested in the hands of the people, for use and benefit, in its own interest for its own highest good, happiness and well being. That is socialism and those are its aims.

And the method of attainment? It must of necessity be in accordance with and proceed from the historic condition. The interest of a slave class must be opposed to the interest of a master class. Obviously this conflict of interest must increase in intensity with social expansion until a climax is reached, and a climax will be reached when the ever developing forces of production, creating new conditions of friction, ever widening potentials of struggle, ever deepening intensities of interests, shall have generated a condition, as it must do, where the old regime and its obsolete methods, unable to expand, renders the further existence of society impossible, and gathering together the foul forces of its tottering and decadent civilisation, in a frantic panic of desperation may hurl itself, only to be broken and forever ruined against the irresistible oncoming of the social revolution.

R.

### Socialist Party of Canada Propaganda Meetings

BRING YOUR FRIENDS—ESPECIALLY IF  
THEY DON'T AGREE WITH US.

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

Feb. 26th.—Speaker, W. A. Pritchard.

Subject: "The Lesson of Marxism."

March 5th.—Speaker, J. D. Harrington.

Subject: "Darwinism and its Present Day  
Critics."

March 12th.—Speaker, Robert Kirk.

Subject: "The Class Struggle."

March 19th.—Speaker, W. A. Pritchard.

Subject: "The Paris Commune."

March 26th.—Speaker, T. O'Connor.

Subject: Working Class Politics.

AT NORTH VANCOUVER.

126—2nd Street West.

Feb. 26th. Speaker, R. Kirk.

Subject: "Sidelights on the Genoa Conference."

March 5th.—T. O'Connor.

Subject: "The Working Class."

March 12th.—Speaker, W. McQuoid.

Subject: "Unemployment: Its Causes and  
Effects."

March 19th.—Speaker, Sidney Earp.

Subject: "The Paris Commune."

March 26th.—Speaker, Robert Kirk.

Subject: "Social Revolutions."

All meetings at 8 p.m.

Questions. Discussion.

to sustain life, and since capitalism buys and sells as well as produces in terms of money, it follows that the social capacity of the community to labor is involved in the same terms, or in other words, the workers sell their power to labor, receiving in return its market value, expressed in money.

But the aforementioned necessity of cheap production cheapens labor power, by cheapening the necessities of life which reproduce labor power, and as commodities exchange at value, the value of labor power becomes—equals—the value of the necessities of life, food, clothes, shelter. But efficiency in production and the introduction of machinery displaces the social labor, thus compelling the workers to compete for jobs, as it compels the masters to compete for markets. As this competition is "free."

# The Origin of the World

## Book Review

### Chapter 2. THE DEPTHS OF THE SKY.

By R. McMillan.

IN reading over the previous chapter I noticed I had mentioned the "sky," and I felt that it would be quite wrong of me to go any further without explaining what I mean when I say "the sky." There is no such thing as the sky. Men have imagined one, that is all! The blue you see when you look up during the day is not a real thing, but is just the effect of the sunlight. If you could look through the haze of sunlight, you would see the stars shining in the daytime just the same as they do at night. There is no "sky," but I have to say "sky" so that you may understand me when I speak about things that appear to be above us. But what is above us? Nothing at all! What is all about us? space! But space is nothing? Yes, space is nothing also! Outside of this little world of ours there is no "up" or "down," or "east" or "west," or "north" or "south," or any direction at all.

Having said that, I feel as if I ought to stop and give you a month's vacation to think about it. But that would be of no use, for you would never be able to arrive at the truth merely by thinking. You must have facts in order to arrive at the truth: Your own senses deceive you more than anybody could do with the printed page of a book. It appears so simple for you to ask how the world began, but as soon as ever I begin to explain it I realize that you have got to learn quite a lot of facts which are necessary for an understanding. And the first of them is, What is the "sky?" As I have told you, there is no "sky" at all, but if you look out into space at night you will see the stars shining. I told you that the stars were suns, some of them a million times brighter than our sun. But what is holding them still? They are not still. They are not being held up at all. Every star is flying as fast as we are, or faster. Some are travelling so fast that a cannon-ball in flight alongside them would appear to be creeping.

Nothing is standing still in all the wide universe. Nothing is fixed; nothing stays where it is for a single second. That may be difficult, very difficult, for you to understand; but it is true, and that is why it would be of no use for me to begin telling you how the world came to be unless I first told you some of the facts of the universe which are quite well known to all scholars.

When you look up into the sky at night you see the stars, thousands of them. And they seem quite a long way off, do they not? Suppose you were asked how far away you thought the stars were, I wonder what you would say. It is very wonderful to learn how distant they are, and then ask people about it, just to find out how little they know about the world they live in. Very few people know. I know people who spend years and years reading silly books, and think they are "well read"; but they have no idea of what sort of a world they live in, or how far away the stars are, or how the world came to be, or how it will end. You would think that people who came to live in a little world for three score years and ten would want to know what kind of a world it was, would you not? But they do not! Millions upon millions of them die and never dream of the glory of the miracle-world they are voyaging in, and they live complaining and die disappointed, crying "Vanity of Vanities, all is vanity." But it is not! All is miracle, and romance, and delight, and great joy if you know what life means, what the world means, and the story of it. It is a wonderful world—a world of never-ending glory, and we ought to know about it, and realize what a wonderful thing it is to live.

You know the Southern Cross, do you not? The early Spanish navigators, when they saw these stars, said that they formed a cross, and they worshipped

it. But lots of people say that it does not form a cross at all, and if you know what the stars mean you soon realize yourself that they do not form a cross in any sense of the word. That, however, has nothing to do with what I want to tell you. If you know the Southern Cross, you probably know the "Pointers" which point to the Cross. Well, one of these pointers is called by astronomers "Alpha Centauri"—that is, the first star (Alpha is the first letter of the Greek alphabet) in the constellation of the Centaur. That was the first star that was measured in our hemisphere, and the distance of Alpha Centauri from Australia is—how far do you think? It is the nearest star, as far as we know; and its distance is 26,000,000,000 miles. I do not know how far that means; neither does any one else. Neither you nor I really understand what a billion means. I know that among the Americans a billion means—I find, when I come to write it, that I have forgotten, and it is not worth looking it up. But you are quite safe in thinking that an American billion and an English billion are quite different things, and they are both quite beyond our grasp. Astronomers long ago gave up using ordinary figures for starry distances. The stars are too remote for our puny measuring rods of miles. They have a different measure entirely, and that is the velocity of light.

