

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 877.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., OCTOBER 16, 1922.

FIVE CENTS

Public Opinion

"He who will not reason is a pigot,
"He who cannot reason is a fool,
"He who dares not reason is a slave."

THE time worn expression we hear so much about from time to time uttered by the politicians, labor skates, newspaper men, university professors, and the whole host of others who compose the jackals who voice the sentiments of the ruling class.—It may not be amiss to touch the rough spots and examine what this expression really means to the position of the working class, who are conscious of their exploitation by another class who own and rule.

We of the Marxian school have a different outlook on life from the great mass of the working class who never do any thinking outside of their immediate wants, i.e., a job and a pay envelope, wherewith to buy the eats and other necessities of life. We, then, claim that we have a great deal of knowledge (backed by scientific research) of human society, and its development through the ages, from a time when man was but slightly removed from his brute ancestors. Haphazard catch-phrases and the empty piffle that is spread broadcast by the tools and hirelings of the master class among the mass of wage slaves with an avowed purpose, is subject to be analyzed by the Marxists from a scientific point of view. In order to do this effectively we have to delve into the realms of sociology, economics, history, biology and other sciences, and view them all from the standpoint of change. In other words we tackle the sciences, equipped with a knowledge of the evolutionary process going on in nature. We go further than that; we observe and understand the direction in which nature works her "forces," and discover the laws of their motion, which enable us from time to time to give a fairly accurate account of what is likely to happen in the future, sometimes with something akin to mathematical precision.

If we are scientific, if we are able to put up arguments which the university professors and other intellectuals of our opponents, are unable to combat without resorting to trickery and lies, then we must have "the goods," and we must be deemed competent to analyze all the bunk that emanates from the class who exploit the workers.

Respectable "Public Opinion" varies in time and area. It is not uniform. It is something plastic that is subject to change from time to time, especially among those who have come within the pale of capitalist civilization. As conditions warrant, the machinery that creates public opinion can mould such to suit its own end. During the great war all the churches, politicians, the press and all the resources of capitalist ingenuity were set to work to create the patriotic fever, to stir up instincts that were once deep rooted in the kinship of ancient society. Millions of the most virile wage slaves of all lands have responded and manured the plains of France and Belgium with their dead bodies. Poison gas and other atrocities of capitalism, were voiced against from thousands of pulpits when used on one side. The sanctity of the marriage vow went by the board when the Bishops and other champions of law and justice were hollering to legalize war babies and raise the status of the unmarried mother. The Germans and their "public opinion machinery" were

shouting their heads off about culture, defence of their homes and civilization. Lloyd George and his host of squealers were shouting to hang the Kaiser and spoke of having to go back to Barbarism if the Allies were defeated. Meantime the scheme was working, and the slaughter went merrily on.

We have heard of the angel that was hovering around the Canadian soldier boys; we have heard weird stories of our men being crucified by the wicked Huns. One could write volumes on the various methods and devices that were employed to mould public opinion by the unscrupulous master class of both opposing camps. Each camp fighting with all the weapons at its command, to hold their place in the sun and conquer and dominate the world markets.

After the holocaust of war new weapons were wielded to lull the unthinking into sleep. Production and more production was one of the slogans used and heralded over the width and breadth of the land where wage slavery held its sway. Retrenchment, economy, eat less and work harder was the S. O. S. that the hirelings of the profit mongers sent broadcast to all the wage slaves of Christendom. They told us that greater efficiency in production and consuming less of the necessities of life would bring our tottering civilization back to normalcy at a time when the world markets were already glutted with hoarded war supplies that were no longer necessary. The bald Canadian prairies were turned over, and during the war hundreds of thousands of acres of virgin soil were brought into cultivation by tractors and modern machinery. The banks loosened up in the name of patriotism to help the farmers produce mountains of wheat for the saving of our civilization,—and all that means. Those were the days when any 2 x 4 cockroach hayseed could gain access to the sanction of the bank manager and borrow enough dollars to make a substantial payment on a "Tin Lizzie" or a quarter section of land to increase his misery. War markets warranted generous facilities to the soil slaves, who did not require a whip to drive them to work in the fields 12 to 16 hours per day.

Today the tide has turned; a new code of ethics has come into being to suit the reaction of changed conditions, on which I would like to write at some future time.

Public opinion must necessarily be the voice of the ruling class in any epoch in history. Such opinion in modern society must conform and harmonize with the concept of private property, which is based on the exploitation of wage workers.

This thing is set in motion and is inoculated into the children of the working class in the public schools, and all the other institutions of capitalism are merely pillars built to uphold the Grand Arch of property rights. In other words, the working class live in an environment of property consciousness around which their concepts of rights and wrongs, fairplay, etc., hinge.

The vanguard of the industrial proletariat who are guided by an understanding of Marxism must have a viewpoint which opposes the Shibboleths and bunk disseminated by the master class and their henchmen, and replace this rubbish and vast ignorance among the workers with real knowledge and understanding, by the route of positive science. Capitalist civilization has evolved the formidable

weapon of science to solve its own problems during its struggling development. We are of the working class are learning how to use the same weapon in our struggle for economic freedom. We who have discarded property consciousness for class consciousness are few among the vast hordes of our class; but we are hopeful of the future, knowing that historical development is in harmony with the Socialist movement. The process may appear slow to the uninformed, but to the Marxian student, the driving forces are doing their work. The wheels of time move forever onward, the velocity of change may vary, but it never ceases.

New slogans to delude the workers, or rather to keep them deluded, will grow less effective as time goes on. Capitalism will awaken more slaves from their slumber than we can, but the scientific socialist movement is here to clarify and work in conjunction with conditions. A time will come when the bulk of the working class will have an opinion of its own, which will centre around class consciousness and the struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

D. MACPHERSON.

The Manufacture of Public Opinion in England

EVERY child knows by this time that the "Bolshevik Dictators," have among other crimes, suppressed the freedom of press. This charge has been repeatedly brought up against Soviet Russia in the past few years, by the liberal and radical bourgeois press, and even by the workers' organs. Well, let us see what this much-vaunted freedom of the press is worth in old, "liberal" England, which boasts of its wise Constitution.

2300 periodicals are published in England. Of this number, the workers (15 million men according to the official statistics of the Social Insurance Bureau) dispose of 45 weeklies, and 75 monthlies, with rather limited circulations. Of 180 dailies, the workers control but one, the Daily Herald, which maintains a precarious existence.

Let us pass over to the circulation. In London are sold 6,500,000 numbers of the daily newspapers. Of these 6,500,000 copies, 150,000 represent the issue of the Daily Herald, the only labor organ. Add to this that the evening editions have a circulation of 3 million, and that there is no evening labor daily.

But this is not yet sufficient to make "public opinion." The bourgeois system of news-feeding is much more extensive; to the daily publications, we must add the 6,000,000 numbers of the bourgeois weekly press, served every Sunday morning to the London population.

And here we have the picture of the contending forces. On one side the heavy artillery of the bourgeois press, and on the other the bean shooter of the proletariat.

Now let us look a little closer at the organization of the bourgeois English press. Let us make a little tour through the malodorous factories where the public opinion of a modern democracy is manufac-

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The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

BIRDS AND BEASTS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Do you know why cats with blue eyes are always deaf? I do not, and I never met anybody who did; but I suppose there is a reason for it! Do you know why there are no tortoise-shell tom-cats? All tortoise-shell cats are females. I wonder why that is?

When you gain knowledge of the facts of life, you can ask more difficult questions than even a child can. The more you learn, the more you find you do not know, so that there is no fear of ever getting puffed up by the amount of your knowledge. Geology is the most wonderful of all the sciences for the revelations it brings to ignorant people. I was very, very ignorant of the facts of existence when I began to study it, and each day seemed to bring a new revelation; and the revelation of a rain-drop was one of the most marvellous to me.

The first time I saw a slab of stone with a lot of little round pits on it I could not understand it, till the professor told me they were "ancient rain-drops." You could tell which way the wind was blowing, in relation to the block of stone, by the mark of the rain-drops! And yet the block of stone came from the depths of a quarry, and had been buried for millions and millions of years. The soft surface which the heavy rain-drops had dented had been covered up for ages, and had turned to solid rock; but now it had been exposed, as one of the pages of the great stone books, to bear witness to the fact that the laws were the same millions of years ago as they are today.

