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Lenin's Life and Work

BY KARL RADEK

(Continued from last issue)

PLECHANOV, although he rejected the illusions of the Narodniki with regard to the independent revolutionary role of the peasantry, was unable to concentrate the attention of the Russian working class upon the question of the alliance with the peasantry, of the alliance with that class without whose aid the proletariat will not be able to conquer power, and against whose will it will not be able to realize Socialism. But Lenin proved capable of doing this, and it was here that Lenin, the great independent thinker of the proletariat, became transformed into the political leader of this class. To lead a class struggle means to gain a clear idea of the conditions essential to victory, and never to forget these conditions, either in moments of stupendous victory or in moments of crushing defeat. The attitude taken by Lenin towards the peasant question forms a new factor in the history of the proletarian world movement.

The agrarian question will not play such a concrete part everywhere as it has done in the Russian revolution. In all advanced capitalist countries, the agricultural workers will not play such an important role as in Russia, but the question of winning over the strata which produce the bread will everywhere be decisive for the proletarian revolution. And Lenin held the attention of the international proletariat to this conquest of bread above everything else, in his theory and his practice alike.

But Lenin's attitude towards the agrarian question has still another aspect, one possessing great value for the coming struggle of the international proletariat. The representatives of revolutionary Marxism in Western Europe have thrown away the baby with the bath water. Even though they rejected Lassalle's views on the "one reactionary mass," in actual practice, they have been afraid of an alliance of the proletariat with non-proletarian elements. Lenin, who in the most decisive manner combated the Menshevik policy of an alliance with the liberal city bourgeoisie holding this to be a class not suited to accompany the proletariat to the extent of the overthrow of absolutism, insisted, with indomitable energy on the alliance with the peasantry, with that petty bourgeois class whose interests would be served by the overthrow of Czarism. In the same manner he taught the proletariat of other countries not to judge the question of relations to non-proletarian elements from the abstract standpoint of the concrete estimation of the interests of the class concerned, from the standpoint of the question: along what portion of the historical path can a non-proletarian class, or a section of such a class, accompany us against the enemy? In a pamphlet on the "Infantile Sicknesses of Communism" Lenin represents precisely the winning over of the mass allies—however irresolute these may otherwise be—as one of the main pre-requisites of the struggle of the proletariat for power and of the struggle for the maintenance of power.

Lenin's main teaching, in his capacity of politician preparing for the seizure of power by the proletariat, is his tenet of the importance of a proletarian party. Lenin's disputes with Menshevism in the year 1903, on the role of the party, on the kind of persons who can be members of a proletarian party,

if properly understood, mean an understanding of one of the main levers of Lenin's policy. Lenin taught the proletariat the art of manoeuvring. This was the task which he set the proletariat from the first moment of his historical activity; at the same time he taught the proletariat that it cannot conduct a manoeuvre struggle until it has become united in itself as a manoeuvring subject. If his teaching on the relations to the peasantry and to the liberal bourgeoisie represents a lesson on the manoeuvres of a proletarian party, then his organizational views form a lesson on how the proletariat is to guard against being itself converted into the involuntary object of the manoeuvres of its enemies.

The question raised by Lenin during the disagreements on the first point of the statutes of the social democratic party, is no less important than those questions which invariably played a part in all other political conflicts with Menshevism. On the contrary, it may safely be asserted that the solution of this question on the first point of the statutes has been the pre-requisite for the execution of Lenin's whole political line. The working class of Russia lived under the yoke of Czarism, which did not permit it to create a mighty mass organization. The working class rose in an elementary struggle against despotism, using the weapon of economic and political strikes. The Mensheviks dreamed of the creation of a broad proletarian mass party, but such a party could not have lived under Czarism. In these circumstances, all negotiations for a broad democratic organization signified an empty dabbling with plans, and would in reality have opened the door of the labor party to anyone expressing sympathy with the labor movement, or materially supporting it. This would have meant abandoning the still scattered and feeble workers' party by petty bourgeois influences. Under the conditions created by Czarism, conditions against which broad strata of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia rose in protest, every lawyer, in consequence of the rottenness of European liberalism, claimed to be socialist. The admittance of these people to the workers' party because they recognized its programme and afforded it material support meant the abandonment of the scattered labor movement to the petty bourgeoisie. Lenin, who demanded that no one should be counted a member of the party unless he were working in an illegal proletarian organization, fought for the diminution of the danger of the subordination of the labor movement to the leadership of petty bourgeois intelligence. Anyone who has broken with bourgeois society, and has risked becoming a professional revolutionist by his participation in an illegal proletarian organization, does not perhaps give absolute security of his allegiance to the cause of the proletariat by this action, but still it is a security to a certain extent.

Lenin, in indicating the path to be pursued by the proletariat, basing this on Marxian analysis and on the illegal organizations of the professional revolutionists, created the necessary premises for a centralized revolutionary leadership of the proletarian struggle. Even the best brains of European socialism, even Rosa Luxemburg, who followed the struggle of the Russian proletariat with the closest attention, found Lenin's organizational principles the

expression of tactics of conspiracy, and feared the separation of the Bolshevik organization from the mass struggle of the proletariat. These fears turned out to be unfounded. During the up-grade period, the Mensheviks created a broad organization; but this organization was led by the vacillating and opportunist intelligentsia. Lenin created an organization capable of leading the proletarian struggle during its most difficult moments, capable of defending revolutionary principles even in the years of revolutionary stagnation, and of creating a mass organization in the period of those historical movements which drive the proletariat forward into class warfare.

Lenin never insisted upon doctrinal forms of organization: out of the illegal organization of 1905, embracing only a few thousand comrades, he first transformed the Communist Party into a mass organization, counting tens of thousands of members during the first and second revolutions; and then he transformed it into an organization containing hundreds of thousands, wielding an influence over millions after the October revolution. Forms have changed, but through all these changing forms, Lenin pursued one idea: that the proletariat needs a revolutionary organization to assure its victory. This organization must be united and centralized, for the enemy is ten times more powerful.

After founding a mass party capable of manoeuvring in the face of the enemy, Lenin's first steps were directed towards the preparation of an armed rising for the seizure of power. Even at moments when we were weakest, or when we had been forced back by defeats, he contrived to induce the Party to fight for every inch of ground, for every smallest position, and to devote its energies to even the smallest daily tasks for the gathering together of proletarian forces. But he never forgot for one moment that all this work was being done with one object in view; the preparation for the seizure of power by the proletariat.

There is nothing more instructive for a communist, than to compare the works written by Lenin during the period of the victory of counter-revolution, with those written at the time of the highest flood-tide of the labor movement. When the first revolution was suppressed, Lenin fought energetically against those who refused to recognize the victory of counter-revolution, and who wanted to renounce all the difficult petty work of collecting forces, hoping that the revolutionary powers would speedily arise again; and he combated with equal energy those who lost sight of revolutionary goals and tried to convert the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat into a struggle for peace. During this period of reaction, Lenin studied carefully the lessons learnt in 1905, for the purpose of being able to utilize these properly for the movement when the next uplift came.

A most valuable contribution to this subject is the article published by him in the year 1908, in the newspaper issued by the Polish social democrats, in which he already raised the question of the mechanical preparation for future armed insurrections, in the light of the experience gained during the Moscow rising.

(Continued on page 3)

Economic Logic

THE general formula of capital is M—C—M—
or Money, commodity, plus money of a greater magnitude than the originally invested amount. The difference in the magnitude of these two sums of money is commensurate with the surplus values created in the sphere of production, and realized in the sphere of circulation.

This difference, or the sum of surplus-values produced by the working-class but taken charge of by the master class constitutes the revenue of that class of parasite, and the revenue of society as a whole for any given period is composed of the sum paid as wages to the working class and the surplus values produced by them. In other words the revenue of society from one year's end to another may be expressed by the formula $v+s$, or wages plus surplus value.