Do you know how fast light travels? When I first heard that light travels at a rate that could be measured, I was astonished. I had never thought about it at all, but light seemed to me to be there all the time, just as the force of gravity is. If you let a cup fall, it seems to fall at once. I did not know that a force pulled it down at a certain speed. In fact, I did not know there was such a thing as gravitation till I was a man. Light was the same sort of thing to me—a something that is, that always had been, like the air or the sun.

Light travels at the rate of 186,000 miles a second. You ought to make a note of that, for it is terribly upsetting, and you ought to be quite sure about it. Light travels at the rate of 186,000 miles a second; and if the world is 25,000 miles round, then light would travel—how many times round the earth in a second? You work it out, and you will remember it. Do not take my word for anything. Find it out for yourself, and if you can show me that I am wrong I will thank you for setting me right.

Suppose a ray of light left your house tonight to travel to the nearest star, how long do you think it would take to get there, travelling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second? You could never guess, so I had better tell you. It would take a ray of light three and a half years to reach the nearest star, travelling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second. And that star is the nearest! If the nearest star is so far away, how far is the furthest? I do not know—nobody does. If you went out on the wings of light to that star Alpha Centauri, and made a dwelling there for yourself among the flaming gases of which it is composed, and then had a look for the next star, you would not be one mile closer to it, from all appearances, than when you left Australia. The distance of the next star to it might be sixty "light years" off, or a hundred "light years" away. There are stars known to science now that are distant thousands of years from us, measured by the velocity of light. Out we go on the wings of thought, to vast stars and suns without end, forever and forever—no stop, no stay, no pause through all the mighty depths of the shoreless sea; and yet there is no end, as there was no beginning! And this fathomless abyss of space is what you thought was the sky. But there is no sky. There is no end, no beginning, and no sky; yet you ask, "How did the world begin?"

Next Lesson:

THE SPEED OF THE EARTH.

### TRIUMPHANT PLUTOCRACY.

By R. F. Pettigrew, formerly Senator for South Dakota.

Academy Press, 112 Fourth Ave., New York City.  
430 pp.

Here is an inside story of fifty years of American business-and-politics, by a man who was a sufficient nuisance to the big business imperialists to cause Mare Hanna to be as anxious to defeat him at the polls as to elect McKinley President. It is interesting and instructive muck-raking.

There are pages where he grows eloquent in the interests of democracy over the tariff on nickel; pages where he reasons that panics are due to the failure of the House of Representatives to endorse bi-metalism; pages where he runs sentences in capitals to convince his readers that the railroads are their property having paid for them with high freight rates and fares; but as a whole it is accumulative evidence enough to convince the most politically innocent that Wall Street controls Washington—and that, too, in a very crude and open manner. In it there is marshalled the unsavory facts of the last half century of American public life, ranging in importance from the drunken sprees of Grover Cleveland to the peculiar harmony between Samuel Gompers and the Trusts.

Ex-Senator Pettigrew is of the opinion that the only solution for our present problems is "for the workers to take possession of their jobs, assume the direction of economic policy, and take the full product that they create." After writing a whole book to show who has the political power, and the force they have at their disposal to protect that power, he draws the rather astonishing conclusion that our emancipation "under our form of government can and should be accomplished not by force but by political action." Who said freedom is impossible for the American people because they think they already have it?

In some remarks Pettigrew shows decidedly clear vision. The attention of various political parties is respectfully directed to what he says of Bryanism: "It is the politics of an ignorant, unimaginable and a rather vain mind that is quick to trifles and impotent before major issues. Reform politics in the United States has never existed on any other basis, and therefore reform politics has always proved an easy mark for the machinations of big business."

The book will doubtless be heralded as "an amazing revelation" by the liberal press who are in the habit of standing agape at all manner of things that everyone else knew long before. For a worker; perhaps the most instructive feature of the book is the frequent occurrence of remarks that tend to the conclusion that the liberal anti-imperialist factor in American politics is but the expression of economic interests that would find it more profitable for the government to spend money developing the interior of U. S. than on exploiting outside peoples. They may rail at imperialism, but are not likely to assist in overthrowing capitalism. F. W. T.

## ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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# Defining Capitalism

Defining capitalism, or capitalist society, is something like defining the universe. It is easy and can be done in a few words if we make our definition broad and general enough. But when we get down to define it in all its details and particulars it is necessary to write volumes. In fact, it is safe to say that everything which has been seriously written about human society, in modern times, is an attempt to define some phase of capitalism.

For a simple and general definition we might say that capitalism is the sum total of all human activity at the present time; Or, the machine age of social development. But, while these definitions are correct in a general way they do not tell us very much about capitalism. We may also take the definition of society given by Professor Jenks in his "Short History of Politics," which says, "A society is a group or mass of people bound together by a common principle or object." This is a very good general definition of any form of communism, and in a limited way it also applies to capitalism, but it is incomplete inasmuch as it does not take cognizance of the conflict of classes in capitalist society, nor the economic conditions in which this conflict has its source.

It is true that even in capitalist society there is a desire common to all human beings which forces them to associate for the common purpose of more efficiently producing the necessaries of life, as well as for mutual aid in various ways. This desire or objective is to live and enjoy life. But, owing to the confusion resulting from the various conflicting economic interests it is crowded into the background.

Capitalism, as John D. Rockefeller has already pointed out, is based on the ownership by a small and parasitic class of all the natural resources of the earth as well as the machinery of wealth production; consequently, the remainder of society, the great majority of human beings, are practically vagrants and trespassers on property they do not own. Their only means of living is to sell the only thing they have for sale, their labor power, to those who own the means of life. Thus we see that the owners of wealth are masters and the workers are slaves. The slaves can only have access to the means of life on the conditions laid down by the owners and masters. And the owners will not agree to let the slaves work unless they do so on conditions that will produce a surplus over and above their own maintenance. This surplus, which is the difference between the value of the labor power of the workers and the value of their total product, is what is called surplus value, or profit, and is the main aim and end of capitalist production. It constitutes by far the greater portion of all the wealth produced by the workers.

If this was the worst of capitalism it would be bad enough, but it is only the beginning of the trouble. The surplus value produced by the workers is so great that the capitalists, or owners, cannot use or even waste it as quick as it is produced. It is necessary, therefore, to find a market in which to dispose of this surplus, if the machinery of wealth production is to be kept in operation. Now a market in this sense is not a place where things are bought and sold, or exchanged; it would solve no problem to take a million dollars' worth of goods over to China and bring back other goods equal in value. That would only be exchanging one kind of surplus for another, and we must remember that this surplus, for which a foreign market is necessary, is what is left after the home market has been supplied. The kind of a market that is necessary is a place where this surplus may be disposed of altogether, in other words it must be invested as new capital. This can only be done by developing the natural resources of countries that are not yet cap-

italized; such as, building railroads, opening up mines, oil wells, and timber tracts, as well as bringing fertile land under cultivation, mostly done by the introduction of the most advanced and efficient machinery, together with the transformation of thousands of comparatively free savages and barbarians into docile and obedient wage slaves, or killing them off, if they refuse to be transformed. This process is called civilizing and Christianizing the heathen.