One of the startling rain-pitted blocks I first saw came from the Connecticut Valley in the United States. It bore the imprints of the feet of great birds, with the marks of rain-drops beside them.

It would be very difficult for me to explain to you the effect the sight of this block of stone had on my mind. It seemed to prove that all the geological stories I had heard were true. This block was not made by men to bear witness to their truthfulness, or to confirm their astonishing stories; but it was a record made millions of years ago and only recently uncovered, and never meant in any way to confirm any statement. It was a page from the stone book.

Then I saw, upon a sidewalk, a flagstone that was rippled, just as I had seen the sand rippled by the wind and waves. I wondered how the flagstone became rippled, and when my teacher told me that it was simply a "ripple mark" from an ancient sea-beach, made by the wind and the tide millions of years ago, I was amazed. How strange that a mark of that sort should have endured through all the ages, when all the mighty works of early man were obliterated. The temples and tombs and palaces and mighty works of great races had been obliterated by the gnawing teeth of time; but here were these simple ripple marks, and the footprints of birds and the pitting of rain-drops, left to bear witness to the uniformity of law. It was wonderful, wonderful beyond all telling to poor ignorant me, and I walked as one in a dream. I wanted to know why I had never been told about it before, but my teacher replied that very few people cared about such things. They were not interested in the origin of the world, and so they never learned, and nobody told them. That was a very hard saying to me then, but I have since learned that it is quite true.

The curious thing about the footprints of the birds in the Connecticut Valley is the discovery that maybe they were not birds at all. There was an age of amphibians, of beasts that lived partly

on the land and partly in the water; then came an age of reptiles, which lived on the land entirely, grew to an enormous size, and acquired the most wonderful forms. I would like to show you some pictures of the monsters of those far-away days, but I think I had better show you the skeleton of one of them called the pterodactyl, a name which comes from two Greek words meaning wing-fingers.*

The pterodactyl had no feathers. It was a bat-like reptile, and we have nothing like it today, unless it be a tiny fruit-bat. The pterodactyl (terro-dack-til) was, however, a monster. In fact, there were flying animals before there were feathers or birds. And yet a man, a scholarly man, asked me which came first, the hen or the egg! If he had asked me which came first, birds or feathers, what would my answer have been? Birds, of course; but that would not have been quite true, for nothing is ever absolutely true. Everything is relative—but that is philosophy, so we will not discuss it, eh?

The first fliers had no feathers, but the first birds were really reptiles, flying reptiles, and the development of feathers was very slow. Feathers were developed from the skin, and the skin formed the wings of the flying reptiles, so that there were birds which were part reptiles, with tails and teeth. People used to laugh when they spoke about "hen's teeth," as something that never was on land or sea; but when you come to study the origin of the world you find that there were, "once upon a time," birds with teeth.

When I first heard of a "bird with teeth" I was incredulous, for it appeared to be too wonderful to be true. When I saw the drawings of it, and the description of it, and finally a model of it, I believed it. But when I came to understand more simply and naturally the origin of the world, I could see that there must have been a time when there were no birds, just as there must have been a time when there were no beasts. There must have been a time when there was nothing but white-hot gas; and my mind goes back to the time when all that gas was scattered about the universe. But my mind never goes back further than gas. My mind never goes back to the time when there was nothing, for the simple reason that I cannot think of something coming out of nothing. I cannot make my mind do what I want it to do; I cannot think of two twos being five, any more than I can think of nothing becoming something.

In the Jurassic limestone, in Europe, they found the bones and feathers of a real, true bird, almost the size of a magpie, with several real reptilian characteristics, including teeth. While a reptile goes about on the earth it must have teeth to crunch its food, but as soon as the reptile learns to fly it has a wider range of vision and a wider selection of food. It can choose softer food, and that means a change in dental arrangements and stomach. These changes all affect its form, and the true bird alters from the true reptile until, after long ages, the two become so altered as to be different species.

The bird that was found—in fragments—in the Jurassic limestone was "restored" by the naturalists, and the complete bird shown; but the actual fossil bones and feathers are now in the British Museum and the Berlin Museum.

It is not what you would call a pretty bird, but the naturalists only showed what they had. They added as little as possible to the form, only filling up the gaps so as to make a complete bird. But the main point is that it has teeth—well marked, well-formed, definite teeth—and that is what proves the development of the bird from the reptile. Now we come back to the "bird tracks" in the Connecticut sandstone, and we see that they may have been the tracks of reptiles; just developing bird-like characteristics. Did the bird's foot develop before the

* Note: There are some illustrations in the book which, unfortunately owing to financial reasons we are unable to reproduce.—Ed. Clarion.

bird's wing? Who can say? Geology is such a baby, and the stone book is so marred and mutilated that we really cannot tell; but we are quite sure that beasts and birds develop from reptiles, and that they came from amphibians, which came from the water. What a miracle!

Next Lesson: THE HISTORY OF THE HORSE.

Oil

PART 2.

OUR last article closed with a quotation from Sir John Cadman's article in the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" (6 July '22), in which he sets forth quite frankly the charges which have been made against British policy in the mandate territories, particularly in the near east. It has been charged, he says, that British interests have striven to keep competitors out of those areas. He says, in concluding his article, that he has managed to disarm American suspicion on the grounds stated, and that British policy has come to be favorably understood in America. The facts are very much against his statement in this connection, however.

Great Britain, in the mandates for the German African colonies and the Pacific Islands had come to agreement with the United States without very much friction as to competitive commercial rights. The Council of the League of Nations by July 24th last had approved mandates over the various areas proposed to be mandated by the terms of the Versailles Treaty, but Lord Balfour at the London session of the Council on that date (when Palestine was given to Great Britain and Syria to France) announced that Great Britain was still unable to reach an understanding with United States over the terms of the proposed British mandate in Mesopotamia. This territory, although garrisoned by British troops, is still in dispute between these governments. The British mandate, in its official approval, and operation is held up by American interference in the interest of U. S. commercial enterprise.

The San Remo agreement, entered into between Great Britain and France (April 1920) is known as the Anglo-French Oil agreement. It has been the subject of countless controversial articles, particularly relative to American oil interests. By its terms Great Britain is granted 75 per cent of the oil output of Mesopotamian territories, and France is granted 25 per cent. The French interest is not an actual operative interest. She receives (from British governmental or commercial operative control) 25 per cent. output at current market prices and is entitled to 25 per cent of the total capital investment. British interests maintain financial control, and actual industrial operative control.

The American interests enter at this point and point out that they have prior "claims" in Mesopotamia. The Chester claims, concessions granted to U. S. Rear-Admiral Chester in 1908 by Abdul Hamid, included the right to exploit mineral and mining concessions extending from points on the eastern Mediterranean to the Persian border and to Bagdad. Operation of the concessions has been interrupted by the Young Turk revolt in 1909, by the Italian-Turkish war, 1911, by war between Turkey and Bulgaria 1912 and against Greece in the same year, the Balkan war of 1913 and the world war of 1914. Now that the American interests are anxious to resume prospecting for commencement of operations they are stopped by the mandatories, that is to say, by the controlling interests of Great Britain. Notes of protest have been sent during the past two years by former U. S. Secretary of State Colby and the present U. S. Secretary Hughes. As a result, the Mesopotamian mandate is still in dispute although the British are in actual control. The American press, since the close of the world war, has been full of reports of activities of the U. S. hospital missions, Red Cross services, philanthropic enterprises throughout Asia Minor, actively supported by big business, much in the same way as in China during the famine period of a year or more ago. By means of these agencies American commercial interests are

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Conflicting Interests

By Sid Earp.

TO those people who are capable of viewing in a practical scientific manner, the pitiless competitive struggle for existence which, in the name of freedom, Capitalism imposes upon the individual, modern society in its economic and social life stands condemned as being absurd, wasteful and brutal to the extreme. Furthermore, to the careful observer it is quite clear that this condition of affairs must inevitably become worse while society remains upon a basis of personal interest. Evidence of this can be seen by the rapid increase in the number of protective organizations which are now a feature in every branch of human life.

