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FIVE CENTS

These Days of Plots

ONE can scarcely pick up a newspaper these days without being confronted with the discovery of some plot.

On October 18th the papers very seriously inform us that the ex-Kaiser of Germany talks loud enough to a personal friend so that a cross Atlantic newspaper service agent has no difficulty in over hearing the whole plot. It will be remembered that not so long ago this terrible Kaiser was to be hung publicly in England or somewhere, but perhaps Lloyd George or Clemenceau got mixed up in some plot by which it was discovered this "scapegoat" was not such a public nuisance as his detractors imagined. At any rate, basing our deductions from newspaper methods, there must have been some plot somewhere. Everything is done by plotting nowadays. The greatest "plot" of all, though, is the Social Revolution. This is the most dire plot of all history. In fact, the press gives one the impression that the revolutionary stage upon which we have entered is a regular epidemic of plots breaking out in a sort of "Red" rash, accompanied by bomb explosions and fiery illuminations around buildings, holding cotton, sugar and such like commodities that evince a falling tendency in their price relations with other commodities. The terrible plots of Lenin and Trotsky to overthrow a system that we all allegedly desire perpetuated will prove a veritable mine of humor for the moving picture producers of the future. No doubt we shall hear of the great plot in connection with the British coal strike before many days, despite the fact that publicity has not been withheld as to the causes bringing about this crisis in British industry.

It must always be borne in mind these days that our newspapers are organized for propaganda. The forces of the State have to be presented to the people as the saviours of society. There is always a menace, either from without or within. When there is a menace from without it is the danger of encroachment from another State,—a foreign nation. Today such a menace is trade competition, which is naturally backed up by force in the event of a challenge. If there is a menace from within it is evident that it is the people confined within a territory under the sway of a certain form of State Power—republic, empire, &c. To call upon the forces of the State to "save" society implies some one or some group that feels a need of protection from some one or some group that menaces it. Where there is no feeling of insecurity there is no shouting, as a rule. It also becomes noticeable that it is "society" that is threatened according to the screams for help. In other words, it is always presented on the surface as though the failure to succor the oppressed was sure to be a calamity of a social nature. Evidently the police force are not sufficient,—the other forces of the State that "save" society periodically must be utilized. Now, these forces are made up of human beings, who are brought up in the confines of a certain territory imbued with ideas of various kinds, depending on the environment in which they live and work, the traditions handed down from the past, and with a more or less ability to adjust their movements to the forces that impel them to hang on to life. The army, navy, the police, the judiciary, &c., are all recruited from the people of the country. The control of such human forces that must be used to sup-

press other human forces within a definite territory must be in the hands of those who can distinguish the "real" cries for help and so send the required assistance. It is also desirable that the individuals sent in vast numbers on punitive measures do not question the sanctity of their mission,—Law and Order. Before the days of popular education this was very simple. Things have changed somewhat of late years. The missions of the State powers have been somewhat tarnished to such an extent indeed, that an individual holding high office in any branch of the State service is suspected of having sacrificed his personal honor in some way—in popular parlance, he has been bought or sold, as the case may be. That the latter statement is not an exaggeration the reader can compare the popular esteem in which the following names were held some years ago to what prevails today: Lloyd George, in Britain; Clemenceau, in France; Sir Arthur Currie, in Canada; Premier Hughes, in Australia. The corruptive powers of capitalism are directed with special force on its executive state functionaries,—and those are the ones who feel the necessity of "saving" themselves, or rather "society," which means for them their masters and themselves—naturally the most important part of society to them.

On the other hand, the individuals who are to be suppressed and whose clamor has developed into threatening proportions, come into direct collision with the powers of suppression. As these are all human beings, the reciprocal actions of suppressing and being suppressed are bound to have an effect on the peoples involved. The competitive wage system has placed at the disposal of capitalist States an army and navy that are generally recruited in large numbers during periods of industrial depression. It therefore brings into the forces of State repression many men who have had their hopes destroyed in the industrial system. The conscript systems of Europe helped to cover up this disturbing feature to the individual brought up in a State that had always to be prepared for invasion. It is obvious that such an army is a dubious factor in the event of civil war. The insecurity of the lower paid employees in government service is somewhat similar to the industrial wage worker, and the fact that attempts are made to throttle any political activity in the ranks of government employees, is sufficient evidence that the growth of intelligence and understanding is not a prerequisite for State employment. Loyalty and understanding are not birds of the same color.

The overthrow of the State, however, must appear as a "social" calamity. Not only the positions of the higher functionaries but all the smaller ones are involved. A great proportion of the executive positions are filled from the ranks of what is called the Middle Class. They always consider themselves the "saviours of society," and what better function can they perform than at the head of salvage corps in the wreckage of the storm of 1914-1918. They have been navigating for some time, and when everything appeared to be going all right with the antiquated charts they went by, they prided themselves on their wisdom and farsightedness, but now with mutinous crews aboard and a strong sea now with mutinous crews aboard and a strong sea around, what can it mean but a plot,—a distardly "Red" plot, for above the turmoil the singing of the "Red Flag" is heard. Out with the slogans of

the old social order—Property, Family, Religion, Order—society must be saved against the "enemies of society."

The whole trouble with these so-called plots is that they are discovered by those who imagine them. The great plot discovered in Canada to usher in a revolution will go down in history as a remarkable proof of the "law of double discovery" in the realm of political science, on the condition that it can be shown that this wonderful discovery of plots for social revolution has originated without collusion on the part of those who made the same discovery in other parts of the world. It may happen in the future that those who fail to sell their stories to critical publishers on the strength of weak plots may be consoled by the fact that every modern State now possesses Home and Foreign Offices where such fiction may be sold at a handsome figure, on the understanding that the author waives all objection to international copyright, and providing that some other employee has not already divulged a similar plot. The essence of a plot is secrecy,—the details of which are confined to a few. A social revolution cannot be secret,—it is a public and general occurrence—not a matter of days, but of years. Its growth is gradual, but none the less perceivable to those who see. To those who did not notice its growth, its reality may cause them (who imagine it was a fiction) to look around for those they think responsible for the plot, to scare them.

There is one peculiar thing about developing a plot and that is that the end in view becomes apparent. A social revolution cannot be accomplished by means of a plot to change the framework of society behind the back of society, i.e., against the wishes of society. Any plots, real and imaginary, could only be confined to a few individuals, and the secrecy necessary for a plot cannot have a widespread effect of sufficient power to induce a social movement unless backed by a force at least equal to the forces to be overthrown, or able to affect other forces to give the plotters sufficient power to threaten the likely opposition. The so-called plots in vogue through competitive business operations bring into operation forces that the individuals scheming behind the backs of society at large do not anticipate. The causes of the resulting conditions are vague to the general mass, and this mass moves along the line of least resistance. The instability of social conditions only indicates that something has gone wrong with the social mechanism. Not knowing what the trouble is, those who feel uneasy as to the development may turn to plots, but such efforts are futile. A knowledge of the machinery is necessary to know what to do, and if the damage is irreparable the machine is replaced. The understanding of this fact brings into play the necessary activity to attempt the solution of the problem. Imaginary plots are simply an indication of fears bred by ignorance, and it must be admitted there are also those who profit by exploiting these fears. The fate of plots to overthrow a social order in Russia, which did not have the backing of a sufficient social force, are worth consideration by those who depend on plots for development. Plotters have eventually to come into the light of day and woe to those whom the darkness deceived.

The present attempt to get away from the effect
(Continued on page 8)

Economic Causes of War

Article No. 15.

THE two great schools of thought which confront the people of the civilized world today are Imperialism and Socialism. Although they are diametrically opposed to each other, they have some things in common. Both schools agree that Nationalism is dead or dying. Before going any further, it may be well to arrive at the meaning of the word Imperialism. The Oxford Dictionary gives the best definition of Imperialism of all the dictionaries I have examined. It says: "Imperialism is the extension of the British Empire where trade needs the protection of the flag." It has been stated by many speakers that trade follows the flag, but my close study of history has convinced me that the trade advances ahead of the flag, hence I agree with the definition of the Oxford Dictionary.

