

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

863.

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1922.

FIVE CENTS

A Propaganda Campaign Across Canada

By Frank Cassidy

In these trying days of unemployment, bread lines, etc it is well worth while to know just what the great mass of the working class is thinking. To find this out it is necessary that one move amongst them as much as possible over a wide area. So it was that I welcomed the proposal made by R. A. Fillmore last summer, that I go east to the Maritime provinces, and get in some propaganda in that part of Canada, which, despite the airy mouthings of the "actionists" of Montreal, Toronto and other eastern points, has had no progana meetings since Gribble, and O'Brien, (Western organizers of the S. P. of C.) were there some years ago.

Winnipeg was my first stopping point en route, and I spoke at several meetings there during my stay of 3 or 4 days. I was in time to be present at the trial of Kaplan. The details of this affair may some day be published but since the party in now rid of Kaplan's supporters in Winnipeg, the affair need cause us no further annoyance.

The one thing we learned after the treachery of the one charged and of his colleagues, had been exposed, was that on leaving the hall Kaplan grinned and stated that he had put up a fight anyway. The "fight" by the way, lest any ill-informed person associate these "actionists" with militancy, consisted of lying on the witness stand all through the trial, and concluding by boasting that they would lie persistently about everything and to everybody, to gain a point.

I found the same tactics advocated by the "actionists" of Montreal, and I am informed that they have also been endorsed by a few in Vancouver, one of whom in connection with his alleged affiliation with another political party openly stated, "We can lie to you and you'd never find out in a thousand years." Advocates of, and adherents to, these kind of tactics may feel a certain sense of valor surging within their manly bosoms as their dauntless hearts keep urging them on and ever on, to deeds of daring do, but the writer (maybe through an atavistic trait of his progenitors, the "species Hibernia"), is inclined to the opinion that when people insist on proclaiming themselves "fighters" the old fashioned Donnybrook is a much more manly way of proving themselves such, and lying is a coward's substitute.

I had a long conversation with the boys in Toronto. Most of those I spoke to were members of the Communist Party, (since "The Workers Party"). I will say for them that they disapproved of the "tactics" employed by Kaplan in Winnipeg, and roundly denounced such methods of "securing control." I spoke at several meetings in Toronto. The one thing which struck me most was that the attitude of the working class towards Socialism shows a marked difference from Winnipeg. The further east the smaller the crowds who attended meetings. An unemployed meeting in Toronto with half a dozen speakers, including myself, attracted less than 400 people, despite the fact that thousands of handbills had been circulated, and also that it had been given wide publicity in the "Workers Guard." This in the second biggest city of Canada, with more unemployment than any other city in the Dominion. I could not help but compare the situation with that of Vancouver, Calgary, or Winnipeg, where the S. P. of C. have been "philosophizing" for some years, and how, in Vancouver,

the Empress Theatre could be jammed with 1800 people each Sunday during the winter. In Calgary, also, where we recently polled just over 1900 votes for a "red" candidate, or in Winnipeg where four S. P. of C. men were sent to prison for their activities in the strike, whilst the "actionists" of Montreal and Toronto played pool.

In Ottawa I met Comrade Peter T. Leekie, and we held an open air meeting that night, at which we had an audience of between 3 and 4 hundred.

Socialist Party of Canada Propaganda Meetings

BRING YOUR FRIENDS—ESPECIALLY IF
THEY DON'T AGREE WITH US.

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

March 19th.—Speaker, W. A. Pritchard.
Subject: "The Paris Commune."

March 26th.—Speaker: T. O'Connor.
Subject: Working Class Politics.

AT NORTH VANCOUVER.
126—2nd Street West.

March 19th.—Speaker: Sidney Earp.
Subject: "The Paris Commune."

March 26th.—Speaker: Robert Kirk.
Subject: "Social Revolutions."

All meetings at 8 p.m.
Questions. Discussion.

We held the crowd for over three hours, and disposed of a lot of literature; all went well until towards the end of the meeting, when some young civil service pups started making a noise. After a while, some of them went away and came back with reinforcements and finding themselves strong enough, they rushed us, and we had to wrestle our way out of the crowd. A couple of policemen, standing a few yards off, laughed, and made no attempt to interfere, as was, of course, to be expected.

Nine or ten "actionists" were on the inside of the ring, but made no move; I am not saying that they were afraid; maybe they were just adopting some new "tactics," but anyway, with the assistance of Leekie's brother, and a few more S. P. of C. men, we made our get-away.

I was informed, before leaving Toronto that the "actionists" of Montreal had no love for the S. P. of C., and that I would have a stormy welcome. However, I located the headquarters of "The Montreal Labor College," and entered right into a heated controversy with those I found there. They didn't like the S. P. of C., I learned from their denunciation, because that party published articles on "The Materialistic Interpretation of History," and other educational subjects, which they of the "Montreal Labor College," with few exceptions, could not understand.

The "Voice of Labor" was a much better paper than the "Clarion" I was informed, because it had cartoons in it, and gave all the strike news, with other news items of general interest. Also, the S. P. of C. did not advocate armed insurrection. I

argued that we must necessarily be suspicious of the fighting proclivities of anyone who speaks of armed insurrection for some time in the future but fears to further propaganda at the present time, when there is no great element of personal danger.

Likewise I called their attention to the preface to the fourth edition of The Manifesto of the S. P. of C. on the question of the possibility of a peaceful revolution. Montreal, I found to be somewhat the same as Toronto as regards adherents to any working organization claiming to be revolutionary. A few hundred can be induced to attend a well advertised meeting. From Montreal I proceeded to New Brunswick. A Oromocto I had two meetings amongst the farmers. Like the farmers in the western provinces, those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are finding it very difficult to do any more than just keep alive, and absolutely impossible to keep out of debt.

