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FIVE CENTS

Economics and Politics During the Period of Transition

By Lenin.

The Great Step.

THE RUSSIAN workers have been liberated at last from the age-long exploitation and oppression of land-owners and capitalists. This step forward to real freedom and equality, a step both for swiftness and magnitude, unique in the world's history, is ignored by the partisans of capitalism. Amongst these are the small bourgeois democrats who talk of liberty and equality in the same sense of bourgeois Parliamentary democracy, which they wrongly declare to be democracy in general, or, as Kautsky says, "pure democracy."

The workers who appreciate the importance of real equality and freedom, the freedom from the domination of landowners and capitalists because they have suffered under it, stand firm for the Soviet Power.

In a country of peasants those who benefited most and at once by the dictatorship of the proletariat were the peasants in general. Under the rule of the landowners and capitalists the Russian peasant was hungry. Never in the whole course of Russian history has the peasant been able to work for himself. He went hungry, while he delivered hundreds of millions poods (*) of corn to the capitalists for our towns and for export abroad. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the peasant worked for himself for the first time, and fed better than the town dweller. For the first time the peasant beheld real, actual freedom: freedom to eat his own produce, freedom from hunger, it is already known that equality in the division of land has been established on a maximalist basis—in the majority of cases the peasants divide the land according to the number of persons to be fed.

Socialism Entails the Abolition of Classes.

In order to abolish social classes one must first overthrow the landowners and capitalists. We have accomplished this part of the task, but that is only a part, and not the most difficult part of our stupendous labor. In order to abolish classes one must, in the second place, abolish the difference between the worker and the peasant, and one must make all the people—workers. This cannot be done in a hurry. It is a much harder task than the first, and will, consequently, take much longer to accomplish.

It is a task which cannot be solved by the overthrow of any one class. It can only be solved by a constructive remodelling of the entire social economy, by a transition from an individual, a small, private trading economy, to a social economy on a large scale. Such a transition must necessarily be a lengthy process, and it would only be retarded and hampered by hasty and imprudent administrative and legislative measures. This transition can only be accelerated by helping the peasant to remodel the entire system.

In order to accomplish the second and more difficult task, the proletariat, having conquered the bourgeoisie, must unswervingly pursue the following line of policy with regard to the peasantry: the proletariat must distinguish between the working peasant and the peasant owner, the peasant trader and the peasant speculator. The be-all and end-all of Socialism lies in this distinction.

It is therefore not surprising that those who render lip service to Socialism, but act like small-

bourgeois democrats, fail to understand this essential of Socialism.

To arrive at the above-mentioned distinction is by no means easy, because, in real life, all the characteristics of the "peasant," no matter how various and contradictory they be, form one big whole. Nevertheless, the distinctions are there. They are the inevitable outcome of the conditions of peasant economy and peasant life. The working peasant has been oppressed for centuries by the landowners, the capitalists, the traders, the speculators and the capitalist States, including the most democratic republics. The working peasant has nurtured within himself hatred and enmity towards these age-long oppressors and exploiters, and these lessons, taught by life itself, compel the peasant to seek an alliance with the workers against the capitalist, the speculator and the trader. At the same time, the entire economic structure, which makes the peasant dependent on goods received from outside, tends to turn him (not always, but in the majority of cases) into a trader and speculator.

The peasant, who in 1918-19 provided the hungry town workers with 40 million poods (*) of corn at the fixed Government price, by handing it over to the State organizations, is a true working peasant and a comrade of the Socialist worker. He is the latter's most reliable ally, and his brother in the fight against the capitalist yoke. On the other hand, the peasant who sold surreptitiously 40 million poods of corn at a price ten times higher than the Government price, who took advantage of the needs and the hunger of the town worker, who cheated the State, and increased or created everywhere fraud, robbery and scoundrelly transactions, is a peasant profiteer, an ally of the capitalists, a class enemy of the worker and an exploiter.

Well Fed.

"You are the destroyers of liberty, equality, democracy"—is the cry raised from all sides against us. Our detractors point to the inequality, as between the worker and the peasant, in our constitution, to the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, to the forcible requisitions of surplus corn. Our answer to these accusations is that no other State in the whole world has done so much for the removal of the real inequalities and of the real lack of freedom which for centuries had been the lot of the working peasant. We do not and will never recognize equality with the peasant speculator. We do not recognize the equality of the exploiter with the exploited, of the hungry with the well-fed, and the "freedom" of the former to rob the latter. And we shall deal with those highly-educated people who do not want to understand this difference, as if they were White Guards, even if they call themselves Democrats, Socialists, Internationalists, Kautskys, Cehernovs and Martov.

Proletarian Dictatorship Will End Social Classes.

Socialism is the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done its utmost to bring about this abolition, but it is impossible to do away with the class system all at once. Thus the classes have remained, and will remain, all through the period of proletarian dictatorship. When classes have finally disappeared, there will be no need for dictatorship, but they will never disappear without

the dictatorship of the working-class.

The classes have remained, but each one of them has taken a different aspect during the period of proletarian dictatorship; a change has also taken place in their mutual relations. The class struggle does not disappear under proletarian dictatorship, it only takes a different form.

Under capitalism the proletariat has always been the oppressed class—the class which was denied ownership of the means of production, which alone was directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie. Therefore it was the only class capable of remaining revolutionary right through the struggle. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie, and having conquered political power, the proletariat has become the governing class. The State Power is in its hands; it controls the socialized means of production, it guides the vacillating intermediate elements and classes, it crushes the power of resistance of the exploiters. All these are special tasks of the class struggle, tasks which, formerly, the proletariat did not and could not undertake.

The Exploiters are Overthrown But Not Destroyed

The class of exploiters, landowners and capitalists has not disappeared, and could not disappear at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters are overthrown, but not destroyed. They retain the basis of international capitalism, of which they are part and parcel. They still possess some means of production, as well as money and extensive social connection. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred, nay, a thousandfold by the very fact of their defeat. Their ability in State, military, and economic administration, affords them a great superiority, so that their importance is considerably out of proportion to their numerical strength, as compared with the whole population.

The class struggle of the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, the proletariat, has become more intense. This is only a natural development of the revolution which the "heroes" of the Second International are vainly endeavoring to deny, by substituting reformist illusions for the hard facts of revolution.

Finally, the peasantry, and the entire small bourgeoisie are occupying, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a medium, or interim, position. On the one hand, they represent a considerable (and in backward Russia), an enormous mass of workers united by the desire, common to all workers, to free themselves from the domination of landowners and capitalists. On the other hand, they consist of small proprietors and traders in towns and villages. Such an economic situation must inevitably produce indecision and waverings in the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As the struggle of the bourgeoisie becomes intensified, all social relations undergo a great radical change, the ingrained conservatism of the peasants and small bourgeoisie is bound to lead to indecision and to sudden and spasmodic changes in the adherence of these elements to either one side or the other.

The proletariat must endeavor to influence and guide these vacillating social elements, steady and spurring on the waverers and backsliders.

We have only to take into consideration all the

(Continued on page 4).

Economic Causes of War

Article No. 14.

THE history of India begins with the sacred writings of the Aryans. A thousand years B.C., the guide to conduct was "Speak the Truth, Practice Virtue." About 1200 A.D., the invasions for plunder began from the Northwest by Afghan and Turkoman adventurers. Despite the geographical isolation of India there has always been a considerable trade between her and Europe in jewels, precious metals, embroidered stuffs and essences of all kinds. In early times these were transported by coasting vessels to the head of the Persian Gulf and carried overland to Constantinople. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks resulted in the discovery of a sea route to India. Trade with India became immensely lucrative. A single ship in 1606 made a profit of 236 per cent., and goods costing £356,000 in India sold in England for £1,914,000. This profitable trade began the French and English rivalry which practically did not end until the Morocco affair of 1904. King Louis, in 1672, was counselled that the best method of obtaining control of this Eastern trade was to seize Egypt.