As in a calamity of natural origin such as by fire, wind or water, human life is conserved by the drawing together for protection in face of a common danger, so is it, that in the struggle for existence, are groups formed to conserve personal interests in those trades and professions by which men seek to gain a livelihood. Boards of Trade, employers' associations, retail merchants' protective societies, trade unions, etc., all function in the interests of the individuals comprising their membership, for the perpetuation of Capitalism, whether consciously or otherwise, and all are doomed to failure. One of the latest additions to the ranks of these small bore protectionist groups in British Columbia is the Asiatic Exclusion League, whose object is to bring to an end the successful competition of the Chinese retail merchant, which constitutes a menace to the white retailer in the grocery and kindred trades. Acting as a distributor of goods for the big wholesale firms, the retailer takes on the character of a business man, which places him in a social category one notch above that of the wage worker upon whom he depends for the sale of his goods. In this, as in other lines of business, trade comes in greatest volume to those who market their goods at the lowest price, without any consideration of race, creed, or color. In Capitalist society human attributes count for little or nothing, price quotations and cash payments are the things that count. Of late the Chinaman, who is not any man's fool when it comes to a business deal, has demonstrated that he can retail goods cheaper than other people; in other words, he is more efficient. Hence the storm of hostile criticism and bitter denunciation which is being directed against him by the Asiatic Exclusion League. They have discovered at this late hour that Western civilization can never absorb the Oriental type. He is a danger to our moral and ethical standards, and his habits of life tend to debauch and degenerate our rising generation!

Comparisons, of course, are odious, but if only a cursory glance is given to those portions of the earth where the white race have succeeded by force and trickery in establishing themselves among backward and untutored peoples for the purpose of trade, the criticisms lately directed against the Oriental appear as sheer ranting hypocrisy. Mankind, in very truth, is a reasoning animal. His reasoning is fearful and wonderful to behold. Whatever action he may take to serve his material wants, must be cloaked in moral or ethical guise. He has achieved the distinction of doing that, of which no other animal is capable. He can fool himself and get much glory out of the process.

But, willy nilly, the struggle for life will get more keen, and in its keenness, his reasoning will change in form. As the gods of his religions appear in a true light as superfluities, he will discard them. Likewise his moral and ethical scruples as an aid to satisfying his material requirements. Also will he change and discard them. Capitalism is the great leveller of men; under its influence they will inevitably become welded into one common, despairing mass, regardless of any artificial distinction. The purpose of life is to live. The opportunity to live with a minimum of discomfort and a maximum of pleasure and satisfaction for all is available right now. A policy for the exclusion of the Oriental or any other type is a policy of foolishness. The root cause of conflicting interests lies in the social re-

cognition of the claims upon the wealth of society by the owners of its means of life—the Capitalist class; towards whose maintenance all social effort is guided.

The legality of this ownership, in the form of title deeds, bonds, mortgages, etc., is made effective by State control in the hands of the Capitalist class. And by no other way than the elimination of this control will the conflicting interests of today be ended. Society will then have free access to its means of life; and parasitism by constitutional property right will give way to a full enjoyment by mankind of all that his toil and ingenuity through the ages has made possible for him.

OIL.

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able to maintain representatives in areas that would otherwise offer obstacles to commercial investigation.

In the case of France, she is tied to British control in the matter of oil supply. The French oil trust operates merely in distribution of an imported oil supply. By the terms of the San Remo agreement British oil companies which are able to furnish the necessary guarantees have a right to operate in French colonial territories. The necessary guarantees obviously mean British governmental guidance. Tunis, Morocco, Algeria, France itself, in places where oil oozings have shown are all subject to British operation. In the French territories French capital is allowed to exercise financial control, but France has no industrial experience in oil operation and her bankers and oil trust have been content with foreign enterprise. Politics plays its part too, for British consent to French occupation of Syria was consequent upon French agreement at San Remo.

The "Manchester Guardian" reported on August 21st that Standard Oil was interested in a new French company just formed to operate the French part of the Bagdad railway. The same dispatch says Standard Oil and the Bank of Paris are jointly interested in several European oil fields. There are some other Franco-American oil companies also but up to the present their operations or proposed operations, notably in former Turkish territories, have been restricted within the terms of the San Remo agreement. No doubt this agreement has tied the hands of France at the Mudania conference.

Recently the London "Times" reported an estimate of British oil holdings and their importance as compared with American present resources. The report estimated that in the course of ten years United States would be dependent on British oil to the amount of 200 million pounds sterling per annum.

Baku oil is an all important factor in present international rivalry. The Genoa conference saw a mad scramble for oil concessions in the Baku field. Last May "The Lamp," the organ of the Standard Oil, described Baku as the most prolific oil field in the world. Its oil outlet is through a pipe line to Batum on the Black Sea, the outlet from which is through the Dardanelles. Control of the Straits is an important element in the exploitation of the Baku fields which, no doubt, all the competitors hope to resume a share in. At any rate, recent events have brought Turkey and the strategical position of Constantinople into prominence again, with the usual palaver about Christian minorities, and the regular war-time atrocity crop has been well up to the standard.

It is not to be supposed that the scramble for oil is the whole reason for international rivalry, but in a world run by power driven machinery it is an ever growing cause of dispute.

The working class lesson lies in an understanding of the fact that oil as an indispensable factor in present day industrial life is sure to be a factor in any wars that may crop up. Present day industrial life in all its ramifications and enterprise is devoted to the interest of capital, and war is an essential corollary. War between rival capitalist groups is therefore devoted to the interest of capital also and as such is no concern of the working class.

E. M.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 1)

tured. The most important morning daily is the Daily Mail (circulation 1,817,947). The Daily Mail vulgarizes for its readers the opinions of the aristocratic Times (circulation 75,000). The Times is the semi-official organ of the Government, more especially of the Conservative Party, the enemy of all progress. The Times demanded the "war to the bitter end" against Germany, and favored intervention in Russia. Today it defends the "Entente cordiale." During the Hague Conference, it never referred to Comrades Litvinov and Krassin except as "bandits." The Times belonged to the deceased Lord Northcliffe, the greatest poisoner of English public opinion.

And while we are at Nord Northcliffe, let us consider a while the activity of this man who has just died, mourned by every journalistic prostitute. Lord Northcliffe owned (and his heirs still do) the following dailies: Times (75,000 circulation), Daily Mail (1,817,947) Evening News (894,558).

Irrespective of their owners, the English bourgeois journals are all very much alike. Daily Mail, Daily Mirror (1,059,861), Daily Express (855,000), Daily Sketch (837,654), Evening News (894,558), Star (702,600), Daily News, Daily Telegraph, Morning Post,—all print 10 to 20 pages, large size, 4 to 8 of which all are entirely devoted to advertisements, which make a newspaper a paying proposition. A page in the Daily Mail costs £1,000; in the Daily Express, over £500. The advertisement tax nets the Government a yearly income of £13,000,000,—9 million from the morning papers and 4 million from the evening editions. The English dailies have financial, commercial, sporting, literary, society, pages. They relate the least incidents of the St. James Court. But the Moscow reader, accustomed to his Pravda and Izvestia, would be very much surprised. Never a word of the working class, unless it be to combat some strike, or give a line or two to some labor accident in which a larger number of workers have lost their lives ("lesser" accidents are not judged worthy of notice). Needless to say, that the English newspapers have neither pages for the woman worker, nor for the youth.

Here are the principal owners of the English press:

1. Lord Northcliffe (now his heirs).
2. Viscount Rothermere, owner of Daily Mirror (London), the Leeds Mercury (Leeds), the Glasgow Record (Glasgow) and the weekly Sunday Pictorial (2½ million circulation) very much read by the workers because of its numerous illustrations and its cheap price (2 pence).
3. Baronet Halton, owner of Daily Sketch, Daily Dispatch, Evening Standard, the weekly Sunday Chronicle, and a number of provincial sheets.
4. Lord Burnham, owner of Daily Telegraph.
5. Lord Beaverbrook, Daily Express and Sunday Express.
6. Lord Inverforth, Daily Chronicle.
7. Viscount Cowdray, one of the petroleum kings, owns the Westminster Gazette.
8. Baronet William Berry, one of the Brothers Berry who own about half the apartment houses of London, owns the Daily Graphic, Sunday Times, Financial Times. One of the Berrys, Seymour Berry is manager of the Western Mail, published in Cardiff, the coal centre of Wales.
9. Mr. Cadberry, big chocolate manufacturer, owner of Daily News and Star, a great enemy of France, because of the serious competition of the Meunier products.
10. Lord Riddle, owner of the News of the World, an idiotic weekly filled with melodramatic serials, with a circulation of 3½ million among the English working class.
11. Countess Bathurst, Morning Post, ultra-reactionary.