But the countries that are not yet capitalized are limited in extent, and are diminishing year by year. And the countries that are highly capitalized, or partly capitalized, are all looking for a place to dispose of their surplus wealth, and require an ever increasing market; otherwise, the machinery of wealth production must stop, millions of workers are thrown out of employment, and we have what is called a crisis. Out of this condition of affairs there naturally arises a competition between the different capitalist nations, or groups of nations, for control of the lion's share of the undeveloped resources of the earth. This is the little joker that makes Mars, the old-fashioned god of war, wonder if he ever did know his business.

In the meantime the workers keep on working and producing the necessaries of life until everything is supplied except their own larders; and then, when they have to stop because the warehouses are all full and there is no room to pile up any more wealth, they sit down and howl—for more work, till their masters throw them a few doughnuts to keep them quiet until they can find some way to dispose of the surplus wealth. And the way found is generally war. The advantage of this method is that it kills three crows with one shot. It disposes of the surplus wealth. It disposes of a few million surplus wage slaves. And it decides the question as to which group of saviours shall have the delightful privilege of saving the immortal souls of the woolly-headed denizens of some part of darkest Africa, or some other corner of the earth's surface where the souls of the inhabitants have not yet been "lighted with wisdom from on high."

It does not matter, however, whether two or three of the most powerful capitalist nations, by force of arms, gobble all that is left of the markets or divide them up among the bunch. In either case the markets are doomed. They cannot even now absorb the vast amount of surplus value produced by the workers of the world, as fast as it is produced. And as each new country becomes capitalized it also requires a market for its surplus product. Consequently, it is only a question of time, and a comparatively short space of time, until the whole world will be highly capitalized; when the workers of every country will be producing surplus value in large quantities and there will be no markets left to fight about. What will happen then is a problem for bourgeois economists to solve.

Corresponding to this most remarkable and interesting method of economic production and distribution known as capitalism there is, of course, the capitalist state. The state came into existence with class society and will disappear when economic classes have been abolished. It is a result of the conflict of economic classes and changes in accordance with the change taking place in the economic basis of society, although not always in the same proportion. The state is a weapon of class domination, and is always used by and in the interests of the ruling class. It is composed of a number of institutions and departments which I will not attempt to explain just now.

A capitalist state has two functions. First, to maintain law and order among the workers at home; in other words, to guide them along the paths of virtue and righteousness, in the condition "in which it has pleased divine providence to place them." Second, to promote the spiritual welfare of the uncivilized inhabitants of foreign lands (as mentioned

above) in competition with other liberty loving and altruistic capitalist groups. This is sometimes called defending the rights of small nations.

It will be noticed that this definition of capitalism does not correspond very well with the general definition of society given by Professor Jenks, but I should worry about that. Furthermore, it may be pointed out that it is not even a decent definition of capitalism, and neither it is, but it is the best I could do. If not satisfactory, why, define the infernal thing to suit yourselves.

F. J. MC NEY.

## Communism and Christianism

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## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 1, 1922.

### UNITY.

THE Socialist movement throughout the world has been torn with dissension and dispute during the past few years, particularly since 1919, the year of the founding of the Third International. Among the larger parties of Europe the irritating factor to them has been that they have been placed in something of a defensive position and their calm has been disturbed by the early insurgent policies of the Third.

After the war capitalism had set itself toward reconstruction, and the Third International set itself toward the reconstruction of the Socialist movement as an active fighting movement for the destruction of capitalism. This was in the order of things, since the Third was born in Russia and the need of the Russian revolution for outside support demanded a policy such as was laid down and which, generally speaking, reflected Russian conditions.

The Second International failed to rally its old adherents when it tried to assemble them after the war, and out of the disagreements that arose was born the Vienna International, generally known as the 2½ International. These still exist as separate bodies, the Second having headquarters in London. The Fourth International was formed in Germany in 1921 by the Communist Labor Party of Germany, its point of disagreement with the Third being that the Third had abandoned its programme of world revolution.

In 1920 the Congress of the Third had decided to form a Red Trade Union International, and in 1921 the Red International of Labor Unions was formed. Its main object of attack, as a rival organization, was the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam. Out of the 1921 Congress of the R. I. L. U. was formed, from a congress of minority representatives, the Syndicalist International, the point of disagreement being unity with the Communist Party. Apart from all these there is the Anarchist International, reports of their congress of 1921 not yet having come to hand.

It is not surprising that with all these existing organizations there should arise a cry of unity. The Socialist press everywhere is now engaged in dissecting the pronouncement on unity recently made by the Third. The following is a statement summarizing it:—

"Therefore the Communist International approves the demand for a United Working Class Front. The Communist Part in every country will enter into negotiations with every other working class organization (right, centre or left) to establish a common fighting programme. The Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International, the Two and a Half International and the Amsterdam International to establish a programme of common action. ("The Communist," London, January 28th 1922. Emphasis theirs.)

The general tone of comment on this is critical, charging a change of front on the part of the Third. The full explanation of its intention will not be forthcoming until the special International Congress of the Third, which was hurriedly called to meet at Moscow on the 20th February, issues its latest theses. "The Communist" (above quoted), organ of the C. P. of Great Britain, and an organ of the Third Inter-

national, in the article dealing with the matter anticipates the charge of change of front. They drown the reader in words and insist that the position remains unchanged. They come very near to meriting the denunciation given to Kautsky by Trotsky, in his humorous way, as being busy in theoretical swindling. To us the programme looks like a complete abandonment of the former position. We can only judge that, of course, when we see it applied. Practice is the test of all programmes.

### SECRETARIAL NOTES

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 regular Sunday evening propaganda meetings are now held in the Star Theatre, 300 block Main Street (east side, north of Hastings Street). A branch local has been organized in North Vancouver, and propaganda meetings in the headquarters there have brought a good attendance up to date. See frontpage notice for meetings this month.

The Winnipeg comrades, now reorganised in a new local of the S. P. of C., having been "expropriated" by the new conscience that pervades the movement these days, have been without a headquarters since reorganisation but are now re-established at 530 Main Street.

In our last issue the article entitled "Problems of the New Conference" should have been credited to "R." The reason for the omission of the familiar letter we do not know but the fault is ours. We have sought absolution.