Mr. J. S. Ewart, K.C., of Ottawa, one of the best historians in Canada, says in his "Kingdom Papers," No. 2, page 32, "British Imperialism in its relation to the British North American Colonies has always been based upon the ideas of profit, I now proceed to prove." Mr. Ewart divides up Canadian history into three periods, namely:

1st.—"From the beginning to the advent of Free Trade or say to the eighteen forties, British Imperialism was based upon the profit derived from trade."

2nd.—"From the eighteen forties to the eighteen eighties there was very little British Imperialism, because there was very little profit."

3rd.—"Since the eighteen forties, British Imperialism has become enthusiastic and exigent, because of the military as well as the commercial profit that appeared to be in it." . . . "The European nations did not as a mere pastime fight for colonial possessions. They wanted profit."

In the first period the mother country prohibited the colonists from engaging in manufacture, using them to promote home trade. Mr. Ewart says that Free Trade removed the monopoly in the second period and British Imperialism waned because the colonies ceased to be profitable. He does not mince matters, for on page 43 he says: "Nations must be governed by self-interest." And on page 46: "The reason for the extraordinary change in British Imperialism since 1897 is easily explained. In 1897 the Canadian Parliament gave to British manufacturers, preferential treatment, with respect to custom duties, all the other colonies followed the lead. British Imperialism quickly and enthusiastically responded." . . . "Added to the trade-profit came the new desire for the more important war profit." . . . "Since 1897 British Imperialism had found plenty of nourishment and its growth has been phenomenal. The sentiment that is in it is founded upon substantial profit." Mr. Ewart, replying to criticism says, page 89: "I know that, until very recently, the United Kingdom had no love for us. I know that Canada was treated as a dependency as long as she was of commercial value; that she was told to 'break bonds and go' when her commercial value ended, and that only since she has appeared to be willing to furnish trade profits and able to supply military assistance, has effusive affection been lavished upon her." On page 90: "The sight of trade profits and war profits has worked an extraordinary change in the last twenty-five years. Half-breed colonials are now 'Overseas British guests and kinsfolk.' It is the turn of the Canadians to smile." That is the view of one of Canada's outstanding K.C.'s on international law, and probably one of the best historians in the Dominion.

One of the principal causes of the economic friction among nations and behind war is the fear of countries without access to convenient ports in their own country, a condition which might hamper their trade, not only in transit, but also by tariff walls. This is one thing that made Germany uneasy, because she did not possess the mouth of the river Rhine, and as I pointed out in an earlier article, a much similar situation obtained in Serbia's

desire for a port on the Adriatic Sea, and also in Russia not owning Constantinople for an all-year port. Modern Imperialism aims at the political control of all backward countries by the great capitalist governments of today, for the purpose of securing for their respective capitalists the security of industrial enterprises which they may establish in those backward countries. Also to insure raw material for the home industries and a monopolistic market for the finished product of the home exploitation; and the exploitation of native labor in the newly acquired territory. J. S. Ewart, as I have pointed out, says that Imperialism waned with Free Trade.

British capitalism became pacific after the development under the factory system as the ideas of the Manchester school of Free Trade became dominant. When the change came to renew Imperialism, it was not because as Mr. Ewart says the removal of profits, but as Boudin says in his "Socialism and War," capitalism had entered its Iron Stage. Mr. Ewart dates this change from 1897. In 1895 Joseph Chamberlain entered the Cabinet representing Birmingham. Birmingham is the headquarters of the iron and steel industry, therefore iron and steel became represented in the powers of government. If you want to know how business is faring, if you want to feel the pulse of capitalism, look up the market reports of the iron and steel industries. Boudin tells us that: "The world at large was surprised at Chamberlain selecting the Colonial Office as his particular field for activity; before that this office was considered a minor one in the Cabinet, instead of taking the Chancellor of the Exchequer which J. Chamberlain would have done if he had followed tradition." This was the entry of British capitalism into modern Imperialism. This change raised the Colonial Secretaryship from its former minor position to a place of first importance in the British Cabinet. The Boer War was a result of this change of policy. Although Chamberlain failed to carry his protection programme, England has proved by the results of the Great War that she is foremost in the Imperialistic procession.

Modern Imperialism is an expression of the economic fact that iron and steel have taken the place of textiles as the leading industry under capitalism. Textiles, being pacific, mean peace, but iron and steel mean war because the interests of this trade conflict in foreign markets, as I will point out further on. The basis of capitalistic industrial development is the fact that the workers not only produce more than they themselves can consume but more than society as a whole can consume. This permits an accumulation of wealth that must find a foreign market, and that market is generally in a country of a lower degree of capitalistic development. A market in a country equally as highly developed has no effect in disposing of the surplus wealth as it generally pays by exchanging other goods. The foreign market, therefore, must be an absorbent market, which results in the highly developed capitalist countries competing in the backward countries of the globe. Of course this cannot go on forever, as more countries reaching the stage of producing a surplus the number of absorbent markets becomes less and the competition for control of them becomes intensified. The capitalist world is to create new markets by means of obtaining concessions to build railways and canals and other public works. This gives an impetus to the iron and steel industry, and incidentally it creates a market for textiles. The highly developed capitalist countries produce the machines and means of production and less of the means of consumption. Consequently, they have to import raw material and foodstuffs, and this is particularly applicable to the European countries. A country in the early development of capitalism generally produces consumable products with machinery produced abroad, and when it becomes a competitor instead of a consumer it does not compete in all the fields of production. It continues as a customer mostly in machinery and begins to

produce textile goods and other consumable commodities. This is why, in highly developed capitalist countries, the leading industries are iron and steel, as they put their accumulated wealth into means of production. Where there is a rapid accumulation of wealth the iron and steel industries have become more prominent and have taken the lead over the textile industries. This is the real cause of the change of character of capitalism from the pacific mood of the Free Traders like Bright and Cobden to the warlike and imperialistic mood of Joseph Chamberlain. Capitalism has entered the era of Imperialism, and the reason for it is very simple. Iron and steel cannot be sold like textiles. For instance, clothes, hats and wearing apparel can be sold almost anywhere, where a good salesman has been sent; you only need to send a good salesman and you need not worry under what flag the native is ruled. The situation is greatly changed if you want to sell locomotives or rails, as a salesman cannot take a cargo of them and sell them to the natives. The only way this can be done is to build the railway yourself. While a German could sell textiles in any British colony he would find some difficulty in building a railway through any of those colonies. Hence, it will be seen how free trade in textiles does not apply to iron and steel. Not only do the capitalist countries that are highly developed reserve the right to build their own railways, but they have all been very jealous of each other in the matter of building railways in the backward countries such as Turkey, Persia, China and Africa.

Marx tells us: "The capitalist process of production consists essentially in the production of surplus value. It is not to administer certain wants but to produce profits. He does not advance capital merely for reproducing it, but with the view of producing a surplus in excess of the capital advanced." As no one can build railways in backward countries to produce dividends soon enough, pressure is brought to bear on the ruling power of that country for concessions, such as a subsidy of money from the Government, a monopoly market for themselves, or vast tracts of mineral lands. Sometimes a reluctance on the part of a backward country to grant concessions is altered by force, either threatened or actual. The trade of capitalist nations has ceased to be that of individuals but it has become a matter of armed force used by large groups called nations. Owing to this intensified industrialism, statesmen must think in terms of commerce, about markets for manufactured goods and supplies of raw material for their country's industries.