By 1763 the British had succeeded in controlling large possessions, and when the French East India Company went bankrupt in 1770, Britain was left alone in India. The "Round Table" for September, 1912, speaking of India, says, page 622: "The two principles which have governed our policy in the past will still govern it in the years that lie ahead. On the one side are the interests of the Empire. The commerce of Great Britain with India today is worth more than £80,000,000 a year. On this trade depends not only the profit of the merchants but the employment of many thousands of work-people. On it also depends that national revenue and custom duties, income tax and so on."

India has had a movement for self-government for years, but it has also been ignored at Paris. Robert Williams, Robert Smillie and George Lansbury made an appeal in the "Daily Herald," London, to protest against the methods used to put down the nationalists of India. In that appeal it read: "Indians ask the same right as Poland, Siberia and other small European nations, yet the bureaucrats of India replied with a Coercion Act which robs them of freedom of speech, freedom of the press and public meeting. Indians are unarmed, yet they are bombed from aeroplanes and shot down with machine guns." The appeal asks for self-government for a country of 315 millions of human beings. In some districts the people were forced to dismount and salute British officers, if riding on horseback or in wheeled conveyances. Orders signed by C. G. Hodgson, Lt.-Col., say that persons carrying opened and raised umbrellas shall lower them. The Indian revenue is mostly spent on the army and railways, which are built in part for strategic purposes.

Keir Hardie in his book on India points out that British investments in public works and railways in India were \$500,000,000 at 5 per cent., which means £25,000,000 a year in profit. Civil and military pensions amount to £30,000,000 a year. The natives are shut out of the high salaried positions. Eight thousand Anglo-Indian officials draw £13,930,544 a year, while 130,000 natives draw £3,286,163 a year.

In 1858, Queen Victoria promised the Indian people partial admittance to offices of the service, yet after a lapse of fifty years King Edward, in 1908, issued a proclamation containing the same promise. The Indian peasant used to pay one-fifth in kind, land rent, whether the harvest was good or bad. The Government charge land rent on what is called a 12 anna crop average. 16 anna is looked on as a bumper crop, but for ten years three crops only struck the established average, while the remainder were under, although the peasant had to pay up just the same. The pasture land, which formerly was common, is now enclosed and sometimes the peasant has to go a long distance for pasturage for which he pays rent. If his pigs wander into the unfenced forest they are impounded and he is fined.

Wild animals may root up his crop but he is not allowed to carry a gun. He is generally up to the neck in debt to the money lender, who takes a lien on his crops, and also to the railway companies. This is a splendid example of capitalist methods of creating a proletariat.

Shapurji Saklatvala, of the Workers' Welfare League of India, no later than January 20th, 1920, stated in England that: "Thousands of children 10 to 11 years of age are employed in coal and ore mining districts at 2 annas a day of six hours." He states that fines and confiscations are deducted from these wages which before the war were the equivalent of 4 cents. S. Satyamurti, delegate of the Indian National Congress, says in "Foreign Affairs" for October, 1919: "Last year out of an income of 81 million pounds, 41 million was allotted to the army, 18 millions for railways, only 4 millions for education, and 26 million pounds of India's money was spent in England, thanks to the political relationship between India and England." He also states: "Within the last three months no fewer than 30 newspapers have been prohibited. . . . Deportation without trial are favorite weapons with the Indian bureaucracy. . . . In conclusion . . . so long as India remains in her present position as the happy hunting-ground of the foreign exploiters and adventurers, the earth hungry nations will find in her a potent cause of war."

The high prices in India have affected the laborer to such an extent that a professor of Indore College made the statement that the Indian laborer spending the whole of his wages on food could only purchase 81 per cent. of the diets officially prescribed in the gaols. This is one of the great economic factors that is creating discontent in India. V. H. Rutherford, M.P. for Brentford, 1906-1910, says in his book "Commonwealth or Empire," page 69: "I must utter a warning to the friends of Nationalism in Britain and India. In 1916 Mr. Asquith rejected the insidious invitation of certain interested parties at home and in India to insert the thin edge of the wedge of protectionism for the cotton industry of Bombay, which policy was reversed in 1917 by Lloyd George's government ostensibly as a war measure. Financial exigencies suggested a loan of £100,000,000 from India requiring £6,000,000 a year interest, to help to meet which the cotton duties were raised from 3½ to 7½ per cent. without any corresponding rise in the excise duty. The Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, in defending this definite breach in our free trade policy, described the loan as a free and generous gift of the Indian people, a description altogether dishonest, for the people of India have no real part in the government of their country and were never consulted. Instead of a 'gift' it is a loan forced upon the poorest country in the world by the richest. Every penny and more is needed for education, irrigation and sanitation, so that this imperial imposition is another impediment to her sanitary and agricultural development, to make the agricultural laborer and the mill worker pay more for his cotton goods to benefit the cotton millowners who pay the workers thirty shillings a month, is not economic emancipation but economic damnation."

To endeavor to placate the Moslems of India, Egypt, Morocco and Tripoli, the French, Italian and British rulers are to allow the Turk to remain in Constantinople, but while they may be the outward appearance the suspicion is strong that British and French investors are holders of hundreds of millions of Turkish bonds, and are keenly interested financially.

What has been the result of the Great War? The liberal paper of Amsterdam answers this question in an article thus: "For whatever reason the British public may be dissatisfied with the Coalition Government, it is certainly not because they have neglected England's imperial position. The French who have always had a weakness for Hither Asia are openly dissatisfied. Could they ever have expected any-

thing else? In imperial policy the English are past masters, and against their world policy, carried on with such farsightedness and with so much energy and cunning, all the others who went to have a try at world policy are mere bunglers. With what a master hand has the British Empire been built up in the course of the century, with a master hand has its further expansion been worked out now." . . . "Persia is an illustration of this policy. Germany, Turkey and Russia have collapsed, so that England's partner in the protection of Persia has gone as have all other possible claimants or rivals to that position. Only France is left, as America disclaims any interest in West Asia, and what can France do against England? The result then is that England is the real victor in the world war. England will shape a new powerful colonial empire and has been able to find a solution to the various problems whereby her dominating position is assured. From the Cape to Egypt and from there over Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, Baluchistan, perhaps also Afghanistan and India, stretches an unbroken territory where the British flag waves or where British influence rules. What the proudest British imperialist scarcely dared to dream of has now been realized, or is near realization. Must not such dazzling success awaken the jealousy of others? But what will the League of Nations say or do? The League in which a place has been left for Persia too; what can the League do against the power of facts? In imperialism, too, the rule holds of the survival of the fittest."

Measured by results Britain won the war, but the enjoyment of its fruits is a different question as far as the workers are concerned.

Since the above was written Lloyd George has shot some more holes in the League of Nations.

PETER T. LECKIE.

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. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, \$1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.
 Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 Copies \$2.00
 Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.
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 Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis), \$1.75.
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(All above post free).

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON II.

THE Darwin theory of natural selection was independently discovered by Alfred Russell Wallace. Wallace wrote a paper on the far away islands of the Malay Archipelago, where he was studying the Geographical Distribution of the Species. In his paper which he sent to Darwin, who showed it to Charles Lyell, the father of modern geology, Wallace was in complete agreement with the conclusions of Darwin. Lyell, along with Dr. Hooker, the great botanist, was so struck with this agreement of Darwin and Russell that he thought it would be unfair to publish the one without the other, so Russell's paper, along with a chapter of Darwin's unpublished manuscript of the "Origin of the Species," was read before the Linnean Society on the same evening, and published in the proceedings for 1858, and appeared the same year, 1859, as Karl Marx's "Critique of Political Economy."

This law of double discovery holds goods of all great discoveries and inventions, and is notably true of the first of the three great discoveries of Karl Marx: 1st, Materialistic Conception of History; 2nd, Law of Surplus Value; 3rd, The Class Struggle.

The Materialistic Conception of History was independently discovered by Engels, just as Darwinism was by Russell, as you will see by reading Engels' preface to the "Communist Manifesto." But just as Wallace gave the credit to Darwin, so Engels gave the credit to Marx. Let me extend the proof of the law of double discovery by the following instances:—

In 1609, two Dutch spectacle makers, Jansen and Lippershey, invented the telescope; the following year Galileo made one of his own without either seeing or hearing of the Dutchmen's particular method.