Under these conditions, they readily attend propaganda meetings and make good listeners. I arrived in Nova Scotia in the midst of the election fever, and, of course was met with hostility by most of the labor leaders. "Labor" candidates were in the field, and they, quite reasonably, argued that the conducting of socialist propaganda meetings in the vicinity would injure the chances of the "labor" candidates. However there were enough reds in the city of Amherst to keep me going for two weeks with a meeting each night. We can expect to hear more of Amherst in the near future. Of all the towns I have visited on my travels I believe the proportion of unemployed to the population, was greatest in Amherst. At Sidney mines, C. B., I had one good meeting, and sold about \$15 worth of pamphlets. I found the miners throughout Cape Breton and Nova Scotia to be much the same as the miners of the west, with regard to their understanding of the class struggle. The occupation of a miner, and the conditions under which he works, bring him hard against capitalism in all its nakedness, and the miner is generally the best of the raw material for the fighting battalions of the working class.

In Glace Bay I was prevented from holding any meetings by the opposition of some of the leading lights of the labor party. I could not get the use of a hall, and as it was the dead of winter, I could not very well hold any open air meetings. However, I went back to Roscoe Fillmore's place in New Brunswick, and waited there until the election was over. After the working class had again signified at the polls, its desire to have capitalism continue; (on the 6th Dec.), I proceeded once more to Nova Scotia, this time going by way of St. John, from where I crossed the Bay of Fundy to Digby, reaching Billtown; I spoke at several meetings which were arranged for me by comrades Parry and Sim. I stayed two weeks amongst the farmers.

Whilst at Billtown, I received an invitation from the boys in Halifax to go there and stay for two weeks. Accordingly I went to Halifax on the 29th Dec. My activities there have already been published in the "Clarion," and further mention would be mere repetition. The Dalhousie University, which we challenged to debate, did not answer. I had a further invitation from Mr. Forman Way to come to Cape Breton, but as we were informed in Halifax that the Labor Party was running a candidate in the by election, I could forsee the same opposition to

(Continued on page 2)

The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPEED OF THE EARTH.

A SHORT time ago I received a letter from a bush girl who was very keen to "travel." She told me that life was so dull and grey at home, where "nothing ever happened," that she was "sick to death" of the monotony of existence. There are thousands of people who are like that, because they never ask what sort of a place the world is, or how the world began. They never take the trouble to study things.

If that girl knew it, she could lie down on some secluded bank in the country, quite close to home, and look up at the stars and realize the stupendous fact that she was travelling at an enormous speed and seeing all the wonders of the heavens on her journey.

When you lean on a fence at night and watch the stars, they appear to be very still, do they not? And this old world is as quiet as the Seven Sleepers, giving no sound of life or movement. You can almost hear your own heart beating, the stillness grows so deep. You would think that this world or ours, this great earth, was anchored solidly in the universe; and if you believed your senses alone, they would tell you that the world is solid and immovable. But you can never believe your senses by themselves, and that is why the world of human beings is always in trouble. People believe things that are not true, and they always have done so.

This great solid world that we think so much of, and love so well, is flying through space so fast that you cannot even imagine how fast it goes. You never saw a cannon-ball flying, did you? There are no big guns in the bush where you live,* so of course you have never seen one.

A modern 16-inch cannon fires a shot, weighing a ton, with a velocity of 2,000 feet a second. That is so fast that your eye could scarcely see it fly. I have watched the passage of big cannon-balls that came dangerously near to me, and I watched them in deadly interest; but I could hardly ever see them, till they struck the water and went ricocheting along the surface as if the water was solid iron. Yet some of my fellows could see them, maybe because they had quicker eyes, or perhaps because they had a more vivid imagination than I had.

When a cannon-shot leaves the muzzle of the gun at the rate of 2,000 feet a second, it is too fast for us to see it. Well, this great big solid earth has about seven different motions, and one of them is the motion of revolution. When you see the sun at its highest point to-day, at twelve o'clock, you say it is noon. And at twelve o'clock to-morrow it will be noon again. Do you understand what brings "noon"? Perhaps I ought to tell you.

The sun is standing still (in a sense, but nothing in the universe is really still), and the earth turns round. Your part of the world is nearest the sun at twelve o'clock to-day. Very well, the earth revolves on its axis, so as to bring you round to the same place to-morrow. But if the earth is 25,000 miles round, and the world takes twenty-four hours to turn round, like that, then it must be turning at the rate of more than a thousand miles an hour! A thousand miles an hour means 1,500 feet a second. That is nearly as fast as the cannon-ball which we could not see.

Do you believe that? It does not sound reasonable, does it? And you can lean on the gate of the homestead and think that the world is quite still. But it is not. It is revolving at the rate of 1,500 feet, or say a quarter of a mile, between two beats of your pulse. It travels at the rate of seventeen miles

a minute to bring noon-time to your home. How long will it take you to realize that, I wonder!

You ask how the world began, but you have first got to understand something about it as it is; and that is not so easy, for our senses have betrayed us, and we have got to learn the difficult lesson that we cannot believe our eyes.

When you have tried an experiment with a ball of worsted and a lamp, you will begin to understand what I am saying. Get a ball of worsted and stick a knitting-needle through it to make the "pole," then hold it somewhere near the lamp and turn the ball round, and you will have a fair picture of the revolving earth. When you have learned that the ball must be inclined at an angle of twenty-degrees, to represent the position of the poles properly, you will understand how difficult the subject is; but you will understand it, all the same.

