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FIVE CENTS

## Carry On!

BY J. H. BURROUGH.

IN the days of our youth, when our knowledge of the principles of the revolutionary movement was overwhelmed and swept along by a rushing tide of enthusiasm, we were wont to remark, with due emphasis, previous to every election, that "something was going to drop." By that we meant that at last the workers were going to rally to the standard of revolutionary Socialism in vast numbers, and the solid "plunk" of their massed votes was going to bear evidence of the efforts we had been putting forth to dispel class ignorance. We were going to witness a manifestation of an immense improvement in the class-consciousness of our fellow-slaves. The years of work in distributing literature, holding meetings, arguing on the job—in short, the ceaseless activity carried on by our little bunch of kindred spirits was bound to have its effect. All that work and utilisation of spare time (we did not call it "sacrifice") was bound to show results. Buoyed up by these enthusiastic hopes we would joyously sally forth from headquarters with our literature and soapbox, and after politely allowing the Salvation Army to gather our crowd for us, would proceed to put in some more licks for the revolution. The fact that the expected solid "plunk" landed on the other side of the fence, witnessing to the desire of the vast majority of slaves for more wage-slavery, did not dishearten us for long, although some of us would get downhearted. The joy of the scrap was sufficient recompense for most of us and the sense of humor possessed by others enabled us to bear up under our disappointment. The resiliency of spirits which is the priceless possession of youth would not allow any moping, and after a brief respite we would grin and "carry on" as before, however, relieving our feelings by telling the horny-headed sons of toil exactly what we thought of their intelligence. The revolution was still "just around the corner," and with a little more work and a few more converts we would soon get there.

"Them were the days!"

Much water has passed under the bridge since then. Ebullient enthusiasm has disappeared in face of an increasing knowledge of the implacable facts and forces operating in the social organism. The multifarious channels by which capitalism is able to divert the mind of the slave from dwelling upon the why and whereof of his unhappy lot are still functioning efficiently—not, perhaps, without more care and attention than in the past, but still they are functioning. Capitalism has been "carrying on" also—concentrating and expanding, bringing more and more populations under its sway, concentrating the socially created wealth into the hands of a few whose power over the multitudes increases as their numbers decrease, swelling the mass of propertyless wage-workers and making the struggle for existence of all those subjects to its exploitation an ever-increasing problem. A world war generated by the contradictions contained within the system of production itself has strained the structure of capitalism beyond repair, so that "he who runs may read." The fissures and rents are beyond concealment, as is also the futility of the efforts of the capitalist statesmen and diplomatists at reconstruction. The war that was to be the last has but uncovered fresh causes of war, and the victors are even now laying

plans for another orgy of mutual destruction, erstwhile allies to be the combatants. Over all looms the workers' republic of Russia, a black cloud of menace to capitalism, an inspiration to its victims.

Class rule and institutions have reached their zenith and society has entered upon a period of flux, a process of ejecting the dross and retaining the good for incorporating into the new social organization to come. As in all transitional periods, the mental attitude of the mass reflects the confusion and uncertainty of world conditions. The political structure of international capitalism, with its well-defined national boundaries, and alliances with their distinctive policies, which had endured from the inception of the Anglo-French entente, provided the ordinary man with established points of reference with the aid of which he could get an idea of "where he was at" when international affairs attracted his attention, as lights along the coast enable the mariner to fix his position—without, of course, anything approaching the same degree of exactness. They appeared to be the naturally established order of things and engendered habits of thought in keeping with their appearance. The war and the treaty of Versailles, with the endless conferences succeeding it, have changed all that. The old landmarks have disappeared. National boundaries have been changed again and again, old policies have been discarded and new ones announced, to be discarded in their turn, antagonisms have flared up between the national groups of capitalist interests which had but recently sworn eternal friendship and amity, and in all countries the spectre of revolution rears its head. Everything is unstable and shifting, changing with kaleidoscopic swiftness almost from day to day, affording all the symptoms of a period of social evolution approaching its revolutionary climax. Previously accepted codes of morals and ethics influencing human intercourse are losing their validity. Fortune telling, crystal gazing, spiritualism, table-turning, all the paraphernalia of the charlatans of the occult is in the field to supply (for a price) the demand for mental "points of bearing" which material conditions fail to provide. And over all and through all, forcing its way into the secret council chambers of the rulers and influencing their policies, permeating all the complex ramifications of capitalist society, is the note of the class struggle, gaining in strength and bitterness in spite of all attempts to smother it—and that is where we, as Socialists, come in.

The tremendous events that have taken place in the last seven years have undoubtedly called for and received from the revolutionists of Canada the interpretation and explanation necessary. The materialist interpretation of history is the key that infallibly unlocks the door and provides the solution. In conjunction with the knowledge of the law of surplus value and of the principles of the class struggle it provides an unfailing compass and guide through what is to others an inexplicable and bewildering maze of confusion. Nevertheless, he would be an optimistic comrade who would maintain that results commensurate with the efforts that have been put forth are to be seen in an appreciable increase of class consciousness amongst those we have been striving to reach. Is it not in order now to pay

more attention to the dissemination of the fundamentals of the Socialist propaganda necessary to the production of intelligent revolutionists against the existing order? Preoccupation with great world events seems to have induced us, unconsciously and unintentionally, to neglect those fundamentals, but if our movement is to gain strength and momentum it is essential that such knowledge be widely diffused. Probably 50% of the workers of Canada have their sympathies enlisted with the Russian revolution, and this sentiment is being exploited to the limit by sensational speakers of different organizations, but it is apparent that there is more enthusiasm and sympathy animating them than knowledge of their class position in capitalist society. Comparatively few can give an intelligent reason for the fact that they are forced to offer their labor power on the market as a commodity, and yet an understanding of that single fact is the first letter in the alphabet of a slave's education. They are a long way from grasping the fact that government is an institution which exists for the purpose of perpetuating the exploitation of their class, and that all attempts to reform the present system in such a manner as to benefit their class are useless and a waste of time. Some Socialists have been carried away in contemplating the evidence of enthusiasm for Russia and have jumped to the conclusion that the workers of Canada have in some mysterious manner become class-conscious revolutionists and that all that remains to be done is to "organize them for the revolution," while the actual situation is that they are like a ship drifting without a rudder, fair game for every sensational windjammer equipped with a mouthful of revolutionary phrases, and destined to be piled on the rocks of disaster in a crisis, as the result of their ignorance of social forces and the manner of their operation.

Our task is still one of education, and there are multitudes of our class who have still to be introduced to the kindergarten stage. So long as it remains in that condition it is a source of weakness to us and strength to the enemy. With all the din and confusion created by the "revolutionists in a hurry" in the ranks of the working class movement the task is harder now than ever it was, but for the same reason it is all the more urgent. It is not suggested that the interpretation of current world events should be abandoned, but that it should be balanced by an equally efficient and persistent exposition of the fundamentals of Socialist teaching. In this line of education lies the obligation and opportunity of those comrades who do not feel competent to address a public meeting in an analysis of international affairs from the Marxian viewpoint, but who have the knowledge and ability to show their fellow-slaves how and where they are exploited and can give intelligent and correct summaries of the materialist interpretation of history, the law of value and the class struggle.