I might here draw your attention to the granting of concessions and the building of railways which are interwoven in every article I have written. You have the Cape to Cairo railway and various other railways in South Africa, a part of the globe I have not touched on. You have the railway incident in Morocco. The struggle for ownership of the railway in China when it changed hands to Japan after the Russo-Japanese war. You have all the railways and concessions Germany forced from China given to Japan. The British, French, and the Standard Oil Company, with their railways in China. British and Germans both owned railways in Asia. Lord Rathmore presiding at the half-yearly meeting of the British company owning the Ottoman railway from Smyrna to Aden, in 1917, said: "Our railway still remains in the possession of the Turkish Government by which it was lawlessly seized in November, 1914, and from that time we have not received any dividend from it." When he referred to the start of the company he said they had a struggling existence, but were becoming prosperous, with the intention of extending to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, when the German enterprise penetrated into that territory and thereafter with forced diplomacy and systematic bribery of Turkish officials received advantages over the British company. The company lodged with the Foreign Claims Of-

(Continued on page 8.)

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON III.

TO get to the subject proper, what do we mean by the Materialist Conception of History, or Economic Determination, as some express it? Let me try and make it plain, because there is cant in Socialism just as there is cant in religion.

Many of us are apt to use the phrases such as Materialistic Conception of History, Class Struggle, and Class Consciousness, with no more idea of their meaning than some of our religious friends who repeat theological phrases in poll-parrot fashion. When we talk intelligently of the Materialistic Conception of History, we mean what everywhere proves to be true, that the bread and butter question is the most important question in life. All the rest of the life of the individual is affected, if not dominated, by the way he obtains a living.

As this is true of individuals so also is it true of society, and this gives us the key to understand past history and, within limits, to predict the course of future development.

It is the study of the development of society and by society is meant all the people, with their facilities of getting a living, their institutions and ideas. It traces the way in which the races of men obtain their living and all other development depends upon the changes and improvements in the way of producing food, clothing and shelter of the human race. Our political, legal, moral and all other institutions have their roots in the economic soil. As one writer has said: "Our morals are not the roots but the fruits of civilization." Marx puts it thus:

"It is not man's consciousness that determines man's existence, but his social existence that determines his consciousness."

That is, all conception of good or bad, right or wrong, arises out of man's social relations with his kind, and the social relations are a result of the means whereby he procures his living.

To Buckle and others, progress of society was attributed to or appeared as a triumph of knowledge over superstition. To Spence, it appeared to consist essentially as the political power and social prestige from a class of warriors to a class of merchants, from militarism to industrialism. Each of these views has contributed a little to history, but to understand the causes of the change, it must be remembered that the production of wealth is a phenomenon more fundamental than science or religion, war and politics, and the vague generalizations must give way to economics. This view is expressed by Marx in his "Critique of Political Economy."

"In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations which are indispensable and independent of the will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage in the development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rise legal and political forms of social consciousness.

"The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life."

A moral code grows up in society and changes with the succeeding stages of society's growth. The moral code operates in favor of the ruling class, to whose interest it is to perpetuate our belief in the supernatural and to keep us ignorant of the true facts of historic growth.

Darwin says in his "Descent of Man":

"It is worthy of remark that a belief constantly inculcated during the early years of life while the brain is impressible appears to acquire the nature of an instinct, and the very essence of an instinct is, that it is followed independent of reason."

All human institutions having their roots in the economic soil makes reforms abortive, because they do not go to the roots of our economic structure.

The reform tinker who has no higher aim in politics than to mend passing pots we do not endorse. He shall pass through life mending pots and leave this world with more pots to mend than he found

when he started his mending. But anything which goes to the roots and modifies the economic structure will eventually modify every other branch and department of human life, political, ethical, legal and religious. This makes the social question an economic question. If this be true, some of you may ask why do Socialists, instead of using economic methods to solve an economic question, organize into a political party. To answer this question we must understand what the State is and what relation it holds to the economic question.

Gabriel Deville defines the State thus:

"The State is the public power of coercion created and maintained in human society by the division into classes, a power clothed with force, to make laws and levy taxes. As long as the economically dominant class retain full possession of the State or public power of coercion they are able to use it as a weapon to defeat every attempt to alter the economic structure of society, therefore every attempt to alter the economic structure of privilege and establish industrial democracy inevitably takes the form of a political struggle between the owning class and the exploited class."

Let us take the doctrine of the Materialistic Conception of History held by Marxians. Engels says, in the "Communist Manifesto."

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Or take Chas. Vail in his "Scientific Socialism":

"The laws, customs, education, public opinion, and morals are controlled and shaped by the economic conditions, or in other words by the dominant ruling class which the economic system of any given period forces to the front. The ruling ideas of each age have been the ideas of its ruling class, whether that class was the patricians of ancient Rome, the feudal barons of the middle ages, or the capitalists of modern times. The economic structure largely controls and shapes all social institutions and also religions and philosophical ideas."

Take Marx himself:

"The mode of production obtaining in material life determines, generally speaking, the social, political and intellectual processes of life."

Ferri, the Italian, calls it economic determinism. Ferri points out that we must not forget the various other factors which, though they themselves are determined by the economic factor, in their turn become causes and work concurrently with the economic factor.

Loria, another Italian, states the doctrine in somewhat the same fashion. Gabriel Deville, the Frenchman, who has popularized the Marxian ideas in France, has pointed out the various other factors. He says:

"Man, like all living beings, is a product of his natural environment. But while animals are affected only by the natural environment, man's brain, itself a product of the natural environment, becomes a cause, a creator, and makes for man an economic environment, so that man is acted on by two environments, the natural environment which has made man, and the economic environment which man has made. Now in the early stages of human development it is the natural environment, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of fish and game that is all important, but with the progress of civilization, the natural environment loses in relative importance, and the economic environment (machinery, factories and improved appliances) grows in importance, until in one day the economic environment as well-nigh all important. Hence the inadequacy of the Henry George theory, which places all its strength on the element of the natural environment, land, and wholly neglects the dominant economic factor.

"But while the economic factor is the child of the brain of man, man in its creation has been forced to work within strict limitations.

"He had to make things out of the materials furnished him by the natural environment, and later by the natural environment plus the inherited economic environment, so that in the

last analysis the material and economic factors are supreme. We Marxians are often accused of neglecting the intellectual factor and other factors, but we do not forget them. We recognize their existence but refuse to waste our energy on them when we plainly see the decisive, dominant factor, the economic factor."

As Deville says: "We do not neglect the cart because we insist in putting it behind the horse instead of in front or alongside, as our critics would have us do."

Our next lesson will begin from primitive man upwards towards civilization, accomplished by the improved methods of procuring food, clothing and shelter.

PETER T. LECKIE.

ARMENIA AND U. S.

Our country has suffered more during the past war than Armenia. Due to religious and racial prejudices, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were massacred by the Kurds, semi-savage tribes of Asia Minor. Christian Germany did not endeavor to stop these massacres. Patriotic Germans maintained that the Armenians were pro-Ally, and therefore deserved to be massacred. As soon as Germany capitulated, the U. S. was asked to assume a mandate over Armenia. America was the saviour of humanity. Why not take helpless Armenia under her protection? President Wilson gratefully accepted this kind offer and asked Republican Congress to vote him money and men for that purpose. Why men? You see quite a large number of Armenians objected to this mandate. They made quite a fuss about the fourteen points. They believed in the self-determination of small nations. So it was necessary to use a little persuasion in the form of bullets. The Republican Party immediately opposed this move. It contended that it would require over 100,000 men to pacify Armenia. So there you have it. The question of a mandate over Armenia is assuming national proportions. It is one of the issues of the present political campaign.

Why is it that there is so much discussion over this mandate? No one grumbled when England took over Mesopotamia, or France Syria. The Republican Party represents the industrial capitalists—the manufacturers of America. These men want a strangle hold on the world markets. They are essentially anti-British. The Chicago "Tribune," one of their chief organs, is one of the most extreme anti-British dailies in this country. They are opposed to the League of Nations, not because of its nature, but because England has six votes to America's one. They want a mandate over Mexico or Mesopotamia but Armenia never. They want oil wells and coal. They want to exploit the natural resources of a country. Armenia as far as they are concerned is worthless; Armenia does not contain any oil wells nor has it any iron or coal of importance.