You will see how the earth has to turn round at the rate of a thousand miles an hour to bring dinner-time each day; to bring day and night, and week-days and Sundays. But it would never bring Christmas Day if it only turned round like that; so it has another motion. It goes round the sun as well. It revolves on its axis to bring day and night, but it also revolves round the sun to bring Christmas Day and the changes of the year. Suppose you take the ball of worsted that you have been holding on the knitting-needle, and walk round the lamp with it, still keeping it revolving! There you have the motion which brings Christmas Day.

The sun is, as I told you, about 93,000,000 miles from the earth, and this solid, quiet, motionless, beautiful world has to travel right round the sun to bring New Year's Day and Christmas Day, and the seasons in their turn.

Now here is a sum for you to do. If the sun is 93,000,000 miles from the earth, how far has the earth got to travel to make a circuit? If you work it out, you will remember it; but if I tell you, it is safe to say that you will forget it. The sun is, say, a million miles across, and the earth is 93,000,000 miles distant, and the earth has to travel all round a circle to get back to where it was a year ago. How far has it to go, and how fast must it travel to get there in time. I told you that it revolved at the rate of more than a thousand miles an hour to bring noon-time to the earth! In order to bring seed-time and harvest on its journey round the sun it has to travel more than—now listen—more than a thousand miles a minute! There are sixty minutes in an hour, and this solid, steady old world has to travel at the rate of 68,000 miles an hour!!!

Can you realize it? I cannot. It is too great, too awful, too wonderful. The weight of the earth is six thousand million billion tons, and it is flying through space at the rate of 100,000 feet a second. It travels at the rate of nineteen miles a second.

It is too awful to think about, is it not? And yet that girl in the bush tells me that she wants to travel, for the dull grey monotony of life is killing her. And all the while she is travelling at the rate of 1,500 feet a second in one direction, and 100,000 feet a second in another direction, and yet she is not satisfied! Is not this a miracle of a world? The longer I live the more wonderful it seems. If I live much longer, I shall not want to die at all; but I hope I shall not object to going when my time is fulfilled, for death comes in time to men and beasts, to suns and worlds, and to everything in the universe. Nothing endures; all is fleeting.

How wonderful to watch the sky on a starry night and sing—if you can—with Essex Evans:—

I marked Orion's armour glitter cold,
Where o'er white bars the milk-white river runs;

I marked great Sirius flood the heavens with gold,
The sovran of the suns.

Next Article: The Earth's Motion.

A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 1)

my holding meetings as I experienced before. Also, my treasury was depleted, and so I proceeded on my way back west. I might say here that of all the labor party leaders in the Maritime provinces, the best I met, were Forman Way and Jim McLaughlan. Way is an M.P.P.

I wrote all the main points in Northern Ontario, with the object of having a series of meetings on my return trip, but the only reply I received (from Cobalt) informed me that the movement was in such a state there that the local O.B.U. were unable to buy coal for the heater in the headquarters, and that only a few could be found in the town with interest enough to come around. The burden of financing me fell most heavily upon the comrades of St. John, N. B., about a dozen of them raised \$160 amongst them. I arrived in Calgary on the fourth of February. To sum up, my impressions are these: in the cities of Western Canada, where S. P. of C. propaganda has been carried on for years, there are several thousands who understand the class struggle, and are therefore, class conscious. Also, in other places, where there are ex-members of the S. P. of C. who have received a training in the west, and who are active in their respective localities, there is found the nucleus of a real organization, as in Halifax and Cape Breton. The great mass of the workers, however, know nothing at all about the class struggle, are not thinking of revolution, and the conflicts within the different organizations hold no interest for them. This much I found though, that those who can be induced to come to meetings, pay much more attention to Socialist propaganda now, than was the case some years ago. Despite the revolutionary "jag" which most of us had following the proletarian coup d'etat in Petrograd in Nov., 1917, from which we, in our enthusiasm, judged the revolution to be at our door-step, the spade work is still to be done. Where we now distribute pamphlets, and books by the thousands, they should be gotten out by the millions, where now we have half a dozen speakers, we should have hundreds. It may not be necessary for the majority of the working class to understand Marx, but this oft reiterated fact remains: whilst the working-class continues to support capitalism, the only function of the revolutionist is to make more revolutionists. This cannot be done by individuals who spend their time with conventions taking the leading part in forming an organization one day, and on the day after convening once more for the purpose of killing the organization they had formerly been instrumental in bringing into being.

Nor can revolutions be brought about by the tactics of the "whispering hopes" of the "Workers Party", who make up the "secret fives" in some of the cities. The "secrecy" of these "militants" provides us with considerable amusement. They remind one of the ostrich with its head buried in the sand. The S. P. of C. in Calgary is given till the 15th of this month to live, but somehow the S. P. of C. just refuses to die, despite the ominous threats of the two or three silent actionists we smile at here; we are stronger in Calgary now than we have been for years. Bob Russell's report of the Toronto convention has startled even some of the most ardent of the "secret" gentlemen, and some honest men who had fallen for the new "tactics" of the self-appointed leaders of the "poor working class" have experienced a feeling of revulsion, which spells ruin to the hopes of the self-confessed liars of the east. When the organizers of the Workers' Party were in Calgary they told the comrades here that Bob Russell had joined with them. Local representatives whispered that the whole Calgary local, including myself, and with the exception of Comrades Tree and Lewin, had agreed to join with them. They offered one of our comrades here the position of Editor of their paper. They jingled the money bag, but he did not respond, although he has been out of work for about six months and is broke.

Now, after having tried to bribe and coax our members to join their party, and threatening to

(Continued on page 4)

*The reader should bear in mind, now and later, that the author is addressing a resident in Australia, where he also lives.