Well, there is a thing to be proud of this press freedom of England! English "public opinion," which unfortunately includes the working class opinion, is manufactured by a dozen capitalists who have no interests but those of their business. From this it is easy to understand their hatred of the Proletarian Dictatorship, and their zeal to defend the freedom of their press. Let us hope that the reader of this too summary article will have understood also.—I. P. Correspondence.

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor.....Ewen MacLeod

SUBSCRIPTION:

Canada, 20 issues \$1.00
Foreign, 16 issues \$1.00

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promptly.

VANCOUVER, B. C., OCTOBER 16, 1922.

EDUCATION.

THIS is rather an alarming title. It sounds virulently academic, and it may rouse the ire (though I hope not) of those who are more enamoured of "direct" than of cerebral activity. However, we may be able to steer a perilous course between the Scylla of "old-fashioned Clarionism" and the Charybdis of "revolutionary action," albeit close hauled to port.

Education is a thing of fine flavor and subtle interaction—as vague and sundry as its definition. What is education? The acquirement of wisdom. In all ages wisdom has made its appeal to man. In all ages it has not only left its impress on passing time; it has projected its image on the changing concepts of posterity. In different ages it has been acquired by different processes. But always it has won respect and esteem, and in the light of its understanding—has magnificently triumphed. It has had setbacks and disasters. That but proves its kinship with cosmical processes and is itself part of the means of education. But it accumulates continually and shall do so till society itself, in the aeons of futurity, shall be vanquished in the decline of a perishing planet.

The society which discovered fire not only discovered a new force to progress, but added a new means to immediate existence, and with it new social transformations. The fisher folk who invented the net and the boat increased the gathering store of knowledge, and by river and sea spread it to new habitations. The hunters of the grim ice ages who acquired cunning in the ways of the wild showed their necessary allegiance to wisdom as truly as the modern exponents of "free education." The wandering herdsmen ultimately enshrined their gathered lore in the mystical books of the ancients; and even the destruction of marauders added its rude quota to the store. The ancient empires rejoiced in the wisdom of god-king—hierarchies—interlinked abstractions of the baseless but fearful realities of medicine men and witch doctors. Greece achieved the art and science of Ionia and declined in a welter of militarism. Rome expressed the practical philosophy of Pagan pragmatism—crudely and sternly as becomes a martial rule. The middle ages swathed themselves in the eclectic and extraneous wisdom of the unknowable trinity,—whose reflex appears in our not distant forefathers who desired to see their hopefuls "waggin' their heads in the pu' pit." Today the concept of wisdom is the classical idealism of school and college—barren, inept, uninviting,—founded in imitation of a culture, whose life and imagery, vanished with the conditions from which it sprung.

Underneath the idealism of school and age, is the realism of natural life. And naturally their concepts and interpretations of existence differ. The social view point is the base line from which man measured attainment, and with every alteration in the gravity of position there is a corresponding difference in the angle of fact. The culture of the time may be dominated by a particular force or influence, but it is intermingled with every impulse of life, and interfused with every interest of time. Society is not explained by one force, or one factor, or one school. It is the amalgamation of all influ-

ences; of now and of yesterday; the balancing, or interruptions, or perturbations of conflicting forms, antagonistic forces and ever changing interests. Classical history shows us the decline of empires, and ultimately attributes their fall to the decline of wisdom—hidden vicariously in lack of prevision, political ineptitude, social corruption, public disprobity, etc. And that answer is quite true. But it evades the primal issue: why did wisdom decline? Why? Because progress had undermined the foundation on which it was built; had engrafted on ancient acquirements the impulse of vitalistic immediacy; had confronted society with new needs, clothed it with new necessities, and sent it spinning on a new plane of rotation.

Since the days when tribes became the nation, society has been politically controlled, i.e., by necessity has been enslaved to the "will" of a priest-king warrior. The exploits of monarch and noble have been recorded and magnified, but the slaves who alone made the exploits possible are not mentioned—or only in contempt. Sargon founded Babylon—on the labor of slaves. Tiglath raised temples and monuments—on the labor of slaves. Assurbanipal built walls and public works—on the labor of slaves. Hammurabi "turned the desert into fruitful gardens"—on slavery. Slaves built walls and dykes, made the roads and kept them in repair; tended and watered the gardens; constructed the bridges and aqueducts, and suffered as only hapless slaves can suffer. The pyramids of Egypt; the irrigation canals of the old Empire, the temples of Tuxor; the splendor of the "city of the good god;" the conquests of Rameses; were the symbols of a ferocious slavery. Spartan simplicity rested on Helot subjection. The glory of Athens was based—bloodily—on the slavery of silver Taurum and the greatness of Rome on the unremitting and unrewarded toil of the Tatifundia. Slavery, slavery, slavery, unspeakable in its ferocity, pitiable in its helplessness, fragmentarily recorded, and veiled by the flickering moonshine of egotistical individualism and an Osher idealism.

Empires fallen into decay for lack of learning? Nay! But because the economic of slavery countermined the foundations on which they stood. Because the incessant looting of States, the plunder of peoples, the wastage of life, the sacking of cities, the pillage of plain and field, the ravishing of enterprise, the swooping destruction of labor, the "dashing of the little ones against the stones," the slave raids, the wanton massacres, the blindings, the torturings, the impalements, the crucifixions, ruined all human intercourse, turned nations into festering haunts of glittering vice, shattered the process of exchange, palsied the hands of industry, violated the necessities of production, mortgaged farm and home and man, diverted the routes of trade, made endeavor fruitless, filled the cities with famine and the empty country with brigands, and laid the ancient Empires open to fresh attacks of plundering hordes, with a similar culture, but with a new virile coherence of civilised savagery. Through the 10,000 years of political society down to the fall of Rome, that is the history of the world. Sowing and reaping the whirlwind; crushing man and freedom; annihilating love and life. The invading Goths introduced an antique feudalism into Europe which, modified by the crumbling relics of mouldering Rome—and subsequently colored with a politically aborted religion—produced the new monstrosity, the feudalism of the Middle Ages. The re-birth of commerce, the advent of new concepts, the discovery of new worlds, the new hope of political franchise, the invention of new technical processes of production forwarded society into the relatively higher vantage of political democracy. And now, the society of today—the society of capital—slips on the same slippery steep down which the scarlet mistresses of the mystical East vanished into oblivion.

To ask how this came about sounds like tautology—since the nature of the answer is already indicated. But it was neither by the telic idealism of accumulating "good," nor by the wardship of gifted individuals. There is no reason why this "good,"

e.g., should not have endowed ancient Egypt with the culture of tomorrow's instead of yesterday's 10,000 years; nor why the "masterly man" should not have lifted Egyptian society out of its morass of lethal slavery. Modern research has vindicated their claim to a high state of civilisation, and an intelligence no whit less than the vaunted type of today. And of "great men" there has never been any lack.

But mighty as Bel and Isis were, like Dagon of the Philistines they could not endure the face of the great Mammon of Capital. Ancient Egypt lived in the Bronze Age. The "life of giving revelation" of technical production was not vouchsafed to them, and if—as is sometimes said—the Egyptians knew the force of steam, they certainly knew not how to harness it. And it is primarily the application of power to production that has carried men, in our day, to the pinnacle of renown. It has abolished hand labor and exchanged brawn and muscle for brain and skill. It has converted the militarist adventurer into the Imperialist syndicate, and transformed the political slavery of the chattel into the political slavery of wages. It has unlocked new powers and forces which progress has placed in the hands of a temporary master class. It has formulated a new scheme of subjection, more subtle and sure, since it is the bondage of social consent. It has transformed and remodelled class and caste. It has banished the gods of the sleeping night for the gods of the sleeping day. For the autocracy of the land, it has substituted the autocracy of the machine; and for the tyranny of the "great king" it has involved us in the tyranny of world finance. And in its completer stages of development it is shaking society loose from its convictions, matured in the sun of yesterday; from its ancient preconceptions of law and order, or right and justice, of equity and truth. It is breaking down the stultifying apathy of custom engendered by centuries of discipline, and in the gathering comprehension of a necessitous present, unveiling the ominous origin of the time-honored sanctities of privilege and power.