In order to understand the difference between surplus value and profit, it is essential that we understand the difference between the two measures used to arrive at the difference in terms. Surplus value is measured by the wages or variable capital, and when brought into such relationship it is called the rate of surplus value. Thus if the wages were \$20 per week, and the surplus amounted to \$20, the rate would be 100 per cent. The term profit, used by the capitalist, is the relationship of this surplus to the whole capital invested. Thus if \$100 were invested say in machinery, and materials and wages, the \$20 would have to be measured by this \$100 in order to arrive at the capitalist concept of profit. When so measured it is called the rate of profit.

It will readily be seen by this that there is a vast difference between the two rates so expressed. The rate of surplus value is 100 per cent. but the same absolute magnitude when expressed at the rate of profit is only 20 per cent.

The capitalist looks upon this profit as his natural right for taking a chance, although \$80 of this capital was expended for commodities such as machinery and raw material, and, therefore, for equivalents for that sum of money. These equivalents are the capitalists' property. The other \$20 is used for buying another commodity known as labor-power, and it is by this purchase that the capitalist gets his profit. For though the \$20 may be equal to the value of the labor-power of the worker, yet this labor-power, when used productively, creates a value greater than its own. That is the reason labor-power is bought by the capitalist and why the capitalist class fight so fiercely to retain the wages system.

The period of time absorbed in producing commodities is known in economic parlance as the working period. But there is also another portion of time to be used up ere the happy consummation of M—C—M is realized. This period of time is called the time of circulation. It is in this sphere of circulation that value of commodities finds its expression as price. Price being merely the monetary name of value. The two periods of time are called by Marxists "period of turnover." Thus the period of turnover is comprised of two time factors: (1) the working time, and (2) the circulating time.

The two groups of capitalists functioning in these two spheres are known respectively as industrial capitalists and merchant capitalists. The terms used to differentiate the two forms of capital are industrial capital and merchant capital. The merchant does not add value to the commodities, but shares in the surplus-value created in the sphere of production. Between the two periods—the working period and the circulating period—there is a relationship which affects the whole of society, especially the worker. This will easily be seen and understood if we keep in mind that production under capitalism is carried on for profit, and that profit is but another term for surplus-value created during the working period but only realized during circulating period.

When a case of over-production occurs, that is, when the markets of the world are flooded with

commodities which cannot be gotten rid of except by destruction or by "cut-throat prices" the merchant quits buying and the industrialist is obliged to quit producing. We then have what is called a crisis.

We may here then state a law that will be worth remembering: "The quantity of continually serving productive capital is determined by the proportion of circulation time to the period of turn-over." Carefully considered and worked out in different magnitudes of the difference between these proportions and how they affect the working class will well repay the student for the time spent in this problem.

There is still another little law that can be developed from another angle of capitalism, and that is the one that springs from competition. The capitalist system forces the capitalists on the pain of extinction to produce as quickly as possible. He who produces in less time than his brother is enabled to crush that brother out of existence under the law of his own system—the survival of the fittest.

In order to stay in existence as a capitalist therefore, each is compelled to continually introduce labor-saving machinery, more efficient method, a greater intensity of labor among his slaves, with a view of producing a greater mass of commodities in a given space of time.

From this continual renewal and improvement in the machinery of production another law can be

postulated: "Due to the advance in the productiveness of labor a constantly increasing quantity of means of production are set in motion by a progressively diminishing expenditure of human labor." By perfectly sound logic this law can be inverted into: "The higher the productiveness of labor, the greater is the pressure of the laborers on the means of employment, and the more precarious becomes their condition of existence."

It is due to capitalism that there is such a large unemployed army in England, Germany, America, in fact all capitalist countries. It is not due—as many professional writers claim—to the fecundity of the laborer. Nor would a universal application of Margaret Sanger's cure help the working class to solve the problem.

From what little has been touched upon in this article and followed up by a further perusal of Marx's "Capital," it will be made plainly evident that as long as capitalism lasts the more must the misery of the working class increase.

So we may draw this little discussion to a close by stating the logical conclusion that must impress itself on the minds of all those who understand their Marx; this conclusion is: that the elimination of capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism is the only solution. In other words a complete revolution! And to accomplish this we need the power of the State.

J. C. I

Reconstruction

DURING the decade now drawing to a close, there has appeared in the general discussion of current events and world affairs two attitudes or forms of comment and explanation called constructive and destructive criticism. The line of division is often very indistinct and vague because of the shifting basis of opinion and diverse application, due chiefly to an economic or political bias. It is assumed by some that destructive criticism is necessarily negative in character and barren of result, where the Constructive form is opposite in effect. This may or may not be the case, depending upon the subject dealt with, by whom used and at what object it is levelled.

There is perhaps no more destructively critical element, in the narrow personal sense, than the great mass of poorly educated working people, and from where does most of their inspiration come if not from those same egotists who hold themselves so superior to the mob? If hero worshippers abound among the majority of the population none are so ready as these peculiar chroniclers to supply the material for the manufacture of saviours to be praised or villains to be damned. Thus the quality of their own education is not far removed from that of the common herd they never tire of abusing. The critical methods of these incurable romancists takes the old form of character sketches, memoirs and anecdotes and legends of prominent personages brought to the general notice by fortuitous circumstances, and weaving around their careers the sequence of events as the special outcome of the dynamic power of their colossal intellects. In this way has arisen the doctrine of personal responsibility, generating those commonly accepted ideas by which the bulk of mankind looks for a solution of its problems within the individual consciousness. It thereby accepts as facts the claims of individual theorists and assesses its miseries and worries as proceeding from laziness or brainlessness.

The war with its aftermath of crisis and revolution has given plenty of scope for any critical ability or analysis, but chiefly simmers down to the methods referred to above. The majority sup-

port the powerful interests that dominate the field of industry and politics today, the others, with some success, attacking the prevailing economic system.

So in spite of the enduring reverence for biographical incidents and personal illusions there is a considerable body among the laboring class that expresses itself quite otherwise. Its destructive criticism places small stress on the personal element, having a wider outlook and being deeply analytical. It is germinated in industry, is shaped and directed and gains its compelling force from the daily observation and study of the giant tools and functions of the entire productive machinery around which the workers gather to operate. They cannot help but see the interdependence of all units in the process which, on an international and world scale, becomes social in character. They note further that the ownership is not vested in society but held by a distinct class, only a small part of the whole, and that to rail against these or praise them, offers no solution to their problem.

The problem of the working class is poverty and its solution, though they toil and strive their position is essentially that of beggars. The active factor in production, they scarcely achieve the minimum requirements of a meagre livelihood, and what there is of enjoyment here takes on a hectic flush and the quickly passing fantasies of empty lives. Brainless and lazy some of them may be, but that applies with equal force to their masters, for as a class the workers, good and bad, produce everything of value. Knowing this there arises the idea of class consciousness and action, the sign of awakening intelligence and the point of advance. No longer hero worshippers, the more enlightened support class policies even though at times such are vague and ill-founded and lead to temporary defeats and set backs.

From this time on the tenets of an outworn philosophy fade and in its place the new concepts of the governing material environment and their class mission guide the conscious working people in obedience to the law of change, to the advantage of all humanity.

O. RAYNER

LENIN'S LIFE AND WORK.

(Continued from page one)

At the time of the imperialist war, when the labor movement all over the world was being crushed not only by the military apparatus, but by the treachery of Social Democracy, Lenin was working—although at the same time he was supporting every practical step taken by those whose ideals he shared, and devoting much concrete activity to the creation of an illegal organization and to the utilization of legal possibilities—in his Swiss loneliness, on the Marxian tenets with regard to the State, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus paved the way for the insurrection of October, 1917. Even such fighters as Rosa Luxemburg and Mehring, who never lowered their weapons for a moment before triumphant German imperialism and the triumphant social patriotism of the International, regarded it as a piece of romanticism when Lenin issued the slogan of civil war in the first manifesto of the Bolshevik Central Committee, only two months after the outbreak of the great war. At that time they did not even venture to issue the slogan of a split in German Social Democracy.