Business Advice

GERMANY has recently been the recipient of some curious advice from those modern "miracle workers," the Allies, viz., "to set her house in order." In detail, to balance her budget; raise the price of coal, stop printing money; adjust her taxation to a higher level, and generally deliver her agreements. Which reads very nicely and sounds very sweet to the ear of "prosperity."

When a nation balances its budget it does exactly what a thrifty shopkeeper does when he takes stock—balances income and expenditure. If the house is in good standing—in order—the former always exceeds the latter. Which means that he has sold (exported) more than he has bought (imported), measured in exchange value. His trade status is, therefore, good. He is a successful—and therefore a respectable bourgeois; what Barrie might call a "man of parts." If Germany is to accomplish this, she must have a much more extensive trade than is now accorded her, and pursue a line not at all in harmony with the whispered councils in the inner courts of high finance.

To "raise the price" is by no means an uncommon procedure among profiteers. But it has its limits. And its limits are determined by competition. Market price is determined by productive cost (including average profit), not by arbitrary assumptions, and the competition for the world market holds this cost at average value, below which, for any considerable extent of time, it cannot go and remain economically secure. The abnormal conditions of post war Germany allow her to undersell her competitors, and those competitors are thus ousted from the market. With evil effects on their pocket-books,—and sinister threats to their privilege. But even if Germany did raise the price of coal? Coal is a key industry in Germany and as such would react on general production. For the competitive price of key products on the world market determines the average conditions of life production. In normal conditions, "raising the price" might equalise competition and regulate "money" and exchange; but it would also limit production and lead straight to crisis and war. In the abnormal conditions of today it would burst the bubble of fictitious German industry, and with it would vanish all hope of taxation and the last vain dream of reparations.

"Printing money" seem a good way to acquire riches. But it isn't. The printing press does not, and cannot, create wealth—(albeit as in American railroad finance, it may "cut the melon" of accentuated exploitation). Resort to the press is, in reality, a burden on future industry; is, in effect, an "advance" to tide over an immediate contingency. Inevitably the new level of exchange must be measured with the new unit of value. But if the process continues: if "paper currency" exceeds a stated constant of industrial circulation, it necessarily pre-figures bankruptcy. For it puts an altogether impossible strain on the "credit" industry of basic resource. Or in other words, price is no longer in economic stability, but fluctuates violently in the uncertain frenzy of financial interference. Let us look at this a little closer.

Capitalist states are traders' estates. They proceed on the principles of profit, and on the economic of profit they must swing as surely as the earth in its orbit. But profit is not "thrift" and "intelligence." Profit is a product of surplus labor, and the profit of exchange is put there by labor in production. And the sole incentive to that production, competitively carried on, is the profit contained therein. Although exchange is intricate enough in its manifold detail, its general principle is identical with the aim of the individual trader—that trading ventures shall leave a favorable balance. When a nation's trade balance is favorable, it's "credit" is good; it's exchange par. And just as competition in production balances price and value, so competition for the world market equalises foreign exchange with domestic currency. Above or below par to any extent exchange cannot fluctuate, without complet-

ely upsetting the sensitive organisation of modern commercialism. In continental Europe, where inflation (big "printing" or "subsidy") has been pushed to extreme, industry, on a basis of false currency, appears active and "prosperous," but in reality their conditions of existence are of the abjectest. In the West, where "deflation" is practised and exchange forced nearer par, wide spread and increasing unemployment is the inevitable result. Because the flickering market of unstable exchange, with a false credit on one side, and consequently a "crisis" on the other, ruins the industry of profit production.

The great war came on top of the worst "panic" in history. It "saved the situation" but disrupted business, substituting the financial demands of war for the economic market of peace. Thereby, it put a period to normal capitalist expansion and altered entirely the commercial relations of the world. Germany and her allies were cut off from the world, but the world was also excluded from the comity of essential intercourse. Both being vitally wounded, Germany, thus isolated was compelled to live within herself. With limited and lessening resource, she was forced on the ways of inflation, hoping—as did the Allies—to liquidate the deficiency by victorious post-war trade. But Germany emerged from war militarily vanquished, her commerce gone, her "wealth" annexed, burdened with reparations. The ruling class of defeat, to retain a tottering privilege were forced to more inflation, chasing an already precarious exchange still further down the slippery steps of bankruptcy, while the ruling class of victory, commercially stricken were forced to "deflation," driving a precarious trade almost to extinction.

Germany is an industrial country, living, like Britain, on its industries. But with exchange as it is, she must export enormous quantities, even to equalize imports. To do this she must have the world market—the only way by which exchange can be righted. As her trade stands at present it is millions of dollars on the left side of the sheet. To wipe out that deficiency entails a like default by the Allies. That is why, although the cry for reparations is determined, there is none willing to receive them. Because, in the countries of reflation, it would precipitate a social crisis. Economic necessity, has, long ago, abrogated the Treaty of Versailles. Germany can neither trade freely nor live adequately. And without commerce she can neither adjust taxation, nor pay indemnities—except with paper. Without German commerce all Europe stagnated, and the whole structure of capital, with its systematic famine production, falls. That is why the call goes forth for a new rendering of reparations.

To make Germany solvent means commerce. With whom, and in what channels this commerce will flow will be the main theme at Genoa. The need of Britain and Germany for trade, of Russia for intercourse, is obvious. They must have the world to trade in. Their needs are particular and mutual and can be abundantly supplied by each others bounty and technique. Only France, stubborn and obstreperous, stands in the way. For France, living not on industry but on finance, claims redemption of her bonds; reparations for her threatened insolvency; and sound financial security for the balancing of a budget which for the past 8 years has never balanced. As the case stands, the fortuitous Lloyd George is coincident with the forces of progress, striving in their need to realise themselves in fuller and adequate activity; the equally fortuitous Poincare, with the philosophy of reaction, with French Nationalism and self sufficiency, with the isolation of a ruling caste, reliquary of the antique wages of yesterday. What the immediate outcome of such a conflict of interests may be, cannot be determined, but its ultimate result is already settled.