Comrade Leckie, in response to our hints, opens a new series—Economics for Workers—this issue. The series will constitute the substance of his lectures on Economics in Ottawa during the Winter session in the study classes there. We record a bright notice of Comrade Leckie's "Economic Causes of War" in the February "Plebs." Leckie's pamphlet is coupled in review with two books, "Oil, Its Influence on Politics" (Delaisi), and "North England: An Economic Geography" (Jones), in this fashion:

"Here are three books of interest and importance to the proletarian student of world affairs; that is to say, of interest to every intelligent proletarian student, for it becomes clearer every day that the student who does not go on to apply his grounding in Economics, History or Geography to the actual world problems of 1922 is failing in his duty to his fellows and belying the whole aim of Independent Working Class Education. "Economic Causes of War" is a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in the "Western Clarion" of Vancouver. They were very capable articles, although in book form they are a little too discursive to serve as a text book. The author has evidently read his Boudin, Brailsford, Morel, etc., to good purpose, and he also makes effective use of quotations from such Imperialist writers as Usher, Holland Rose and Arnold White, and from the capitalist press.

Comrade Moses Baritz writes from Manchester saying:

"Jack McDonald's reference to me in issue No. 856 seems to imply a falsity about my position and also my influence in Australia.

Baritz goes on to say that he is not to be held responsible for the present position of the A. S. P., now A. C. P. We do not interpret J. A. McD's remarks to mean anything but that Baritz has done good educational work in Australia.

The Party vote on the question of affiliation with the Third International on the basis of the 21 points resulted in a majority of 18 for affiliation of the returns from Locals and members-at-large. The referendum, of course, was completely sabotaged by the secessionists who left the Party at once after

recording their votes, thus leaving us no choice but to disregard them. Counting their votes the majority for affiliation stood at 18, but since several times that number have left us the Party membership obviously stands opposed to affiliation.

### PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATION

Comrades and Friends!

On MARCH 17th, in commemoration of the most outstanding event in proletarian history during the 19th century, A SOCIAL AND DANCE will be held under the auspices of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA in the CLINTON HALL (corner of Clinton and Pender Street E—half a block from the car line on Hastings E.)

The Social will be enlivened with good wholesome proletarian refreshments, after which Dancing to the music of a first class orchestra will be the order of the evening. And, as a becoming close to the most enjoyable event of the season a library of carefully selected books from the social sciences, history and fiction will be given away.

Tickets: ONE DOLLAR EACH.

### THE "WESTERN CLARION" APPEALS TO THE READER.

Buddy, the mail in P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B.C., contains very little evidence as yet that you have been rustling subs. with a view to boosting the "Clarion's" circulation until it was around the 10,000 mark.

I gave you the job and added an incentive to keep you to the work and here, right at the start, you lie down on the contract.

Had the "other fellow," the master, hired you to perform the same task for him the chances are good that he would have stood over you nagging, cussing, and growling until you had completed it.

Here, thousands of miles from many of you, and but a few yards from the rest, I have never once used an abusive term.

You can't let me down, Buddy; I've said that ten thousand subs. can be gathered in by the end of this year, that it will be done, must be done in order to provide an incentive, a stimulus to "Clarion" writers to keep on growing and giving of their best.

It is often said that "we can't go back," a phrase which implies that we have gone ahead. How far ahead are you of your savage forebears, Buddy, in point of culture and economic independence? A suit of shoddy rags; a shelter of shingles?

Social experience has made it possible to measure space, weigh planets, plumb the depths of the ocean, span rivers, tunnel mountains, lay steel ribbons around the earth for freight to be carried on, navigate the seven seas, bringing the fruits of labor from one land to another. Yet the status of the workers if not worse now than two thousand years back is at most but very little improved.

Never was the human family in such a sorry plight as the result of blindly following political shysters, purblind religious and labor fakirs, unable to harness the social forces which are just as liable to blot out the race as natural forces have wiped out animal species in the past.

The function of the "Clarion" is to deal with all such problems as have arisen out of past and present conditions; examine these problems, investigate them, understand their causes, and trace their effects.

Buddy, you remember that old philosopher who said "as a man thinketh so is he"; apply it now to a people and see if you can get a better vantage point where you can observe the tendency of present human activities and the interplay of thought upon conditions.

I want you to think, Buddy, I want you to taste the sweets of meditation. But more than this I  
(Continued on page 7)

# Tactics—à la Mode

THAT the labor movement is apathetic all recognize, and almost all will agree that the vanguard of the proletariat has been affected thereby. There is movement, however, in the ranks of the class-conscious in the call to action. Whether the activity is merely a back-wash, a change of position of but a few, or a simple forecast that the crest of the apathy has been reached and passed, remains to be seen. Periodically the movement is so stirred to activity and the awakening ones invariably conceive of "new methods" of propaganda.

## Ideas Within.

Within the revolutionary movement there is an idea that Socialism has not made the advance that it might have done. Blame is attributed to the tactics of one section by the other, and is sometimes very strongly expressed. Remarkable it is considering that with all the efforts combined, with all their different tactics, the great mass are still untouched except by a few stray ideas which have become commonplace. This is the substantial gain. Some censure the working class for its submissiveness, and the logical implication is that the mass is class-conscious but had reclined to ways of ease. Others think the educational process too slow and tedious and if approached upon the subject would exclaim: "Why, if we wait until the working-class is 'educated,' they will never be emancipated." Hence the conception prevails that somehow—in some way—the revolution is coming, and when it comes—presto! Capitalism will be abolished. The revolution is therefore sometimes spoken of as though it was something existing somewhere outside of human society, instead of being a struggle for power between two diametrically opposed interests.

## A Struggle for Power.

It is frequently suggested that a revolution can occur without even the workers being "ready" for it. Get them to act in their own immediate interests and then direct the issue into a struggle for power and control. The word direct and also the direction means much in the way of elementary spade work yet to be performed by the Socialist movement, and this point is sometimes overlooked. The Socialist movement is often condemned for not having gained the support of the worker, which is evidently without the full realization of the difficulties of our task.

## The Task.

There is no short route to revolutionary changes in human society. Revolutions are born of conditions of which the revolutionary movement is but an expression, and the movement in return is impelled by the conditions to the spread of ideas. The great rank and file of the working class are not yet class conscious and do not realize the need for change. They have been trained in capitalistic ideology, which permeates the whole of the existing educational institutions. From infancy members of our class are "educated" in their masters' interests, because these institutions reflect the interests of the class predominant. The workers therefore are, in a measure, anti-Socialists. Our task is to assist them to understand that the only way out of the stress and uncertainty of their existence lies in the abolition of the present method of exploitation. Deeply-rooted are the traditions of the past in the "education" received. Our task is to help them to see the need for change, not in reforms which do not reform, but in the establishment of a new social order. Conditions combined with an extensive efficient and systematic educational effort will in time bring about that realization.