The Democrats on the other hand represent the bankers and financiers. These men have loaned England and other European countries fabulous sums. They desire to see Europe rehabilitated. Their interests and British interests are identical. They are pro-British. The N. Y. "Times," an extremely pro-British daily, is one of their chief organs. Armenia is the bridge between Russia and Mesopotamia. Russia is Bolshevik. She must not be permitted to come in contact with Turkey so as to endanger British interests. And again, England is not interested in Armenia so far as the exploitation of natural resources is concerned. She would be willing to sacrifice the lives of British workingmen for the maintenance of order in India or in some other country rich in natural resources.

Although not the chief issue of the present political campaign, it serves to show that the capitalist class does not present a united front to all questions. It also shows that the humanitarian aims of the allies have an economic background.

JOHN TYLER.

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EDITORIAL

THE LABOR COLLEGE.

SOcialist study classes have commenced for the winter season. In another column will be seen particulars as to the studies undertaken by Vancouver and Winnipeg. Other places show a determination to organize classes for this season, and it is likely that as the winter months advance various groups will be organized for study throughout the country. It has always been the case in past years, that no matter what effort was put forth towards co-operation of student groups in different places, as between one group here and another elsewhere, these efforts towards cohesion have failed. For instance, correspondence between secretaries of classes has been instituted, in an endeavor to outline subject studies and problems for mutual consideration; notes, minutes of class proceedings and discussion, general conclusions arrived at on debatable paragraphs in the book used for study—these have been in past years printed in the "Clarion," in order to centralize educational work and bring forth enquiry from isolated points. Past experience goes to prove that if classes are to get in touch with one another for mutual help, then other methods must be adopted.

Time and again there have come forward suggestions regarding the formation of a labor college. Our last issue contained a suggestion, well made, as to methods and the general need for such an institution. Already in Great Britain labor colleges are doing good work, and in the U. S., correspondence courses in economics, history, etc., are being conducted.

No doubt the need for a labor college is felt in Canada. A labor college, it is presumed, would have competent instructors and lecturers, and would direct courses in correspondence. The stumbling block seems, in the main, to be finance. Without the solution of the financial difficulty the Labor College is still a problem.

CHARLIE O' BRIEN.

COMRADE O'BRIEN'S name is familiar to all who are acquainted with the history and growth of the Socialist movement in Canada. A dozen or more years ago he was actively engaged in spreading sound Socialist education throughout the country from coast to coast, and he recognized no ordinary obstacles. He earned for himself a reputation as a wholehearted and indomitable worker for Socialism, whose characteristic feature was always a modest self-effacement and whose stock-in-trade was the general good and welfare of the Socialist movement. In spite of himself he was nominated and elected as Socialist candidate for a constituency in Alberta, and he was an eruptive and antagonistic nuisance to property interests represented in the legislative assembly of that province during four years. In course of time he wandered back to the eastern provinces and ultimately arrived in New York State, where for several years since he has worked as a Socialist educator, notably in Rochester. The steady growth of sound educational effort among the workers of Rochester has been apparent in the past year or two, and O'Brien has been instrumental in directing the educational work. Finding himself in a neighborhood where the main body of Socialists, so-called, devoted them-

selves to the advancement of reform policies rather than to education, to gaining numerical strength rather than to an understanding of the foundation of class strife within capitalism, he set out to work for the establishment of educational classes wherein the workers might gain a real knowledge of society's historical growth, and of the operations of present day society, through the study of economics.

Last December, the U. S. Palmer agents arrested him for this and charged him with "Criminal Anarchy." The exact details and nature of the events following upon that are unknown to us, but we know that he was released on bail in January, and that he has been twice arrested on a deportation warrant by the immigration authorities. As far as we know now he is on bail yet on two counts. He was last arrested between the 8th and 12th October, and he is on bail now, his case being slated for hearing by a Federal Judge in Buffalo early this month. An appeal has been issued by the Defence Committee of Rochester for funds to obtain a writ of habeas corpus, and the D. E. C. of the S. P. of C. decided to open a fund in these columns in order to help; Local Vancouver also pledged support and no doubt other locals of this Party from whom we have not had advices in the matter have done likewise. However, for the time being we have stayed our efforts, as we have just recently been advised that the writ required has been obtained and O'Brien is on bail, with the ultimate decision of his case pending. What that decision may be, and what may be further required as to finances, we shall announce as soon as we can. In the meantime, while maintaining a jealous eye on Rochester, we hope Charlie may be able to continue to educate whom he pleases in New York State as long as he likes.

These remarks are made, not in order to extol the virtues of one for whom we have a personal regard, but in order to satisfy many enquirers who are acquainted with his plodding spade work in Canada in past years, and who constantly ask for information concerning his case. Long ago the late D. G. McKenzie wrote: "The Socialist Party of Canada owes nothing to any man but one, and he denies it." The man was O'Brien. If the impending decision is "unfavorable," Rochester's loss will be our gain.

B. C. ELECTIONS.

A GENERAL B. C. Provincial Election will be held on December 1st. In another column will be seen notice of a special business meeting of Local Vancouver to nominate candidates.

There will be, no doubt, many candidates representing other parties in the field. We shall hear the usual clap-trap advanced from their platforms, and we shall not be surprised if they manage to reach the ear of the multitude this year as in past years.

There are some among us who, in their zeal for the purposes of working class solidarity would have us close one eye to the defects we have hitherto detected in our supposed next-of-kin, the F. L. P. The F. L. P. propaganda that we have listened to off and on for a year or two is not of the same order as our own. Much, indeed, of our own propaganda is devoted to eradicating the ideas they are busy in disseminating.

It is actually urged by our "tacticians" that as we "compromise" every day in the week, by working for wages and everything that goes with that, sometimes with those very people of the F. L. P., we therefore would not be illogical in allying ourselves with them as a political party.

Whether we think the alliance advisable or not, this "logic" is plain ordinary bunk and nothing more. By the same "reasoning" nothing is to hinder us from alliance with Liberal and Conservative workers also, in their parties, since we daily "compromise" in their company also. It will be said no doubt that the F. L. P. is a declaredly working class party. Indeed, it has been said already. Some excuses have been made that are connected with "Labor Party candidates already in the field who should not, for that reason, be opposed by us." We do not know what this exactly means, as at this moment of writing there are no F. L. P. candidates

nominated. So, that prop to the argument is destroyed, yet the argument still persists. Therefore the proposal does not rest upon that. It rests upon something else.

Concerning parties in the field, the S. P. of C. has been in this "field" fifteen years. Its educational work is acknowledged as far reaching. The F. L. P. came into existence here some three years ago to fill the shoes of the departed S. D. P. If its members had desired to advance the cause of the workers from a class standpoint, they might have considered the Party "already in the field," the Socialist Party of Canada. But these political infants had in their ranks a plentiful sprinkling of aspirants for office, and some of these had left the S. P. of C., in order to give their ambitious political wings room to spread. They are spreading them now. We have found it necessary in times past to clip these wings when they needed it. Any alliance with them must lead to confusion on one issue, the class struggle and its outcome. We are told that with changing conditions we must change the order of our efforts. We do not dispute that, but would point to the uselessness of changing our minds with every changing wind. Some enthusiastic folk have followed that practice before, to come back always to hammer home to the workers, not "tactics" and the way to the revolution, but education. In this election campaign, we venture the opinion, the workers, to their sorrow be it said, will be more interested in the government liquor law than in their own slave status. In these circumstances, considerations of "tactics" are considerations not justified by any immediate definite ends from a class conscious standpoint.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

An error in these "Notes" in our last issue. We said the History Class (Vancouver) had undertaken the study of De Gibbins' "Industrial History of England." This should have been Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."

A letter just received from Comrade John Tyler states that his recent article in the "Clarion," "Is it the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" contains a statement that misrepresents his meaning. This is the sentence: "No, F. S. F., you cannot get Socialism by a Dictatorship of the Proletariat." He says this is not in accord with his retained notes of the article, and that it should read "By a Dictatorship of a minority." We have looked up his manuscript and find we are not in error (for once), and have returned it to him. However, this correction is inserted, as "minority" is evidently the word he meant to use.