Even in this black night of reaction Lenin prepared for the October rising of the proletariat. And when during the first weeks of the February revolution, he returned to Russia and unfolded the ideal of the Soviet power to his amazed Party comrades, he taught the Party at the same time to exercise the greatest patience in enlightening the masses still under the influence of social patriotic stupefaction, and to move forward among the masses step for step, in proportion to the growth of the revolutionary crisis. Lenin, who came to Russia with the idea of the Soviet republic, issued the slogan of a constitutional assembly as a stage on the road to the Soviet republic. At that time the slogan of the Soviet republic was his guiding star; but he realized that the masses would only follow this star after first being disappointed in the idea of democracy, in the idea of the constitutional assembly. He did not demand from the masses that they omit the transitional stage of the constitutional assembly, he was willing to overcome this stage together with them. He did not liquidate this slogan until after the seizure of power, when the constitutional assembly proved demonstratively that it formed an obstacle in the way of the peace which was the main object of the struggle.

The whole of Marxism teaches the proletariat how it has to conduct the struggle for power. But that this teaching is contained in Marxism was deeply hidden from the proletariat at that time, not only as a result of the opportunism of Social Democracy, which substituted bourgeois democracy for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also as a result of the fact that the European labor movement, after the year 1871, had developed along the lines and within the confines of bourgeois democracy. Lenin rediscovered Marx's teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only because he was a revolutionary scholar of Marx but because the Russian proletariat had set its foot on the path towards the struggle for power.

Lenin, as the leader of the October insurrection and the leader of the Soviet power, is the highest embodiment of all that he taught during the period of preparation. "The revolutionary politician has to reckon with millions of human beings"—said Lenin. And as the leader of Soviet Russia he showed to the world proletariat with unexampled and graphic clarity and on a millionfold scale, everything which the small circle of Russian Bolsheviks had learned in the course of the preceding decades. By means of the symbol of sickle and hammer he reminded the whole European proletariat: "Seek your allies in the village, for this alliance will give you the bread you need for the revolution"; by means of the red star of the red army he showed the proletariat that the force of the enemy is to be broken by the force of the proletariat, of a proletariat followed by those classes of society whose interests demand a struggle against the reaction of the landowners and the capitalists. When he stood at the head of the mighty state apparatus, he pointed out and demonstrated unceasingly to the proletariat of all countries that power can only be maintained with

the support of the united vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party. Thus Lenin tested his theories in the fire of actual deeds, and it is thanks to this test that he became the teacher of the international proletariat, the founder of the Communist International.

(To be continued)

The Farmer's Forum

FARMER AND WAGE WORKER

Editor's Note: The above is an old *Time* Clarion headline which is not out of place, in view of the fact that the wheat pool propaganda on the part of the United Farmers of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba is causing considerable discussion, particularly in those areas. The Clarion circulates throughout those areas, and more discussion of farmers' problems is all to the good. Hence we hope we shall be able to maintain the headline. Comrade Paton appears to think the wheat pool has set itself the task of fixing the price of wheat, a point upon which there is room for discussion. Likewise there is room for argument as to what position we should take, as socialists, to the wheat pool propaganda.

WE are informed that the angel of freedom has now descended upon the earth equipped with the keys that will release those that have been long held in bondage. The bugle sounds the death knell of a section of the middle class, reducing a force that will swell the ranks of the proletarian army, but in no way does it sound freedom to farmers from capitalism. It is strange why capitalists and their gas blowers (the press) are all singing "Lead kindly light, lead Thou them on." The Guardian Angel has alleviated the anxiety of creditors by leaving an opening in the pool bag for those gentry to collect the swag with as little inconvenience as possible. The howl of the affected gang may be heard reverberating throughout the country, but everything in the garden looks lovely so far for the big interests. The Wheat Pool tickles the fancy of the uninformed, carrying them away in paroxysms with the idea of fixing a price on wheat in exchange for other commodities and thus solving the problem for the present distressful circumstances prevailing among farmers.

Now, Mr. Farmer, how do you know that the price of wheat is too low or too high? How do you know that the price of any commodity is high or low? Surely there must be some basis to work on in order to decide whether price is in excess or not. The value of a commodity is determined by the labor time socially necessary required for its reproduction; price will be regulated by supply and demand. This may be above or below value, but in any case price, taken over a given period, will be around the value of the thing priced. In order for you, Mr. Farmer, or your Pool Executive to fix a price on wheat to pay the wheat producers, a knowledge of the total labor time spent by those engaged in the production of the national wheat crop will be necessary. In the production of wheat farmers are engaged almost the year round. Seeding in spring, summer fallowing during summer, harvesting in fall and hauling to the elevator in winter. Supposing now that a record is taken each year in the different provinces by farmers using necessary methods in the production of wheat. The total cost must be summed up and an average struck per acre, divided by the average amount of bushels, giving an average cost per bushel in order to arrive at a fair knowledge as to whether wheat is too high or too low. No matter what the price of wheat will bring in the world's market it will never equalize the remuneration to all wheat growers as it cost all the way from \$8 up to \$30 per acre to produce wheat, according to information to hand from men heading the grain business. You cannot escape the fact that private ownership of the means of transportation and storage eats up the bulk of your value created on the farm. I know you hold a grudge against the

wage-worker and blame him for the high cost of transportation and the excessive price of everything you buy. The factory owners, transportation companies, and machine companies will pay no more for laborpower than its value. Let us see how we arrive at the value of labor-power.

Supposing a manufacturer starts in the hat business. He erects a building, installs machinery and buys raw material. Labor-power, to set the machinery in motion is necessary, so the hat factory owner hires ten men to work ten hours per day to make hats. The wages paid to those ten men will just cover their food, clothing, and shelter. The Canadian press tell us that 2,000,000 farmers in Canada produce sufficient in one year to feed 50,000,000 persons. Now that is very cheap and won't take very much time on the average to produce enough to feed one man and his wife and family. Assuming that \$2 per man each day is necessary to buy the essentials to reproduce the workers' energy, the manufacturer will pay \$20 per day in wages to the ten men hired.

Society has spent two hours in the production and distribution of sufficient to reproduce the workers' energy, so in two hours the ten men have made twenty hats to the value of \$20, covering all that is necessary to maintain ten men for one day. But another hour the ten men work and produce other ten hats, value \$10, to pay the factory owner for the wear and tear of his machine, the raw material, oil and fuel used up in the productive process. Expenditure \$30. Value created in three hours 30 hats, absolute value, \$30. Now Mr. Farmer, this is the process of capitalist production; and the worker gets no more than the value of what it will take to keep him from day to day.

By virtue of the ownership of the machine the owner demands a ten hour day although the ten men have created in three hours sufficient to cover their wages and pay for the use of the machine and the other necessities. The machine hums for other seven hours with the labor of the hired ten men producing at the same rate 10 hats per hour. This is termed by Karl Marx Surplus Value, something the workers produce and for which they receive nothing in return.

Now, supposing, Mr. Farmer, that the workers owned the machine and decided to pool their hats, clothing, boots, lumber, farm machinery, and everything that society required to satisfy its wants. If such was to happen, would it not be imperative to have a central industrial executive to arrange for the exchange of products? With the private owners eliminated, you, Mr. Farmer, would share in the above surplus and the wage workers in return would share in the agricultural surplus in the exchange of the different products.

When 2,000,000 farmers in Canada produce enough to feed 50,000,000 persons, and wage workers produce 50 or 60 per cent. surplus, why are you farmers in misery and want and wage workers and their families in the same position?