The methods of Western Capitalism to acquire trade—by deflation—is likewise foredoomed. For although cost of production is the determinant in

competitive distribution, it must be determined internationally. It is not sensitive to local interests or national groups. Wage cutting, by forcing down prices, will competitively chase the foreign mark to lower levels, and by limiting, yet more, purchasing power; yet more, stagnate industry, and stiffen the depression it seeks to avoid. For, as disrupted exchange is caused, not by printing money, but by vanished commerce, so wage reduction accentuates the cause to be remedied. Printing money and vanished wages are both results of one cause—decayed commerce, and no activity which does not remedy the cause can alleviate the effect. To stop printing money is to right German exchange. But to right German exchange is to stimulate German commerce, and if German commerce is extended to the capability of par value and reparations, the commerce of the Allies must decline before the new infinity. And whichever way it happens it will affect us, the ragged sansculottes, similarly. By depressing industry it will depress jobs and liquidate wages. It will drive us through poverty to deeper misery, and through misery to the understanding of the one possible relief—the social ownership and control of the social means of life.

R.

THE "WESTERN CLARION" APPEALS TO THE READER

Buddy, the editor of this journal has given me to understand—without actually saying in so many words—that I might as well "fire" myself before being "fired."

For, despite all my efforts to enthuse and direct your efforts to rustle subs., I have been a woeful failure. There being no perceptible difference in the average number of subs. coming into this office during the past six weeks of the "drive" than had been coming in for every similar period preceeding this last one.

That, too, on top of my incentive for special efforts—an incentive which brings no results is useless—leaves me to find a rational explanation, a cause, for my failure to move you to action.

And the cause is found in those depressing conditions which calls for support of sundry schemes and organizations sordid and mundane; appeals sentimental and megalomaniac. With the result that the workers "bled white" are too weak financially to support even the things worth while.

Nevertheless, the campaign to extend the sphere, which the "Clarion" operates in, must continue.

The various locals comprising the Socialist Party of Canada must consider the possibility of a concerted drive towards this objective.

As signs are present which indicate that a certain stimulus (but uncertain quantity) will be given to industry about the middle and latter part of spring.

Immigrants will pour into this country from Great Britain and Europe, and subsidies will be made for such projects as will give employment for a time. So combined efforts are needful to make the most of this brief spasm in trade.

This appeal could be made the subject of a special "May Day" celebration—speakers concentrating upon short pithy speeches showing the power of the press in moulding the minds of the workers, and the need of a press than can remould these minds by planting new seeds of thought, new social concepts in the place of those uprooted.

Comrades will perhaps take this suggestion for discussion at their business meetings in order to see if it can be put into practice. And you, Buddy, might consider putting a still greater kick into your individual effort.

Make such a delightful nuisance and entertaining bum of yourself that, to rid themselves of your presence, the best friends you have will come through with that almighty dollar.

Remember all subs. must be in for the end of March, and the "Positive Outcome of Philosophy" (Dietzgen), and the "Social Revolution" (Kautsky), will be given to the one with the largest number of subs. to his or her credit, and the "Industrial History of England" (de Gibbens) goes to the second highest. Buddy, get busy!

R. K.

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SECRETARIAL NOTES

The Winnipeg comrades report that they have commenced classes on economics and are making headway with public meetings. Their speakers are in demand in addressing other meetings and the point of view of the S. P. of C. is well advertised and well taken.

Local Vancouver No. 1, have had better Sunday meetings since they moved into the Star Theatre. The Star is smaller than the Royal, but its heating plant is in better order. Each Sunday since moving to the Star has seen crowds turned away. Comrade W. A. Pritchard speaks on the 19th on the Paris Commune of 1871. Comrade Earp speaks on the same date on the same subject at North Vancouver.

Comrade Cassidy's article (in this issue) on his tour through the Eastern provinces has been looked for by comrades all over the country for some time. His references to the 'new conscience'—he uses his own graphic language—will be understood by all who have come in contact with it. The lying campaign has had its innings but it has left its mark. The boastful ones who have announced their intention of lying when occasion favors them have succeeded so well in impressing their credentials in this respect on the movement at large that when they chance to tell the truth it is hard to believe them. You can never tell when they are telling the truth. This involves an argument on tactics, of course, and as we fall down in these intricacies the reasons remain a mystery to us.

Frank is a little out of date concerning "The Workers' Guard." "The Workers' Guard" is no more! R. I. P. It followed "The Communist." "The Communist" followed "The Communist Bulletin." Now "The Worker" (Vol. No. 1. sure enough, again) follows "The Workers' Guard." Comrade Kavanaugh is "Editor in chief." There are two associate editors. They'll be able to start an editors' union all on their own.

Comment on the Convention of the W. P. of C. is needless. We refer readers to our remarks in the Clarion made previous to the convention. They are well borne out by the convention itself. They do what has been done in the U. S. A. Their programme is given to them to follow. The W. P. of C. is supposed to "lead" the workers, the bosses in the W. P. of C. "lead" the membership. They act on instructions, changing even their name when required. Dual unionism is abandoned for "boring from within." The O. B. U. is to go back—on instructions.

Repetition is wearisome. We are reminded of the days of our theatre going youth: "Programmes—a penny each!"

The W. P. of C. is off to a "fresh" start. There's nothing new about its program or paper—not even Vol. 1, No. 1.

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A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN.