The season for open-air meetings has arrived and the voice of the soap boxer is heard in the land. Speakers drawn from the ranks of the workers themselves (and the S. P. of C. has no others) intimately acquainted with the manner of life and thought of their fellow slaves, and equipped with the necessary

(Continued on page 3)

# The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

## IN THE DAYS WHEN THE WORLD WAS YOUNG

Let us sit down and think how far we have gone. We have now reached the point at which we have a central fire, all blazing and flaming, a mass of fiery gas in a state of white hot combustion, so big, so wide, so vast, so terrible, that you can scarcely conceive it. Millions of miles away from that central mass there are tiny masses of solid, gaseous matter. It sounds absurd to talk about "solid, gaseous" things; but we may just as well leave it at that, for all the words that I use belong to the days of our childish ignorance, when we thought that the sun "rose" and "set," and the stars were "up," and the bad place was "down." But I must use words that all of us understand, and the best I can do is to ask you to try and remember the sense in which I use the words. I used to think that words were real, and explained the things they were attached to; but they do not. Words do not explain anything. All the explanations must reach your brain, and sometimes a look will explain more than a volume of words.

We have got to a central fiery mass, which we will call the sun; and around it are circling small fiery masses, at different distances. The third in order from the sun we call the earth. But when the worlds were very young there may have been more than there are now. I do not know, and if anybody contradicts this he will have to prove his case. You may take my word for it that there are now, say, eight worlds moving round the sun. The nearest to the sun is Mercury, and the next is Venus, and the third is this world, the earth. And that is how it originated, as far as I know. But that is not all you want to know. You want to know how the grass and trees and rivers and beasts and people originated. That is to say, how did the world come, from a mass of flaming gas, to be the lovely cool (sometimes) place that we live in now? You want to know all that, and I want to tell you.

This world, with its attendant moon, went on circling round the sun for ages, growing gradually cooler; but it did not appear to go any slower, as we see some things doing after a time. If you stir the tea in your cup, you will see it goes as fast as ever you wish it almost; but as soon as you stop stirring it the speed begins to go out of it, and very soon the tea appears to be as still as a green meadow or a solid mountain. Why did it stop? Simply because of the friction of the tea against the cup and against the air. I must try and tell you about the air later on; but in the meantime you may take it that the friction against the cup tends to bring the whirling tea to a standstill.

The law of the universe is that all bodies moving through space will go on and on in a straight line, at the rate that was first imposed upon them, until another force interferes with them. There is no cup to interfere with the motion; there is no air to stop them. There is nothing that we know of in space to stop a flying body. The sun drove the earth out, and the pull of gravitation held it back; and the combination of the two forces kept the world from going round in a circle, where it must keep going until some other power stops it. As I told you, it is slowing down; but it would take millions of years before any great change would be noticed. But gas cools! Even if the mass of the world kept going at the same rate, the gas would be getting colder all the time, and giving off its heat just as a log fire does in the bush. Fire is just the same everywhere, it is combustion. That is all. No more, no less. But the sun is a flaming fire of blazing gas, giving out a fearful heat; and if you were asked how much heat the sun gives out in a day, some mathematician would be able to give you the answer.

Samuel Laing, in his *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, gives you one answer which is interesting. He says: "The sun in each second of time parts with as much heat as would be given out by

the burning of 16,436 millions of millions of tons of the best anthracite coal." So you see my statements are very mild compared with those of a great scholar. The earth, then, when it was of the same fiery nature as the sun, gave off enormous heat, and so did the moon. But the moon, being very much smaller than the earth, came earlier to the time when life and vegetation were possible on her little sphere, and I expect that "once upon a time" there was life on the moon. There may have even been men and women, as we are; but I hardly think so. However, you are free to exercise your fancy as to the nature of the inhabitants of the moon. All I know is that there was probably a great deal of volcanic activity in the moon at one time, but it died out. You can see the dead craters of the volcanoes if you look at the moon through a telescope. All things die—men and women, worlds and suns, and systems. Nothing endures. What a wonderful, wonderful thought! Even the world dies, and the sun, and the vast constellations, and all things pass away; and as the poet says:—

We are part

Of every rock and bird and beast and hill,

One with the things that prey on us, and one  
with what we kill.

When the moon had dried up, and air, and water and life and sound had all disappeared, the earth mass was also cooling down, under the same laws that make your tea and your dinner grow cool. The fiery gases were entering into new combinations as they cooled, and—most important of all—the oxygen and hydrogen combined and formed water. As I told you before, water is composed of two gases, and these two gases abounded in the flaming earth mass, so that when the opportunity came to combine they did so, and fell on the red hot crust, hissing and roaring and filling the atmosphere with steam. The red-hot earth drank up the newly-formed water, and new water formed and was absorbed again; and so it went on through the long, long ages.

The laws that governed matter were the same then as now. For the weight of hydrogen was 2, and that combines with a weight of oxygen equal to 16, to form a watery vapour equal to 18. Those laws never vary, neither in time nor in space. The uniformity of law never fails. In Neptune, the farthest-off brother world of ours, 3,000 million miles from the earth, the same laws prevail. In the remotest star, billions and billions of miles from us, the same laws operate without the slightest deviation. The law is the only enduring thing.

The earth mass cooled slowly through the ages, and the gases entered into ever new combinations, and solids were formed by the lowering of the temperature, and a solid crust at last formed on the world. But the inside was as hot as ever. The inside was a blazing, burning, fiery mass, and when it burst through the crust, with a wild volcanic roar, it covered all the land with lava—which is another name for melted rock. The volcanic activities of the earth must have been terrific, and the rush and roar of the boiling floods must have moulded the plastic earth into all sorts of weird shapes.

Still, all the time it was growing more solid, it was cooling, and condensing, and growing ever more stable. But life as we know it must then have been utterly impossible. Yet, when the world cooled sufficiently to allow of warm, quiet seas, there must have been new chemical combinations, forming jellies, and weird, quivering, shapeless, un-nameable things, which had only the promise of life in them. When the boiling floods swept over the seas and the lands they must all have disappeared again, only to recommence at a new opportunity. And how long did this go on? Ah, who can say? Words fail to tell; years fail to measure. The human mind falters before the problem. For long ages the crust of the earth was solidifying, till there must have been at least twenty-five miles of earth-crust, and

there came a sort of stability. What a miraculous time it all was; What a world we live in, to be sure!

Next Lesson:

THE SOLIDIFICATION OF THE ELEMENTS.

## PRECAUTIONARY.

THAT the capitalists are keenly sensitive to the revolutionary possibilities of the tense situation prevailing, in their present relation to labor and the precautionary measures they are adopting, is indicated by the order just issued for the redistribution of the regular army of the United States in what is called the interests of "economy" and "efficiency."

In commenting on the order the Rochester "Times Union" (May 11th) says: "Practically the entire army is needed to prepare and conduct the citizen's training camps this summer." But the "Times Union" is too discreet to tell us why there is such great necessity for the military training of so numerous a body of citizens, in these piping times of peace, as to involve the services of the whole army for their training, nor does it explain what class comprises the citizens.

The drive for the open shop, conducted with all the brutality of which the capitalists are capable, is alienating the labor groups which have previously supported the capitalists in their wars, especially in their war on the unskilled workers; it has precipitated a condition of guerilla warfare in various parts of the country. That the contagion will spread to such proportions as to need armed suppression and that they have become fearful that the slaves can not be depended upon to do their masters bidding is the reason for the elaborate preparations for the training of the citizen's army, to be used in case their program meets with open rebellion. The example of Russia has put the fear of the proletariat in their hearts, and they are concentrating all their forces for the fray, in preserving their law and their order.