In chemistry, oxygen gas was discovered by Priestley, in England, and also by a poor apothecary in a village in Sweden, who had never heard of Priestley. He arrived independently at precisely the same result.

In 1775, Emmanuel Kant published a book of 200 pages which contained a new conception of the universe. This was the famous nebulae theory, the "Theory of the Heavens."

It was forgotten almost as soon as it was written, but 45 years later, one named Laplace published his "Mecanique Celeste," in which the theory re-appeared independently discovered.

In 1871, Sir William Herschel discovered the planet Uranus moving outside of all the planets then known. The peculiar thing about this planet was that it did not move as it should according to the law of gravitation. A calculation of the sun and all the other known bodies failed to explain why Uranus stayed so far into space and out of what appeared to be its proper orbit.

Here was a chance for a great man sent from God to explain, or one of Carlyle's heroes, but no, England possessed a man called Adams, who had mastered algebra when a boy of ten. As soon as he had taken his degree at Cambridge, he set out to solve the problem, not by observation, but by mathematical calculation. Adams sent a paper to the Astronomer Royal at Greenwich, telling him if he would turn his telescope upon a certain part of the heavens at a certain time he would discover a new planet. Owing to red tape and other bungling nothing came of it at the time. Later, however, it was found that Adams was correct and the new planet was called Neptune.

A French mathematician named Leverrier had been working on this problem, and the month after Adams had sent his paper to Greenwich Leverrier published his conclusions (which were the same within one degree as to position) in the journal of the "Academie des Sciences." The Astronomer Royal, along with another, when they read this

journal and found Leverrier agreed with Adams, set about to search for it, and discovered the new planet. A little later Leverrier stated the new planet's position more accurately; this paper he sent to a friend in the Berlin Observatory, asking him to look into the sky at the part indicated. Mr. Galle, his friend, did so and discovered the new planet seen a month before by the Englishmen at Greenwich. Thus, although the priority really belonged to Adams, it has always popularly been given to Leverrier, much as the nebulae theory is by many regarded as first being discovered by Laplace, although it really was Kant's.

Galileo's invention of the pendulum did not become generally known at the time, and fifteen years later, 1656, Christian Huggens independently invented a pendulum clock.

Nitrogen gas was discovered first by Schule, afterwards by Rutherford (1772) who preceded Schule in publication of the discovery.

Galileo studied the motions of the comets, but the first important contribution to the true explanation came from Dorfel of Saxony, who proved from the comet of 1681 that the orbits of the comets are either very elongated ovals, or parabolas. A few years later Newton reached independently the same conclusion and established it as a universal law, by incontrovertible mathematical proof.

The semi-fluid contents now named protoplasm, its constant and regular motion of its cells, was made out by one named Bonaventura Corti, but fell into oblivion and was re-discovered, about 1807, by one named Treviranus. Protoplasm has no mouth or digestive organs. It takes its food in through the surface anywhere, and digests all over the body.

Dr. Brinton, in the "History of the Universe," says:—

"Similarities in culture do not necessarily show relationship, or contact, or evidence of migration of mankind but simply demonstrate the psychical unity of mankind, subjected to similar conditions, strike out similar results. The same thoughts, the same belief, the same practice, the same art and industry might originate independently in two or many different sections of the globe."

So we must accept it as final that science and its discoveries have completely demolished Carlyle's "great man" theory. We will strike up against it again when we reach the time of the Reformation. I said Spencer's "Study of Sociology" was a brilliant refutation of the Great Man theory. He says:—

"Even were we to grant the absurd supposition that the genesis of the man does not depend on antecedents furnished by the society he is born in, there would be still quite sufficient facts that he is powerless in the absence of the material and mental accumulations which society inherits from the past, and he is powerless in the absence of co-existing population, character, intelligence, and social arrangements. Given a Shakespeare, and what dramas could have been written without the multitudinous traditions of civilized life; without the various experiences which, descending to him from the past, gave wealth to his thought and without language which a hundred generations had developed and enriched by use? Suppose a Watt with all his inventive power, living in a tribe ignorant of iron or in a tribe who could only get as much iron as a fire blown from a hand bellows will smelt, or suppose him born amongst ourselves before lathes existed, what chance would there have been for the steam engine?"

Herbert Spencer might have added if Watt had not seen a small model of Newcomen's engine, which was sent to Watt to repair and fit for exhibition in the class room of Glasgow University, where Watt was the appointed mathematical instrument maker, he might have been unable to produce the steam engine.

Another proof that man is benefitted by the accumulated knowledge of past and present society.

Fitch in his book, "Physical Basis of Mind and Morals," says that colored children are as apt as white children in elementary studies, but when the higher branches are reached, the white children leave the color children behind. This he explains only on the theory of evolution, that function and structure proceed simultaneously. The ancestry of white children for innumerable centuries has been surrounded by a civilization that necessarily resulted from a superior nervous system and a higher quality of the brain called the intellect. This theory is lucidly dealt with by Fitch, and I think it may explain Watt's ability as a mathematician when we find that his uncle and grandfather were teachers of mathematics and left a reputation for learning and ability. Watt had no personal acquaintance with them, because the grandfather died one year before Watt was born, the uncle died one year after Watt's birth. I have known families where they were all clever in learning languages, and this may be explained by the same theory.

When dealing with intellect I may point out that Paul Lafargue, in his book, "Evolution of Property," tells us:

"The elevated position of woman affords a proof that the physical and intellectual superiority of the male, far from being a primordial physiological superiority of the male, is but a consequence of an economical situation, perpetuated for centuries, which allowed the male a freer and fuller development than it permitted to the female held in bondage by the family."

He quotes Prof. Manouvrier of the Paris School of Anthropology, who demonstrated the cranial capacities of the male and female of the stone age with those of modern Parisians.

Modern Parisians.		Stone Age	
Number examined	Capacity in cubic centimeters	Number examined	Capacity in cubic centimeters
Male .. 77	1560	Male .. 58	1544
Female 41	1338	Female 30	1422

The male savage is inferior by 26 cubic centimeters to the modern male. The female savage is superior to the modern Parisian female by 84 cubic centimeters.

Socialists claim all ideas are formed by sensations from the objective environment. Some may say pure mathematics is independent of individual experience; that is quite true, but in mathematics the mind is not by any means engaged in its own creations. The ten fingers of the hands which men counted and on which they performed their first arithmetical calculations are anything but a free creation of the mind.

Again, to count does not only need objects, capable of being counted, but the ability to abstract all other qualities except numbers, and this ability is the product of a long historical development of actual experience. The achievements of our civilization is the accumulation of the knowledge of all history, each generation using its inherited knowledge as a platform to build up still higher with its own achievements the steps of a great stairway to a higher civilization.

I think I have cleared the ground by casting aside the Great Man theory. But as one writer puts it, although the word great or greatness has been associated with an abandoned theory it is not necessary to eliminate such valuable words from our vocabulary. We may say men and women are great while others are small without wrenching our philosophy. For instance, although we discover that the window does not produce the light, there is no reason why we should throw a brick through it. The discovery that a boiler does not generate the steam does not logically imply that we punch holes in the boiler.

Having now cleared the ground of the old rubbish implanted in our craniums by capitalistic teaching, we will get down to the Materialistic Conception proper in our next lesson.

PETER T. LECKIE.

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The Need For a Labor College

NOTE.—The following article has been received for the consideration of the Dominion Executive Committee. It is produced here in the hope that Comrades interested may put forth suggestions as to how a Socialist School can be maintained. All will agree as to the desirability of such an institution, and no great difficulty should be met in arranging subjects of study or methods of teaching. Finance is the stumbling block. Suggestions on any or all of the points are invited.—Editor.

WE of the S. P. of C. claim to be scientific Socialists of the Marxian school and revolutionary in character and educationalists principally.

SOCIALISTS, in that our object is the social ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution.

SCIENTIFIC, because our conclusion, expressing itself in our objective is based upon knowledge, having studied history for its record of events, the everchanging methods of production, the laws underlying change in social life and the institutions resulting therefrom; hence our conclusion of social ownership as the logical outcome.