GEO. PATON.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA
MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY

THEATRE ROYAL

SUNDAY APRIL 13.

Speaker: J. HARRINGTON.

Subject: Britain's Labor Victory and its
Meaning.

SUNDAY APRIL 20.

Speaker: SAM GUTHRIE, M.L.A.

(Labor, Newcastle)

Subject: Progress and Politics.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

Questions. Discussion.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., APRIL 16, 1924.

THE THIRD PARTY.

THE day of the Third Party seems to have arrived. The position of orthodoxy in politics, divided into two main rival party contestants for power, has suffered a serious shake-up. Not that there have never been more than two parties anywhere. In Great Britain, for example, Labor has been a Third Party of some political consequence since 1906, but not until two years ago has its challenge for power been a serious threat to the established Two Party system. In Canadian Federal politics the government of the day holds office through the aid of the Progressives—the Federal Third Party—and in several Provinces the farmers in politics have upset the old routine in form if not in fact. Here in B. C. too we have a quite expensive and privately owned Third Party booming forth its qualities, based largely on the iniquities of the old tenants of office. In the United States there appears to be universal agreement that a Third Party is now in order and there is hope and expectation that a well organized Third Party will step up. And by all accounts it will.

Now with all this it may appear strange that the fact has escaped public attention that there have been and there are now Third Parties of all shades and color. By Third Parties we mean, of course all Parties that live and have their being outside the two old ones. Taking important cases first—our own, of course—we have the condition in Canada that the Progressives have inherited more consideration as a factor in politics than any other group not clothed in exact-fitting orthodox garments. We have two Labor members in the Federal house who receive as much attention as their representative voice is considered to be entitled to, and no more.

In the Province of British Columbia we are to have an election soon again, if the gossips are to be believed. The last election and the policy of the government then to be elected was conditioned very largely upon the best appearing program concerning liquor selling. Public interest appeared to be centred upon that. In the election to come what is known as the "beer plebiscite" seems to be the hinge upon which the date of election opens or closes. And in spite of the fact that the Socialist Party and Labor Parties of one sort and another have been skirmishing incessantly for many years there suddenly crops up a disgruntled element born from the two orthodox parties and constitutes itself at once a Third Party, recognized as such in the public eye, to the exclusion of all other Third Parties claiming attention.

The political parties of the working class, however may be the platform they stand upon and the program they formulate, rest their case in the hands of the working population of the country for understanding and endorsement. Apparently the working population, when it looks for change, insists on recognizing whatever may be nearest in complexion to that which it has cast off and not—as of course it should—that which is farthest from it. This is a lesson which has yet to be learned among some of our friends whose good intentions weigh well against the noise they make in proclaiming their inexperience. We entertain high hope that the coming election will provide occasion for arresting

general working class attention to the best laid schemes now current. These conditions being laid down we hazard the opinion that the Third Party, if a live one is hatched actually to crow in the Legislative Assembly, will be one not very different from the two that crow there now.

AMBITION ASSERTS ITSELF.

AS we go to press we encounter the following nasty little piece, headed "From Our Own Correspondent," in the B. C. Federationist April 11, 1924. We reprint it in full:—

Nanaimo, April 10.—Politically, it would appear from information gathered here and there, that the atmosphere is not very clear. The Socialist party of Canada—about seven in number—still persist, without consulting the workers, in attempting to foist upon them W. A. Pritchard, of Vancouver, as the workers' candidate. This action is resented by many, who have nothing personally against Mr. Pritchard, but who feel that other methods should be adopted in such matters, and that other candidates might be available who would be more in touch with the local situation, and receive a much more enthusiastic support. It is almost certain that, if the former persist in their tactics, there will be two labor candidates in the local field.

H. M. Bartholomew, of Winnipeg, a member of the Workers party of Canada, is to speak here, in the Foresters' Hall, Friday, April 11th, on the subject: "The Gang Behind the Government." Tom Barnard in the chair.

There! Now Tom, next time you send these nice little despatches don't try to hide behind the screen of "Our Own Correspondent," and while you are at it be decent and say you are pining to be that other candidate.

Here's what we'll do. We'll be workmanlike about the matter, which seems to worry you. Consult with our folk in Nanaimo, call an open convention and let the Nanaimo workers name their candidate. But don't try to jig it up. Ambition suffers frustration sometimes when it becomes too heady. Consult the workers by all means. That policy will never go astray for long.

HERE AND NOW.

IN our halcyon days we held the good acquaintance of a Chinaman who was friendly enough to unload his troubles and worries on to us as they came to him. His troubles and worries—he was a business Chinaman—consisted of a chronic scarcity of assets as against liabilities. Recounting his declining fortunes his practise was to enumerate the "good" figures against the "bad" figures and to exclaim—"no can live long!" He might have made a fair living as a prophet.

We stumbled across some figures concerning mortality in newspapers the other day. Apparently the past ten years have seen the death of forty daily newspapers in Canada. Forty-seven weeklies and four semi-weeklies died in 1923. By all accounts the ante-mortem pronouncement most favored by one and all was attuned after the fashion of the Chinaman—"No can live long!"

Long life, Here and Now, depends on subs and our hope of subs rests on you. What will the answer be? These are whispers to go on with:—

Following \$1 each: A. Briggs, F. Reynolds, George Paton, Frank Kelly, O. Rayner, George Bowden, N. Sorenson, H. Oppikoper, J. Bennett, Parry & Sim, J. Wilson, H. W. Speed.

Following \$2 each: P. J. Hunt, Harry Judd, D. MacLeod, C. MacDonald, "R. S.", D. Sullivan.

A. H. Giles \$1.15; E. Simpson \$4; C. Lester \$6.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 27th March to 10th April, inclusive, total \$35.15.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

D. MacLeod, \$2.50; W. J. Kennedy \$1; Frank Kelly \$2; N. Sorenson 50 cents; "F. C.," \$1; Proceeds from Paris Commune celebration social and

dance \$29.35. (Note: The total surplus amounted to \$39.35. The sum of \$10 is held in reserve for future use of the Social Committee).

Above, Clarion Maintenance Fund receipts from 27th March to 10th April, inclusive, total \$36.35.

THE LAW OF AVERAGE

BEFORE a marksman can win a place on the Bisley team he must be a good "average shot," that is, he must be able to shoot well at all ranges. Places on the team are determined by the three stages of the Governor-General's match.

When poultrymen speak of a good average egg type bird, they do not mean a chicken that shows a record performance for one month, but one that produces good results over a period of twelve months. A chicken, to be a good "average layer" must be able to lay well in all seasons.

A switchboard operator's report is not complete until he estimates the "average power" used by the various consumers.

The astronomer measures the "average" rainfall; the statistician records "average hours and wages," etc., etc.

Marx, when writing of "Value," said it was not the least skilled or unskilled labor that determined the value of a commodity but that it was the "average labor" involved in its production, within a given period etc. Capitalists realize the meaning of the term average, and in the mad struggle for average profits world competition is forcing them to make what is considered necessary "average labor," today, less necessary tomorrow.

USE VALUE OF COAL.

COAL is not produced "based on the amount required for domestic use, industrial processes and production of power," therefore, we cannot expect it to accomplish its various purposes without discrepancies arising somewhere. When coal appears on the market it is invariably in the form of a "feast or a famine." One province has a bountiful supply while another shows a great shortage. This condition is not confined to provinces, but affects every city and household. To mitigate this inconvenience arising out of "Production for profit" the salesman advises buying coal in the summer to ensure its possession in the winter. The politician orates on developing our own (?) coal areas, etc. Some capitalist economists have even attempted to show that the use value of coal has an influence on its price. That a price is not the barometer of use value is easily seen when illustrated by a train. If for some reason the price of coal was to rise to \$23.50 per ton, a train running between two divisional points would still require the same tonnage, as formerly to take it from point to point. The use value of coal consists in its utility to man, that is, the measure of the want it will fill. It may be used in a humble stove, to give heat, or, a gigantic engine to produce power. When measured by a "calorimeter" various grades of coal will record different calorific values, or in other words, a different number of "heat units" per given weight. This is the "Use Value" of coal, when used as fuel, and it is very obvious this is not determined by the desires of men or what they are prepared to pay for various grades.