And their precautions do not rely entirely on the military aspects of the situation. They are making strenuous efforts to relieve the poverty which their system engenders by socializing the dispensation of charity by means of Community Charts, and are making drives for funds, expecting to kill two birds with one stone i. e., to dull the keen edge of that poverty sufficiently to remove it as a danger, and at the same time impress the workers with the loving kindness of their masters by permitting themselves to be further exploited. That the thumb-screwing process of economic pressure placed on the workers to make them cough up a stated amount of their meagre wages will result in the lowering of the standard of living of those workers does not disturb the smugness and hypocrisy of the capitalists. All they are able to see is that the methods previously used in the Liberty Bond and War Chest drives were successful, but what the reflex in the minds of the workers in the way of working class education has been they have no comprehension.

But that working class education has made and is making progress is revealed by the action of the bankers of the United States in establishing courses of "understanding," to be conducted by radio, by speeches, in schools, teachers' institutes, labor meetings and conventions, and farmers' institutes. This program was given out by Pohn H. Puelicher, vice-president of the American Bankers' Association, in a speech before the Maryland Bankers' Association at Atlantic City, N. J., May 17, 1922.

He said: "The banker has the practical knowledge of fundamental economics which make for stability of life. He can bring to his people the economic intelligence which will make them vigilant and give them means of detecting economic wrong. He deals with fundamental elements, knowledge of which dispels the paradoxes in the radical mind, and builds strong characters and successful lives."

That the class struggle, consciously and unconsciously, is being accentuated is evidenced by this strengthening of the defences of our enemy. To underestimate them is foolish; to prepare for their demolition is wisdom.

KATHERINE SMITH.

# Current Topics : the European Tangle

ARTICLE III. BY ROBERT KIRK.

UNDER this caption in a previous issue of the "Clarion," we traced the disastrous effects of reparation coal upon the British coal industry. And it left us in a fairly safe position to assume the existence of a deadly rivalry persisting between merchants who are compelled to exchange goods, more or less alike in character, in the same markets. Innocent as this assumption will appear, it leads us straightway to the facts that are driving apart the coalition forces in British politics into two opposing camps, on this question of German reparations. One party, representing the manufacturers, are anxious to use Russia as a dumping ground for these goods—or, failing this, to abrogate that part of the "peace treaty" relating to indemnities. For they now know that any payments in kind that Germany is forced to make for "allied" countries are, with few exceptions, the very things that are manufactured in Britain. While the low cost of production makes such German goods not only detrimental to prices and labor conditions in Britain, but also in the export markets where they are exchanged. By so using Russia, who will need, for years to come, many kinds of commodities in great quantities, these representatives think to remove the pressure of German competition from British industries and, at the same time, relieve the glutted condition of the markets already filled with reparation goods.

While the other party, representing a powerful group of financiers, and vested interests in foreign countries, with the resulting conflict of interests between domestic and foreign affairs, these politicians can formulate no clear-cut policy which would lead to "peace."

But my intention is not to deal with seum serenely floating on the surface of stewing beef. It may be skimmed off presently. Instead, I want to call the reader's attention to a speech made by Reginald McKenna, former chancellor of the British Exchequer, on the eve of a by-election at Leeds, Eng., lately. It is evidence which supports the British manufacturers' position. He said:

For my part, I think the paradox is capable of a single explanation. It is not the payment of the German goods which constitutes a menace to our trade, but the German capacity to pay us. We force labor conditions on the German people which enables them in competition with us to produce goods of every kind cheaper than we can. They must do this in order to pay their debts, and we insist upon the payment of the debt under threats of the occupation of their territory and a blockade. Thus we compel them to undersell us in every foreign market. We shall receive, it is true, our share of the German indemnity, which at its maximum would be about 80 million £ a year, but the condition which enables Germany to pay us this amount will enable her to imperil our export trade.

It is somewhat late in the day for a former finance minister, a present bank president, and director on the boards of several large corporations, to learn facts long known to members of the working class, who have pointed out such facts, times innumerable, from "soap boxes," platforms and press—and nowhere more emphatically than in the "Western Clarion."

One thing, however, McKenna and his tribe have yet to discover: British manufacturers can never again cut anything but a sorry figure, to use a colloquialism, in foreign markets. The immense concentration of capital, industry and transportation, which has taken place in Germany, France, Poland, and the mushroom nations of the Slav people, will make abortive any attempt to invade the European markets of the future. Russian and Belgian flax, raw material for the linen industry of Britain, will in future serve to expand the textile industry of France and Germany. Nor is it strange that this, and other industries, should pass from British control, when one remembers that it was the consequences

of former wars which put them there. Moreover, the Empire Emigration Bill, which has just passed through the British House of Commons, is an indication of this decline in British industries. It is not the agricultural element of the workers in Britain who are leaving their homeland, but the slaves of the machine. Thus one might be tempted to predict a return from an agricultural community to an agricultural community in five centuries, from the 16th to the 20th. But this is a digression.

The plot thickens. France, because of a wide dissimilarity in the character of her industrial output is in no wise inconvenienced by any quantity of reparations she can exact from Germany. Still more to the point, she will insist on Germany paying to the last centime for damages to French property through war, if she, in turn, is compelled to pay her debts to America and Britain. And this pot of hell-broth is kept simmering by America and Britain insisting on this payment: the former, positively, in thirty years; the other in that shilly-shally, compromising fashion, characteristic of British capitalists. A fact which serves the petit dame with an excellent excuse for blocking the British Government's attempt to compromise the French-German situation. This brings us to the French factors in our fascinating (!), but dry-as-dust subject for readers.

In France, since 1920, there has been no unemployment to worry the taxpayers, at any rate, not in the same degree that this problem has affected other countries. This has not been due to any unusual demand for French products, but to the presence of about 600,000 troops (1921 figures) in the occupied areas of Germany. They are on the payroll of the German government. Otherwise they would be unemployed French workers. It might be as well here to mention a fact not without some importance in national economies. French silks, wines, and woollen goods are more often in demand than, say, English beer or cotton goods. The former are for the consumption of the rich, highly-esteemed demi-mondes and apple-paree parvenus of capitalist society, whose more or less assured incomes and extensive credit accounts will allow them to indulge their capacious appetites for such goods under any circumstances. While only in the more prosperous times—war times—can the British working class, as a whole, afford themselves such necessities as beer and cotton goods. But I am getting too far away from the subject, and the Editor will come down on me with a mighty hand.

Throughout every conference of 1919-1920, France posed as the champion of "the rights and liberties of little nations." Afterwards, when these abstract notions were agreed to by the Supreme Court of the League of Nations, and vindicated by force of arms, this quixotic character received its awards from the little people. They became the dumping ground of France's quantum of reparations, and new spheres for French Imperialism: to exercise itself in.

One of the first steps which a newly-formed nation will take is to organize an army to carry out the mandates of the ruling class. This army can be raised over-night, as in some instances. But the equipment of such a force, unless the industrial character of the nation is equal to such a task, can never be carried out in such short notice. Up to the close of 1918, Czecho-Slovakia was a province under the domination of another government (Austria-Hungary). At this time she had neither an army nor a political tradition of her own. Yet in the Spring of 1920, she was in the field exercising both, under the tutelage of French imperialists, while Poland was likewise assisted in her fight for the possession of Upper Silesia, and the extension of her border lines into Soviet Russia.