REVOLUTIONARY: Experience has taught us that to reform is not to re-form (which originally meant re-mold) but to patch up, and patching under the best circumstances is a makeshift. Its record tells its own story—first, in its ineffectiveness to alleviate the conditions of those upon whom it is bestowed, the workers, and secondly the benefit derived by the donors—the Master Class.

EDUCATIONALISTS in that we understand the conditions under which we live and urged are we to explain it to others, realizing that changes taking place in the structure of human society, of benefit to the workers, must first be preceded by at least an elementary knowledge of the problems to be solved.

Hence the need for education.

The function of a Socialist organization like that of the Socialist Party of Canada is to make more Socialists and to teach Socialism. This we do, but are we using all the means at our disposal?

The workers have reached a stage in their development (manifesting itself in the numbers of the class-conscious), and the general interest aroused for knowledge is such, that it forms the basis upon which the educational avenue can be added to. Therefore I submit the question of the establishing of a college for the due consideration of the D. E. C. Who is better fitted to teach scientific Socialism than a Socialist? What organization more able to undertake the management of a college—where Proletarian Philosophy, the Materialistic Conception of History, the Class Struggle and the Labor Theory of Value, can be taught, than a Socialist organization? There are comrades in the party who are experts in one or more of the social sciences, whose services would be very valuable as teachers in the making of more experts, and why not use them to the best advantage, even though it would create "jobs" for some of our members? You will admit that teaching under those conditions is a "job" not conducive to produce "fakers."

Experts in the social sciences can be more effi-

ciently produced in a college because of the systematic study. The order of books to read in any particular subject and the questions being arranged in their order, from the simple to the complex forms an obvious advantage at first sight. Secondly, because the courses can be sent to all parts in Canada, even to isolated places, among members of our class who desire to study. Efficient: because a teacher can have as many hundreds of pupils where now dozens are the rule.

In the progression of events, the need for knowledge, ability to understand and analyse is apparent. Events are succeeding each other in great rapidity—capitalism is declining fast, hence the need, not only of increasing the number of class-conscious and of dealing in the elementary, but also discussing the academic; teaching the technical and thereby swelling the ranks of the intelligentsia: comrades well-grounded in scientific knowledge, for theoretically speaking, political control implies or pre-supposes a knowledge of political economy and in so far as we Socialists are seeking to gain political power, more especially when that control will be more directly connected with the productive forces than what exists at present. How much more then is the need to increase the ranks of those with a sound knowledge of economics? I submit the question of the establishing of a Marxian College.

Before proceeding to give you a few suggestions that may form the basis of a discussion within the D. E. C. upon the question, let me make a few remarks with regard to classes as at present conducted bearing in mind the articles that have appeared in the "Clarion" upon this subject.

Apart from the need of teachers to adapt themselves to their class with its limited numbers, state of development, existing bias in ideas, the difficulties connected with economic classes present themselves not only in the difference of knowledge between teachers, but also in the class itself. Hence the teachers may be too elementary for some, and too technical for others, which results not only in a loss of students but also of encouragement to the teacher, for under this condition, the general and concrete, elementary, technical and academic are all introduced in a short time, much to the confusion of the beginner. Moreover, the subject being a science, requires presentation in a systematic way, a knowledge not possessed by many well-informed comrades because they have not given the time to classifying their knowledge and have not had a training in teaching.

The following are the suggestions, briefly stated, which I hope will be well discussed and will eventually result in a college that is definitely Socialist Scientific, Marxian, Revolutionary and Educational in character.

1.—(a) Financial possibilities. (b) Ascertaining the number willing to enroll. (c) Publicity campaign to that end.

2.—(a) Subjects beginning with economics, Industrial History and Sociology. (b) Corresponding Courses or Day and Evening Classes, which?

3.—The purchasing of courses from working class colleges already existing for critical examination and analysis, studied upon their merits, so that the subjects can be graded and systematized to equal if not surpass, courses in any given bourgeois school or college. (b) Committee elected for same.

4.—Teachers to be engaged from within the party as much as possible, and paid for their services, thereby enabling them to give their time to teaching and further perfecting the courses.

A. J. B.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Last heard of, Comrade Frank Cassidy was in Cranbrook, and we expect soon to hear that he is in Fernie. He reports good meetings in several places, and anticipates a continued successful tour.

Comrade George Wallack, of Tacoma, has been operating in and around Battle Creek, Michigan, Chicago, Ill.; Great Falls, Montana, and in other places, where he specializes in introducing the "Clarion" to newsdealers. He is now armed with some sub. blanks, and we expect soon to have some individual subs.

We have been asked to give publicity to the postal address of the weekly magazine "Soviet Russia." Subscription price to this magazine is \$5 per year;

\$2.50 per half year; \$1 for ten weeks. (Make all cheques payable to L. C. A. K. Martens). Address: "Soviet Russia," Room 304, 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

Through an oversight that we regret, our last issue failed to mention that the articles "Concerning Value," are by Comrade H. M. Bartholomew. Article number two appears in this issue.

Comrade J. H. Burroughs, of Prince Rupert, sends us \$5 as a contribution towards Soviet Russia Medical Relief, donated by Lyder Knutson. The money has been forwarded by us to the Relief Committee, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Comrade W. Moriarty, of Toronto, reports that the weather there is operating against successful street meetings. The Toronto comrades have introduced the "Clarion" to many people through these street meetings, and we are requested to state that the "Clarion" may always be obtained in Toronto at D. Goodman, Blind News Agent, corner Queen and Chestnut Streets.

"The Proletarian" (Detroit) has come to life again. Subscriptions may be sent to 174 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. \$1.50 a year. The magazine is monthly, and the October issue contains several splendid articles on Soviet Russia.

Comrades throughout the country are still writing asking if Peter T. Leekie's "Economic Causes of War" is to be published in pamphlet form. We have announced several times since these admirable articles commenced that we intend to reproduce them in book form. Article No. 14 appears in this issue, and article No. 15, the concluding article of the series, will be commenced in the next issue. Article number 15 is a comprehensive summary of the whole, and as it is quite lengthy, it may take two issues to run.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 commenced its winter class on Economics on the first Sunday of October, and its History class on Thursday 7th. The economics class will be held every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock, text book, "Capitalistic Production" (Marx), and the history class will be held every Thursday at 8 p.m., text book, "Industrial History of England," (De Gibbins). These classes are held at 401 Pender Street East, and an earnest invitation is extended to all who are interested in these subjects. There are able teachers in attendance at both classes, who are willing to help the intending student to a systematic course of study.

Subscriptions are falling off, and we have not yet discharged the obligations to our subscribers of October, 1918. The "Clarion" has been sent to every name on the 1918 list, and with issue number 831 we shall have completed our obligations. With every expiry we send a notice that the sub. has run out. The response is not enthusiastic. Paper costs have taken another jump and financial weather storms threaten us. We need more subs.

If number 830 appears on your address label, your subscription expires with next issue.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

(Continued from page 1).

fundamental forces or classes and the change brought about in their mutual relations by the proletarian dictatorship in order to realize how infinitely absurd, nay, stupid, is the small-bourgeois theory (so prevalent in the Second International) that Socialism will be attained through "democracy in general." This colossal error is based on the belief in the classless character of democracy, a belief instilled by the bourgeoisie. In reality, democracy itself enters on a new phase under proletarian dictatorship, and the class struggle is lifted into a higher plane, superseding all and every other form of contest.

Generalities about liberty, equality, democracy are nothing but a blind replica of notions borrowed from conditions and relations in industrial production. The endeavor to solve by means of these phrases the concrete tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is tantamount to adopting, all along the line, the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie. From the proletarian point of view, the only important questions are:—

"Freedom from oppression by which class?"

"Equality between what classes?"

"Democracy on the basis of private property, or on the basis of the struggle for the elimination of private property?"

—"The Communist," U. S. A.

Note.—(*) One pood equals 36 lbs.—Ed.

The Tariff

THE Canadian Manufacturers' Association is out on a crusade for new, or high tariff, and with the usual hypocrisy of business, seeks to bolster up profit-getting with altruistic platitudes, and, of course, to prove the identity of interest of capital and labor. What is this tariff business? What concern is it of ours, and of what benefit to the workers?