We have several times tried to mail packages containing the "Manifesto" of the S. P. of C. to eastern points in the U. S. A. The dictators of that democratic land decline, however, to import it. We have been told that it is on the U. S. proscribed list, and last week we had a parcel returned marked "Prohibited Importation," and this seems to confirm our information. The "Manifesto" has somehow found its way in the past, however, to places where it was officially despised.

The last article of "Economic Causes of War" commences in this issue. These articles will be concluded in next issue, whereupon we shall set ourselves to their reproduction in book form. We shall soon be able to announce prices, and we expect comrades throughout the country who see the worth of these articles to inform others, so that the book may have the wide circulation it deserves.

Look at our "Here and Now" paragraph. Our mailing list is thinning out and we need renewals and new subscribers. We are nearly over the mark of our 1918 mailing-list indebtedness, but not quite. Increasing printing costs may compel us to raise the price of the paper, and that is what we don't wish to do. Numerous additions to the mailing-list will enable us to get new readers.

Comrade Frank Cassidy was in MacLeod, Alberta, last week. The comrades in Edmonton are expecting to see him there in course of time. If finances warrant Frank will reach Edmonton, and will visit other Alberta towns. It is hoped that he may be able to travel westward over the G. T. P. to Prince Rupert, stopping off at places on the way. We shall have more to say of this later, but in the meantime, comrades in Alberta should write regarding Frank's whereabouts to John F. Maguire, secretary, Alberta P. E. C., 10016-93rd Street, Edmonton, Alberta.

Is it a Democracy?

IN the "Western Clarion" of October 1st, John Tyler takes issue with Faulkner and Cassidy on the question of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The writer of this article is not interested in the alleged mental gyrations of Faulkner, but is mainly concerned with the ill-considered statements (not to use a harsher term) of Tyler.

The introduction of Kautsky and the S. P. of G. B. in the second paragraph of Tyler's article illuminates the whole. Tyler states:

"Dictatorship as a form of government in Russia, means disarming the opposition, by taking away the franchise, liberty of the press and combination of opponents."

Then he asks:

"Does the working class have to employ such measures?"

Possibly the propounder of this question is a Marxian Socialist; if so, then both Marx and Engels answer his question. Engels in a letter to Bebel:

"The Proletariat need the State, not in the interests of liberty, but for the purpose of crushing opponents."

Page 39, "Communist Manifesto" (Whitehead Library), the question is answered more extensively. "And yet," says Tyler, "we are asked to defend a dictatorship of a minority which helps to produce anarchy and chaos."

The complacency with which this parrot-like repetition of the mouthings of the capitalist press, slip from the pen of Tyler would do credit (?) to a smug bourgeois.

Who has produced anarchy and chaos in Russia? "The Communist" answers Tyler. Not a word about the world-intervention of the capitalist class, the blockade, capitalist and pseudo-Socialist sabotage, the breakdown of industry caused by the world war. (No doubt the "Bolsheviks" are responsible for the latter, etc.) Facts seem to be mere trifles to John Tyler.

Tyler takes it for granted that we have a democracy, but does not state its per-centage, or whether it is "pure." I might ask if Democracy can exist in a society based on Capitalist ownership of the means of production—in short, a society of masters and slaves? Perhaps John Tyler takes the same position as Sir Richard McBride, who frequently declared: "There are no wage slaves in British Columbia."

Faulkner is quoted as being "fearful that the capitalist class would not surrender their power without a struggle should the workers be victorious at the polls." If the experiences of the past and the present are still to be relied upon as guides for the future, the probabilities are that the capitalist class will resist any interference with their domination. No ruling class ever voluntarily surrendered their supremacy. Finland, where the Socialists elected a majority of representatives, in accordance with the bourgeoisie constitution, is a case in point. Finland enjoyed the most liberal "Democracy" (from a voting viewpoint) of any country in the world. They "took over" the bourgeoisie State with all its machinery, and proved the correctness of Marx's assertion in the "Communist Manifesto" that the workers cannot use such ready-made machinery in their own interests. Capitalist counter-revolution, supported by German soldiery and guns, made short work of the "democratic power" attained by the Finnish workers. Ireland, where seventy-nine per cent. are in favor of certain "reforms," might also be mentioned.

Captain Colin R. Coote, M.P., an able British apologist of the present system, in a reply to the arguments of the advocates of "nationalizing" the mines, says:

"If a labor government were returned tomorrow and proceeded to nationalize by Act of Parliament every industry, it is idle to contend that the capitalist would submit. In the hypothetical case I have supposed there would undoubtedly be a civil war of property owners, large and small, versus those who do not own property. The nationalizer may say he only wants to nationalize because he thinks nationalization the most efficient system. If so, then, in logic, he must advocate universal nationalization, and upon his own definition of that system, he must advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat. This involves, of course, the temporary destruction of our industrial system and the permanent destruction of our political system. If you get as far as Kerensky you will be forced to go on to Lenin."

We are told by Tyler of the "necessity of the working class to defend democracy tooth and nail." According to the most "democratic" organs of opinion the workers were desperately engaged in this heroic task from August, 1914, to November, 1918. Democracy should be tolerably safe after such gigantic efforts.

Again I quote Tyler: "The mass of the people are everywhere too attached to their political privileges and will not abandon them without a struggle." This is more in the nature of a pious wish than a fact. The history of the past five years proves that the mass of the people don't give a hang about their political privileges so long as their economic privileges are fairly secure. In other words, if jobs are plentiful, and hay and oats are coming regularly to the masses, they are not hang about their political privileges so long as there is no Great Britain and Canada, United States espionage acts, government by order-in-council or court injunction, "Dora," jailings, deportation, expulsion of regularly-elected representatives, etc., were of less importance in the eyes of the masses than the price of sugar, or the latest baseball scores.

"Well fed they snore,
Or being hungry, whine."

Speaking further regarding the political privileges which Tyler says will not be given up by the workers "without a struggle," he continues:

"The ruling classes realize that and are therefore not attempting to antagonize the working class by taking from them their political instruments. A few ignorant public officials have done so, but their actions have been condemned by all sections of the ruling class."

If John Tyler could but cut himself adrift for a time from his philosophical environment at the coast (*) and get out into the real world of happenings he would find in New York and elsewhere that "political instruments" are being taken away not only by a "few ignorant public officials" but by the highest powers of the ruling class. A ruling class that does not rule is an anomaly. Innumerable instances of the invasion of the alleged political privileges of the workers can be mentioned; those invasions are either justified or ignored by the ruling class.

Putting on the mantle of the prophet (and surely it is a poor fit), Tyler proclaims: "You cannot get Socialism by the dictatorship of the proletariat."** We can hear the loud chorus of approval from Scheidemann, Noske, Hyndman, Kautsky, Wilson, Lloyd-George, Billy Sunday, the Holy Rollers and the S. P. of G. B. Friend Tyler is travelling in the company of the "best people."

It is interesting to recall the withering sarcasm of the past in regard to all schemes, plans, "wheels of fortune," etc., and in recalling this sarcasm of the S. P. of G. B. it is well to place it alongside the attitude of that party today. Now we find them with a blue print and, in their official organ "The Socialist Standard," of August, "action within the confines of the parliamentary system" is given as all sufficient for the emancipation of the working class.

F. CLARK.

(*) Note: John Tyler's "philosophical environment" is Detroit.—Editor.

**Note: See reference to this sentence in Secretarial Notes.—Editor.

High Cost of Living

WHAT is this H. C. of L.? Simple as is the query, and simple as the answer would appear to be, nevertheless that answer can be supplied only with an analysis of the capitalist system of production, superficially in the brief space of this article.