This is what we imply by education. Not political theorising or classical transcendentalism, but time experience. It is not a fugitive author, or a polemical hero, or inspiring orator which make the fulcrum on which knowledge forces the gates of the mind. They are but side influences. It is social apperception that counts; social understanding of the nature of its life and living. And it is the changing technique of production, with its changing and diminishing gravity of interests, the more feverish and antagonistic cycle of progress and the continual flux and growth in and of the social forces, stemmed, harassed, necessitous, which widen the vision of the driven and conventionalised mass. It is this unveiling of original issues; this dissolution of class interest in the acid of class antagonism; this pressure of development on the modified circumstance of time; this alignment of social interest against private privilege which opens the curtained eyes of tradition to the sparkling world of fact. It is not books, or theory, or men, but common, daily, yoked experience, pulsing hot from the throbbing fountains of life. It is not poverty alone, nor misery, nor degradation, nor party nor politics which effect the recognition and need of change. It is those things

(Continued on page 5)

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Parliament or Cabinet— Which?

By John A. McDonald

Editor's Note:—The following article is consequent upon the discussion on Parliament and Cabinet between Comrades Harrington, "R." and McDonald. See Western Clarion of September 1st and 16th. As stated Sept. 1st, Comrades Harrington and "R." are entitled to close the discussion and they may, if they wish to do so, follow up on this. We are a little concerned over space in this controversy, however, and enter a plea for brevity all round.

PARLIAMENT TODAY

PARLIAMENT, its nature and function, its possibilities, from a proletarian standpoint, as a means to emancipation are matters of much importance to the awakening working class. Many and varied are the opinions expressed, even in our own press, and on our own platform, as to the functions of the legislative institution, and the attitude which should be taken towards it by the different parties in the revolutionary movement.

We have extremists, on one hand, telling us that Parliament is today merely a name or a shadow, and so far as authority and privileges are concerned it has none, being in this respect "sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything." At the other extreme we find those who continue to have sublime faith in the powers of Parliament and to this institution they look for a remedy to cure all the social ills of the age.

Somewhere between these two extremes we have the attitude taken by the Socialist Party of Canada as numerous articles, both pre-election and otherwise, in the "Western Clarion," since the date of its inception, will demonstrate. It is the purpose of this contribution to re-affirm this attitude and make plain the position for "Clarion" readers.

Those who contend that Parliament has no power, no privileges, or authority, and now lives merely on the prestige of its ancient traditions, with the plume plucked, and the pinion broken, are surely obtuse to the relationship existing between the legislative institution and the social system whose interests it reflects. Such outbursts are historically incorrect; and politically absurd.

The name—Parliament—while specially pertaining to the supreme legislature of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, can be applied to all analogous assemblies in other countries. The term may be used to cover the Houses of Lords, Commons, and Representatives, Senate, Reichstag, Chamber of Deputies, etc. In all modern capitalist nations this Parliament is the means through which the ruling class imposes its desires on society. Through its mandate the working class is coerced and capitalist property administered.

Should some pressing incentive necessitate the substitution of other means, such as Cabinet, Monarch, or President, to carry out the will of the dominant class, in all probability such could be accomplished or at least attempted. Up to the present, however, the urge in this direction has not been sufficiently emphasized to ensure such a result. Parliament is still capable of attending to the needs of our rulers, and in such cases as a weakness has been displayed the defect is remedied by a modification of Parliament itself.

Let us take a couple of concrete examples of modern Parliaments in order to see that they can and do function, and are at present the acknowledged centre of power.

In the United States we have a national legislature, consisting of a Senate, and House of Representatives, jointly called Congress; with the executive power vested in the President, and the judicial power in the Supreme Court. Whether or not this legislature, with the exception of the Supreme Court, is elected by the people depends upon the standpoint from which we start. Did we wish to quibble, we could pooh pooh the idea of the people having a will at all, as it is manufactured for them by various methods. By this same mode of reasoning (or lack of one) we could say that the horse has no stable because someone owns it, or I have no job because it is controlled by a boss. The alarm clock suffices to remind one that I have a job, and a hard one.

The people of the U. S. elect the President, the members of the Senate, and the House of Representatives. True, the method of election in regard to the President is somewhat roundabout, as he is nominally chosen by a system of double election through an electoral college. But it is nevertheless the recorded judgment of the people that ensures his election. The seven millions of a majority cast for Harding at the last election amply illustrates the fact that he was returned by a vote of the people.

All citizens of the U. S., we must grant, are not entitled to the franchise. The large migratory population is deprived of the privilege of voting. The negro element, through educational tests, and intimidation have their constitutional privilege in this respect curtailed. But, even allowing for these, and other exceptions, the huge majority of those voting at presidential elections are members of the working class.

That those workers are the creatures of their environment, and have their opinions moulded or fashioned through the institutions at the disposal of their masters, is a commonplace in Socialist circles and need not be specially stressed in this article. The people do the deed regardless of how or where they got their information.

The President appoints a cabinet, or council, of several secretaries who preside over the various administrative departments. This Cabinet has practically no power, as the final decision on all matters of import rests with the President, who is alone responsible to the electors. Still, the members of the different departments hold positions of importance and the fact that a Secretary of Commerce like Hoover, who was opposed to the administration, yet was included in the Cabinet would show that particular interests demand representation that cannot very well be refused.

While the President dominates the Cabinet, his power is regulated by Congress. Let us revert to the case of Wilson and the League of Nations. The President took up a firm stand in support of the League. While some claim that by so doing he was sacrificing the interests of American capitalists, the fact that other figures of national importance, including ex-President Taft, favored the League, with certain minor reservations, is sufficient proof that Wilson's policy coincided with that of one section of the American ruling class.

When we consider the conflict of interests today apparent between national and international capitalists there is no mystery attached to the matter. Though the President could dismiss his cabinet with impunity, he found that he could not override the power of Parliament, and in his decision to become "Aut Caesar aut Nullus," he became the latter.

Turning to the British Parliament, we find that it consists of the King and the Houses of Lords and

Commons. The power of the King, in matters of legislation, is "non est." About a decade ago the power of the Lords was curtailed and the Commons became supreme. The members of this House are elected by the people. Whether it is the knowledge or the ignorance of the people that sends them there is another matter.

The victorious Party at the general elections takes over the reins of government. A Prime Minister is selected. This leader, far from occupying an obsequious position, has for the past seventeen years held precedence next after the Archbishop of York. The Premier selects the Cabinet, taking members both from the Commons and Lords if so decided. The Prime Minister and Cabinet cannot long hold office without possessing the confidence of the House of Commons. This House has full power to dismiss the Cabinet should occasion demand it. The fact that this has seldom been done demonstrates the further fact that the Cabinet has kept its place. It has not made it necessary for its master to take such drastic action.

Naturally, in case of a conflict between Commons and Cabinet either a compromise would be effected or the Cabinet must recede. To introduce the action of the Labor Party in voting against its own measure to avoid political disaster has no more to do with the matter than a Bach fugue or Handel sonata. Labor Party members are elected, not independently, but in conjunction with Liberals, as a glance at any compendium of world events will show. Their existence depends on their obedience to Liberal dictates. To gull their working class constituents they must occasionally display a fighting spirit, but when their bosses, in whose workshop they are employed at odd jobs, find it essential to show them the rod they never hesitate.

The necessity for a change in governmental methods because of the intrusion of "Labor" members is remote. The late Lord Northcliffe stated in Sydney some months ago, that capital was in no way endangered by the election of a sane Labor Government, but had much to gain by such a result. The support given by Viscount Haldane, and others, to the British Labor Party shows that they have no fear of property or property rights in case of an election of a Labor government.