A. G. McC.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LEOKIE.

NOW READY

Preface by the author.

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The Machine Process

(Concluded from last issue.)

TOOLS, mechanical appliances and movements, and structural materials are scheduled by certain conventional scales and gauges; and modern industry has little use for, and can make little use of, what does not conform to the standard. What is not completely standardized calls for too much of craftsmanlike skill, reflection, and individual elaboration, and is therefore not available for economical use in the processes. Irregularity, departure from standard measurements in any of the measurable facts, is of itself a fault in any item that is to find a use in the industrial process, for it brings delay, it detracts from its ready usability in the nicely adjusted process into which it is to go; and a delay at any point means a more or less far-reaching and intolerable retardation of the comprehensive industrial process at large. Irregularity in products intended for industrial use carries a penalty to the nonconforming producer which urges him to fall into line and submit to the required standardization.

The materials and moving forces of industry are undergoing a like reduction to staple kinds, styles, grades, and gauge. Even such forces as would seem at first sight not to lend themselves to standardization, either in their production or their use, are subjected to uniform scales of measurement; as, e.g., water-power, steam, electricity, and human labor. The latter is perhaps the least amenable to standardization, but, for all that, it is bargained for, delivered, and turned to account on schedules of time, speed, and intensity which are continually sought to be reduced to a more precise measurement and a more sweeping uniformity.

The like is true of the finished products. Modern consumers in great part supply their wants with commodities that conform to certain staple specifications of size, weight, and grade. The consumer (that is to say the vulgar consumer) furnishes his house, his table, and his person with supplies of standard weight and measure, and he can to an appreciable degree specify his needs and his consumption in the notation of the standard gauge. As regards the mass of civilized mankind, the idiosyncrasies of the individual consumers are required to conform to the uniform gradations imposed upon consumable goods by the comprehensive mechanical processes of industry. "Local color," it is said, is falling into abeyance in modern life, and where it is still found it tends to assert itself in units of the standard gauge.

From this mechanical standardization of consumable goods it follows, on the one hand, that the demand for goods settles upon certain defined lines of production which handle certain materials of definite grade, in certain, somewhat invariable forms and proportions; which leads to well-defined methods and measurements in the processes of production, shortening the average period of "ripening" that intervene between the first raw stage of the product and its finished shape, and reducing the aggregate stock of goods necessary to be carried for the supply of current wants, whether in the raw or in the finished form. Standardization means economy at nearly all points of the process of supplying goods, and at the same time it means certainty and expedition at nearly all points in the business operations involved in meeting current wants. Besides this, the standardization of goods means that the interdependence of industrial processes is reduced to more definite terms than before the mechanical standardization came to its present degree of elaborateness and rigor. The margin of admissible variation, in time, place, form, and amount, is narrowed. Materials, to answer the needs of standardized industry, must be drawn from certain standard

sources at a definite rate of supply. Hence any given detail industry depends closely on receiving its supplies from certain, relatively few, industrial establishments whose work belongs earlier in the process of elaboration. And it may similarly depend on certain other, closely defined, industrial establishments for a vent of its own specialized and standardized product. It may likewise depend in a strict manner on special means of transportation.

Machine production leads to a standardization of services as well as of goods. So, for instance, the modern means of communication and the system into which these means are organized are also of the nature of a mechanical process, and in this mechanical process of service and intercourse the life of all civilized men is more or less intimately involved. To make effective use of the modern system of communication in any or all of its ramifications (streets, railways, steamship lines, telephone, telegraph, postal service, etc.), men are required to adapt their needs and their motions to the exigencies of the process whereby this civilized method of intercourse is carried into effect. The service is standardized, and therefore the use of it is standardized also. Schedules of time, place, and circumstance rule throughout. The scheme of everyday life must be arranged with a strict regard to the exigencies of the process whereby this range of human needs is served, if full advantage is to be taken of this system of intercourse, which means that, in so far, one's plans and projects must be conceived and worked out in terms of those standard units which the system imposes.

For the population of the towns and cities, at least, much the same rule holds true of the distribution of consumable goods. So, also, amusements and diversions, much of the current amenities of life, are organized into a more or less sweeping process to which those who would benefit by the advantages offered must adapt their schedule of wants and the disposition of their time and effort. The frequency, duration, intensity, grade, and sequence are not, in the main, matters for the free discretion of the individuals who participate. Throughout the scheme of life of that portion of mankind that clusters about the centres of modern culture the industrial process makes itself felt and enforces a degree of conformity to the canon of accurate quantitative measurement. There comes to prevail a degree of standardization and precise mechanical adjustment of the details of everyday life, which presumes a facile and unbroken working of all those processes that minister to those standardized human wants.

As a result of this superinduced mechanical regularity of life, the livelihood of individuals is, over large areas, affected in an approximately uniform manner by any incident which at all seriously affects the industrial process at any point.

As was noted above, each industrial unit, represented by a given industrial "plant," stands in close relations of interdependence with other industrial processes going forward elsewhere, near or far away, from which it receives supplies—materials, apparatus, and the like—and to which it turns over its output of products and waste, or on which it depends for auxiliary work, such as transportation. The resulting concatenation of industries has been noticed by most modern writers. It is commonly discussed under the head of division of labor. Evidently the prevalent standardization of industrial means, methods, and products greatly increases the reach of this concatenation of industries, at the same time that it enforces a close conformity in point of time, volume, and character of the product, whether the product is goods or services.

By virtue of this concatenation of processes the modern industrial system at large bears the character of a comprehensive, balanced mechanical process. In order to effect an efficient working of this industrial process at large, the various constituent sub-processes must work in due coordination throughout

the whole. Any degree of maladjustment in the interstitial coordinations of this industrial process at large in some degree hinders its working. Similarly, any given detail process or any industrial plant will do its work to full advantage only when due adjustment is had between its work and the work done by the rest. The higher the degree of development reached by a given industrial community, the more comprehensive and urgent becomes this requirement of interstitial adjustment. And the more fully a given industry has taken on the character of a mechanical process, and the more extensively and closely it is correlated in its work with other industries that precede or follow it in the sequence of elaboration, the more urgent, other things equal, is the need of maintaining the proper working relations with these other industries, the greater is the industrial detriment suffered from any derangement of the accustomed working relations, and the greater is the industrial gain to be derived from a closer adaptation and a more facile method of readjustment in the event of a disturbance.—the greater is also the chance for an effectual disturbance of industry at the particular point. This mechanical concatenation of industrial processes makes for solidarity in the administration of any group of related industries, and more remotely it makes for solidarity in the management of the entire industrial traffic of the community.

A disturbance at any point, whereby any given branch of industry fails to do its share in the work of the system at large, immediately affects the neighboring or related branches which come before or after it in the sequence, and is transmitted through their derangement to the remoter portions of the system. The disturbance is rarely confined to the single plant or the single line of production first affected, but spreads in some measure to the rest. A disturbance at any point brings more or less derangement to the industrial process at large. So that any maladjustment of the system involves a larger waste than simply the disabling of one or two members in the complex industrial structure.

So much is clear, that the keeping of the balance in the comprehensive machine process of industry is a matter of the gravest urgency if the productive mechanism is to proceed with its work in an efficient manner, so as to avoid idleness, waste, and hardship. The management of the various industrial plants and processes in due correlation with all the rest, and the supervision of the interstitial adjustments of the system, are commonly conceived to be a work of greater consequence to the community's well-being than any of the detail work involved in carrying on a given process of production. This work of interstitial adjustment, and in great part also the more immediate supervision of the various industrial processes, have become urgent only since the advent of the machine industry and in proportion as the machine industry has advanced in compass and consistency.