Not only in Europe has France been busy with

schemes for the exploitation of her newly-acquired possessions, but also in the near East, where French supplies have reinforced the troops of Turkish nationalists against the imperial troops of Greece. The latter have been assisted by British imperialists who figured:

"That a restored Russia with any new disposition of Constantinople and the Bosphorus would make a greater Greece controlled by England vital to British predominance in the eastern Mediterranean, the route to India."

Which suggests to a careful observer that the Intelligence Department of the British State, upon whose information foreign policies are often founded, is just as incompetent to judge of facts as the puppets of the capitalists class who are posing as statesmen today.

The chief obstacle which obtrudes itself in this Franco-German situation is a question of how the German shall restore the devastated lands and buildings of France. Germany, in 1920, proposed to carry out this work with German labor and materials. But this, under capitalism, is an outrageous proposition, preventing, as it does, the participation of French contractors sharing in the profits which would follow a great building boom, as well as preventing many skilled craftsmen in France from sharing in a job. Instead, the French capitalists propose that these claims shall be met with gold cash payments. This would allow them to procure cheap, German material and finishings for such a project; and the difference in exchange rates between France and Germany would leave the French contractor with a wide margin of profits, much wider than it would be were they to use French materials at present costs. In fact they could use this gold as a lever to bring down prices, wholesale, in France.

An explanation of this is necessary, but, for obvious reasons it must be carried over into the next issue of the "Clarion", when we will deal with the effects of the Versailles Treaty upon German industries.

## "CARRY ON."

(Continued from page 1)

knowledge, can gain and hold their attention as no mere spell-binding popularity-hunting ignoramus can. The need is for more comrades to tackle the pick and shovel work of the movement, do the chores as it were, and they can supply that need from the soap-box, functioning as recruiters for the larger meetings at which the ground work of education they have laid can be enlarged upon and completed by other speakers. That will be organized team work and cannot fail to produce results.

The gathering of knowledge merely for self-gratification does not earn for one the title of "comrade." That is reserved for him who gathers knowledge for the purpose of scattering it over as wide a field as possible, with the object in view of making more Socialists, and red ones at that. That is what we are organized for, and he who does not "carry on" or help those who are doing so—he is no comrade of ours.

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### IN PERSPECTIVE.

HERE is a considerable number of the working class even among that organisation of activity, the W. P.—who look to the immediate day when the “little Welshman” shall have disbanded Genoa (\*) and established his “hero world.” They seem to entertain no doubt of the ability of this “great man” to “persuade” France and dragoon Russia to “his” way of thinking. Which, of course, is the “right way,” and the day-spring of “eternal justice.”

The mind of the worker being, in a measure, the reflex of the mind of the master, the contents of his thought are, naturally, moulded in the image of “interest”—the interest of trade. For without trade, how find our worshipped job? So we are inspired with Genoa, and mindful of the great benefits we derived from Washington, and Hythe, and Spa, and Brussels, and their lengthy generations, we are hopeful of speedy relief from present misfortunes. It is very unsafe to prophesy and the outcome of a Capitalist conference is extremely uncertain. But there are one or two things which, we are convinced, will not happen. And as those things are not in tune with the infinite hopes of the workers, we may reason together on that unpromising basis.

The Genoa Conference was called for the reconstruction of war shattered Europe—a Europe ruthlessly dismantled by a patriotic proletariat in the interests of their master's commerce. But the conference was not called by the proletariat, but by the “Allied Powers,” chiefly Britain. The terms of reconstruction, therefore, are the terms of Imperialist democracy: not at all the terms of proletarian welfare. The fount and spring of Genoa is the conflict of interests between the rival Imperialisms of Britain and France. Since France was powerful enough to deny the conference altogether, unless on the understanding that the revision of the Peace Treaties, Reparations, (indemnities and debts) should not be discussed, it is incumbent on Britain to test the substance of the power which thwarts her clamorous necessities. For those are the very things which prevent European reconstruction, the nucleus which motives the destiny of tomorrow.

The Peace Treaties, and the scheme of reparations, were drawn up and framed by the “victorious” allies for the express purpose of crushing an obnoxious rival, but, powerful tho they were, they found a master whose countenance they never looked on before, of whose existence indeed, they never knew—the economic of their social organisation. The scheme of Reparations fell like an avalanche on British trade and industry. For, to pay them, Germany required trade supremacy the stifling of British industry. Consequently, Britain strove to undo the knots she had so assiduously tied about herself. But in so striving she collided rudely with her former ally—France—now become conscious of her new role of Imperialism. While Reparations cut at the life of Britain, and ruined Germany, for France their fulfilment was the wine of new life; their abrogation a threat to her very existence.

The Treaty of Versailles split up the Central Powers into small and more or less homogeneous nations. But as the days of nationality are past,

those small nations were of necessity under the dictation of one or other of the “Great Powers.” By the conditions of the moment, the conflict between the “Red East” and the Chauvinist West—those “small ones” were of a military order, and as such reflected the policies of their patron, France. Their “interests,” pro tem, coincided, and the “Peace Pact” fortified them with the power to keep. Hence France exercises considerable sway from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and from the Rhine to Syria, precarious, it may be, but powerful, reactionary, yet dominant.

But Imperialist bureaucracy does not mean the mere empty control of nations, but the control of their resources and their convergence into new and particular channels. That is the very reason of its being,—and it can be done successfully only in accordance with the needs of the societies involved. Yet in the scramble and antagonisms of the peace patching years, the social economic was but a shuttlecock to the policies of high finance. Power dominated the council table and—which has yet to be seen—power will either bespeak itself on the barriers it has built up around itself, or ruin capitalist trade. For France dreams the new dream of “Mittel Europe” in the likeness of the gods of the “Quai d’Orsay; while Britain as passionately—and necessitously—visions the Empire of world trade.

Quite naturally therefore, Britain and France clash; and in their clash the life of that same Europe sinks into deeper miseries, gradually gathering the whole world into its shadows, preparing it for the recognition of a new society. By trade does Capitalism live; with the shattering of that trade it withers away. Society exists only with access to the means of life; denied that access it is faced with the alternatives of decay or change. It will seek life by the most available route; it will try change through conservative custom. But the changed economic of a new condition will revivify it with new life and thought, forcing it into new channels of development, unmeasureable and unforeseen.

If French ambitions should materialise, there would be a Europe harassed with a new and naked militarism, potential with the destinies of hate; a Europe shackled to the financial projects of Paris. There would be a Germany throttled and abject, a Russia plagued with counter revolutionaries, torn with political dissension, depressed with denied necessities and fringed with the vassals of France. There would be a Britain lingering with lapsed trade and stagnant industry and with the sceptre of Empire drifting to the New World. For also a restored Germany and a remodelled Russia are necessary for British supremacy; Britain is not at all necessary to Germany and Russia. They can—and probably would—act in concert, and can be resuscitated from far different sources. That would be an economic line-up fatal to Britain, and the precursor of promising events.

On the other hand, if the British-German-Russian scheme of trade should prosper it would mean a France eclipsed and dwindling into bankruptcy and poverty. The social life of Europe would be reorganised on another basis, and its energy and resource flow in completely different channels. It would couple the technique of Germany with the vast resource of Russia, and through treaties and interest would harness the small nations of carved up Europe to the privilege of British “big business.” But only for big business. For although the market is great and inviting, its circumscribed concessions, its limiting conditions and restricted influence are matters for diplomacy and syndicates. In this atmosphere of diplomacy, in this divergence of principle between East and West, there will be suspicion and lack of confidence; and it will halt small business in the very fearful path of expansion. Small business will be tossed aside and compelled to surrender its substance to the bloated accumulations of monopoly. And the enterprise of Soviet Russia itself will hasten the process. It will retain the control of its own territory; it will build up its own industries; it will organise its resources and focus its energies for the security (1) of Soviet Russia and (2) for the final struggle of the class war.