Capitalist society rests on property right in the social means of life, and its form of production is

commodity production by wage labor. Society is thus automatically divided into two main classes; the wage-laboring class and the employing class,—either one alone being an impossibility. It is in the relationship of these two classes that the solution to our question is to be found.

The implication of property right is that the employing class possesses complete ownership and control of the machinery and material of production requisite for the maintenance of social life, and conversely, the wage-laboring class can have access to that essential machinery and material only on the terms and conditions of the owners. Those conditions are production for sale, at a profit.

Capitalist production of the necessities of life is carried on entirely for profit. Coal is not mined, lumber is not dressed, wheat is not grown, nor cloth manufactured to satisfy the material wants of society, but solely to supply profits to the owners of these industries. The use-value of production is but an incident—a pre-requisite condition of sale. It is their exchange-values alone that figure in the calculations, and if conditions of exchange are unsatisfactory and profit therefore not to be realized, industry stops. "What steam is to machinery" so is the market to capitalist industry.

But capitalist industry is necessarily competitive—even when it passes into the stage of monopolies. For, since profit is the great objective, the wider is the field of operation, either of individual or corporation, the greater is the volume of profit. But the widening of the field of exploitation carries with it another fatality to wage-labor. Because, although the accumulation of capital means the expansion of industry, and therefore the expansion of labor, it, at the same time involves the concentration of capital, and the progressive curtailing of the effective market. By the increasing efficiency of competitive production; the elimination of waste and overlapping; by the installation of greater and more effective machinery, and therefore the continual increase of unemployment, the productive cost is lessened in terms of the market, and although the total volume of profit is immensely augmented, the profit per unit, is decreased.

The net result of this competition is that commodities are placed on the market at their value—the cost of production—and sell—or exchange—on the average—for one another, in such terms.

But in the capitalist system of exchange, this transference of commodities is accomplished through the medium of money. Money, therefore, becomes the measure and standard of value and price. This money itself, rests on the law of value—the cost of production of gold. If the cost of production of gold is lessened, its value is lessened, and its purchasing power decreased. But over and above this, the enormous increase in the total production of commodities, renders their exchange, in terms of actual gold, an impossibility, because there is not sufficient gold to cover the transaction. Commerce, therefore, has recourse to substitutes. It issues paper money, resting on the value of gold, but secured wholly and solely by future production. Thus credit and the fiction of payment comes about. And obviously, the greater the amount of paper issued against the actual amount of gold, the more paper it must take to circulate commodities, since the actual value of gold (or commodities) is not affected in the process. The world may be flooded with paper money, but labor alone is the final arbiter of value.

Now, the power to labor is the commodity of the worker, and he must sell his commodity in terms of capitalist production. As we have seen, commodities exchange on the average at value. What is the value of labor-power? Precisely, the value of those things necessary to maintain life—food, clothing, shelter, recreation, etc., requisite for the creation of energy to function effectively in industry, in order to produce profits for the master class. Since all the social necessities of subsistence are the stepping stones to profit, there can be no boycotting, or striking against them. And since competitive production involves the exchange of commodities at value, the value of labor power is reduced to its lowest terms of subsistence, compatible with efficient functioning in industrial operations.

(Continued in next issue).

Concerning Value

By H. M. Bartholomew.

Article III.

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE LABOR

WE have seen in the previous articles that in two commodities of equal exchange value there exists, in equal quantities, something common to both; that each of these articles is equal to, and is reducible to, a common third. This common third to which all commodities are reducible is human labor, or in the words of Karl Marx:

"We see, then, that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor time socially necessary for its production."—"Capital," vol. 1, p. 46.

If the reader will compare this statement of this phase of our subject with the exposition made by the leaders of the classical school he will find a marked difference. The latter economists are content to talk of "labor" and "quantity of labor"—and there they rest upon their investigations.

But what do they mean by these phrases. And how do they measure the "quantity of labor" in relation to other commodities? These are questions of the utmost import, and they demand careful consideration and exact answer if we are to arrive at any definite conclusions regarding Value.

But it is upon this important phase of our subject that the classical school of political economy has little to say, and the great service which Marx rendered to economic science becomes apparent.

It is essential that we enter into a somewhat abstract investigation, and the ordinary man or woman instinctively shirks from such investigation. This, despite the fact that such abstract investigation lies at the base of all scientific progress.

In the first place, labor, per se, possesses absolutely no value. Labor has no more value as labor than weight as weight. If men are employed as they were in the French Revolution, to dig holes in the ground for the purpose of filling them up again they have created no value. **Labor possesses value only when it is embodied in socially useful commodities, and when embodied in such commodities it is the sole measure and basis of their value.**

So far everything has been perfectly clear sailing. It is here, however, that the confusion of thought prevalent among the classical school becomes apparent. What do we mean by labor?

It is incorrect to speak of "labor." The creation of wealth and the production of use-values is the result of the application of **human labor power** to land and capital. Or, to quote Marx:

"Labor is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord, starts, regulates, and controls the material re-actions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms, and legs, head and hands, the natural resources of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants."—"Capital," vol. 1.

The confusion of the classical school resulted from the employment of the term "labor." This confusion vanishes if we substitute the more scientific term "labor power." Upon this difference of terms Engels tells us that:

"What economists had regarded as the cost of production of 'labor' was not the cost of labor, but that of the living laborer. And what they thought the laborer was selling to the capitalist, was not his labor. 'As soon as his labor really begins,' says Marx, 'it ceases to belong to him, and therefore can no longer be sold by him, and therefore can no longer be sold by him.' At best, he is able to sell his **future labor**, i.e., he can assume the obligation, to perform a definite labor service at a definite time. But by doing this he does not sell labor (which is only to be performed) he transfers to the capitalist for a definite time (in case of time wages) or for the sake of definite labor-power (in the case of piece-wages) the control over his labor-power for a definite payment; he leases, or rather sells his **labor-power**. This labor power is coalescent with and inseparable from his very person, its cost of production therefore with that of the individual; what the economists called the cost of production of

labor, is that of the laborer and at the same time that of his labor power. It is thus that we are able to go back to the cost of production of labor to the **value** of labor power, and to determine the amount of socially necessary labor requisite for the production of labor-power of definite quality, as Marx has done it in the chapter on "The Buying and Selling of Labor Power."

"The difficulty which brought to grief even the best economists as long as they started their reasoning with the value of 'labor' disappears as soon as we start in its stead with the value of **labor-power**."—Engels' Introduction to "Wage, Labor and Capital."

But human labor-power has two sides to it. It is both qualitative and quantitative.

The qualitative side of labor-power is easy to comprehend. Commodities of different kinds of labor-power are exchangeable, but commodities of similar labor-power are not generally exchangeable. Boots do not exchange for boots; but boots are exchangeable for hats, or books, or clothes. In other words, use-values are exchangeable only when qualitatively different labor-power is embodied in each.

But the quantitative side of the value of a commodity is not so easy of comprehension. When two workers are engaged in the production of two different commodities, such as boots and shirts, each worker is clearly exerting his own individual labor power and is embodying in the finished product his own individual work. Do we measure the value of the boots and the shirts by the individual exertions of these two workers? This is obviously impossible. In any given trade or industry, the workers engaged are not of equal skill, nor of similar productivity. Nevertheless, the value of the commodity which this aggregation of workers produce is the same, whether produced by a fast, skilled worker, or by a slow and unskilled artisan.

How then, do we measure the quantum of human labor which is essential to the production of any given commodity?