There is not only impatience expressed in the various notions, but also the idea that there is a short

route to a revolutionary change in modern society, which have undoubtedly been engendered on the fact of the Russian revolution. The fact is that capitalism and its institutions were not deep-rooted in Russia, the mass was less learned in the ways of capitalistic ideology than the workers in more highly industrialized countries, and therefore they had less to "unlearn." Out of the soil of extreme conditions, ideas of change proved fertile.

In highly developed capitalist countries the ideology of capitalism is more strongly entrenched and acts as a retardé to change. But the unlearning process is going on, due to the conditions, which includes the revolutionary movement.

If revolutions were born out of conditions in the past, then does it not equally apply to the present age of mechanical and chemical warfare of the air, sea and land. An "intelligent minority" can do nothing when the mass is not "with them." Our task therefore is to convince the mass, and when we understand the intensity of struggle in the birth of a new social order we also realize the task before us.

## Parties.

If we may be permitted to parody Marx in his opening lines in the first volume of "Capital," we would say the movement in those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as a vast accumulation of policies, its unit being unit—y. If by the word movement we include all expressions of radical thought within the labor movement (calling themselves Socialists) the movement then is divided into many factions. Reformists and Revolutionary, Parliamentarians, Evolutionists and Revolutionists, Industrial Actionists and Political Industrialists and their variations, and now there has bloomed into being another faction namely Reformist-Revolutionists in the form of the Workers Party. The Workers Party of Canada is expressly out to "take part in the struggles of the workers," to "lead" them in all activities. We are not told in what way, however, the advocacy of a closed shop, contending against wage reductions, etc., etc., is going to lead the workers to Communism. Let's be "liberal" minded and allow that its party's speakers will dwell more upon Socialism or Communism than upon any immediate demand. Great as this concession is, how to teach revolutionary Socialism without sometimes creating an ego. ism is a problem that even the W. P. of C. cannot solve. In effect, the various reform parties' platforms differ only in form of statement, with their advocacy of a living wage, collective bargainings, etc. This is the evolutionary method of reforming capitalism to finally bring about Socialism. The Workers' Party of Canada, however, disclaims reforms and merely uses them as the "means of struggle." We are apt to ask a pertinent question, i.e., when is a reform not a reform. Is it when it is advocated with revolutionary intentions and by the W. P. of C? Respecting the point of leadership, the revolutionary movement knows that the outstanding feature of it is its reactionary tendencies to retain both office and popularity. It not only is the embodiment of the great man idea in a "great party" but it suggests that it can "lead" the workers to Communism in spite of the antipathy prevailing.

In examining the "tactics" of the various parties within the revolutionary movement, one can draw some very general conclusions. Obviously the movement has been and is much concerned in the question of how the workers are going to gain their emancipation. Is it by the industrial, political or mass route, the futility or the efficiency of political and industrial action, the power of the industrial arm to enforce political gains, the different interpretations to the terms political and mass action, etc. etc? These questions have all been important subject matter for discussion, and are undoubtedly in-

teresting, but the most vital problem to be faced by the movement is in devising the most efficient means of making inroads into the minds of the workers.

(2.) Each conclusion forms part of the educational teaching of each party.

(3.) Being composed of workers, all disseminate ideas in much the same way, i.e., among their fellows on the job, in local or mass meetings, and in the distribution of literature.

(4.) Each are subjected and limited to the same economic conditions. We are all a part of that mass by economic necessity, and therefore are in its struggles. One can expect an association of revolutionary intellectuals who are bourgeois in social standing to "resolve" to take part in the struggles of the workers, but for us of the revolutionary section of the proletariat, we can not escape. We are of the mass.

## The Means.

While there are some essential differences in the "tactics" of the various parties, still, much controversy is philological in character, to which vague notions of "short routes" to emancipation considerably adds to the complexity. Apart from the "new methods," which, upon analysis, are found to be very old, but clothed in different phraseology, the most important problem for the movement is how to increase our activities. We need more leaflets, pamphlets, papers, magazines, periodicals and many printing plants. The movement requires more speakers, writers and teachers, debaters and propagandists, and the more efficient means of producing them in the form of classes and some Marxian colleges. Obviously the business of a Socialist organization is the making of Socialists and arousing class-consciousness in the workers. Comrades and fellow-workers—unwilling members of a struggling slave class—the means consists of organizing our educational activities and in increasing them, of intensifying the avenues of propaganda. But there are our financial limitations to consider and the apathy, vague notions, controversy and word splitting—and the need for clarity.

A. J. BEENY.

## HERE AND NOW.

Our programme of immediate demands, here and now, is a programme of action for "Clarion" suos. If it resolves itself into mass action so much the better.

We've abandoned the bright idea of pointing to ourselves with pride as very useful people—Kirk has undertaken to catalogue our virtues and our job is to say amen to his prayers.

The "Clarion," let it be noted, is unable to persuade any printer to give it credit, and its funds cannot be said to be low—it just simply hasn't got any. If we are to survive we must have more subs. If we don't get them we'll go under and become a monthly.

What's the answer?

Following, \$1 each: M. Nelson, G. White, J. MacKenzie, J. Woods, J. Allan, J. Pollock, F. H. Leavers, C. McNab, A. W. Love, O. Romstad, Wm. Pasch, E. P. Solomon, \$2; W. Hoare, \$6; H. W. Speed, \$3; Jim Cartwright, \$3; Wm. Erwin, \$7; Wm. Seyer, \$2; Alex. Shepherd, \$2; Martin Ophus, \$2; A. S. Wells, \$3; J. Bone, \$1.

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# Economics for Workers

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

## Introduction.

**W**E are living in a time when every system of thought which makes any pretence of being scientific must have an evolutionary basis.

The evidence collected by science with regard to the origin and development of our planet, examined from a general point of view shows three great epochs distinctly marked:—

- 1st. From the Nebulae period to the origin of life.
- 2nd. From the origin of life to the beginning of society.
- 3rd. From the beginning of society until the present time.

Respectively: Inorganic, Biological, Economic. Inorganic is possibly the longest period, from the nebulae to vegetable and animal life.

Biological fact is, that the form of organic life is shaped by adaptation to material surroundings. This takes place through contact. Life is differentiated or modified matter but has no independent existence apart from matter.