On every side is the shadow of the greater industry—the giant machine; the diminishing market, the exploited concession become a rival. And its Osher fruit—the over mastering corporation; concentration; regulated effort and famishing and ravished society, seething in the fire-mists of a new world.

It is vain to look to capital for European reconstruction. It is a task only possible to labor. And when peace and prosperity come again to Europe it will be under the banner of the proletariat. Capitalist conferences are councils of reform; and reform is the faithful taskman of exhaustive accumulation. Reform is no relative of revolution; and revolution has no kinship with the schemes of rival Imperialisms. Revolution stands on its own merits. It stands on reasoned analysis of social condition, and its casual interpretation of related fact. It derives its power from conviction; its strength from its clarity of ideation. And its triumph is the triumph of understanding. Conscientious objectors may vociferously refuse to take life, but they advertise their mental confusion and moral delinquency by their willingness to forward the production of the means by which that life is taken. Majority specialists may clamor for the “rights” of all classes, but they serve as the tools of a greater subjugation. Enthusiastic idealists, regarding human nature as a fixed quality, may honestly strive to “renew the heart of man,” but the records of 5000 years deny them even while they talk. Schools and sects and parties may preach a Utopian unity, but like the compassless mariners of old they dare not lose sight of the capitalist land of “conciliation.” Craft unions and trades congresses may vaunt their power and numbers; of the “rights and liberties” of labor; of opposition to Imperialist ambitions; but always they are mocked by the lean crews of crises, and haunted by the spectre of a “last war.” The last war is the class war; a war, not of revisionist obscurity but of social understanding. And it will begin when the class who must fight it know they are slaves and resolve to end their slavery; when grim experience shall have dispelled our cherished illusions and led us open eyed to the emancipating truth; and end, when capitalist society and the civilisation built up on it shall be shattered and destroyed, and political domination shall be no more.

R.

\* This article was written before the Genoa Conference adjourned.—Editor.

## Manitoba Provincial Election, 1922

Local (Winnipeg) No. 109, S. P. of C. has nominated Comrades George Armstrong and Sidney J. Rose as candidates. Contributions are needed to meet deposit (Provincial Govt.) fees. These may be sent to the secretary of Winnipeg Local:—

PETER L. DAVIDSON,  
P. O. BOX 2354,  
WINNIPEG, MAN.

## Socialist Party of Canada PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

Sunday June 4th.

Speaker: J. D. HARRINGTON.

Subject: UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM.

MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

Questions. Discussion.

# Economics for Workers

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

## VALUE IN EXCHANGE

**T**REMENDOUS confusion exists on the subject of value, because people are unable to differentiate between value and price. Because the law of supply and demand is a great regulator in the transference of capital and labor from one industry that is giving poor returns to another giving favorable returns, with the fluctuating of prices as a result, some Professors and others believe that supply and demand determines value. If we ask: "What is the value when supply and demand equalizes?" they generally answer, "Cost of production." We will give this law more attention under the subject of Prices.

In pre-capitalistic days, when artisans in any given craft or trade used exactly the same hand tools, to become rich was impossible. There was no competition; the output was fairly well known, and consequently supply and demand were practically equalized. Value and price would be synonymous terms. The commodities would contain the social labor required, and would exchange for commodities containing an equivalent amount of social labor. Therefore the price would not vary with the value.

But with capitalist development, the one employer introduces better machinery than his competitor, and lessens the labor-time necessary to produce, e.g., boots. He may not undersell his competitor at first, but as he becomes over-stocked he is forced to sell at a lower price, driving his competitors, who are unable to introduce new machinery, out of the market into bankruptcy, while the others are forced to introduce the new machinery. Prices then fall by the law of value to the new standard of socially necessary labor time embodied in production. Immediately this new price is reached a newer and still better machine is introduced, and the same process is gone through once more. The capitalist economists admit that labor produces all exchange value, but, as we saw in our lesson on Wage-labor, they fail to explain how labor does it. Practically all economists agree that the quantity of labor constitutes value, i.e., the amount of human labor necessary to produce commodities which are bought in exchange.

Adam Smith says the real price of anything is the toil or trouble of acquiring it. It costs twice the labor to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer. It is natural that what is usually the produce of two days' labor should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's labor. Ricardo confirms the labor basis of value. He shows how cotton would fall in value if fewer men were required to cultivate it or fewer sailors employed in shipping, etc., and would command less of other things in which no saving of labor had entered in production. Some economists say "value is in proportion to cost of production," which means labor embodied in production.

Rogers in his "Political Economy," p. 17, says: "The reason why a diamond of five carats weight is worth, according to Mr. Emanuel upwards of £300, is due to the fact that on the average, and at the present, an amount of labor equivalent to this sum is expended on the discovery of the gem. The reason why on an average, a quarter of wheat is worth £2 10s to £3 is because it costs as much labor to get this amount of gold as it does to procure a quarter of wheat."

Therefore we see that in two commodities of equal value there exists something common to both. The two dissimilar commodities exchange upon an equality of quantity of labor embodied in their production. Their use-value has no relation to this equality of exchange value, but is based upon the socially necessary labor-time embodied in their production.

When you give so many more yards of cloth for

gold than you do for iron it is not because you attach more utility to the gold than you do to the iron. The cost of gold production may be a thousand times that of iron, and yet, as a utility the iron might be of the greatest use. If I give 10 cents for a loaf of bread and \$20 for a diamond it is no proof of my estimation of the comparative measure of their utility.

Nevertheless we have noticed in a previous lesson that a given commodity can possess no exchange value unless it also possesses a use-value. Marx is very insistent that a use-value or useful article has exchange value only because human labor in the abstract has been embodied or materialized in it. He says: "As exchange values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labor time."

Practical experience shows us that frequently, when the value of a commodity falls, more of these same commodities are used, and surely no one would say that the increased use implies that it is less useful than when less of it was in demand; for rather are we inclined to maintain that the demand increases with the usefulness of the commodity. If the value falls as its usefulness increases, e.g., motor cars, trucks, etc., we are bound to admit that exchange value has nothing to do with its utility. The problem is to find out why boots, hats, etc., sell at a normal price of say \$5. We assert that it is because the labor socially necessary spent in producing these things constitutes their value. If a hat takes four hours in production it has four hours value, and will exchange for an article that has taken four hours to produce; if the gold represented in five dollars has taken four hours to produce, the boots and hat would express the money price of five dollars. This phase of the question we will discuss under the lessons on Money and Price.

We are still having professors with newer fads upon value. A professor, Anderson, in his book "Value of Money," dated 1917, says the utility and also labor theory of value are all wrong. We agree with him on utility. He says: "If he has no money he may desire a thing ever so intensely without giving it value." He says, "The labor theory of value has broken down and has been abandoned." On page 66: "Ricardo developed a casual theory of value, quantity of labor being the basis of the absolute value of goods, their relative values depending on the relative amounts of labor involved in the production of each. I shall not go into the matter fully, but shall call attention to the rock upon which the system split as Ricardo himself admits. A greater or less proportion of capital works with labor in producing different things, and the value of the product varies, not merely with the labor but also with the amount of capital and the length of time the capital is employed. How say than that labor alone governs value? . . . James Mills tried to do it by making capital merely stored up petrified labor, which gives up its value again in production. But this does not meet the difficulty, because there is a surplus value over and above that explained by all labor including the labor which produced the machinery and the labor that produced the raw material that entered the machinery, etc." This is where Marx comes in and explains that the machinery and raw material only transfer their own value, but we will take this up in our lesson on profit.