Let us consider the two workers producing boots and hats. Each individual is expending his vital force as an individual worker, but he is, at the same time, creating value as a social unit. **Each worker, that is, is embodying in the commodities produced, human labor on the average; is incorporating in the finished commodity the average quantum of human labor-power which is necessary to the production of that commodity.**

Upon this phase of our subject H. M. Hyndman says:

"Two joiners set to work to make a cabinet. Here the quality of the labor is the same. When finished, the two cabinets are exactly the same. It is impossible to tell the one from the other. But the one joiner has worked with old-fashioned tools and without any machinery, thus entailing the expenditure of a great deal of labor. The other has used all the most modern labor-saving machinery; and thus his cabinet, though as good in every respect as the other, has been constructed at the expenditure of half the quantity of labor. The first cabinet, therefore, made on old-fashioned lines, does, beyond all question, contain in itself the embodiment of twice the amount of individual labor that the second contains. Yet, both being equally well made, they have precisely the same exchange value in relation to other goods on the market. . . . If individual labor measured the exchange value, the first cabinet would be worth twice as much as the second. It is really of equal worth. Consequently, it is clear that it is not individual labor which is the measure of value in this case, but the quantity of social necessary labor required to make each cabinet at the time they are offered for exchange. This comes behind both the joiners while they are at work, and determines the amount of their respective values in exchange, without the slightest reference to the desire or convenience of the two workers themselves."—"Economics of Socialism," pp. 47-8.

It will be seen, therefore, that when the quality of the labor is equal, and the product is precisely identical that the actual exchangeable value of any two commodities is not dependent upon the quan-

tity of the labor embodied in them by either of the two workers concerned as individuals, but rather by the general average social cost in social human labor power of producing precisely similar commodities.

We see, also, that skill, speed, etc., in an individual worker does not determine the exchangeable value of any given commodity. **That value is determined, as it is measured, by the quantum of social human labor power which is essential to the production of the use-value.**

Marx tells us that:

"The value of a commodity represents human labor in the abstract, the expenditure of human labor in general. . . . It is the expenditure of simple labor-power, i.e., of the labor-power, which, on the average, apart from any special development, exists in the organism of every ordinary individual. Simple average labor, it is true, varies in character in different countries and at different times, but in a particular society it is given. Skilled labor counts only as simple labor intensified, as multiplied simple labor, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labor. Experience shows that this reduction is constantly being made. A commodity may be of the most skilled labor, but its value, by equating it to the product of simple, unskilled labor, represents a definite quantity of the latter labor alone."—"Capital," vol. 1, pp. 51-2.

Again:

"Whilst, therefore, with reference to use-value, the labor contained in a commodity counts only qualitatively; with reference to value, it counts only quantitatively, and must first be reduced to human labor pure and simple."—"Capital," vol. 1, p. 52.

Next Article: "Value and Price."

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MANIFESTO

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Family Life Through The Ages

Part III.

THE characteristics of maleness and femaleness have manifested themselves in human society from the earliest of times. The unrest and activity of the male member of the human family marked him for the position of breadwinner, or food producer, of the social group. He tamed the cattle.

He, in all probability, discovered the means of raising grains, vegetables, and grasses, as well as the improvements made in this field from time to time. He armed himself with crude weapons of aggression and defence, and marched forth against the male members of hostile tribes who, like himself, were seeking what they might devour.

While the male section was thus engaged, female man functioned in another capacity. She was the instrument of propagation—the means for keeping the earth replenished with others of their kind. Her natural quiescence adapted her for the position of keeping the home fires burning, while her restless spouse ventured on new investigations into the realms of the known and unknown. She cooked, milked, sewed, and otherwise attended to domestic affairs. Doubtless, many of the early inventions could be traced to woman did but history more legibly record their inception. Her manipulation of the methods and utensils pertaining to the home would equip her with the knowledge necessary to institute changes.

This restriction of woman to the confines of the home, prohibiting any participation in tribal, national, or world affairs, would naturally tend to accentuate the attributes of passivity and conservatism derived from a biological basis. Her narrow outlook on life was rendered still more narrow by the circumscribed boundaries within which she lived and worked.

The poets of antiquity have pictured tribes of women who lived by themselves. These Amazons would not brook the presence of males excepting at rare intervals. They were practically sufficient unto themselves. Recently, the magazine section of the Hearst Sunday papers contained an article written by an equally antique and poetic professor who claimed to have knowledge of a tribe of "wild women," veritable viragos, after whom the Amazon river was named. This phenomenal tribe had its abode in the forests of Brazil. Males were excluded from their society excepting for a brief period once a year. Then, they were forced to depart on penalty of losing their lives at the hands of the women warriors who were thoroughly trained in all the methods of warfare. The male children, as in Homer, were murdered if the men refused to take them back to their own tribes.

Such a condition, however, is found to be impossible when subjected to the acid test of scientific investigation, or an appeal to facts. There is no foundation for such a contention. There are physical and sociological barriers that preclude the possibility of such a tribe, and the spectacular tale of the poet-professor must be relegated to the ranks of legends, fables, and traditions with which so-called history is replete.

While the period of the Matriarchate existed, the dividing line between the functions of male and female was plainly marked. He worked on the outside and she at home. There was little overlapping of duties. A Roosevelt would have been quite correct, though superfluous, back in that age, in contending that "woman's place was the home." No one would dispute the fact. There she lived, moved, and had her being, so it was to that position that nature and society had consigned her.

But the period of maternal law did not last forever. Like all institutions it existed only as long as the economic conditions warranted. With the advent of property a change in sex relationship was made imperative. The new property made its appearance outside the home. Land, cattle, minerals, slaves, were all confined to man's realm. His social position was greatly enhanced by this newly acquired wealth. To leave his property to his children the father must be recognized. He must as-

sume the dominant position in the family councils. He did. Woman, deprived of a material basis for her authority in the home, soon relinquished her control. From the dawn of the property institution woman has been subjected to the will of man. Her position in the social organism was removed to a lower plane.

While this change from maternal to paternal authority appears to be such a marvellous transformation when viewed through the glasses of today, still it would not appear to be anything extraordinary at the time it happened. All the factors that brought about this transition had previously existed. They were slowly but surely moving in that direction. When the combination of forces reached a certain stage the old form merely merged into the new. It would not be regarded as a violent or drastic change.

Given monogamy, and paternal law, and many centuries passed with but slight variations in the relations between the sexes. Through the periods of chattel slavery and feudalism, with few exceptions, no very important changes are noticed. True, in the time of the Roman Empire, due to the fact that considerable wealth had come into their possession, woman's place in the social circle was greatly advanced. Her equality was again conceded. Economic security has always asserted itself.

It was not till the dawn of a new social system—capitalism—that a complete revolution in family affairs was accomplished. Slow, steady, scarcely perceptible at first, it soon became violent and sweeping in character.

Before the advent of the present system, while the domestic stage of industry existed, woman's sphere was still confined to the home. Her duties were to supply the domestic needs of the family. Industry of a manufacturing kind was still in its incipient form. The age of machinery had not arrived. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. Work in the fields and about the home was conducive to a healthy, care-free, natural existence. The relations between the sexes had ample reasons to be pleasant. In such an environment it was just as natural to love as to live.

The plays of Shakespeare afford an opportunity of viewing domestic affairs in England. While shrews, viragos, and vampires frequently interrupt the pleasantness of the scene, and rudely remind us of the normal state of family life today still, beautiful female characters abound in profusion. Desdemona, Ophelia, Rosalind, Narissa, Cordelia, and Jessica are types apropos only in a mediæval setting. The poems of Burns portray the domestic situation in Scotland at a later date though in a somewhat similar stage.

But, at the end of the middle ages, a something of momentous import occurred in the social process. Society had reached that stage of development where the old feudal methods of production were no longer sufficient to feed, clothe and shelter the human race. A new age was dawning. Necessity demanded another mode of production. Machines previously unknown and unthought of because unneeded found their way into the productive process. Factories, mills, mines and workshops were now at the threshold of a great development. The industrial methods of other times began to appear crude and wasteful. The home was no longer the place for woman. It was soon noticed that the cheaper the slaves employed in production the greater the profits to those who owned the machines. This demand for cheap profitable labor shifted the location of woman's toil to the factory and mill. Her fingers, as well as those of the children, were found to be peculiarly fitted to the new machines.