The degree of differentiation or modification is the true measure of progress.

The 2nd Period has to do with the process of this modification.

From the simple cell to the evolved human being represents a series of increased differentiation from inorganic matter.

The physiological differences between species of animals are accounted for by the modes in which they come in contact with nature in the struggle for existence. This is the pre-eminent feature which stamps the biological period.

In the third or economic period the indirection of contact with nature receives a line of demarcation at once clear and distinct. This is, the introduction of tools. The best description of man is that not only is he a tool using animal but a tool making and tool owning animal.

The tool prevents direct contact with nature. Primitive man no longer lived by direct acquisition as a result. The tool subordinates the biological law of physical alteration. Alteration in the physiology of man now practically ceases and mind becomes the most responding medium. The changes in the indirect contact with nature are now determined by the changes in the tools of production. Society is not biologic but economic; failure to notice this simple fact leads to many errors in analogy, such as the bee society. I drew attention in our history lessons to Haeckel, wherein he attempted to show that societies were divided into classes like the bees, and that Darwinism did not lead to Socialism.

The division of labor and classes among men fails to produce the same effect. The worker can change from one kind of labor to another, because, unlike the bees, whose biological structure is modified by direct contact with nature, men use tools and are not so modified but can change their occupation without any change being detected, by modification of the tools.

A king may be disguised as an ordinary beggar. A Queen may become a washerwoman if there be no alternative to obtain her living, but the Queen bee, or bees in general, cannot suddenly change their functions owing to their biological structure. Among men the change is no longer physical (biological) but tool constructional (economic).

When man in society develops new functions he does not develop new physical structures. For example: To increase his powers of vision he does not develop the muscles of his eyes, but accomplishes his object by the invention of telescopes and microscopes, and uses the camera, as in astronomy. To develop his power of lifting weights it is not so much

by attending gymnasiums as inventing cranes. He learns to fly not by developing wings but by building flying machines. The biological law is arrested and has practically ceased to operate in human society in this sense.

The development of the high forehead of man which is seen when compared to the recently found skull of a Rhodesian man (still bringing the history of man nearer to his poor relations, the apes) is also being arrested in its growth. The spread of education, and knowledge bound into books, is eliminating the method of cramming our heads with knowledge to be remembered, when we have just to turn up tables, references, etc., no matter what business we follow.

When man invented the tool, he interposed a barrier between himself and nature, and we will see as we go along in future lessons how that ownership of the tools by a few and the absence of ownership by the many causes the division into classes—not a biological but an economic category.

Let us then examine the economic period.

Since the introduction of private property, history has been a history of class struggles, and society has had to go through different system of production where the old society had to give way to the new.

Economics is the science whose work it is to discover the law of change. Slavery, serfdom, and capitalism (or wageslavery) belong to different forms of society, and are an expression of the mode of production, and as economics is the science of wealth production the explanation belongs to that science.

Another way to examine a system of society is to look at its superstructure, e.g., science, government, art, politics, etc. The superstructures are relations, not things. If we ask where primitive savagery differs from civilization, we should at once say, in the numbers and characters of the superstructural institutions, but if we sought the cause we would arrive at last at a difference of the tools of production.

If the geologists want to identify a geological structure they examine its fossils, so when the scientists want to examine the development of society they examine the tools of production of primitive man. The various orders of society such as slavery, etc., show just as exactly and precisely the particular economic system to which they belong.

There have been numerous schools of economics. The two outstanding schools today are the Marxian school and the Utility school. We will have cause to show the difference of these two schools as we proceed in future lessons. To come to our subject—What is Political Economy?

A book I read on Banking says:—

"Political Economy is the science of the relation of men with each other in the production, distribution and exchange of wealth. Economics has nothing to do with the technical side of industry.

"It has nothing to do with the treatment of the soil in agriculture, or the construction of machinery. It is the study of the social relationship of land, labor and capital, the factors of production.

"If everybody produced for his own wants there would be no economics but specialization of industry with its divisional labor, increasing efficiency of production. Its complexity has made its explanation become a science."

That is a pretty fair definition from a capitalist written book, but listen to Engels' Marx's co-partner) in his "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," he says:

"Political Economy is, in the widest sense the science of the laws controlling production and exchange of the material necessities of human life in human society. Production and Exchange are two entirely different functions.

These views are different, to this extent: while one is constant and eternal, Engels' is evolutionary. Marx, vol. I., p. 400 (Kerr edition), says:

"Production may exist without exchange. Exchange cannot exist without production. Political Economy is thus really a historical science."

"Political Economy which as an independent science, first sprang into being during the period of manufacture, views the social division of labor only from the standpoint of manufacture and sees in it only the means of producing more commodities with a given quantity of labor, and consequently, of cheapening commodities and hurrying on the accumulation of capital. In most striking contrast with this accentuation of quantity and exchange value, is the attitude of the writers of classical antiquity, who hold exclusively by quality and use-value. If the growth of the quantity produced is occasionally mentioned, this is only done with reference to the greater abundance of use-values. There is not a word alluding to exchange value or to the cheapening of commodities."

Let us now view the different bases upon which political economists start out in their analysis of political economy, and see how Marx and they differ.

Adam Smith (who is reckoned the father of political economy) opens his discussion in "Wealth of Nations," thus:

"The annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, which it annually consumes and which consists always, either in the immediate produce of that labor or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations."

Jevons opens his book, "Principles of Political Economy," with:

"The science of political economy rests upon a few notions of an apparently simple character, utility, wealth, value, commodity, labor, land and capital are the elements of the subject, and whoever has a thorough comprehension of their nature, must possess or be soon able to acquire a knowledge of the whole science. As almost every economical writer has remarked, it is in treating the simple elements that we require the most care and precaution since the error of our conception must vitiate all our deductions. Accordingly I have devoted the following pages to an investigation of the conditions and relations of the above notions."

A German writer opens thus:—

"The possessor of capital is as a rule in a position to derive from it a continued net income, which income is known to science under the head of Rent of Capital.

"Interest of capital is the broader sense of the term. This income possesses certain remarkable qualities. It arises independent of any personal activity of the capitalist, it comes to him even though he never raised a finger to create it, and seems therefore mostly, truly to flow from, or according to an ancient simile, to be generated by capital."

Nothing is more absurd than to consider the subsistence or income of the idle recipient as an essential and necessary part of production of income. The product can be obtained perfectly well and the income can be generated even if the recipient of the income does not exist or is eliminated from consideration. This is proved every day in the case of unclaimed inheritances, which continue to accumulate income although there is no recipient; it is proved in the case of the income of incapables, of the insane, of idiots, of persons in their second childhood and men of pleasure because of property ownership, while the owner ignores the sources of his income in the pursuit of more agreeable occupations and pleasures.