(Continued from page 2)

denounce and damn them if they refused to do so—having failed in this they brand these comrades as reactionaries, etc. This kind of tactics may suit the "inner circle" of political adventurers who make up the executive committee of the "Workers' Party," but will be steadily opposed by the Socialist Party of Canada. We have no "jobs" for anybody, but we will continue to propagate the principles of the class struggle, as we have done right along and will warn the workers with whom we come in contact against the liars and bulldozing cowards who make up the directing committee of the newly formed "Workers' Party." There is not much to fear from this new party, which is, after all, a political mulligan, modeled after the same fashion as the first International. Different freak organizations have arisen, from time to time, with the object of reading the burial service over the S. P. of C., but they have all passed away, and the S. P. of C. lives on.

There is no "easy way" to proletarian emancipation; we must convince the working class; and, in proportion as we are assisted in spreading propaganda, so will the time be long or short. The revolution will come in spite of the "actionists," but we must work hard; so, comrades, get on the job, spread the information, but beware of the liars.

Concerning the State

QUESTION

Editor, "Western Clarion":

In the review of "Creative Revolution," by Comrade Harrington, in the issue of February 15th, occurs the following paragraph:—

"Aside from the very revolutionary and entirely impossible determination to smash a social institution like the modern State, it seems a pity to proceed to such extreme measures when the State still has many functions to perform. At best all we can hope to do, however revolutionary be our 'urge,' is to change its name."

To let in some more light on this subject, I would like the author of the review to answer the following questions in your columns:—

1. Does the term "State" connote that organization for the administration of society (and consequently coercion where needed), at whose basis we find the police, militia, etc., and upon which basis we find a pyramid of officials tapering to a comparatively small executive at the top of the dominant section of society?

2. In order to introduce a Socialist order must not the present State be disrupted, disorganized, i.e., must not the higher strata of officials be separated from the lower strata, through whom they exercise their power?

3.—Is the present form of government and are the various existing institutions for social administration suitable for working class control, and for a social order in which there is neither private property in the means of wealth production, nor profit?

F. W. THOMPSON.

ANSWER.

1.—The definition does not completely reveal the meaning of the term, and the figurative pyramid tends to still further cloud the meaning.

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The State is an institution which must develop in every society where a numerically weak group enjoy the entire fruits of that society's toil and is not required to produce or to defend its wealth.

The State has the right to make laws and enforce them; has the right to impose taxes and collect them. Should this right be questioned, those who control the State, must maintain it or give way to those who can, but so long as society endures on the above basis the State must function.

Whether it has a large army or navy, or any at all, depends entirely upon circumstances, which may be social.—the degree to which a society acquiesces in the rights of the State; or geographical,—a flat, densely populated country is more easily controlled than a mountainous, sparsely peopled country. These examples by no means exhaust the circumstances. A State may be autocratic or democratic. The latter form is peculiar to long established societies.

The form of the State, the machinery, the numbers of the officials, their character or power are of minor importance: the sole factor to regard is the State being an institution, of historical growth and manifold character, without which no society having class with conflicting interests could long endure. We know that societies of masters and slaves might exist without the State, such as in feudal society. Under feudalism the master was armed, the worker was not. The State was unnecessary. These, however, never attain to a high state of development.

2.—No. The State must be captured and controlled by the workers, and must be used by them until the property relations which called it into being are dissolved; it will then die out. If we regard past or present history (Russia, for example, Lenin to the contrary notwithstanding) as evidence, this is likely to be a long drawn out process. Man does not readily discard usages to which he is long accustomed. Note the institution of nobility. Of the many factors involved here we offer two: Habits of thought, and the degree to which the abolition of an institution works adversely to the immediate material interests of large sections of society.

3.—To the second part—a change in the economic base results in a change in the social forms and institutions. To the first part of the question, yes. The present form of government and its existing institutions for administration are entirely suitable for working class control. At least as much so as they are for master class control, though, as a matter of fact, the present form of government, or any other form for that matter, is a distinct hindrance to social development, and the business of a country is largely carried on apart from governmental forms. Buckle and Spencer have enumerated many stupid interferences on the part of governments which have been disastrous to the master class as a class, and have instanced many years of legislation, which were consumed in abolishing laws, painfully and conscientiously drawn up. We need not, however, go to history to prove this. We need but take the fearful and wonderful exhibition of wisdom displayed in the Peace Treaty, or the League of Nations, or, to come nearer home, prohibition, or the sales tax in this country.

Any form would do. The Methodist Conference would do if it expressed the wishes of the majority. The magic formula does not lie in Parliaments, Soviets, shop stewards or any other form, but in the expressed wishes and desires of a people who are determined at all hazards to realize those wishes and desires. If the Tuilleries is denied them than a tennis court will do; if the Duma is composed of pre-revolutionary timber, then recourse must be made to the post-revolutionary Soviets; but—such is the character of man—little is changed but the name, the form remains. We may name it Commissar or Minister, Soviet or Parliament, but the great issue, the abiding issue, the sole issue is—what do the workers want, wagedom or freedom. The rest is leather and prunella.

J. HARRINGTON.

Wages

WHILE it is fairly well known to every worker who considers the matter at all, that the money he receives for working in the employ of some other person or corporation is what is called wages—evidently the price of something, the majority of workers do not understand just what the commodity is that they sell, in exchange for which they receive a price, known as wages.

Some workers imagine that what they receive in wages is the price of their labor. Others, that it is their share of the proceeds of industry, the remainder going to compensate their employer for his frugality, and the trouble and risk that he takes by investing a large sum of money for the sole and altruistic purpose of giving a number of honest and deserving workers a job. But very few understand that what they sell is their human energy, or ability to produce wealth; in other words, their labor power.