Anderson shows us what he says creates value, by a chart on page 41 of his book, headed with this: "The value quality is psychological in character. It rests in the human minds. But not in the minds of individuals, thought of separately! It is a complex of many individual mental activities, highly institutionalized and including legal and moral virtues, hopes and beliefs and expectations, as well as immediate intensities of men's wants for consuming goods."

The above conglomeration of language is hard to beat.

P. 145: "Money as a tool of exchange enables men to create values."

He gives the stock exchange as an illustration. Some one has said it takes a fool to make a wise man look foolish. This reminds me; when I was a boy at school I visited a circus and the three clowns performed a trick that would make this professor look foolish. One of them had a penny; he owed number two; number two owed number three and he owed number one two pennies. This one penny was passed around twice, paid a six-penny debt and number one clown had sent the penny. How much wealth was created in this exchange? It was, as the sergeant would say, about turn; as you were.

Value is determined by the socially necessary labor embodied in production. Why do we emphasize socially necessary? because professors take the attitude which I experienced in one of their classes, that Socialism is impossible, as shown by Robert Owen's scheme, because if a man made a table in four hours while another produced his in two hours, they received labor hour tickets and the man who made the table in four hours was able to buy two tables of the other: therefore there was no incentive for the good worker. In Owen's time, capitalism not having developed, his ideas were Utopian, but the experience of the handloom weavers with the introduction of the power loom shows the fallacy of the above reasoning.

We know that the skill or speed of the individual worker today does not determine the value.

Marx tells us (Vol. I, 220) "In the creation of surplus value it does not in the least matter whether the labor appropriated by the capitalist be simple unskilled labor of average quality or more complicated skilled labor. All labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor is expenditure of labor—power of a more costly kind, labor power whose production has cost more time and labor and which therefore has a higher value than unskilled labor."

Engels, in his "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," dealing with the value fallacy of capitalism says: "Under capitalism value is not measured by labor. It is measured by money. The value of the metal in the coin has no genetic relation to the value of the coin as a standard of price, this being fixed by law. This leads the capitalist to imagine that money alone is the real measure of value. He does not understand that the value of the precious metal, form which money is coined is itself determined by the quantity of labor required in its production."

If we always follow Marx's theory of value and treat gold as a commodity, subject to the general laws of all commodities, we will be able to deal in an intelligible manner and form a clear analysis of the problem of fluctuating prices, and be able to differentiate prices from value. We will take this up with prices. I once saw an article by a Priest endeavouring to poke fun at Marx on qualitative and quantitative value, saying that Marx dealt so much with iron it showed his nationality as belonging to the junk shop fraternity. On this subject Marx is clear, showing that 100 dollars worth of iron equals ten dollars worth of gold; that the use values are different qualities, but as exchange values they are different quantities. Therefore, when we leave out the consideration of use values of commodities they have one common property left, that of being products of labor.

In Vol. I, p. 45, "The quantity of labor, however, is measured by its duration, and labor-time in its turn finds its standard in weeks, days and hours."

(Continued on page 7)

## Book Review

THE STORY OF MANKIND: By Hendrick Van Loon. New York, Bond and Liveright, \$5.  
(Review concluded from last issue.)

When the Norsemen descended upon Europe during the latter days of Charlemagne, they found a well established "Empire" crudely patterned after Ancient Rome. The "Emperor" was but a barbarian chief, and his "Capital" but a collection of rude wooden houses, notwithstanding the boastful titles.

The northern pirates soon overran all the outposts of this "Empire" and, in time, gave to a considerable portion of it dynastic monarchies and aristocracies: England, many parts of France, of the Mediterranean and Russia for example. This accomplished, society could at last settle down to the pursuits of peace without the eternal dread of burning and harrowing by wandering bands of barbarians. Feudalism entered into the period "when knighthood was in flower." It was the great grandchildren of these pirate chiefs who first realised the power of base artificers and commodity peddlers. The grandchildren of this aristocratic progeny of pirates encountered the grandchildren of these lowly people in open conflict, and Feudalism gradually gave way to the autocratic state.

Mr. Van Loon has no delusion about the Magna Charta, although he affirms the traditional wickedness of King John. But it is John's son, Henry III, that now commands our attention. During his reign a council was called of representatives from various classes, which we Britons proudly claim as the first parliament. Of course, as Mr. Van Loon tells us, it was nothing of the kind. Such bodies existed in many parts of Europe years before they appeared in England. Just like a foreigner to assail our proud eminence! These councils developed by degrees into our modern parliaments. Mr. Van Loon, however (page 138), in company with the orthodox historians, conceives in this development a constant struggle against the king for liberty. It was anything but that. They were totally subjective, and their development synchronises with that of the absolute monarchy. More of this in its place.

The middle ages, we learn, was a time of terror and ignorance. "They moved in a time of devils and spooks and only a few occasional angels." The Bible was their only book and "as a handbook of astronomy, zoology, botany, (etc.), the venerable book is not entirely reliable." Something we have long suspected! But it is remarkable in what a vile mess mankind appears at that period (p. 193): "In the 12th century a second book was added to the medieval library, the great encyclopedia of useful knowledge, compiled by Aristotle the Greek philosopher.

Why the Christians of this age were willing to accept Aristotle whereas they condemned all other Greek philosophers on account of their heathenish doctrines I really don't know." Well, there is nothing very mysterious about it. Mr. Van Loon traces the footsteps of Aristotle from Greece, through Asia Minor and Africa, into Spain, and in Spain the Christian students attended the heathen colleges to acquire knowledge. He says Aristotle was translated into Arabic in the 7th century. This must be a printer's error. A moment's reflection would dissolve the possibility. It was not until the 9th century, when the conquests were secured, and the dynastic wars settled, that time and means could be found for organising those great seats of learning at Cordova and Bagdad. Averroes, the translator of Aristotle into the Arabic lived in the 12th century; however, partial translations had been made earlier. Now as to his influence on the Middle Ages. We meet in history at all periods the sentiment that from Greece came the first fruits of our knowledge. This is not mere rhetoric. Aristotle was exhausting the world's store of knowledge and enormously adding to it when Rome, lacking a better medium, was writing on wood and stone. And so the Imperial City, as mistress of the world and arbiter of its destiny for almost five centuries was in-

debted to Greece for all her culture.

Before proceeding further, let us glance at the statement that the Christians "condemned all other Greek philosophers." This is not consistent with the statement that the Bible and Aristotle were the only books possessed by Europe. The latter statement is not true. Europe had all the writings of the Christian fathers—known as the Patristic Writings—and, having them, could not possibly fail to have Seneca, the great Roman Stoic whom the pagans set against Christ as a pattern, and whom the Christian fathers actually attempted to connect with St. Paul by a series of impudent forgeries. Not only did they know Seneca, but his work on physics was well studied by them.