All these economists and teachers of the science seem to be ready to lay down general laws governing human society without regard to time or place.

They seem to be ignorant of the fact that the laws which they are about to explain have no universal explanation and are limited to certain forms of society. History, with its actual facts and relations, does not exist with them. Not one of them has seemed to have given the slightest thought to the

(Continued on page 7)

# An Outline of Psychology

AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHOLOGY. Prepared by Textbook Committee, The Plebs League, 11a Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W.5. 178 pp. 2s 9d post pd.

ANYONE daring to introduce such an innovation as Psychology to the working class movement is liable to be looked upon as a heretic.

The history of human society amply demonstrates the fact that dogma, inertia of thought and dread of change commonly set in and develop in the organizations of the people just as they become fairly stabilized. The Plebs League, in publishing the "Outline," have taken this point into consideration as illustrated by the following passage:

"The great enemies of progress are those stolid, dull-witted, unimaginative persons who comprise so large a proportion of mankind. They dread change because change disturbs their established outlooks and habits, and because they lack the mental vision which could show them the potentialities of change. These are the constitutionally conservative people, those who fear change (neophobiacs), or hate novelties (nisonelists)." Page 102.

The authors of the "Outline" open their preface with a consideration of the place of Psychology in the education of the working class:—

"Doubtless some working class students will ask: 'Why Psychology?' They will say: 'Economics we know; Industrial history we know; but what has Psychology to do with independent working class education?' The answer is: 'Read this book and find out!'"

"The compilers of the 'Outline' are convinced that what Darwinism did for our knowledge of Biologic man, and what Marxism did for our knowledge of economic and social man, the new Psychology is doing for our knowledge of 'man's place in nature' as the thinking master of nature."

This book, then, is a first attempt to give the main facts and theories of contemporary Psychology from the proletarian outlook; to give them entirely freed from the taint of bourgeois ideology. It is a contribution to proletarian science, to a science formulated, understood, and expounded by revolutionary workers. A science competent to enable the working class to realize the nature of its own aims; a science which organizes forces for the destruction of a social order based upon hereditary wealth, economic inequality, and the exploitation of man by man.

"We proletarians have to understand the working of our own minds; so understand the working of our enemies' minds; to understand the working of the minds of those who will side either with us or against us as the efficiency of our own or our enemies' propaganda may determine. Such things can be learned through Psychology."

Beyond this expostulation in the preface of the book we expected that in the text the authors would define the scope and field of Psychology from the standpoint of working class educational needs, but it is not treated to any extent. Psychology as it is treated in the "Outline" refers to no experimental or laboratory work in the study, and as its scientific methods are not urged on the reader, one is liable to become an introvert (one who turns to mind). The relation of economic science and the social factors which correlate and determine the scope of Psychology have not to any extent been treated in the work.

Aversion to Psychology on the part not only of the working class but of others is not surprising; it has an instinctive basis. The phenomena of life and mind obey the law of forward motion, whereas the study of Psychology is a kind of "introversion," a mindward motion, and when a balance is not maintained while studying Psychology and introspecting, by following what Bergson "attention to life," that is, by constantly adjusting and adapting ourselves to objective reality, not only individuals but nations fall into a Psychological slough such as Europeans fell into for a thousand years during the dark ages, while the mental inertia of the Asiatic people has lasted longer and from which they are just emerging. The latter condition too, owes itself to the circumstance that the capitalism of the western countries demands that they line up with economic conditions or forfeit their existence.

The relative utility of the study of Psychology

in correlation with History and Economics should have been made clear in the book. The absence of such guidance in a shortcoming. Other shortcomings, from our reviewing standpoint, are that the authors have either perfunctorily treated or have altogether passed by some of the essentials of Psychology, and that the sources of their material are ill chosen. Take for example p. 12, s. 7 (Chapter: Consciousness and the Unconscious):—

"We do not know what consciousness is, and will not therefore waste time attempting to define it. We experience it as the sum total of our sensations, emotions, desires, memories, and other psychic phenomena."

Now we consider that the study of consciousness is vital in Psychology, particularly in working class Psychology, and that the definition should have been attempted. The problem of class consciousness, so central in the working class movement, together with that of social consciousness can not be sufficiently brought home to the student or the readers of the "Outline" when its authors say about consciousness "we will not therefore waste time attempting to define it." Because of the imperfect understanding of the authors about consciousness, or because of their neglect of duly treating this most essential element of mind, the whole work is further biased by references made in it to the unconscious.

Excepting a certain insignificant percentage of the sub-normal or the feeble-minded whose consciousness is liable to be "invaded" by the unconscious, resulting in obsessions, hysteria, hypersuggestibility or pathological conditions, human society has, constitutionally, a "normal consciousness" or, technically, a "normal consciousness standard." The characteristics of the average human mind possessing a normal consciousness standard, which underlies normal human behavior, constitute the science of Psychology proper. Any abnormalities viewed in a small number of human beings must be treated under the head of abnormal Psychology.

Scientific methods of observation, experimentation, generalization, verification, etc., are applied to Psychology, and it is built up by authorities like Baldwin, James, Stout, Sully, McDougall, Wundt, Kulpe, Pillsbury, Hunter, Angell, Titchener, etc., Our friends, the authors of the "Outline," instead of tapping these reliable sources have gone into works of Freud, Hart and Goddard, who, in the main, treat of abnormal or ultra normal Psychology; they have fallen short, in our opinion, of furnishing a text book of value for working class study in Psychology.

Can anyone conceive of an "Outline" of Psychology which does not treat of the elements of sensations and their qualities, which constitute the raw material of the human mind and on which is dependent the whole mental imagery, which latter the processes of mind like imagination, reasoning or association weave into mental products like percepts, concepts, etc.? Furthermore, the vital subject of "attention" is dropped. The treatment of "memory" is most scanty; nothing about retention, reproduction, recall and recognition—the very fundamentals of memory, nor about the laws governing these processes. Except under a general name of associative memory, perfunctorily treated, practical instruction on memory is entirely absent.

The essential factors of "imitation" and "sympathy" in social Psychology and the effects of their operation in shaping social and individual behavior have been given a bare mention. The subject of suggestion and suggestibility have attracted the attention of the authors, but the "Law of Suggestibility" is to consciousness what mass is in gravitation, and the question of consciousness has seemed to the authors so insignificant that it is a foregone conclusion the book can not contain any practical discussion on this head.