No doubt it is a case of hair splitting to make a distinction between labor, and labor power. Nevertheless, it is necessary to define the difference between the two in order that we may understand just how we are exploited. In fact, the difference between the value of labor and labor power constitutes all surplus value, or profit. It is the confusion that exists regarding the meaning of these two terms that makes it so easy for the bourgeois economists to get by with most of the drivel they peddle on the subject of economics. This being the case, it becomes necessary at all times to carefully define the difference, and point out the relations of the terms.

As we have already seen, labor power is human energy. Labor is the process of laboring, the active application of human energy to the natural resources of the earth for the purpose of producing wealth. What the worker sells is not labor, not the process of laboring, but his strength, his energy both physical and mental, his ability to labor.

The next question is, what is the exchange value of labor, compared with that of labor power? We know that the exchange value of any commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor, measured by time, required for its production, or reproduction, under average conditions of industrial development. That is, if it takes one hour of socially necessary labor to produce a certain commodity, that commodity is equal in exchange value to any other commodity produced in the same length of time, and is, therefore, equal in value to one hour of social labor. As a matter of fact, value and labor are practically one and the same thing.

Now let us apply this law of value to the commodity labor power. How many hours of socially necessary labor is required to reproduce the commodity the worker has for sale, or to keep a worker in working condition, say for one day of eight hours? The number of hours necessary to produce the food, clothing and shelter required for the reproduction of the worker himself or, at least, another worker something like himself. For, the efficiency of a worker as a wealth producer under capitalism is confined to a limited number of years of his life. Consequently, a certain percentage of workers must receive an amount over and above their own maintenance to enable them to marry and raise other workers to take their places when they are on the scrap-heap. Otherwise, the supply of labor power would become scarce and the price would rise. Thus we see that wages, or the price of labor power, is equal in exchange value, on the average, to the necessities of life required for the reproduction of the energy of the workers, plus the reproduction of the worker himself, also equal in value to the number of hours of socially necessary labor required for the production of those necessities.

As I have pointed out, social labor and exchange value are equivalent. In other words, the total exchange value of the commodities produced in one day of eight or ten hours is equal to the socially necessary labor required for their production in that

length of time, because it is this social labor that gives them their value. Very good, but does it require the full product of eight or ten hours of socially necessary labor to keep the working class in working condition for one day, in accordance with the average working class standard of living, even if we consider a few extra nickels and dimes squandered by way of amusement? The answer is that it does not. If it did, there could never be any such thing as over-production, and a glutted market. It is possible that one hour out of every ten would be nearer the mark, when we consider the vast multitude of non-producers that are supplied out of the surplus. Not only the capitalist class itself, which consumes the best of everything and plenty of it, but also all its flunkies, both public and private, as the army, the navy, and the police, not to mention soup and doughnuts for the unemployed. And still, the warehouses are all full and the market glutted.

However, let us be moderate, in view of the fact that it is impossible to tell the exact quantity of socially necessary labor time embodied in any given commodity. In modern society everything is produced socially, consequently, the labor embodied in a commodity is not the labor of one individual, or group of individuals, not a special brand of labor, skilled or unskilled, but a portion of the common labor of the whole working class. Hence the difficulty in finding the approximate labor-time required for the production of any given article. The only way that we can arrive at the exchange value of a commodity is by means of price, or the money form of value, which fluctuates around the real value either above or below, but over a period of years the fluctuations cancel each other, and the average price corresponds to value.

Let us assume, then, that the workers are only robbed of three-quarters of the wealth that they produce. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that it requires the product of two hours out of every eight hours of socially necessary labor to keep the working class in working condition from day to day, and from generation to generation. The value of eight hours of social labor is represented by the total value of the wealth produced in that length of time, while the value of the labor power, or human energy required for the production of all this wealth, is represented by the product of two hours of social labor. When this little equation is understood it requires no theory of marginal utility, final utility, spots on the sun, or volcanic eruptions on the planet Mars to explain where the profits of the capitalist class come from.

There are, however, a few other points to be considered with regard to wages before closing. We have seen that the labor embodied in a commodity is a portion of the socially necessary labor required for the production of all commodities. In other words a portion of the labor of the whole working class reduced to a common measure. Labor power, on the other hand, is a specialized commodity. It is true that the evolution of the machine is gradually reducing it to a common level, but at present we must still deal with it as a commodity of varying degrees of quality or skill, and consequently varying in value. The reason why the labor power of a skilled worker has more value, and consequently a higher price, than that of the unskilled, is because it requires a period of experience and training to produce a skilled worker that is not necessary for the unskilled, and therefore costs more; furthermore, owing to the fact that the working class standard of living is different, in different countries, due mainly to the difference in degree of industrial development; also different, from time to time in the same country, due to the same cause, or to the recurrence of panics and prosperity. It follows that the value of labor power varies according to time, place, and circumstances. And these variations are reflected in wages, or the price of labor power.

This brings us to a consideration of the three different forms of wages, the money wage, the real wage, and the relative wage. The money wage is the amount that the workers receive, in dollars and cents, in exchange for their labor-power. This, like the price of any other commodity, fluctuates around value, either above or below, in accordance with the law of supply and demand. When the supply of labor-power on the market is greater than the demand wages decrease. When the demand for labor-power is greater than the supply, wages increase. Needless to say the price of labor-power does not often rise above value. Although the workers do everything in their power to maintain their standard of living, in this case their numbers are against them.