Still, authorities will differ on the matter, and the recent legislation to strengthen the House of Lords, after a decade of impotency, reveals the fear of one section of the British ruling class at a Labor victory. It was not the Cabinet, but the Upper House which attracted their attention.

In a future article I will try to make plain the revolutionary value of participation in Parliamentary elections.

EDUCATION.

(Continued from page 4)

in conjunction with the constant abrogation of social reforms, necessitated by class interests, with the continual transformation of political institutions, required by progressive business; with the necessary unmasking of Imperialist ambitions, consequent of Imperialist aggression; and with the consequent—continually more conscious—gathering together of the social mass, bound by a common interest of need, inspired with a common principle of life, and cognisant of a common aim of social advantage. That is education as we understand it—the changing of the mind of man and mass under the compelling impulse of social fact.

Our much speaking, and boring from within or without, is but a feeble and puny effort in the panorama of enlightenment—negligible in the mighty clamor of capitalist antagonisms. But as every rill and streamlet that trickles from the everlasting hills helps to swell the eventual river, so every influence embodies itself in ultimate social percept and action. And although society, amidst a tragic circumstance of misery, clings—like MacTeague to his canary—with a solicitous tenderness to its airy idols of yesterday, and is apparently impervious alike to changeling fact and class appeal; nevertheless, in due time, the ruthless hammering of experience shall fashion the consciousness of man in accordance with and inspired by the intimate kinship of reality.

R.

Economics for Workers

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

PROFITS AND SURPLUS VALUE CONTINUED.

TO illustrate the difference of the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit let us take the following example.

If a capital of 100 produces with 20 laborers working 10 hours a day a wage of 20 and a surplus of 20 we have this result:—

Total	Capital.	Constant	Cap.	Var.	Cap.	Sur.	Val.	Ex- ploitation
100	80	20	20	20	20	20	100%	100%

The total product being 120, would show 20 per cent profit.

If the hours were increased to 15 a day and wages (i.e. variable capital) remained the same we would have the total value increased from 40 to 60, since 10 to 15 equals 40 to 60.

The result would be:—

C.C.	V. C.	S. V.	Ex.	Rate	Profit
80 plus	20 plus	40 equals	200%	200%	40%

The exploitation and the profit had increased at the same ratio.

On p. 74 (Capital, vol. 3) Marx shows how the rate of profit can become less and surplus value remain the same, e.g.:—

	C.C.	V.C.	S.V.	T't'l. Cap.	Exploit- ation.	Profit
1st.	80+	20+	20	100	100%	20%
2nd.	100+	20+	20	120	100%	16.2-3%
3rd.	60+	20+	20	80	100%	25%
4th.	90+	10+	20	100	200%	20%

We have the rate of exploitation rising from 100% in number 3 illustration to 200 in number 4, while the rate of profit has fallen from 25% to 20%.

Here is the mystery of exploitation laid bare. The 1st and 2nd illustration show the rate of profit falling while exploitation remains the same. This answers the great contradiction, as machinery means greater capital making the profits look smaller as they are quoted on a percentage basis, i.e., on the total capital invested.

Marx also shows that profits can rise or fall at a greater rate than surplus value; if variable capital increases or decreases or if surplus value increases or decreases.

For instance Profits can rise when surplus falls or Profits fall when surplus value rises. For example:—

1st: Variable capital decreases, surplus value rises while profits fall.

C.C.	V.C.	S.V.	Exploitation.	Profit.	Capital
80+	20+	20 equals	100%	20%	100
90+	10+	15 equals	150%	15%	100

Again, when raw material falls profits increase. e.g.:

C.C.	V.C.	S.V.	Exploitation.	Profit.	Capital
80+	20+	20 equals	100%	20%	100
20+	80+	40 equals	50%	40%	100

We therefore see how lower priced material lowers constant capital, increases variable capital and increases profits, while exploitation has decreased to 50%. The explanation is that surplus value is percentage on variable capital as it is through the exploitation of labor that surplus value is created while the rate of profit is the percentage of surplus value to the total capital invested.

Again, the rate of profit may increase through the cheapening of constant capital while the rate of exploitation of the laborer remains the same. e.g.:

C.C.	V.C.	S.V.	Exploitation.	Profit.	Capital
80+	20+	20 equals	100%	20%	100
30+	20+	20 equals	100%	40%	50

Marx states, however: "The falling tendency of the rate of profit is accompanied by a rising tendency in the rate of surplus value, that is in the rate of exploitation. . . Both phenomena, the rise in the rate of surplus value, and the fall in the rate of profit are but the specific forms through which the productivity of labor seeks a capitalistic expression."

"The rate of profit does not fall because labor becomes less productive but because it becomes more productive."

Kautsky touches this point in his "Class Struggle" p. 60: "The total amount of surplus yearly produced in capitalist society today increases rapidly, but still more rapidly grows the total amount of capital invested. It therefore happens that while exploitation grows the rate of profit falls. Some would imagine this would put an end to the capitalist class, but that in no way implies that the income of the capitalist class is becoming less, but the mass of surplus flowing into their hands is growing larger. The conclusion would be correct if the rate of profit sank and the capital invested remained stationary."

The decline of profit and interest does not bring on the downfall, but the narrowing of the capitalist class, and therefore the concentration of wealth and industry into fewer hands. The more highly developed the capitalist system becomes, the more capital is needed, the narrower the field for the worker to leave the laboring class and the capitalist becomes a parasite on the body politic."

Unterman puts it: "The increase of mass profits, despite the decrease in the rate of profit compels the capitalist to invest in new industries and countries, but, they grow up and intensify the situation. The unemployed increases and becomes permanent, keeping wages at a bare subsistence."

The following table illustrates surplus or exploitation at 100% while the rate of profit falls.

CC.	V.C.	S.V.	Ex.	Value.	Profit
60+	40+	40	100%	140	40%
80+	20+	20	100%	120	20%
90+	10+	10	100%	110	10%

In "Value, Price and Profit", Marx says:—

1st. "A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit but broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities."

2nd. "The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise but to sink the average standard of wages."

Marx points out how Adam Smith inferred that the accelerated accumulation of capital must turn the balance in favour of the worker by securing a growing demand for labor, but modern industry was just then in its infancy. We have a number today who claim that more machinery means giving more employment, but Marx shows in "Value, Price and Profit" that if the proportion of the two elements remained the same, Constant Capital to Variable Capital as one to one, it will in the progress of industry however become 5 to 1 or more.

He says: "If of a total capital of 600, 300 is laid out in instruments, raw materials and so forth, and 300 in wages, the total capital wants only to be doubled to create a demand for 600 working men instead of for 300 men."

But if of a capital of 600, 500 is laid out in machinery, materials and so forth, and 100 only in wages, the same capital must increase from 600 to 3600 in order to create a demand for 600 men instead of 300 men. In the progress of industry the demand for labor keeps, therefore, no pace with the accumulation of capital. . . it will still increase, but increase in a constantly diminishing ratio as compared with the increase of capital."

Therefore the capitalist position is strengthened to sink the average wage to a bare subsistence level.

Surplus value, however, is divided up in Rent, Interest and Profit, but is a result of unpaid labor split up amongst the landowner, industrial capitalist and moneylender.

If the capitalist is the owner of the capital he employs and also is the landlord, well, he pockets the whole surplus.

It is immaterial to the worker whether he pockets the whole surplus or has to divide it up as interest and rent. The surplus is produced before the division takes place and it is unpaid labor that produces it. Why then, workers, bother your heads with single tax and other palliative reform nostrums when you only get your slave's portion.

Marx deals with interest bearing capital as representing capital as ownership compared to capital as a function in production.

Marx says: "The money capitalist hands over to the industrial capitalist, money as a commodity. The industrial capitalist receives it as capital; what then is the use value the capitalist hands over? It is the use value the money assumes as being capable of being invested as capital and performing the functions as capital so that it can create a surplus value in addition to preserving its original magnitude of value. In the case of other commodities the use value is ultimately consumed. The substance disappears in consequence and with it their value, but the commodity capital has the peculiarity that the consumption of its use not only preserves its exchange value and its use value but also increases them. The money loaned in this respect shows an analogy with labor power in its relation to the industrial capitalist. The use value of labor power to the industrial capitalist consists in the faculty that labor-power creates more value. In like manner the loan capital appears as its faculty of preserving and increasing value; but interest is just the division of profits. Profits consist of surplus value and surplus value is unpaid labor."