The "Outline" is meritorious, however. It is written by class conscious workers and is directed to

the interests of the working class. The authors have completely and unambiguously kept the book clear of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and their hangers-on. Not only this, but the book is teeming with well chosen, deeply considered and accurate expressions of the working class ideology and viewpoints. Let the reader, however, judge for himself.

H. RAHIM.

## ECONOMICS FOR WORKERS.

(Continued from page 6)

fact that the phenomenon which he was about to describe and examine was a part of an historical situation, and the result of an historical development.

All the nations, all the ages, all the stages of human development are subject to the laws they lay down.

Now contrast this with Karl Marx. He opens his great work "Capital" thus:

"The wealth of those societies, in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities."

With one mighty sweep of the pen (as Boudin says) all the limitations and conditions of the problem are given. The picture is set in its historical surroundings in that phraseology. (Read it again). No generalizations to suit everything in general and nothing in particular, but a real live situation with a definite burning problem. No wonder, instead of losing himself in generalities or wasting time in the definitions of conceptions and notions, Marx delves right into the subject and says:

"Its unit being a commodity our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity."

(Introduction to be continued)

## THE "WESTERN CLARION" APPEALS TO THE READER.

(Continued from page 4)

want you to rustle subs. to keep the "Clarion" going. No writer wields a more colorful pen than Comrade Ross, whose initial "R" has completed many a page of the "Clarion" during 1921, and few there be whose sense of perception is so keen as his. Ross is entering the gateway to a larger and wider understanding of capitalism.

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Leckie is attracting the attention of an audience more cosmopolitan than the rest of the "staff" on account of his "Economic Causes of War" and lessons on the Materialist Conception of History.

With the coming of spring and the laying aside of his many duties, Morgan ("Geordie") will be harnessed anew to the task of completing the "People's Marx."

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Now, Buddy, you must go after those subs. with a vigor you have not hitherto displayed. All returns must be in before the end of March, 1922. "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy" (Dietzgen) and the "Social Revolution" (Kautsky), will be given as a prize to the one with the highest number of subscribers. And the "Industrial History" (de Gibbins) to the next highest.

Buddy, go catch 'em!

R.K.

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## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MARXIAN SOCIALISM

BOOK I.—By H. RAHIM

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# Past and Present

## Studies, Partial and Prejudiced.

No system that shall be valid in all ages can ever be formulated by us today. The truth of this observation is thrust home to the student of economic enquiry, the history of which may be observed in three periods, the ancient, the medieval and the modern worlds.

Every thinker is a child of his time, and such judgment of him as we may pronounce must be tempered by a consideration of the period in which he lived and the circumstances by which he was surrounded. His conclusions, arrived at through the examination of the basis and structure of society as he found it, cannot be isolated from that period in which he lived. The institution of slavery was so entirely in harmony with the life of the Greeks that the Greek thinkers regarded it as indispensable and inevitable, and such observations as their investigators made in economics that are of particular moment to us are mainly happy, and sometimes striking, anticipations of the pronouncements of later periods, and in which the influence of geometry perhaps had considerable bearing.

While it is essential that we examine the past records of investigation in this study in order to quicken our comprehension, and awaken our perceptions to its position today, we must bear in mind that circumstances must have existed in proportion great enough to permit of scientific generalisations being laid down, and the investigators must have been equipped with the aids and instruments essential to proper research before conclusions could be reached that would affect our present-day life and aid us in understanding present-day problems. The march of all science is marked by the interdependence of each of its branches upon the other, and the relations they bear to the changing needs of man, the practical exigencies required to be met by him, and the organs he produces, to the conservation, maintenance, and perpetuation of society.

Co-existent with the ancient, medieval and modern periods of human development we have the records of their enquirers into economic research, and not until the last mentioned period is reached do we meet what has come to be known as the Historical school. The gradual unfolding in the middle ages of a civil system was occupied with direct military organization and control, and the final elaboration of feudalism was characterized by institutional forms devoted to public defence, based upon territorial property. Its dominant class was unsympathetic towards the industrial arts and held the handicrafts in contempt, except those subservient to war or war-like sport. There was within its bounds little room for manufacture, less for commerce, and family needs constituted the essential factor underlying production. In such a society economic research must necessarily reflect the restrictions imposed by its field of examination.

The modern period is filled by a development of successive phases which, in their gradual approach to the age of machinery, commercial relations, and the well established features of commodity production generally, somewhat characterize our own time. A wider field of investigation has brought in its train a broader application to the investigation of affairs of human concern and, necessarily, the field of economic research has occupied the attention of increased numbers of investigators, so that while in the first confirmed appearance of capitalism as a generally operative system economic research has been characterized in its methods by almost wholly abstract considerations, its later characteristics have betrayed a leaven of human interest, as its problems have gradually unfolded an explanation of the true nature of the institution now understood as capitalism.

The succeeding phases have produced succeeding schools of thought and otherwise than its name might suggest, the historical school has its work outlined, not in confining its interests to the work of former investigators but to the furtherance of endeavor toward the same stated objective, which is to find the laws underlying the industrial progress of human society, and to formulate an outline of the processes through which they must operate. The valuable work done in economics in the last fifty years has been accomplished by men who are directly under the influence of the historical school, whether they are professed adherents of that school or not.

However earnest may be our interest in any subject of interest to mankind, and however far removed may be our personal interest in sectarian strife, if we proceed along the way that generates knowledge of the conditions of human existence there arrives the moment when we surely must take issue on behalf of one side and against another. And, mainly, the real obstacle that has always obstructed the way to open acceptance by the economists of today of the outstanding principles featured by the historical school in its dissection of the economic laws of capitalism, lies in capitalism itself, as an institution based upon private property and the exploitation of labor. In such a society—a society of private gain through private ownership, there must arise private prejudice in the custodians of its institutions of learning, which, in turn must be supervised for its defence and maintenance. The positive nature of the historical method in explaining human society practiced by the strong influences that now assail our houses of learning, are incontrovertible, so sound, and so completely are they in accord with the gathering array of sordid facts presented by the active life around us that they pronounce their opponents as mere quibbling apologists who are subject to the suspicion of interested conservatism, if not to private personal gain. Political economy today, for a clear analysis of the stage of society we find ourselves in must lay down its principles upon its fundamental basis, and its problems must be stated in the terms of the contradictions and antagonisms arising from capitalism. A system of private ownership means propertyless people, a people exploited in production means a slave class and a master class, and a master and a slave class constitute a class antagonism, and that cannot be eradicated until the circumstances that breed it are overcome and abolished forever. And not until then can we expect disinterested research in this field to be advanced.

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