It is by business transactions that the balance of working relations between the several industrial units is maintained or restored, adjusted and readjusted, and it is on the same basis and by the same method that the affairs of each industrial unit are regulated. The relations in which any independent industrial concern stands to its employees, as well as to other concerns, are always reducible to pecuniary terms. It is at this point that the business man comes into the industrial process as a decisive factor. The organization of the several industries as well as the interstitial adjustments and discrepancies of the industrial process at large are of the nature of pecuniary transactions and obligations. It therefore rests with the business men to make or mar the running adjustments of industry. The larger and more close-knit and more delicately balanced the industrial system, and the larger the constituent units, the larger and more far-reaching will be the effect of each business move in this field.

Revolutions: Social and Political

BY J. HARRINGTON

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIVE

THE Paris Commune was the grand finale of the revolutionary drama so far as labor graced the stage, and by the same token released the revolutionary actions of capital. This terrible defeat of the Parisian working class was so overwhelming that it carried with it the defeat of labor throughout the world, and left the new economic masters of the world free to consolidate their victory. The First International drooped and died; and socialism became a statutory crime.

No longer dreading the proletariat, capital turned its attention to the task of freeing itself from the monarchical shelter under which it had sought refuge during its struggle with the warlike feudal lord. So that France received its ideal of freedom—the Republic, from that notorious monarchist Thiers, who, by one of those ironic twists of circumstance became its first president. Germany came into its heritage, a united empire, through the machination of an ultra conservative junker, Bismarck; Hungary received independence from a similarly minded junker, Deit; Italy drove the dauntless Garibaldi from her shores, to receive blessings “not promised at her birth,” from Cavour, and so on.

Within a score of years after the Commune the monarchy in Europe had automatically become a combination decoy which drew the fire of the revolutionary and a glorified advertising medium which attracted foreign trade, particularly among “backward peoples.” To the native potentates of Africa and Asia, still in the political status of feudalism, the grand emissary of an Emperor had an outstanding advantage over the democratic representative of a mere President, as France was to discover to her cost. And so we have the monarchy still with us, at the beck and call of every blacksmith's or navy's son who happens for the moment to represent democracy by chance, force or fraud. Shades of Plantagenet and Hapsburg, defend us from seasons such as this.

But apart from these relics of a non-steam age, the bourgeoisie dominated everywhere except in Russia. In the total collapse of the Republican idea we have an excellent example of the influence of ideas in human development. Take up any work written previous to 1871 by any liberal-minded publicist and you will find tirade and arguments against the monarchy in more or less profusion. Since then, flourishing Republican societies have died everywhere, but the object of their irrefutable logic and rousing eloquence remains.

The development of industry removed them from power if not from place; it was the happy solution in another form, which Paine voyeered at his peril during the French Revolution: “Let us kill the monarchy but not the monarch.” It is an astonishing fact when we fully realize it, that revolutions of force, in which the rising capitalist class completely overthrew the monarchies, during the 17th and 18th centuries did not give them social domination, and that following these complete victories the monarch came back with renewed vigor and brought with it all the shameful practices which had hastened its fall; and that in due course of time, without the loss of a night's rest social dominance came to the capitalist by sheer force of circumstances. Not that there was no struggle, nor lack of striving to that end. There was, both consciously and otherwise, but the fulfilment of their desire lay not so much in the struggle for it as in the general trend of social development. Marx, with his deep insight into historical development saw this, and has stated it with perfect clearness throughout his mature works, which the “real” Marxists desperately try to conceal, there being at present a fair market for ranting and raving about Dictatorship.

Marx wrote prefaces to his books which equal in quality if not in quantity the book itself, and in his “Critique of Political Economy” he says no social system is ever displaced until all the elements of development are worked out. In his “Civil War in France” he says so again, with particular reference to the working class. Anarchists, industrial unionists and communists with an anti-political bias have seized on a sentence in this book and trot it out in season and out. They neither look before nor after. Why should they? These few words answer their purpose and if they fool no one else they kid themselves. “The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.” This is followed by a minute analysis of the modern State and its uses, which our lefty revolutionary comrades might read with profit if not with pleasure. In the Commune Marx saw the germ of a new form of social association through which the workers might more effectively move toward their emancipation. By weakening the centralized State, through the abolition of the standing army, and the placing of all powers in the hands of the Communal Authorities, and the arming and drilling of all citizens, in the National Guard, it really gave political supremacy to the working class, but he says: “The political rule of the producer cannot co-exist with the perpetuation of his social slavery.” He later declares that the working class “know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form toward which present society is irresistibly tending, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historical processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which the old bourgeois society is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and ink horn, and the didactic patronage of well wishing bourgeois doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crochets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility.” They can afford too, a hearty laugh at those tame puss-footers who suffer from the delusion, if it be delusion and not downright trickery, that the proletariat revolution can be accomplished minus the proletariat. Marx profiting by the practical schooling received in the revolutionary period of 1848, in all his writing since that time insists upon the historical development concept.

In fact the change from the revolutionary overthrow to that of industrial development occurred within a few months. In the spring of 1850 there still remained a hope that the revolutionary fires might be revived, and with the experience gained in two years of struggle there was a possibility that a sudden onslaught might be successful. By the end of the year reaction was everywhere triumphant. The suffrage was withdrawn, “free speech” denied and every proletarian organization disbanded or rendered helpless. The last argument to a general uprising was answered when the leaders of the Communist League were arrested and thrown into gaol early in 1851, and found guilty late in 1852 by means we have already referred to.

Both Marx and Engels read the lesson and immediately revised their tactics, which brought down upon them the wrath of all those warriors of the mouth, who up to then had anticipated good pickings, which, however, they afterwards received at the hands of Bismarck and Napoleon when it became apparent that Marx and Engels were correct.

This does not prevent the mouthers of today from enjoying themselves in a mimic world of their own, patterned on France and Germany of 1848, and Russia of 1917, and justifying their futile antics on what Marx said during and immediately following the revolution.

However, Marx, after the fall of the empire in September, 1870, in an address as President of the First International, advised the proletariat not to press forward too closely. With a foreign and victorious army everywhere in control, they would only invite disaster; but fate decided otherwise and of course if we must take the precise advice of Marx at all parts of the struggle, we should be forced to condemn the Russian for following a course contrary to that advice given to the French. But Marxism is, first of all, an understanding of social development, and those who would make it a programme of revolution with the particulars all mapped out are merely kidding themselves, if they are not trying to kid others.

However, just as the defeats of '48 and '49 drove the workers to despair and doomed the revolutionary movement to years of inaction, so did that of 1871. And as we have already pointed out, permitted the consolidation of the forces of capitalism. Bismarck demanded the left bank of the Rhine and an indemnity of five milliard francs. This was considered a staggering sum. But such were the forces released by steam and electricity that it proved the making of France, and almost broke Germany. But the latter country had an even greater benefit conferred upon it in the unifying of Germany, and the consolidating of her mineral and economic resources.

It so happened that Pasteur, busy spying on the insect world with a microscope, discovered some groups of parasites, with an aptitude corresponding to that of their human prototypes, to wit—an excessive and uncontrollable fondness for the product of the silk worm and the vine. In this microscopic world each lord of creation (who shall deny it?) with his favorite female on his arm, enjoyed, to the mystification of the French peasant, the silks and liquors of our masters at their very earliest stage. Pasteur detected their pilfering and was instrumental in developing a number of sprays and decoctions which destroyed the vine and silk worm diseases, thereby donating to France almost the entire means to pay Germany her indemnity.