Capitalist production is primarily for profit. To the capitalist class, that is the be all and end all of production. It is of no intrinsic moment to the capitalist what is produced nor how it is produced, how it is used, or if it is used at all. Capitalism will manufacture anything—steam engine or tractor, tanks or poison gas, freighters or submarines. It will farm anything from grain to babies; clothe society in shoddy; dwarf its mind with deceit; blacken ambition with treachery,—provided only that profit, profit, profit, can be realized at the end of the trail. It will find in its philosophy, an ethic for every aggression; a sanction for every immorality; a justification for every crime; a plea for every degradation.

But to the tariff business.

Since capitalist production is for profit, then, the wider is its field of operation, the greater will be the volume of profit. Each individual—each group of capitalists—struggle against every other group, to extend their business operations, to eliminate their rivals from the market, to monopolize commerce for themselves.

But this rivalry, this capitalist enterprise, narrows down the available market exactly in proportion to the intensification of production. The nations of the world, is the market of the world. And as these nationals are struggling together in an internecine fight for commercial supremacy, it follows that any weapon of advantage to any one competitor in this merciless war for survival shall be adopted, indeed, must be adopted. For once in the fight, there is but one ending—signal victory, or signal defeat. That is why Spain has become a back number, why Holland has lost her "greatness," why Kultur has fallen into disrepute, why France is now hurrying on desperately to ruin, and why "democracy" is draped, in the various symbols of "old glory."

Such a weapon is the tariff. The capitalist class of any nation seeks to exploit the national resources exclusively to their own advantage. The capitalists resent all intrusion into "their" domain, and, as far as circumstances will permit, deny their competitors access to the opportunities of exploitation.

In countries like Canada where the resources are undeveloped, where the native capital is small, where neither business organization nor industrial efficiency is so highly perfected and coordinated as in old established nations, and where in consequence, capitalist concentration has not yet become the powerful syndicate of trust operation, it is impossible for the capitalists of such a nation to compete successfully in the open markets of the world. Hence, to save the resources for their own profit, the capitalist operators impose a duty on all or on particular commodities entering their ports. Hence they hope to exploit the "home market," to make foreign investment pay toll to them, and to dump whatever surplus may be produced, on the world market on an equality with better organized competitors.

Such is the daydream of the bourgeoisie. But all action has its reaction, and the stoutest tariff yields to the stubborn laws of competition. For in spite of fate and monopoly, capitalist nations must trade to live, must expand their trade if they would survive, must allow goods in, in payment of goods sent out, and if their tariff imposes seriously restrict the activities of their rivals, ultimately do they hamper themselves. If imports are greatly in excess of exports, the fact finds a swift reflex in (adverse) exchange, which itself acts as a tariff, bringing industry to a stoppage. If exports greatly exceed imports, then, in ordinary circumstances, all the sooner does capitalist production reach its inevitable stagnation. In reality, the business of commerce is the business of traders. They balance their books, and

figure their paper wealth, under the laws of exchange, through which they must operate. And tariffs go high, or go low, on or off, as interest and necessity determine, and as conditions warrant. In practice there are all sorts of differentials, all kinds of compromise, and ever changing front of tariff. Because, as regards the tariff, there is an ever changing front of capitalist exigency, brought about by its own development, and so too as regards the preferentials, because, all nations in modern commerce are interlocked and interdependent, and the irrevocable necessities of imperialistic expansion force capital into an ever more omnipotent concentration—and at the same time, into an ever more inevitable negative of itself. Hence tariffs and their contradictions: their opponents and protagonists.

But the "home market" is by no means the objective of capitalism, nor can it serve capitalist necessity. Concentration is the nemesis of capital, and in effect, great concentration is intensive exploitation. Therefore, since capitalist production is commodity production, by the terms of that production the producers, the workers, receive for their production the value of their labor power, i.e., receive wages, sufficient to reproduce labor power in efficiency for the operation of capitalist industry. But the value of this labor power is far less than the value of the commodities which labor power creates. Thus it is impossible for the producers to buy back what they have produced. Thus is the home market dead to the capitalist. And as this produce must be sold to realize the profit it contains, it must be exploited. The more intensive is the exploitation the more efficient the industrial organization. The more exclusive the field of operations of a single group of capitalists, — nation or empire, the greater is the potential volume of profit. This is why capitalist exchange must continually expand. The question of the tariff is a question of a particular group of exploiters. To the laborer, whose one commodity—labor power—is bartered as a commodity, in terms of the market, and so converted into profit, tariff or no tariff matters not to him, and is absolutely of no advantage to him.

Labor has but one interest; the abolition of the wage system. With the abolition of capital, and therefore of classes, society will attain indentity of interest. For, when it achieves economic freedom, i.e., the ownership and control of the means of life—society achieves all. That is the prime interest of labor; that is its historic task, and only through labor can it be realized.

What the Dictatorship Is.

COMRADE TYLER wishes to know what the Dictatorship is, or what it means. Does it mean the Dictatorship of a minority?

In the only country where it is in force, namely, Russia, that is just what it means.

Does the working class have to employ such measures?

That depends on circumstances. In Russia they or the conscious minority that hold power, have to employ such methods or be swept away. Granted.

Can a Socialist society be built up on this foundation?

That still remains to be seen. If Russia had the opportunities that peace would provide, we would be better able to tell. It is on the cards, that a genuine working class control of the workshops could function; but again, the influence of the large swarms of peasantry with their reactionary ideas, and control of agriculture, would render this difficult.

If Russia has to struggle along alone, then it is quite likely a system of government ownership of industry will eventually come about.

Further, F. S. F. never claimed we would get Socialism by the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

But power will be held only by the Dictatorship, till conditions stabilize.

If by Socialism Comrade Tyler understands working class ownership and control of land and industry, then we will agree, that can never be, till the mass of the toilers want it.

Comrade Tyler should surely understand that Bela Kun, Levien, and Liebknecht were forced by circumstances into the positions they occupied, and are not therefore to be condemned for the tragic failures of the premature uprisings. That they were premature and foredoomed is granted, and hence the warning in "The Proletarian" that Comrade Tyler mentions, against such attempts. But we must bear in mind that those very attempts have been mighty forces in shaping men's minds.

But has mankind learned any other way?

Bela Kun himself is on record as saying:

"The Hungarian Revolution was premature only in the sense that only a small portion of the workers were Communists."

"But, only by Revolution, does the working class-become Revolutionary."

There you have the statement born of actual experience. Again, let me remind Comrade Tyler that as Lenin has pointed out:

"When Marx made the statement about a possible peaceful transition from Capitalism to Socialism in England and America, militarism and bureaucracy, as we know them, did not exist. Now they do, in both countries, due to monopolism bringing forth imperialism."

In view of the admissions made here, why do I then support the Russian Dictatorship, may be asked.

Because, as stated before, the Bolsheviks were pushed into power by the very logic of events. They beat the reactionaries to it.

Whether they can achieve "Socialism" or not is immaterial, I do not claim they can—alone.

Their chief object (and will you deny that this is true, or was it not worth all the labor and pain?) was the securing of a centre for a tremendous world propaganda, and the consequent acceleration of the world revolution. That they are succeeding in this is incontestable. Why, our enemies alone have been forced into advertising Bolshevism, Communism, and so on, to an extent undreamed of three years ago. Perhaps it would have been wiser to have wired the S. P. G. B. for advice first, ere taking such desperate chances; but we must excuse them that oversight.

Russia at that particular time afforded a golden opportunity for seizing power, and most emphatically the action has been justified.

The other countries mentioned were in a far less favorable situation, and the propaganda was not so much advanced, as was the case in Russia.

It may be asked then, if the masses in Russia do not desire the Bolshevik rule now (if that is the case), does it not show that their education was neglected?

By no means: for an illiterate population, full of slavish instincts, they have fought the good fight remarkably well. Let Comrade Tyler reflect on the terrible hardships they have endured, and compare the Russian workers with his fellow slaves in our democratic lands, and still they come out best. Their morale and trust in their leaders may be breaking, but we have yet to be shown.