The capitalist mode of production has now separated the superintendence of industry from its ownership and it is no longer necessary for the capitalist to perform any useful function himself; that is performed by paid employees, just as a director of an orchestra need not be the owner of the instruments of its members, nor is it part of the duties of a director that he should have anything to do with the musicians. A superintendent's wages fall like all other skilled-labor wages, with the general development which reduces the cost of production of specially trained labor power. Our technical education moves in that direction.

Therefore, having seen that it is becoming more and more difficult to rise from the working class to the capitalist class, discovering that capitalist development tends ever and anon to sink wages to the limit of subsistence, with a greater rate of exploitation, we should agree with Karl Marx when he said: "Instead of a conservative motto: 'A fair day's work for a fair day's wage,' the unions ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword: 'The abolition of the wages system.'"

Next article: Rent.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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"The Outline of Science"

Editor's Note:—We have seen only parts of Prof. J. A. Thomson's "The Outline of Science," but this review, from "The Freeman" (N. Y.), seems to merit reprinting and will be of use and interest to students primarily. Students in the various cities where there are public libraries should insist upon books such as these being placed on the shelves.

SPECIALIZATION in modern science has become so great that the scientist speaks a language unintelligible not only to the layman but even to his own colleagues whose researches lie in other fields. Every one owes a debt of gratitude to the editor of "The Outline of Science" for attempting to bring into a small compass the results of modern research. Professor Thomson is known as a writer of numerous popular and semipopular works on biology, of which the most recent is the delightful volume on "The Haunts of Life."* The "Outline" itself is very interestingly written; the style is lucid and straightforward though often somewhat jerky; in places the reader's head is being continually twisted about to contemplate some new marvel. The illustrations are always vivid and clear, and the two volumes so far published, especially in the sections dealing with natural history, are very readable indeed.*

But natural history is the easiest part of science to write about because it is the least technical; we have long had interesting and accurate books dealing not only with animals and plants, but also with astronomical and geological subjects. It is the less descriptive and more theoretical parts of the work that constitute the real test of its success; and these, it must be admitted, are not so well done. The evidence is not always properly marshalled or critically handled, the reasoning is sometimes confused and incorrect, verbal descriptions are made to do duty where diagrams are needed, parables take the place of plain speaking, and difficult subjects are quickly passed over with statements so condensed that the reader is given a false impression. The bibliographies also often show important omissions. Moreover, the commendable attempt to maintain an impartial attitude sometimes breaks down at critical points. Thus, while the book avoids being dogmatic about the non-inheritance of acquired modifications, a subject on which scientific dispute has practically ceased, the discussion of vitalism versus mechanism, a question on which scientific opinion leans decidedly toward the latter side, is characterized by a definitely vitalistic bias. Of course the editor might be forgiven or even commended for being frank about his own views; but to the reader Professor Thomson's beliefs are of less importance than an adequate presentation of the mechanistic theory.

Moreover, "The Outline of Science" fails to convey an impression of unity. The great achievement of science is its correlation of apparently unrelated facts, its disclosing of connexions where none have been suspected. To the unsophisticated reader it might well appear from the "Outline" that each science is a law unto itself. Except in that portion of the first volume which relates to the history of the earth and its inhabitants, the articles are arranged with no pretence to any system. The "plain story simply told" becomes a series of stories, each of which is simple merely because its relations to the others have been overlooked.

In another way also the editor of these volumes has shown a lack of a truly philosophic grasp. For although there have been nationalistic controversies over the credit for various discoveries, and in times of stress scientists have, like their non-scientific fellows, been swayed by their political emotions, nevertheless science has always constituted an international fellowship. The fact that, as in the case of wireless telegraphy, an idea may be theoretically

worked out by an Englishman, experimentally demonstrated by a German, and practically applied by an Italian, is not only typical of the method of scientific progress but teaches a lesson of international co-operation which ought not to be neglected. The "Outline," however, seems loath to take the world for its province; it is national in the sense of being British, and sometimes even provincial in the sense of being Scots. The casual reader might well receive the impression that only rarely have contributions to the advancement of knowledge been made outside the boundaries of Britain. Not that credit is given to those who do not deserve it; but it seems strange to read the section on physiology without seeing a mention of Claud Bernard or Johannes Muller, or to go through the discussion of energy without meeting the names of Mayer and Helmholtz. Moreover continental scientists get very scant representation in the picture gallery; in fact almost the only non-British portraits are those of prehistoric men.

The same defect appears in the sections on natural history. Here "our birds" are always British birds, "our mammals" British mammals, "our insects" British insects. These sections might have been utilized to give a more general idea of the life of the earth and to bring out some of the results of geographical distribution. Instead there seems to be rather too much emphasis on the United Kingdom even at the expense of the Dominions beyond the seas.

But after all, as Professor Thomson says in his preface, scientific information is less significant than the scientific habit of mind. As W. K. Clifford pointed out in his essay on the "Ethics of Belief," and as Mr. Bertrand Russell maintained in a recent issue of the Freeman, it is of the utmost practical importance that people should harbour no views for which there is no evidence. If the "Outline" contributes towards such a rational attitude, all its weaknesses may be cheerfully forgiven it. However, a habit of mind, like any other habit, can be acquired only by practice; with all due regard for the services rendered by popular scientific treatises, we must admit that such works often produce a habit of mind quite the reverse of scientific. The over-technical exposition puts the reader under the impression that he has fundamental knowledge where he really has only superficial information. Hence this type of writing may defeat its own purpose. The general reader who is not capable of weighing evidence critically, comes to be easily swayed to any notion that is plausibly trapped out in the paraphernalia of learning; and as a result, he may be induced to hold very definite ideas on subjects concerning which there is no real proof. Professor Thomson himself can scarcely contribute to clear thinking when, for example, he says: "The human sense of race is so strong that it convinces us of reality even when scientific definition is impossible."

Those who greet popular expositions and compilations so enthusiastically as providing a remedy for ignorance lose sight of the fact that reading can never furnish that familiarity with scientific materials and methods that results from work in the laboratory or training in the solution of scientific problems. It may be unfortunate, but it seems to be a fact that we can learn only by taking ideas at intervals, by turning them over in our minds until all their aspects are familiar, by establishing a system of relation between them and our own interests. An outline of history may be both scholarly and readable because the notions with which it deals are familiar to every one; but any general treatment of science worthy of the name must be so full of ideas unfamiliar to the layman as to be quite unassimilable if presented in the guise of ordinary reading-matter. Whatever it may be that the uneducated person can read as he runs, it is not science.

I do not wish to be understood as criticizing Professor Thomson's ability as a scientific expositor. But I do wish to suggest that the subtitle, "A Plain Story Simply Told," is a mistaken one. Science is often a very complicated story requiring complicat-

ed exposition, and no amount of expert teaching can take the place of actual thought on the part of the student. The question it not so much whether one can explain Kant's philosophy to a peasant in his own language, as Tolstoy said that one could, but whether, after one has done so, the peasant can understand one's explanation. So far from being always capable of enunciation in plain English or French or German, science has, in many cases, in order to make any progress at all, had to emancipate itself from the ordinary form of speech and to construct a language of its own. This is particularly true of mathematics and mathematical physics. It is generally recognized that their advance has been due largely to the invention of such notations as the decimal system, logarithms, the calculus, and the vast array of higher mathematical symbols that are utterly meaningless to the layman.

It is in those fields where ideas have become most precise that new methods of recording thought have been found necessary; and if great and highly trained minds like Newton and Einstein have required special languages to formulate and solve particular types of problems, is it likely that lesser and untrained minds can express these problems and present their solutions in terms of everyday speech? It is no mere accident of history that the attempts to popularize mathematics have been very few indeed: "The Outline of Science," at least so far as its contents have been announced, makes not even a pretence at including this subject. Neither is it an accident that those who have written on birds and flowers have left the modynamics, a much more fascinating topic, rather severely alone.