The lord tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and sometimes to the looted nation. Each new discovery, every new invention, gives birth to a progeny of new associations and new ideas, which is what Marx means when he said that the proletariat would have to pass “through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men.” And those inept mouthers of shibboleths who would crib, cabin and confine this enlightening conception of historical development into a time table and stage direction for their own sanguinary if imaginary world revolutions, are as far from understanding Marx, even if they do manage to work the Dictatorship of the Proletariat into everything they say, as the child who murmurs “Our father who art in heaven.” It is a bitter pill to swallow, but for all that, of pathologic potency, to realize that we are the toys of circumstance. We have only to consider the devastating effects of the Versailles Treaty to realize that there are forces which transcend human efforts, and multiply his most earnest endeavors.

In the laboratory, in industry, or in the field, we can proceed to build and create by our own knowledge and skill; we work on matter, whose laws we understand, and which lies inert in the process. But in society we meet with a raw material which insists upon a say in the matter, and which sometimes says it with lead and poison gas. That is why political revolutions, engineered by man, so often fall hopelessly behind the ideals of those dauntless pioneers who carried them through. And that is why in the midst of glamorous chatter and revolutionary phrase-mongering we must still pursue, as time and means are vouchsafed us, a policy of education, and as our conception of edu-

cation is not readily vendable, much less profitable we are by no means overburdened with either.

So for the present we will close this long-winded

narrative, hoping to take up the later developments when we have and, who can doubt it, you too, recovered from our historical gorge.

corresponds to my thoughts and my ideals! I'll bet A. H. G. is 100 per cent. man. Great is psychoanalysis.

In closing: Marx labored to put the cause of the working class on a scientific foundation. But, we need no science if we are to rest our hopes of Socialism on a collapse of economic life; we need no science if we are to wait till desperate peoples rise to overthrow the system in violence; we need no science if our policy is to be one of drift, and our salvation, chaos. Marx, however, believed that the tendency of the actual social forces of the world was towards socialism. As he turned his attention to one part of the civilized world after another he seemed to see everywhere the same thing; he saw not an arena in which to play, himself devising world-saving schemes, but the spectacle rather of world States already, by their own impulse, changing themselves in a socialistic direction, as though by a natural process; the actual social conditions of the world were everywhere themselves inviting co-operation. The duty of the socialist was defined thereby—to link himself up with that predetermined world movement which was making for socialism and scientifically encourage it forward; to guide it thitherwards; to make a science of the bringing-in of the new order. So reasons another student of Marx than myself. Think it over! C.

By the Way

OUR New Zealand comrade's letter (A. H. G.) in the last issue did not fail to interest "C", if no one else, seeing that the latter's occasional "By the Way" meanderings on the problem of social change, for so these many issues of the Clarion, seem to have been the horrific inspiration of the night-mare character of A. H. G.'s dream, as his letter describes. It happens our comrade dreamt he took wing across the main for Canadian shores, his purpose to visit "C" in the haunts where that poor bewildered philosopher frequents and lays down the law about it and about it. He then hoped to receive from "C's" very own hands "A Work-class Philosophy, a Programme and Tactics," of "C's" invention, warranted to transmute all base metal of irrationality into purest gold of rational procedure in working class activity and to bring in, if adopted, the social revolution in empty years, at the outside. His dream-wish gratified and "C's" philosophy packeted and strapped upon his back, our comrade essayed the return "down-under," when lo to his dismay, try as he might and as often to keep his course for the Southern Cross, his winged flight whirled in circles through the central blue, ever and ever returning again whence he came. He dreamed, however, that after much cognition as to the why and wherefore of this trouble, he finally located it in the package containing "C's" philosophizing. It seemed to him in his dreaming that from among all "C's" hopefully reasoned pro's and con's there was missing the king-pin, as he called it, of all working class wisdom on the problem of ways and means of revolutionary change—the Class-struggle. For without this king-pin, needed to lock into a valid integral whole the otherwise inco-ordinate elements of "C's" Programme and Tactics" the package had proved an unstable and biasing burden; hence, whereat it seemed, the giddy flights in unprogressive circles. It was, as it were, with A. H. G., as it was of yore with old Omar, the Persian tent-maker, who assures us that he "when young did eagerly frequent, doctor and saint and heard great argument about it and about, but ever more came out by the same door wherein I went."

But, is the Class-struggle missing from "C's" philosophizing? On apprehending that malign suggestion of the dream, the philosopher of rationality fell from his high professions to a creature of mere impulse, raged in his beard, poured curses on late and heavy indigestible bed-time snacks and threatened to radion indignant denials athwart the watery leagues. However, after five minutes of such concessions to the "ancient man" "C" remembered his role of sage, and with somewhat of an effort resuming it, finally decided to interpret our comrade's dream in the next issue. Which is to say, by psycho-analysing A. H. G. return him a "Roland for his Oliver" according to the, civilized ways that mask the cave man in the twentieth century.

The psychology sharks tells us that the great majority of our dreams represent in symbolic form the fulfilment of a "wish" that in actuality finds no realization. The "wish" may be one frustrated by unfavorable circumstances, or it may be a personally suppressed "wish," either because it is condemned by our ethical or our intellectual standards. Banished from our conscious minds, partly or totally, it takes refuge in the "unconscious" and lurking in the shadows of that darkling sphere of mental life, haunts us in those hours of sleep when controls are weak or lost, for, disguised in symbolical forms it evades the drowsy censor and becomes the active principle in our dreams. Something like that, of our dreams when we sleep. But what of our waking dreams? It is said that a much larger part

of our waking mental life than is generally supposed is made up of day-dreams. How few of us at any time, and perhaps none of us all the time, care to subject ourselves to the full rigour of the test! What is "out-there" in objective reality that corresponds with my inward thoughts? "The wish is father to the thought!" "We deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us!"—those items of ancient lore! Who does not pay tribute to their universality! Can we not scan the history of the past and find that which we want to find, to gratify our bias? And how often we do it! Nevertheless, it is the truth, the whole truth that shall make you free.

But to the particular dream, day dream or night dream, of our comrade and his "wish": He relates that in his dream he sought in vain in my philosophy for the Class-struggle. Evidently he was looking for a Class-struggle whose form and features were already familiar to him. But, I might ask, how and by what processes were they "familiarized to him? In my philosophizing on the problem of change in the future I had in view, the chances of success for socialism. I asserted it as axiomatic that the factors and conditions existing within any social situation at the time of change determine the nature and forms of change; and, that the present and what it contains must be studied on its own merits. As a consequence of my own efforts in that respect, I therefore contended against the feasibility in practice of the doctrine of violent overturn of the present system in the advanced modern communities. Further, I advocated the superiority of the methods of political democracy over the method of violence, both from the point of view of feasibility and of other values. I pointed out that after the industrial revolution, beginning in the eighteenth century, the years since had witnessed the evolution of a new world. I pointed out that the socialist movement, in considering ways and means of change, must make terms with the conditions, many of them new, unprecedented and unforeseen, of this new world. I say needs must, if the Class-struggle is to be furthered or its protagonists spend their energies in ways that are possible.