And will Comrade Tyler tell us just what the Bolsheviks should have done? Or what they should now do? Would the Russian slaves have been better off if the "great incident" had never happened?

If Comrade Tyler wishes to delude himself that opposition to the rule of the workers will be limited to "raving," he is to be pitied. Unfortunately, it is much easier to play upon prejudice and passions than to carry on education of the kind in need. And that is just where the ruling class shines. Right here in Washington we find full page ads. in a newspaper calling for war on the I. W. W., by all loyal Americans, and Comrade Tyler can figure out for himself just what such things can lead to.

True, we will fight to maintain democratic procedure, but it is very probable that a situation will arise where the democratic wings of the workers are clipped, and the propaganda forced underground as is the case already here, in the U. S., with some organizations.

"Whenever the working class desires Socialism, we will get it." Will we?

Believe me; it takes more than desire to achieve victory over a ruling class. If four-fifths of the slaves desire Socialism, and only one-fifth are determined to get it, that minority would have to establish

(Continued on page 8.)

Concerning Value

By H. M. Bartholomew.

Artical No. 2.—The Classical School.

POLITICAL economy is a science, and as such, its findings should be in strict accord with the highest tests of scientific methods.

What are the tests of true scientific methods? To be concise, scientific methods must possess rigid and logical analysis, accurate induction, luminous and pregnant hypothesis, masterly synthetic verification, ample preparation for reasonable forecast.

It is the purpose of the writer of these articles to examine the several theories of Value in the light of these tests of scientific method, and to ascertain, as closely as possible, the truth of this important phase of political economy.

There has existed, as we saw in the previous article, a certain amount of ambiguity and complexity regarding the term Value. The leading economists have been none too sure of their ground. Indeed there is no other phase of economics which has caused so much confusion of thought and such diversification of views as that which is the subject of these articles.

Despite this fact, however, there has been more or less agreement concerning certain concepts of Value which are of the utmost importance. It is significant (as we shall see later) that there is general agreement as to what constitutes value. Especially is this noticeable with the exponents of the Classical School.

Practically all the economists of note who voice the opinions of that school of thought agree that **quantity of labor constitutes value; the amount of human labor, that is, which is necessary to produce the commodities which are brought into exchange.**

This contribution to the subject is of such tremendous import that the writer makes no apology for introducing several lengthy quotations from those who are still reckoned the greatest English economists.

Adam Smith was the first economist of note to deal with this subject at great length. He tells us that:

"The real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it. What everything is really worth to the man who has acquired it, and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else, is the toil and the trouble which it can impose on other people. Labor was the first price—the original purchase-money that was paid for all things. In that early and rude state which precedes the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labor necessary for acquiring different objects seems to be the only circumstance which can afford any rule for exchanging them for one another. If among a nation of hunters, for example, it usually costs twice the labor to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer, one beaver would naturally be worth or exchange for two deer. It is natural that what is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labor should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labor."—"Wealth of Nations."

Ricardo confirms the above passage re the basis of Value in exchange and continues:

"That this is really the foundation of the exchangeable value of all things, excepting those which cannot be increased by human industry, is a doctrine of the utmost importance in political economy. If the quantity of labor realized in commodities regulate their exchangeable value, every increase in the quantity of labor must increase the value of the commodity on which it is exercised as every diminution must lower it.

"To convince ourselves that this is the real foundation of exchangeable value, let us suppose any improvement to be made in the means of abridging labor in any of the various processes through which the raw cotton must pass before the manufactured stockings come to the market to be exchanged for other things; and observe the effects which will follow. If fewer men were required to cultivate the raw cotton, or if fewer sailors were employed in navigating, or shipwrights in constructing the ship in

which it was conveyed to us; if fewer hands were employed in raising the buildings and machinery, or if these, when raised, were rendered more efficient; the stockings would inevitably fall in value, and command less of other things. They would fall, because a less quantity of labor was necessary to their production, and would therefore exchange for a smaller quantity of those things in which no such abridgment of labor has been made."—"Principles of Political Economy and Taxation."

John Stuart Mill, despite his inveterate eclecticism, says that:

"The value of a thing is its general power of purchasing, the command which its possession gives over purchasable commodities in general."

And of this "general power of purchasing" he states that:

"They are determined by the component elements of the cost of production, and the principal of them, and so much the principal as nearly the sole, we found to be labor."—"Principles of Political Economy," book 3.

Even Jevons, the leading exponent of Final Utility, (of which more anon) is forced to admit that: "In other words, value is proportional to cost of production."—"Theory of Political Economy," p. 192. Emphasis Jevons.

Last of all, perhaps I may be permitted to add a quotation from Sir William Petty. He says, speaking of exchange value in relation to corn:

"How much money is this corn or rent worth? I answer, so much as the money which another single man can save within the same time over and above his expense if he applied himself wholly to produce and make it; viz., let another man so travel into a country where is silver, dig it, refine it, bring it to the same place where the other man planted his corn, coin it etc., the same person all the while of his working for silver gathering also food for his necessary livelihood and procuring himself covering, etc., I say the silver of the one must be esteemed of equal value with the corn of the other; the one being perhaps twenty ounces and the other twenty bushels. From whence it follows that the price of a bushel of this corn to be an ounce of silver."—"Political Arithmetical."

It would be an easy matter to extend these quotations far beyond the limits of this article, but there is sufficient to illustrate the general agreement of political economists upon this important phase of our subject.

There is little need for us to enter into an elaborate abstract disquisition upon this phase. The evidence of both theory and practise verify the findings of the economist.

It is obvious that in two commodities of equal exchange value there exists, in equal quantities, something common to both. In other words, each is equal to and is reducible to a common third. A bushel of wheat exchanges, at the present time, for a woollen shirt. These two dissimilar commodities, that is to say, exchange upon an equality, and possess, de facto something which is common to both.

What is this which enables us to measure the exchange value of these two commodities? In the first place, both the wheat and the shirt are useful commodities. Is their value determined by the degree of their utility? (*) Listen to Ricardo on this point:

"When I give 2,000 times' more cloth for a pound of gold than I give for a pound of iron does it prove that I attach 2,000 times more utility to gold than I do to iron? Certainly not, it proves that the cost of production of gold is 2,000 times greater than the cost of production of iron. If the cost of the two metals were the same I should give the same price for them; but if utility were the measure of value it is probable I should give more for the iron. It is the competition of producers. . . . which regulates the value of different commodities. If then, I give one shilling for a loaf and twenty-one shillings for a guinea, it is no proof that this is my estimation of the comparative measure of their utility."—"Principles of Political Economy and Taxation."

Nevertheless it must be stated that a given commodity can possess no exchangeable value unless

Note.—(*) Dealt with in later article.

it also possess a use-value. There need be no laboring of the point that an article which satisfies no human need possesses no value in relation to other commodities.

We see, therefore, that the third article to which any two commodities are reducible and by which their value is determined, is human labor power, or as Karl Marx tells us:

"A use-value, or useful article, therefore, has value only because human labor in the abstract has been embodied or materialized in it."—"Capital," vol. 1, p. 45.

Again, Marx tells us that: .

"As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labor-time."—Ibid, p. 46.

To examine this phase of our subject from a different viewpoint. The wealth of any nation is an accumulation of commodities, and this accumulation is the result of the application of human labor power to Nature. Or as Sir William Petty says:

"The earth is the mother and labor the father of all wealth."

If, man by the expenditure of his labor power creates a number of commodities, then surely the value of those commodities, in relation to each other is proportional to the quantity of labor power necessary for their production? As we have seen this is the view held by political economists of note, a view of the matter best summarized by the able resume of the subject in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica."

"Thus the ultimate elements in the real cost of production are the toil and trouble and irksomeness of labor and of saving."—Sect. re Value.

It is true that economists of note agree as to what constitutes value. These thinkers tell us that quantity of human labor determines the value of any given commodity. But they do not sufficiently analyze the kind of labor which creates and determines value. It is upon this point that the main difficulty of our analysis begins, and the great service which Karl Marx rendered to economic science becomes apparent.

Next Article: "Quantitative and Qualitative Labor."

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

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

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

Therefore, we call 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.