In his preface, Professor Thomson quotes Leibnitz to the effect that as knowledge advances, it becomes possible to condense it into little books. The implication is that, as the books would be little, they would be easy to understand. But this conclusion does not necessarily follow. In fact the "Outline" itself, far from being compressed in its treatment, is quite discursive and its material is spread very thin. Professor Thomson might have quoted a more extreme opinion even than that of Leibnitz, for Laplace said that with sufficient knowledge he could condense all science into a differential equation. Yet we have never seen it suggested that this question would be easy to grasp. The nearest that science has come to such a mathematical formula of the universe, is in the equations of the general theory of relativity; and not even the most sanguine of popularizers has pretended that these are intelligible to any but the expert mathematician.

We have, in modern times, come a great distance along the road of popular education. Yet we must not be deluded into making a fetish of the ordinary man and his everyday speech. It is no injustice to the average intellect to point out that it is incapable of thinking scientifically for very long at a time. Some would claim that this trait can not be altered at all, that the great majority of individuals would under no circumstances be capable of straight thinking. But although there is, of course, a large range of variation in inherited mental ability, yet the general increase in rational thought that has occurred in the course of history does not seem to warrant an attitude of extreme pessimism. It ought to be possible to abolish what we call education, which seems to be a scheme invented for the purpose of preventing the young from learning too quickly until it is too late for them to learn at all, and to devise some system for teaching people what constitutes scientific method, and for giving them the elementary notions of mathematics, physics and chemistry, of biology, and of astronomy and geology. Until we do something of this sort, popular science can scarcely be anything more than an outline—form without substance. We must realize that knowledge, like death, is no respecter of persons; and if there is no royal road to science, neither is there a special highway for the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

ALEXANDER WEINSTEIN.

1. "The Outline of Science: A Plain Story Simply Told." Edited by J. Arthur Thomson. In four volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Vols. I and II. \$3.75 per volume.

2. "The Haunts of Life." J. Arthur Thomson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

3. The third and fourth vols. are now off the press. (Ed. Clarion).

The Clarion Mail Bag

BY SID EARP

A satisfying volume of correspondence has been received at headquarters since last issue. Although small in its organized membership, the revolutionary movement is widespread; and to those earnest comrades who are carrying the message of emancipating truth to the toil driven slaves of Capitalism in the outlying districts, much credit is due. They are the real pioneers of social progress; for by their efforts in mill, mine and camp, the deadening master-class ideology which now holds the workers in a maze of ignorance, is being transformed into a virile class consciousness eager for freedom from Capitalist domination. May their members increase is our fervent wish.

Com. M. Goudie is again to the fore with an interesting letter in which he expresses satisfaction with the upward trend of Clarion finances. He encloses ten dollars collected from the boys in and around St. Johns for the benefit of the C.M.F. That's what we call "square shootin." A request for a bundle of Clarions comes from Montreal per J. St. Andre which has received attention.

A. R. Pearson writes from Toronto; he has recently returned from a trip to the Old Country where amongst other forms of diversion he listened to the great I.L.P. and in Canada to the Workers Party on his return. He encloses a sub and asks for back numbers of the Clarion.

Com. Berry sends in a sub and back membership dues from Stratford, Ontario. Two letters arrived from Winnipeg this time. One from Sidney Rose who asks to be remembered to Charles Lestor and W. A. P. Com. Rose has recently been up against the protagonists of "economic power," and he writes feelingly of the combat. The other letter is from "Sandy," whose normal condition is one of pulsating humour. He says the movement in Winnipeg is very dull at present, one propaganda meeting-every week being the best they can do at present. The controversy ranging around "Ourselves and Parliament" is causing a deal of comment among the boys and a class is to be held on Sunday afternoon for a general discussion. "Sandy" complains that the "Mail Bag" column should not be confined wholly to the recording of subs. His point is well taken, but failing news of the movement we can do no better for the time being: Write again "Sandy," you're a little ray of sunshine.

Com. Lessey sends word from Calgary that Clarion sales have fallen off considerably of late, the boys all being away at work in the country.

J. A. Beckman writes from Meeting Creek, Alberta. He has met with an accident while riding but is now fit and well again. Sends best regards to Vancouver comrades.

A long letter comes from Com. McPherson of the Wimborne Local. Things are quiet just now, but the winter promises much activity for them. He speaks of the gloomy prospect for the farm slaves, as crops are a distinct failure in that district. He also promises to contribute an article to the Clarion soon. Keep cheery Mac, we shall welcome your effort. (See "Public Opinion," this issue, Ed.)

Writing from Renate, B. C. Com. Friesen sends a sub, and speaks warmly in praise of the Clarion. From the same camp also comes a renewal of his sub from Joseph Gray. August Eicke and T. Roberts write from Fernie and Sandon respectively, sending a sub and contribution to the Maintenance Fund.

J. Woods also sends a brief note and a dollar to the Maintenance Fund from Port Hardy, B. C.

From Prince Rupert, Com. Walter Ridout writes to say that the Local there is disbanding as the boys

are all scattered and gone away. He expects to be in Vancouver in a few weeks time. Two short letters and some subs come from Com. E. Simpson, Victoria.

An interesting letter from A. J. Beeny of Winnipeg who hopes soon to be on passage to Vancouver has been received, in which he expresses much interest in the argument over "Ourselves and Parliament."

A welcome letter comes from Com. Frank McNey who has just arrived in San Francisco from a five month's sojourn in the wilderness. He encloses a five spot for back dues and the Maintenance Fund and states that an article can be expected from him soon. W. Raport writes a nice letter from Petaluma, California. He sends a renewal of his sub and a dollar to the Maintenance Fund, and asks to be remembered to comrades in Calgary and Vancouver. Comrade Ed. Price also. He writes from Pasadena, California. He was some years ago a member of Local Winnipeg. Sends \$3 to C.M.F. and \$1 renewal, with a benediction on Clarion efforts.

Comrade J. A. McDonald commenced his winter lectures and educational class courses in Frisco on Oct. 1st. First lecture was entitled "The Coming War." Further lectures announced are "Lenin or Lloyd George?" "Is Darwin a Fraud or Bryan a Fool?" "The Eating Problem and How to Solve it." "The Change from Coal to Oil and After." The effort will be made to establish a Workers' College, independent of political affiliations.

From Rewanui, West coast of New Zealand comes a letter from Com. W. Ayres, enclosing fourteen dollars for subs to the Clarion. He promises more in the near future and signs himself, Yours for Progress; which sounds good enough to us. Good luck to you old man.

HERE AND NOW.

THE burden of our song is still subs. and more subs. The anatomy of humor in the Clarion laboratory is discovered to be useless equipment in the make up and prowess of an accomplished Clarion sub. hunter.

If it were not for the sub. scalping accomplishments of Com. Ayres of New Zealand our totals would be busted this issue altogether. Where are those subs. to come from which we must have? You'll find—if you like to try—that they must come from the folks you meet up with and with whom you undoubtedly discuss Clarion reading matter.

If you consider the matter purposefully we may manage to elude the bailiff yet.

By the way, will the subscriber who sent \$1 from Camrose, Alberta, kindly give us his name?

The following are the righteous:—

Following \$1 each: S. Berry, F. Lawson, G. Wood, H. Ferguson, P. M. Friesen, A. R. Pearson, D. McTavish, J. Gray, Sid. Earp, J. A. Beckman, Ed. Price, C. Foster, No Name, Camrose, Alberta.

E. Simpson \$2; J. M. Sanderson \$3; A. J. Beeny \$2; T. Cameron 50 cents; J. Carlett 50 cts; W. Howson \$2; W. Ayres, New Zealand \$14.17; Miss Antijuntti 50 cents; M. Frederickson 30 cents; Jim Cartwright \$2.50.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 29 September to 12 October, inclusive, total \$40.47.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

J. Woods \$1; T. B. Roberts \$1; W. Clarkson \$1; F. J. McNey \$4; St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie) \$10.25; Local Prince Rupert (per W. Ridout), \$10; E. Rhodes \$2; E. Price \$3; G. D. (per Sid Earp) \$2. Above, C.M.F. contributions received from 29th Sept. to 12th Oct. inclusive, total \$34.25.

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