Now as to Aristotle's influence. St. Augustine, a man of giant and restless intellect, who conceded that the world might be round but could not be inhabited on the other side, took Aristotle as his master. He was the greatest of the Christian fathers, and where he led there was every likelihood of succeeding Christians to follow. From his age, 400 A.D., to that of Thomas Aquinas, 1225 A.D., is a far cry. Yet he was the next outstanding figure, in the Catholic world at least. At this latter time when a teacher became famous he invariably taught everything from letters to science; judge then what a priceless treasure was to be found in the encyclopedic work of Aristotle, its many foolish (to our mind) conceits notwithstanding. The sneer that Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas did not investigate sturgeons and caterpillars at first hand is not kindly, considering the demand upon them and the limited scope of their resources; besides such perversity is not uncommon today, to which end we might put even Mr. Van Loon in the witness box.

However, contemporaneous with Aquinas was Roger Bacon, among other things an Arabic scholar. He asserted the need of observation, and applied himself so diligently to his own teaching that his discoveries soon threatened the entire structure of medieval science and, of course—a necessary corollary—theology and property. This brought enmity and finally a fifteen years' sojourn in prison, but not until the death of Pope Clement IV, who was his friend, and to whom his Opus Majus was dedicated. Mr. Van Loon does not mention this latter curious fact, in itself indicative of the intellectual state of Europe. Bacon, in writing his Opus Majus did so at the request of this enlightened prelate and, having been enjoined by his order—the Franciscan—from writing, and also by the Pope to secrecy, had endless trouble in completing that work. The Church and Empire were then at war. By the way, a perusal of the life story of Roger Bacon will reveal the then state of European knowledge very fully.

As further material reasons why Aristotle should appeal to European scholars at this time let us enumerate the Albigensian heresy, strongly tainted with communistic theories, and destroyed by a series of crusades just prior to Aquinas; the opening up of the rich Bohemian silver mines; the rise of the Hanseatic and Lombardian Leagues, evidence of a new power in society; and the consequent effect of all this on the current feudal property concept. Aristotle in his Politics had assailed the communist theories advanced by Plato in his Republic, so here was "great argument about it and about" by two great minds on the very subject then agitating humanity.

All this brings us to the Renaissance, or rebirth of learning. Mr. Van Loon warns us, very properly, against the principle of dividing history into set boundaries beyond which we arrive in an entirely new age by taking one step. While we set a date for Feudalism it is not merely to air our historic understanding; no exact date can be assigned to the beginning or to the end of that system or any other. But the rebirth can be distinguished with greater accuracy than any great movement. It followed the sack of Constantinople by the Christian Crusaders, 1204. We are greatly tempted to linger here and perform a task our author surely scamped, reciting the spoil which came to Europe, from the Lyons of St. Mark of wartime memory to a bottle

of the Blessed Virgin's milk. We are told, however, that the people of this period were international, not English, French, etc., but if asked where they were from they replied Sheffield, or Genoa, and so on. All books were written in Latin, and all Europe looked to Rome as head of the religious world. When a great teacher like the ill-starred Peter Abelard spoke to his scholars in Paris he spoke in Latin, and whether from England, Italy or Austria his scholars understood without requiring to learn French first.

Also at this time came the great struggle between Pope and Emperor. Then came the capture of Constantinople by the Saracens and the last of the old Roman Empire was at an end. Europe was open to receive the Greeks and an added impulse to learning resulted. We pass that great age of art and literature and find John Huss and the Hussites wars dismissed in a paragraph. We are informed also that two popes were cursing each other. As a matter of record there were four. And all the goodly company which are enumerated as attending the Council of Constance were there to decide which pope was the legitimate Vicar of Christ and real successor of Peter; not to reform the Church, as our author informs us. We consider this should have been allotted more space, having in mind our author's own dictum (p. 228), that history "should cast a vivid light on certain important causes, on those which are best and greatest. All the rest should be left in the shadow or should be indicated by a few lines."

However, we have to admire the manner in which the age of discovery is handled. There is also a fine chapter on Buddha and Confucius, if we except the suggestion that the latter's doctrines are responsible for the backward condition of China. A study of China's geography would incline to a more rational conclusion. The account of the Reformation does not satisfy. We have a fair view of all the religious causes, but of the great Saxon silver mines not a word. Of the rise of even then powerful manufacturing towns not a word. And of the desperate struggle of the proletarians to establish a communist municipality at Muhlhausen and elsewhere we have this: "The starving peasants, following the leadership of half crazy agitators, made the best of the opportunity and attacked the castles of their masters and plundered and burned and murdered with the zeal of the old Crusaders." Martin Luther himself, who exhausted invective and scurrilousness in his denunciation of Munzer and the peasants, is a prince of good fellows compared to the author of these few words.

Those who imagine that the late war was the most terrible ever will be surprised to read of the "religious" Thirty Years' War, when "a population of eighteen million people was reduced to four million." Mr. Van Loon forgets to mention that after the fighting was over and the spoils allotted almost all the combatants returned to the Holy Catholic faith; he does state that the Catholic powers remained Catholic and the Protestant remained faithful to the creed of Calvin, etc., but this is putting it mildly. The national spirit had developed, and instead of the strife for spoil being between the barons and the Church it was between nations. So we find Catholic and Protestant peoples fighting side by side from that day to the present. The sixteenth century saw the absolute monarchy in its most complete form. It also saw parliament exercising State powers. Thus we find in the next century the great struggle between these two factors which in England set a period to the monarch's absolutism. We have an account of this on pages 286, 295. It is merely a chronicle of names and battles, and even at that a very glaring error is made. We read: "In August of the year 1648 after the three days' battle of Preston Pans Cromwell made an end of this second Civil War and took Edinburgh." Clearly, Mr. Van Loon is at sea. He confuses the battle of Preston in England with the 1745 rebellion, when "Bonnie Prince Charlie" defeated "Johnnie Cope" at Preston Pans in Scotland. Again, he does not mention the battle of Dunbar, fought in 1650, which really ended the second civil war. Cromwell had no occasion to "take" Edinburgh in 1648, it was his.

We regret to note the absence of any comment

upon the commercial factor in this great struggle, and the wars between England and Holland. Instead we read that Cromwell continued the policy of Elizabeth and Spain was the national enemy once more. In the account of the Restoration we have religion and autocracy the moving factors and incidents of court gossip, but of the stupendous advance in science, not a word. Charles II gave continuance to and Christened the Royal Society of Scientific Research, and magnets; air pumps; blood circulation; plants; animals; all began to unfold their mysterious ways to man. Boyle, Wilkins, Woodward, Ray and company surely have a place in a story of mankind which has so much to say of Charles II, whose energy seemed to have been devoted to creating aristocracies for his bastards. Newton had laid mankind under heavy obligations ere this merry monarch was recalled from exile, in fact we think the fateful apple had already rudely disturbed his sleep; anyway, 1665 is the year in which he had the theory of gravity fully developed, though not proven.

But these sidesteps into the material factors are extending unduly the length of our review. We pass further European development to "the great figure of Washington standing guard over the cause of the colonists." The American Revolution account is wholly orthodox and Jefferson is duly credited with the Declaration of Independence, without any reference to Thomas Paine. The American Revolution also, we are told, brought about the French Revolution, to which we must now proceed (p. 338): We receive a warning; a book, a play, or a movie of the French Revolution always presents the rabble as the cause. Nothing of the kind. The mob is used by middle class professionals: "The fundamental ideas which caused the revolution were invented by a few brilliant minds." Quite easy; get a few brilliant minds to invent some ideas, pick up a hungry rabble and go to it. Such is history! But following this warning we read of much misery and economic paralysis which appears to have some bearing on the revolution. The good King Louis is treated very gently, and, "quietly and with much dignity" suffered himself to be taken to the scaffold. He had never understood what all the shooting and fuss had been about. And he had been too proud to ask questions. Dear me! What is this lump in our throat; and whence this river in our eyes! We feel constrained to lay violent hands on the first Frenchman we may meet.

