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EVENTS

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FIVE CENTS

The Tariff Issue

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 3)

The Rumbblings of Change

By H. M. Bartholomew

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

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

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

Engels wrote:

"Nature is, then, proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HERE AND NOW.

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

Following \$2 each—F. V. Smith, J. Pollock, W. Daniel, Wm. Kastler, O. Erickson,

Wm. Braes, \$11.50; Sid Earp, \$4; "C. M. C." \$1.50; A. Dinkfalt, \$1.70; S. R. Davy, \$4; Wm. H. Gall, \$3; H. H. Thomas, \$5; N. T. Saehle, \$3; H. W. Herrman, \$5.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 14th to 28th September, inclusive—total, \$72.70.

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

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

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

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

Development of Educational System

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KATHERINE SMITH.

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

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

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

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

J. P. MILLER.
—"The Plebs."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

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

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

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

THE TARIFF ISSUE

(Continued from page 1)

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

Ten Minutes' Talks With New Students

Production and Poverty.

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

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

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

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

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

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VANCOUVER, B. C., OCTOBER 1, 1921

DOMINION ELECTIONS, 1921

S. P. of C. Candidates.

B. C. CONSTITUENCIES:

NANAIMO— W. A. Pritchard
VANCOUVER, (3 Seats)—

Burrard: J. D. Harrington

Centre: T. O'Connor

South: J. Kavanagh

MANITOBA CONSTITUENCIES:

WINNIPEG (3 seats):—

H. M. Bartholemew

R. B. Russell

Chas. Stewart

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

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

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

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

Did you see this in the papers the other day?

DATE OF THANKSGIVING IS FIXED BY
STATUTE; FALLS ON NOVEMBER 7.

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

NEIL McLEAN, M. P.

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

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

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

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

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Concerning Value

BY "GEORDIE"

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

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

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

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

(1) The average profits independent of the organic composition of capital in the different spheres of production, and therefore also independent of the mass of living labor appropriated by any given capital in any particular sphere of exploitation.

(2) A rise and fall of prices of production as a result of changes in the level of wages, a phenomenon which flatly contradicts at first sight the law of value of commodities.

(3) The fluctuations of market prices, which reduce the average market-price of commodities in a given period of time, not to the market-value, but to a market-price of production differing considerably from this market-value.

All these phenomena seem to contradict the determination of value by labor-time as much as the fact that surplus value consists of unpaid surplus-labor. Everything appears upside down in competition.

The existing conformation of economic conditions, as seen in reality on the surface of things, and consequently in the conceptions which the leading human agents of these conditions form in trying to understand them, are not only different from the internal and disclosed essence of these conditions, and from the conceptions corresponding to this essence, but actually opposed to them, or their reverse." (Marx here opposes the "real" to the "actual."—G.)—"Capital," vol. III., p. 244.

"In short, under capitalist production, the general law of value enforces itself merely as the prevailing tendency, in a very complicated and approximate manner, as a never ascertainable average of ceaseless fluctuations."—"Capital," vol. III., p. 197.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Factors in the Materialist Interpretation of History

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

By C. STEPHENSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The "Skilled" Workers

It is not only the inland seas that are a field for extra-special exploitation under the present peculiarly favorable conditions, nor is it only (so-called) "unskilled labor" that is losing what few human rights or privileges had been gradually wrung from soulless corporations or individual profit seekers:—the shipping on and from the Coast, and the various mechanical trades directly or indirectly dependent on the whole marine industry, reveal sickening struggles and apparent acceptance of terms and systems which are in glaring contrast to those happy days of the "aristocracy of labor"—when the machinist, for example, was the indispensable factor, and indeed it was a punishable crime not to be working, at (comparatively) good wages!

Of course, the average worker had no conception of the opportunity then offered to challenge the whole system of wage-worry and war (and the "class-conscious" slaves were few indeed!) but certain bargains, small and sordid, were made, and some "concessions" granted,—all of which are rapidly de-materializing in the stress of "peace" time.

For instance: when a mechanic, after much patience and innumerable rebuffs, is allowed to "start" on a short job (there are no "steady" jobs today!) he is not quite sure what is the "standard rate" of his pay per hour, in the absence or confusion of union control or influence,—all he can know for certain is that the old 85c has dropped 10c at least,—or is it 15c or more? No more "double time" for overtime, not even time and a half for night shifts in some cases, no more "dirty-money," and no very strong resentment, as yet, to the return to the hideous old practice of only paying men for fractions of days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. C. J.

FACTORS IN THE MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

(Continued from page 6)

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

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

"New-found wealth, the gold from the Americas and new articles of consumption and enjoyment tended to wean men from pre-occupation with the metaphysical and theological . . . New material resources and new markets in America and India undermined the old dependence upon household and manual production for a limited market, and generated quantitative, large scale production by means of steam for foreign and expanding markets. Capitalism, rapid transit, and production for exchange against money and for profit, instead of against goods and for consumption followed . . ."

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

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

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

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

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

CONCERNING VALUE

(Continued from page 5)

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

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

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

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

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

This ought to be enough for once.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
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PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Book Review

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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An interesting account of the incident of which the shooting of Sid Hatfield was the sequel appears on page 48.

We can recommend this work to any desiring a detailed story of the West Virginia trouble. The character of capital defending its right to existence and the function of the state in its brutal nakedness will easily be seen.

One might be led to enquire as to why the officials of an organization like the U. M. W. A., faced with the capitalist coal beast of West Virginia, could have allied themselves with the government and the operators in Western Canada.

The mass of the workers, apparently submerged in a prodigious unawareness of their social status, have a long way to go ere they realize the nature of the capitalist beast. This book might help in this direction.

W. A. P.

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