But our New Zealand comrade, like many others, I opine, failed to recognise the Class-struggle in my philosophy, which looks to the future, because he has "familiarized" himself with the features and form of a Class-struggle that operated in communities belonging historically to the past, either in point of time, or in stage of growth in respect of economic, political and general social development of a cultural and other sort, both in the people and the environment. This is the trouble: our comrade was looking for the form and features of a Class-struggle belonging to feudal or semi-feudal agricultural civilizations. He was looking backward instead of forward; no wonder he circled continuously in his tracks. So much for one feature of the dear object of his "wish"—the "familiarized" Class-struggle! What of its other features? This new machine age of ours is a prosy age, and no doubt my class struggle is at home in it. But man is born to romance as the sparks fly upward; he loves to avonge bitter wrongs, as well or perhaps better than to remove them; he loves the combat, especially in imagination; he adores the fearful and spectacular; he delights in conceiving of milleniums and easy, royal roads to them. It is natural for man to erect a compensatory dream-world—thus he escapes, thus flies for a space from prosaic and, often, horrid reality. But some of his time he must, and on occasion does, successfully front objective reality—how Lenin harped on that string—and bravely and uncom- promisingly asks himself: What is "out-there" that

THE PURPOSE OF SOCIOLOGY

I WOULD never have taken any interest in sociology if I had not conceived that it had this mission. Pure sociology gives mankind the means of self-orientation. It teaches man what he is and how he came to be so. With this information to start with he is in position to consider his future. With a clear comprehension of what constitutes achievement he is able to see what will constitute improvement. The purpose of applied sociology is to harmonize achievement with improvement. If all the achievement which constitutes civilization has really been wrought without producing any improvement in the condition of the human race, it is time that the reason for this was investigated. Applied sociology includes among its main purposes the investigation of this question. The difficulty lies in the fact that achievement is not socialized. The problem therefore is that of the socialization of achievement.

We are told that no scheme for the equalization of men can succeed; that at first it was physical strength that determined the inequalities; that this at length gave way to the power of cunning, and that still later it became intelligence in general that determined the place of individuals in society. This last, it is maintained, is now, in the long run, in the most civilized races and the most enlightened communities, the true reason why some occupy lower and others higher positions in the natural strata of society. This, it is said, is the natural state, and is as it should be. It is moreover affirmed that being natural there is no possibility of altering it. Of course all this falls to the ground on the least analysis. For example, starting from the standpoint of achievement, it would naturally be held that there would be great injustice in robbing those who by their superior wisdom had achieved the great results upon which civilization rests and distributing the natural rewards among inferior persons who had achieved nothing.

LESTER F. WARD.

MANIFESTO

of the
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Correspondence

LESTOR ON THE PRAIRIE.

Editor, Clarion:—

The city of North Battleford was taken off its feet this week when there blew into its precincts a Socialist propagandist known as Lestor. The papers had announced his coming, the billboards were covered with posters in large letters, "Lestor is coming," and people were asking, who is Lestor? The question was not long to remain unanswered, for on Sunday afternoon he was introduced to a large audience of a mixed nature; there were in the crowd lawyers, doctors, merchants, working men, Socialists of the Marxian School and school masters. Lestor spoke for one hour and the audience were delighted with his presentation of his subject, "World problems as they affect you."

The proof of this was the large crowd who came back in the evening to hear him speak on the subject, "Socialism, the only way to prosperity." Questions were asked by a few of the audience and the consensus of opinion was that more meetings of this nature would be beneficial to the citizens as a whole, and that it is high time that we gave more attention to what the scientific Socialist is trying to teach. The fact that the "Rotary Club" of the city invited Lestor to address them at their weekly luncheon is proof that even the merchant class are beginning to ask for new light on their economic problems, and are beginning to awake and shake themselves to enquire, "What shall we do to be saved." Lestor was at home on this occasion; his choice, racy stories, kept the club in a "Rotary" of laughter and it was a surprise to them to hear a real Marxist tell them in their own language that their problems were to sell their goods.

The tables were spread with "Red" table cloths, red napkins, and red cabbage ornamented the tables. It was a study to watch the faces of the members who seemed to expect a tirade of anathemas against the system, its king, its aristocracy, its religion, its philosophy, its ethics. To watch the expression on the faces of many of them change from one of something akin to fear, to one of wonderment and delight, as Lestor told several racy stories, each one carrying conviction that this system was not one that lent assistance to the ethics of "Rotary" but one that made it difficult even with the best intentions, to be of real service to our fellows. The bias was all in the wrong direction, and the object and aim of scientific Socialism was to act in conscious union with the forces now in operation which would make the bias in the opposite direction.

Monday evening found Lestor in the Church of England club rooms championing Socialism against all comers. This club consists of a mixed membership; to see Lestor's brown coat hanging alongside the surplice of the Rector of the church, one could imagine he saw the brown coat say to the surplice, "What do you know about surplus values?" and one can imagine the surplice replying "All good things around us have come from heaven above."

For forty minutes Lestor presented his case for "Socialism." Then after he had dealt with the question of "Historical Materialism," "The law of value," and the "Class Struggle," the champions of the present system (if such it can be called) Lestor said "The cockney said it was a bloody mess," and one of the opposition inadvertently admitted it could not be called a system at all, as there was no system to it. However, an opposition was organized and six stalwarts for "Capitalism" came forward: three lawyers, an insurance man, a book-keeper and a store manager to champion the cause of their masters, but

"All were too weak for brave Macbeth,
Well he deserves that name,
Disdaining danger, with his brandished steel,
Which reeked with bloody execution,
He carved out his passage, till he reached those
slaves

And ne'er shook hands or bade farewell to them,
Till he unseamed them from the nave to the chaps,
And fixed their heads upon our battlements."

He told them they were "Utopians" and every indictment that they had brought against Socialism, must exist in their present form of society, or they would not be able to image it in their minds, any more than it were possible for them to image an angel if they had not first seen a bird and a woman, so the things they had been deploring and fearing must be at present existing in the present form of society which they were trying to defend. So turning every one of their own weapons against themselves and refusing to be drawn into the meshes which they had set for him, he told them that we were anti-nothing, but "Materialists" explaining "Capitalism."

We had a real time and North Battleford will remember for many a long day the day which blew Lestor here.

OBSERVER.

North Battleford, Sask., April 1, 1924.

PRESIDENTIAL ART.

(From "The Nation," N. Y.)

To the Editor:—

Sir: An expert in miniature has just succeeded in engraving a portrait of Warren G. Harding on

the head of a pin. His next task will be that of reproducing the features of Calvin Coolidge on the point.

D. S.

New York, March 15th.

IT IS SIMPLE

ANYTHING we use that is on the market for exchange is a commodity. Therefore a commodity has exchange value. I can't see that any article has any other value whatsoever as a commodity.

Let me use someone's example.

1. A sewing machine is on the market for sale or exchange for any other commodity.

Its value is Exchange Value only.

2. I buy this machine by exchanging any other commodity, gold (or its money form), place it in my home where it is used in the household, sewing. The sewing machine is now a Use Value and no other, as I see it.

3. I buy this machine and place it in my factory along with a hundred others, buy the commodity labor-power to work it making shirts or overalls. It is not now a commodity or a use value. It is Capital. Why not call it Value?

Use-Value as I read English is whatever useful qualities any thing has which satisfies my wants, or fills a social want.

Coal a thousand feet under ground has all the natural qualities; it contains heat, gas and so on, but it is of no use to me there; product of nature there. Bring it above ground and it is still a product of nature but something more. It is now a commodity; it is an exchange value, and when exchanged a Use Value.

What has been added to the coal to give it these qualities? Labor. Then exchange value, use value and value is labor. Social labor. And labor produces all wealth.

"The value of a commodity is the amount of soc-

ially necessary labor required to produce it." (Marx's law).

It follows then that when we exchange something of no use to us for something we wish to use we are exchanging quantities of labor for quantities of labor, the same to day as in the day of primitive barter of savagery or barbarism. It also follows that the basic principle of exchange is not upset by bringing the complex features of capitalist production in the discussion, as rent, interest, profit, supply and demand, scarcity and abundance, marginal utility, gods or sunspots.

Show what is added to a ton of coal to make it of more value or more useful other than labor.

In these many ways ruling classes have controlled the products of labor, they buttress and fortify their position of ownership through those institutions they have found best for their purpose, the press, schools and religion influencing that commodity which consists mainly of brain and, alas, stomach, to a false theory of economics.

What should be labour's objective? Ownership, social ownership, socialism, communism.

CHAS. MACDONALD.

(One time student of George Morgan).

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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.