Here in the dust, and noise, and work of factory life, a change was authorized in woman's condition. The new economic environment had asserted itself. The old female characteristics of passivity and ease were removed, and in their stead the male attributes of activity and unrest were instilled. She became more manlike as her social standing forced her into the position of performing man's function in factory and mine. This effect is seen in Engels'

"Working Class in England in 1844." It is emphasized in the reports of all the commissions appointed to review the industrial situation during the past century. The unnatural toil, and inhuman suffering, induced by close proximity to work, wrought a great havoc to woman's attributes. Many of them smoked, and most of them drank. The ale-house was practically the only source of amusement or recreation to which they had access.

In recent years this deterioration has not abated. It has on the contrary become more accentuated. The participation of women in industry during the great world war has hastened the evil effects. In a recent statement to parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer reports that the smoking and chewing propensities of the English women are responsible, to a great degree, for the increasing price of tobacco. Their drinking proclivities are likewise enhanced.

Now, the delightful, delicate, and ethereal creatures of which poets have incessantly sang, and spasmodically worshipped; those weaker vessels, drooping lilies, and clinging vines, clad in greasy overalls, and spiked boots, indulging in all the manly vices with feminine alacrity, present a rather inartistic and unromantic situation. The sweet and loving Desdemonas are transformed into the shameless and vicious Faustines. The bashful demure Ophelias make way for the advent of cruel and venomous Dolores. The winsome devoted Cordelia finds her successor in the grossly materialistic Felise.

The capitalist system has shattered the home and family. There is no opportunity for domestic bliss and harmony among the members of any section of society today. In the ranks of the bourgeoisie, woman has become a plaything in the hands of man. She is wholly dependent for her existence on the supposed partner of her joys and sorrows. She has no function to perform even in the home apart from being the legal mistress of her husband. Cooking, baking, sewing and mending, she knows nothing about. Hired servants attend to these details. Between husband and wife there is no basis for a harmony of inclinations, of mutual desires, or conjugal fidelity. Above the bourgeoisie, in the ranks of the nobility, and royalty, there is little necessity to investigate. Their mode of existence would only entail a repulsive and putrid story.

But what about the lower strata—the proletariat? Here, and here alone, we find that all the conditions that forced monogamy on the human race have been eliminated. The main essential—the possession of property—is lacking. Then, the development of the machine has caused the woman of the working class to take up a position around the wheels of industry and, consequently, become more independent, and self-assertive, than their wealthier sisters. Should success not attend her first matrimonial venture, divorce is cheap and easily obtained.

But, another dark cloud appears on the horizon in the shape of class society. Working men and women are both wage slaves. They have no other means of securing the requirements of life but by selling themselves piece-meal to a master. They must toil in the worst of conditions in order to exist. This situation places a damper on sex love. It makes impossible the proper development of inclinations, tastes and desires, that may exist in embryo.

What of the future? Morgan and Engels have both pointed to glowing possibilities when the conditions engendered by class society shall have been swept away. Then, and not till then can anything resembling love and happiness make their abode in the family circle. What can be accomplished at that time is vividly explained by Alexander Kollontay in the pamphlet "Communism and the Family." Giant strides have already been made in Soviet Russia towards domestic reconstruction. Greater still would be the achievements in this direction were it not for the attitude of the capitalist world.

Our function, as members of the revolutionary, working class, is to spread a knowledge of Socialism among our fellow workers, and hasten the downfall of class society.

J. A. McD.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

(Continued from page 2)

... fice a statement of their claims in respect to their losses which might amount to five million dollars. Lord Rathmore had written to the Foreign Office and had said: "The frequent intrigue of the German companies against all similar enterprises, and the wholesale corruption of the Turkish officials, must make their continuing influence a constant menace to the peaceful and prosperous workings of other railways in Asia Minor." . . . "If the control of the Anatolian and the Baghdad railways be taken out of German hands my council would most respectfully suggest that our company be entrusted with their management." The Foreign Office had acknowledged the letter assuring the company that their claims and contentions would be most carefully borne in mind. This German railway was controlled by Herr A. Von Gwinner, of the Deutsche Bank. They operated 641 miles of railroad, the net profit of which in 1912 was 4½ million francs. They began operations in 1888 and induced the Turkish government to guarantee them an annual revenue of from £658 to £885 per mile. There is also a French concession railway in Turkish territory, the Smyre Cassaba et Prolongement.

H. N. Brailsford in his "War of Steel and Gold," tells us that foreign contractors paid by the mile, built railways zig-zag across the plains of Turkey, and when the railways could not pay dividends seized the customs receipts of the country for security. Germany used Austria for the purpose of expanding to the East with railways. Turkey was so heavily indebted to foreign capitalists that her revenue was placed many years ago under the supervision of an international commission representing the great European powers. The duties Turkey imposes on imports are prescribed for her by the same powers, and she could not increase her revenue by increasing her custom duties without their consent. As an increase of duties was practically the only source by which Turkey could pay a subsidy to the Baghdad Railway, the financing of that railway became a matter of international politics. England being one of the great exporters to Turkey, the duty on her goods would be really paying the profits which would be reaped by the Germans owning the railway. England vetoed the plan of paying the subsidy out of the increased import duties and therefore endangered the enterprise. Russia's objections were mostly of military and strategic nature. Britain had other objections besides the purely financial one mentioned. She was at first rather favorable to the project, and even helped the German concessionaries in the initial stages with her influence. This was the time that England was pacifist and making Germany gifts of Heligoland, etc. But by the time the project began to be realized Britain herself was in the era of modern Imperialism, and assumed a hostile attitude, which led to the "Kowiet Incident." The Baghdad Railway was not to stop at Baghdad but to extend to the Persian Gulf, the only logical terminus for such a railway. For it to end at the Persian Gulf was the chief British objection, and Britain therefore resolved to stop it, and she did so when it became apparent that Germany was reaping great diplomatic victories at Stamboul and that the Sultan was irrevocably committed to German plans. Britain discovered that Turkey's sovereignty of Kowiet was of a doubtful nature, and her interests demanded that she take an interest in the quarrels of some native chieftains with a view to eliminating the Sultan from the situation. One fine morning a British man-of-war appeared in Kowiet harbor and Kowiet was declared an independent principality, care being taken that the independent ruler looked upon the Baghdad railway scheme from the British point of view. Although the work continued on various sections of the railway, the original idea was defeated and Germany gave up the idea of reaching the Persian Gulf, being thwarted by France and Britain coming together. This made the railway futile and robbed it of its importance in an ocean to ocean Empire scheme.

(Continued in next issue).

THESE DAYS OF PLOTS.

(Continued from page 1)

of the workings of an economic law in respect to the falling price of sugar is today a striking example of the effect to scheme or plot some way out of the difficulty by those directly concerned. Even though the price be maintained the demand will regulate itself so that stocks pile up, and, the cost of storing and, if necessary, destroying, will eventually bring about the same result as an immediate loss by the fall in prices at the present moment. However, it will be noticed that it is the immediate situation that brings into force the activities of those who wish to avoid a loss. It was the activities of these same individuals who recently advocated public economy that has brought about the trouble they have now to face. A falling price is looked upon by other sections of society as a boon, and any attempt to prevent such a development takes on the appearance of a dastardly plot on the part of those who want to run out from under the threatened calamity. These viewpoints only show that the individuals involved only react to conditions brought about by a mechanism they do not understand. By all outward signs, the activities of the individuals concerned are motivated by evil or good intentions according to which group in which they happen to be involved. So we can expect to see all moves by interested groups shrouded with the mysteriousness of plotters in the shadows cast by coming events, that must look sinister to those who feel that things do not move the way they would like.

From now on we can confidently expect to get an answer to our prayer to the agents of government and the press of the world: "Give us this day our daily plot." The only thing we would like however, is that they give us a variation on the Moscow scenario. We are Anglo-Saxon and phlegmatic, but we have no objection to a little attempt to use our imagination once in a while.

H. W.

Literature Price List

- Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
 - Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
 - The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 - Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. 1, Marx). Single copies (cloth bound), \$1.00; 5 copies, \$3.75.
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