Family Life Through The Ages

PART II.

MORGAN, in "Ancient Society," has recorded three distinct systems of consanguinity—the Malayan, Turanian or Ganowanian, and the Aryan. He has also outlined five different forms of the family—the Consanguine, Punaluan, Syndyasmian or Pairing, Patriarchal, and Monogamian.

It is not our purpose to deal in detail with these separate forms of the family or consanguinity. The reader can always refer to the main work to enlarge his acquaintance with any or all of these particular systems. While many valuable contributions have been made to the science of early races of men by modern writers, still, Morgan's work remains in a class by itself as the most important collection of facts on ethnology that has yet been presented.

In our last we concerned ourselves with pointing out the reasons for the reduction of the group, or the contraction of the circle, in the field of sexual relationship. The first great change we attributed to the knowledge acquired by primitive man through observing the deteriorating effects of close inbreeding. The remedy prescribed was prohibition of inter-marriage between certain sections of the group. The extension of this prohibition to other more remote degrees of relationship would obviously result in the impossibility of group marriage at all. As Engels in the "Origin of the Family" has it: "At last only one couple, temporarily and loosely united, remains: that molecule, the dissolution of which absolutely puts an end to marriage."

Marriage between single pairs was the rule in the Syndyasmian form of the family. But while one man and one woman took the place of the group in domestic affairs this pairing family possessed but few characteristics of the present form.

It was not by any means an indissoluble union, where the contracting parties vowed eternal allegiance through life's tempestuous journey. The contract could be broken at will. Either husband or wife could dispense with the other when occasion warranted. It was optional with the parties of the first and second parts how long the marriage relation continued. Sex love had not reached that stage of development later made possible by the growth of the property institution, so that the domestic union was essentially one of convenience alone.

The contest with the common enemy—nature, was yet too keen to permit of separate habitations for the married pairs. The old communistic mode of housekeeping still sufficed. A number of families lived under the same roof and kept house together. In all matters pertaining to household affairs the women were the rulers. They prepared the food and raised the children. Mere man found his sphere of influence on the outside. He had a mandatory over the hunting grounds, and it was his function to furnish the cats. When domestic difficulties loomed on the horizon it was generally the man who was forced to gather up his scanty trappings and leave the home. The children and household effects were under control of the women.

But petticoat government had its limitations and eventually its termination. Changes of a most important nature were taking place at the economic base of society. Something hitherto unknown, and unheeded, was making its appearance with rapid strides. This something was private property. From the time of its inception in earlier stages items of property were left in the hands of those who used them. Woman had control inside the home and man outside. In the hunting stage this would mean that woman predominated in an economic sense. Man's possessions were limited to crude hunting weapons, while woman's sphere of control extended to all the utensils necessary to the home.

But now the scene changes; a momentous metamorphosis had occurred. Social progress, gradually acquiring momentum, had received a great shove forward. New discoveries and inventions succeeded in leaving valuable property in the hands

of man. Cattle were captured and domesticated; mineral deposits were discovered and utilized; manufacturing of a crude nature was indulged in. Slavery appeared.

Into the possession of the male members of society came those various items of property. Man's star was in the ascendent; woman's on the wane. Private property resulted in a complete change in the family relations. Maternal law could not withstand the shock which property evoked. The children belonged to the woman. They were of her gens, and while such a system lasted the female share of the property alone could go to the children. The man's belongings went to his gens; to his brothers and sisters, and the children of his sisters.

It does not require a very keen power of abstract thought to conclude that maternal law was now at the end of its tether. That the superior economic position of man would result in the collapse of the ancient system of inheritance is easily seen. His children must inherit his property. To make this possible, woman's ancient prerogatives must be shattered. They were.

Monogamy, with its train of attendants jealousy, prostitution, and individual sex love, appeared on the scene together. Woman was completely defeated and all her rights surrendered to victorious man. Her function from now on was confined to rearing children and being the submissive slave of man.

Our present family order, then, has not existed since time began to count the centuries. The wedding service in our established churches declares that the present marriage system is as old as the human race itself. How far this is from being correct we can see by a glance at history. Even when the transformation did take place it was not engendered by pure, lofty, idealistic impulses. Grossly material incentives lie at its very base. Cold, calculating property requirements demanded its inception.

As for the family of today, while the form is in essence the same as it was at the birth of monogamy, many variations can be noticed. The relative positions of men and women have drastically changed. So much slop and piffle has been disseminated on the sex question in recent years that a brief reference to sex functions and positions will not be amiss.

The woman question has long been a fascinating field of research. Poets, novelists, magazine scribblers, quasi philosophers, and cub reporters have all contributed their quotas on lovely woman. The conclusions they have arrived at have depended largely on how the writer was affected at the time by the opposite sex. If all was happy and serene between the investigator and the object of his amours, then, beautiful and graphic phrases portray the becoming features of those lovely specimens of adorable femininity.

If, however, all is not well between the painter and the painted, the outlook on the matter is drastically changed. The glowing charms of womanhood have lost their attraction. The dimples in the chin, the lovelight in the eyes, the warts on the back of her neck, and the powder on her nose assume a gloomy and sombre aspect. The point of attack now is the vicious temper, the jealous disposition, the lack of conjugal fidelity, the vampirish methods, and other frailties that are not monopolized by either sex.

Such attempts at analyses may prove interesting and entertaining but, shunning as they do the very foundation of the subject, they cannot be in any degree instructive. They are nothing more than temperamental outbursts that are liable to sway to the opposite extreme with the slightest whim or fancy. Heroes and heroines, villains and vampires, who exist either for the purpose of ennobling their fellow creatures by the magic force of a Pollyanna, or breaking up homes, and strewing the wreckage of what was once domestic bliss around the feet of shattered hopes and unfulfilled romances, are not realistic and do not concern us.

To properly examine the respective positions of men and women in the world process we are forced to dig beneath the surface. Not even to any one branch of science can we limit our investigation. Many exponents of sex theories confine themselves to physiology, psychology, or sociology, and consider that in one of these fields they find ample means of fathoming the mysteries connected with sex relations.

References to woman as being man's superior, inferior, half, whole or equal, only portray the fact that the reviewer has not adequately studied the lesson. To know woman we must know sex first. This knowledge attained, we must then understand the influence of environment extending over a course of many centuries. Biological and sociological laws must be probed into, and dissected, before the problem is solved.

Looking at the different phases of organic nature that surround us, we find, in the midst of divergent surface features, a striking similarity at the base. Whether the particular organism be that of man, animal, fish, tree, flower, or plant, every moment of such an existence, whether covering a matter of hours or centuries, is made up of a process of assimilation and decomposition. One force building up, another tearing down; one constructive; the other destructive; or as the biologist would place them in the scientific category—anabolism and katabolism.

The outcome of the balance between those contending forces we know as life. Where the building up influence predominates, we have certain characteristics manifested that we know as femaleness, and where the opposite action overrides, maleness is the result. The attributes of the former are quiescence, passivity, conservatism, and of the latter activity and restlessness.

Deep down at the roots of biology and sociology, then, we find the vital differences between the sexes that must be unravelled ere the baffling problem is on the road to solution. Man and woman, instead of presenting two distinct entities that absolutely exclude all encroachments from the other direction, are both required to form that one organism—man. Each one dovetails into and completes the other. They are each the separate sides of the one shield. Comparison as to the importance of either sex in the complete organism is out of the question. As all the wheels of a watch are necessary to its time-keeping potentialities, and it would not be a watch without the inclusion of all the parts, so are the two sex functions indispensable to the human organism.

Starting from such a basis we can read the riddle. To know the present we must understand the past. The surface-grazing attempts of modern literary lights, and professors of unknown sciences, serve only to obscure the issue, and prevent the light of investigation from penetrating the misty realms of other ages. In our next we will conclude the review.

J. A. McD.

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Book Review.

WHERE IRON IS THERE IS THE FATHERLAND.—
52 pp. (paper), 50 cents. New York, B. W. Huebsch,
Inc.

BY an inversion of the law of optics, when we consider social affairs, the more remote we are from the affairs considered the better we see them, so as the war recedes our view of it is enhanced, and in proportion as our view enlarges so does our disgust.