We cannot recommend Mr. Van Loon from this time onward, and would vote for the destruction of the remainder. We pass over the jibes at the revolutionists, which may or may not be justified. But no justification can be advanced for the statement: "The Age of Reason (which Thomas Paine had written so eloquently during the American Revolution) . . . etc." Paine's "Age of Reason" was written while awaiting death in a Paris jail during the French Revolution, in 1794, and eloquent is the last word which may describe that earnest document.

We turn from the school book history of the succeeding pages (our objections would exceed in bulk the hundred-odd pages that remain), to the comments on the working class and their struggle. Page 425 we read: "In England, Robert Owen, the owner of many cotton mills, established a so-called 'socialist Community' which was a success. But when he died the prosperity of New Lanark came to an end." In the first place, New Lanark was in Scotland, and Owen had severed his industrial connections with it and all his other factories long before he died, being ruined principally by the New Harmony colony in the States. New Lanark was purely a business venture.

Now follows Karl Marx, "He had heard of Owen and Blanc and began to interest himself in questions of labor and wages and unemployment." He had heard of Blanc all right, and Blanc had heard of him. As the Communist Manifesto was written in January 1848 and the social workshops of the French government (not Blanc) were not instituted until after the February Revolution of 1848 they could hardly have been the cause of Marx turning to labor.

Then we read that his "liberal" views made him very unpopular with the police authorities of Germany. "Marx believed that all history was a long struggle between those who 'have' and those who don't have." We don't know why the "have" and "don't have" are in quotation marks, but we can assure Mr. Van Loon that Marx never believed anything of the kind. Again: "The introduction and general use of machinery had created a new class in society, that of the capitalists who used their surplus wealth to buy the tools which were then used by the laborers to produce still more wealth, which was again used to build more factories and so on, until the end of time. Meanwhile, according to Marx, the third estate (the bourgeoisie) was growing richer and richer, and the fourth estate (the proletariat) was growing poorer and poorer, and he predicted that in the end one man would possess all the wealth of the world while the others would be his employees and dependent on his good will." (page 426) Of all the attempts to briefly summarize Marx by a responsible writer, this is the most pitifully inadequate that we have seen. Entirely wrong in substance and principle, it arouses grave doubts as to the author's right to speak on other subjects.

But the same spirit prevails throughout the entire book. The Paris Commune is not even mentioned, the 1848 revolutions but vaguely intimated, and for the revolts of feudal and ancient history conducted by the working class they are mentioned with a sneer, when mentioned at all, which is seldom. Now this is common to almost every history, and will continue so for some time; the book under review is not singular in this respect. There are many errors, but Mr. Van Loon protests and warns his readers against being taken for an infallible guide. Many of these errors can be traced to a somewhat incomprehensible partiality to the great man and to good birth,—for instance, on page 430 he says in the latter part of the 17th century "the Marquis de Laplace was working on a new theory of creation . . . etc." Laplace did not become a Marquis until after the Restoration of the Bourbons in the beginning of the 18th century. The noble Marquis did not become an astronomer and mathematician; on the contrary, the poor scientist became a Marquis.

Aside from this, there is merit in having told the Story of Mankind in less than 500 pages in such a manner that it cannot fail to interest; it will certainly tend to create a new concept of man's development. Therein lies the value of the book, and it is considerable. We are of the opinion that some courageous publisher could realize the cent. per cent. item, and also satisfy the utmost demands of fact, if some historian with the necessary training, leisure and substance were to apply himself to the task of writing history in the light of Marx.

J. D. HARRINGTON

#### ECONOMICS FOR WORKERS

(Continued from page 5)

Some people might think that if the value of a commodity is determined by the labor spent on it, the more idle and unskilful the laborer, the more valuable would his commodity be, because more time would be required in its production. The labor, however, that forms the substance of value, is homogeneous human labor." On p. 46 Marx emphasizes socially necessary labor time. "The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time." "The introduction of power looms into England probably reduced by one-half the labor required to weave a given quantity of yarn into cloth. The handloom weavers, as a matter of fact, continued to require the same time as before; but for all that, the product of one hour of their labor represented after the change only half an hour's social labor, and consequently fell to one half its former value." We see then that, that which determines the magnitude of value of any article is the

amount of labor time socially necessary for its production.

In a foot note Marx draws attention to an unknown writer who wrote in the year 1738 or 1740. "The value of them (the necessaries of life) when they are exchanged the one for the other, is regulated by the quantity of labor necessarily required and commonly taken in producing them."

One book on Banking starts out with this: "A distinction must be made between value and price. The value of an article is its exchange relationship to another article."

The writer, although starting clear on value and price, soon gets all mixed up. Marx states it thus: "Exchange value is the relationship between two or more commodities, based upon the amount of socially necessary labor time embodied in their production." Again, "Exchange value alters according to the amount of socially necessary labor time embodied in the commodity."

If we eliminate their use values, commodities have a common property left, the socially necessary labor time embodied in their production.

The value an article has in consumption is its use value, but use value has no relationship to exchange value, e.g., a carpenter's hammer has probably more use value than any other tool he uses, but no one would suggest it has the greatest exchange value amongst his tools. Use value, although a necessary factor embodied in a commodity, has no relationship to its exchange value. A thing can have a use value and have no exchange value, as Marx points out regarding air, water and virgin soil. Again a thing can be useful and the product of labor without being a commodity.

Whoever produces for his own wants creates use values but not commodities. In order to produce commodities he must produce use values for others. If the thing is useless, the labor contained in it is also useless, and therefore creates no values. Marx illustrates how labor can be waste labor. "If the market cannot stomach all the linen that the weaver has produced, even although every piece of it contains no more labor time than is socially necessary, in spite of this we have had superfluous labor-time of the community expended in the form of weaving having the same effect as if every individual weaver had expended more labor-time on this particular product than was socially necessary."

The proof of the labor theory of value is seen in every book on industrial efficiency, illustrating costing departments and scientific management, with cards giving accurate time records to do certain jobs and with spaces for noting the workers' efficiency and productive capacity, to be entered with motion studies by moving pictures to eliminate waste movements of the workers, and reducing hours where fatigue has hampered output.

The "Efficiency Magazine," Oct. 1917: "If cows can be developed so as to give three times as much milk, is it not possible to train employees so that the output will be multiplied three times?" This during the war and since has been brought about with greater division of labor and specialized automatic machines.

The following words, from an advertisement by a Coventry firm in England in their magazine: "Today's problem is how to turn out the work with less time," show still further proof.

The struggle for the world's markets is a struggle to cheapen commodities between competitors, by lessening the socially necessary labor time in their production, and also to realize a surplus value, which we will discuss in a future lesson.

Keep in view that exchange value is the socially necessary labor embodied in the production of commodities.

Next lesson is: Money. . . . We will then be able to take up the subject price more intelligently

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

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

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

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

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

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It testifies to the strength of our nerveless and vulgarly healthy constitution that we were not overcome upon discovering a poem—consigned to us per the registration route to guard against accidents—instead of the bank cheque, draft or M. O. we hoped for.

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