This pamphlet is a record of the European Metal Trusts' activity during the war. To the patriot, and especially to the soldier who answered his country's call, it will awaken painful memories; to the Socialist it will but add practical examples to his historic and economic theories.

The Basin of Briey, a portion of invaded France seized by the Germans in their first onslaught, was held by them until almost the close of the war, without any real effort being made to dislodge them.

In fact one French General, Sarrail—who conceived an offensive in this sector, had his plan vetoed, and was himself removed to another front, where his active mind was esteemed more precious than honor or human life.

The Basin of Briey is part of the great iron fields of France. After the Franco-Prussian war, France was allowed to retain this part of the iron fields, when Alsace-Lorraine was taken over by Germany; this was not an oversight or out of charity, but because the iron of this section was not favorable to the then known steel process. But development of the industry ultimately makes this despised iron the finest in the whole field, so that in 1913 Germany imported almost four million tons of iron ore from this district.

As this war was fought with iron it might be seen by the least military minded, that the loss of such an enormous output of necessary war material would have crippled blockaded Germany.

But the Gods of War or some one more potent decreed that this should not be. France left this valuable territory an easy prey to Germany, and failed to exert any appreciable effort to regain it.

When the American troops in 1918 relieved the French in this sector, they were told that not one man had been killed there since the war began.

This remarkable and estimable method of conducting a war might very well commend itself to the followers of Christ, but as it was peculiar to this sector, it requires explaining.

The explanation is not commendable of that degree of self-sacrifice which the French capitalist demanded of the French worker.

Germany was allowed to extract the same quantity of iron from these mines during the war, that she had been in the habit of doing during peace. How this was accomplished is interesting, and may well repay the price and time necessary to read the book.

Lead and nickle are also needed in modern slaughter-fests, and here we are told some unsavory facts. In September, 1914, a Norwegian ship the "Bennesloet" loaded with nickle, sailed for Hamburg, Germany, and on the 24th September it was stopped by the French ship "Dupetit-Thouars," and brought to Brest. Half of its cargo had been paid in advance by Krupp. Despite the opinion of the prize court, this ship was released and directed to Copenhagen. From whence did this ship come? It came from New Caledonia, a French colony.

So the man who fought in the mud of Flanders might learn that when he was lacking lead and nickle, the French Government was very kindly passing it on to Germany. Of course every labor trouble was brought forcibly to his notice, but of such little incidents which were frequent in occurrence, as reported in "Paris-Midi" by Senator Henry Berenger, he was not informed. Of ferro-silicon, another war necessity, we have some very interesting information. French manufacturers supplied this material to Germany knowing that it would be used against France within a few months. We are told that former Premier Viviani stated that a supply of silicon was placed handy to Krupp

New Zealand Review.

EVENTS are so few and far between in the life of New Zealand, and so similar to those that are history in nearly every other country, that the task of writing a report upon them makes one feel like the man who gets up to speak and discovers that he has nothing to speak about. But in keeping on with this work, in spite of its apparent formality, we are building an institution that will some day be of greater importance than most people think.

The cost of living has remained fairly steady since our last report, 62 per cent, above pre-war standard. The coal miners, waterside workers, seamen, slaughtermen, railwaymen and the workers of a few other industries have received increases in wages corresponding to the C. of L. The greater mass of workers remain far below the pre-war standard of living. The railwaymen took a ballot in April and decided by an overwhelming majority to strike for better conditions and higher wages. The North Island drivers, firemen and cleaners, immediately struck, with a few shunters and navvies following, but the South Island men stuck to their good work. The whole thing fizzled out in a most amusing manner, and it was only last month that they received their increases. It was their first strike, and now they have broken the ice they are taking a more active interest in social affairs. The railway department administration is going to increase fares and freight rates to "offset" the increased expenses due to rise in wages. All our little middle-class and slaves with middle-class ideas are wailing the old cry, "increased wages higher prices."

The main feature of the State possession of industries is revealing itself in the political administration. The State mines, railways, post and telegraph, by providing the expenses of State, lessen the antagonism between the various sections of the capitalist class. Much of the political history of New Zealand is merely a record of the struggle between the landowning and merchant and industrial capitalist for party domination, the dominant party making the other sections pay most of the taxes. In a young country where roads and such facilities have to be rapidly constructed the expenses of State are extraordinarily high and taxation is an important matter. With industries in the hands of the State at least one bone of contention disappears.

The Labor Party still rubs along gathering in the lambs, while it is being gathered into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church itself. In some districts it is right in the clutches of the R. C. C., and seems to be chiefly concerned with the Irish question. It also advances claims of the R. C. Sisters of Mercy so that they would have command of it when needed. That agents of the French company supplying it were forbidden to deliver any to Russian agents, the ally of France.

So the tale goes on. And the excuses, when they condescend to excuse themselves, are worth reading. A sort of gentleman's agreement was entered upon. Let me alone here. I'll let you alone there. And as an example, the fact is adduced of no General Staff headquarters having ever been shelled. Red Cross wagons, hospital ships, hospitals, helpless women and children were again and again assailed by shell fire and bombs, but let it be written to their credit, the Hun never molested the Allied General Staff headquarters, those palatial private cars in which Haig and company lay in the mud of Flanders.

As the French Deputy Pierre Renaudel said: "It is only for poor devils that war is not a gentleman's agreement."

There are only 52 pages in this book, but they are packed with facts which ought to enlighten even the most ignorant patriot, that the people who do the fighting, are too busy at their trade to get any of the plunder.

And those deluded people who rave about the wage earned by labor during the war will find here something more tangible to test their vigorous speech upon. We heartily recommend this book to those who do the world's work, and fight their bosses' battles.

to cheap transport of government railways, etc. As the L. P. is similar to the I. L. P. of England with which you are familiar, we will not describe it further.

There is an educational organization known as the Workers' Educational Association, operating in the main centres and extending everywhere. It is an offshoot of the University. It is like a grape vine sneaked over the fence for the slaves to pluck the fruit from. The main subject is economics. Many other subjects are taught, but economics is made most interesting to the wage plugs and young shop helpers who want to kill monopoly and stop the wool kings from making excessive profits. It affords the young Marxian students an opportunity of testing their economics against those of the bourgeois instructor. But the economic professors of the W. E. A. are cunning men who know their business well. They have read Marx, they say, but are always willing to go to great pains to show that there has been much written on economics since Marx died. "He was a clever man in his day, but things are different now," they repeat, parrot fashion. However, with all its cunning and the big cloven hoof behind it, it is quite important. Organising classes and introducing the study of economics, it is only paving the way for the scientific Socialist.

The Marxian Association is not growing very fast. Its members are scattered widely and are doing much spade work. Student classes are held in various places and occasionally someone gives a public address. We still require speakers. Much is wasted by members attacking from the floor of public meetings fakirs on the platform. The man on the platform, if his audience be unintelligent or sympathetic, has the last word in an argument, and often gets the better of the young propagandist on the floor. We are still more in need of teachers. In some places there are large classes and no one competent to teach beyond the merest fundamentals. In other places there are competent instructors struggling with a few half-hearted students. The executive of the M. A. has written a pamphlet explaining our attitude towards the Labor Party. So far we have not been able to get it printed, and now have it in the hands of the Australian S. P. printers.

We are not only few, but scattered about so much and it will be some time before we have a sound active party.

We are selling a good deal of literature and individual members each have little stocks of their own in circulation.

Fraternal greetings to the comrades of the S. P. of C.

Per THOS. FEARY.
New Zealand Marxian Association.

WHAT THE DICTATORSHIP IS.

(Continued from page 5.)

lish a dictatorship to hold the "desirers" in line, and prevent them lusting after "the old they left behind," toward which the parasite minority would be continually plotting, sabotaging, intruding, and "ravifg," the while they carried on the counter-revolt.

To conclude: if a revolutionary situation develops in a country, and conditions are favorable, the rulers weak, and the masses ripe for action, it will be a treacherous thing for the conscious minority to fall down on the job of leadership.

There is where the half-educated slaves will graduate, Comrade Tyler. F. S. FAULKNER.

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J. H.