The real wage, is the quantity of food, clothing, shelter, amusement, etc., that the workers can buy with their money wage. Here, again, we have variation and fluctuation. It is quite possible, in fact, it is quite common, for the real wage to remain almost stationary, or even to decrease, while the money wage increases. For instance, during the period of the war, and for a year or so afterward, the money wage increased considerably. In fact, at one time it was almost double what it was in 1914, but it was only trying to keep pace with the price of other commodities. The general standard of living of the working class did not rise during that period, not even when the money wage was at its highest point. Whatever change there was, according to statistics, was in the opposite direction. The only benefit the workers received from the war prosperity was that we all had a job. Instead of having to demand "the right to work," as we do most of the time, we lost the "right to be lazy," a far more important right in my estimation than the right to work.

Finally, we came to the relative wage, which is not the last by any means, because it has occupied most of this article, and for reasons that I have tried to make clear. The relative wage is the value that the workers receive in the form of wages, compared with the total value of all the wealth that they produce. And here again we have variation. The percentage that the workers receive in the form of wages, in relation to the value of their total product, is not the same at all times and in all places. It may be fifty per cent. at one time or place, and ten per cent. at another. The important point in this connection is, that the greater the productive ability of the workers, the lower is their relative wage. It must also be noted that the relative wage may decrease, independent of any change in the money wage or the real wage.

Now the moral of all this is, that so long as the natural resources and the machinery of wealth production remain the property of one class in society, just so long will labor power remain a commodity, bought and sold on the open market, and the workers remain slaves, in spite of all their efforts to improve their standard of living. Instead of the slogan: "Long live the class struggle," the workers must prepare to abolish the class struggle as soon as possible, by abolishing class society; through class conscious political action.

F. J. McNEY.

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Economics for Workers

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(Introduction continued)

MARX never talks of eternity, but of the present capitalistic systems; that is, production is undertaken for the purpose of profit.

The producer does not produce for his own use. He does not give a snap for that. His product is absolutely useless to him, and he will just as soon manufacture chewing gum as bibles. Marx tells us that a commodity is, in the first place, an object outside of us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, e.g., "they spring from the stomach or from fancy" makes no difference. Neither are we concerned to know how the object satisfies these wants, "whether directly as means of subsistence or indirectly as means of production." A commodity is a product of human labor, with properties to satisfy human desires, but produced for sale and exchange, for the purpose of realizing a surplus value or profit.

As Marx puts it in vol. III, p. 54:

"The capitalist does not produce a commodity on its own account. He is not interested in the tangible product, nor does he care for its use value, nor does he consume it himself. He is only interested in the excess of the value of the product over the value of the capital assimilated in it. He advances the total capital, not merely for reproducing the advanced capital, but rather with the view of producing a surplus in excess of it."

Again, vol. III, p. 28:

"The creation of surplus value is the object of the direct process of production."

And p. 285:

"The capitalist process of production consists essentially in the production of surplus value materialized in the surplus product which is the part of the commodity in which unpaid labor is materialized. It must not be forgotten that the production of surplus value is the immediate purpose and compelling motive of capitalist production. The aim of capitalist production is not to administer to certain wants, but to produce profits."

This reminds me of the Professor dealing with over-production, when he said that there was no social over-production because the social need of Central Europe could consume all our products, but there was not an efficient demand because they could not pay.

I asked him how things were produced for use as he said previously, when this statement was contrary, because there was no profit or payment it was not used, although needed, therefore he must admit it was produced for profit. He answered: "This is a fallacy taught by a certain school." I asked him why they did not satisfy the social demand when they had the goods? He answered, because they could not pay for them, and yet he maintained things were produced for use!

Now, Marx puts the stamp of commodities on all our social wealth as things made for sale first, for use incidentally.

Let us dwell on this thing called a commodity a little longer. The vulgar economists would have us believe a commodity has value in exchange because of its utility. The Professor I have mentioned said exchange value was partly utility and partly scarcity. Yet he pointed out the value of the crop was not of its utility, as during scarcity it might be \$1.00 a bushel but when plentiful sold at 75c a bushel, while more bushels had more utility but the abundance lowered its value.

This is a sample of the circle our so-called Professors get entangled in because they are unable to separate price from value.

How different with Marx; he points out a thing can have a use-value and yet have no exchange value, such as the air we breathe, water, and virgin soil. This is the case whenever its utility to man is not due to labor.

"A use value or useful article has exchange value only because human labor in the abstract has been embodied, or materialized in it."—Vol. I, p. 45.

"A thing can also be useful and the product of human labor, without being a commodity. Whoever produces to satisfy his own wants, creates his own use-values, but not commodities. In order to be commodities he must produce use-values for others. If the thing is useless, the labor contained in it is also useless, and therefore creates no value."

This last sentence seems favoring the utility view, but listen to Marx, vol. I, p. 48:

"Lastly, nothing can have exchange value without being an object of utility."

We saw in his definition of a commodity that it must satisfy some human desire.

Let us follow some of this utility school.

Bernard Shaw says: "The exchange value is found by the utility, not of the most useful, but of the least useful part of the stock." (Called marginal utility).

Jevons says: "Value depends entirely on Utility," (and that value is determined by the final utility of the least useful of the stock of commodities).

Again, he says: "Nothing can have a high purchasing power unless it is highly esteemed in itself," so we find a mixup of esteem and utility.

The Professor I sat under told us the theory of utility had its great law: the law of diminishing utility, which he quoted thus: "The more you have of a particular commodity for consumption, the less you want of an additional quantity for consumption within that given time." He must be a follower of Marshall, who states it thus: "The larger amount of a thing a person has, the less, other things being equal, will be the price he will pay for a little more of it."

Then my dear Professor illustrates this law with a story of a boy travelling in a long distance train, becoming very hungry. The train stopped at a station with a restaurant. He orders a sandwich. The waiter, seeing the boy's great utility for it, charged 25 cents. The boy knew he was overcharged, but his need made him pay up. He ordered another, but refused to pay 25c as its utility to him had diminished; he was not so hungry and got it for 20c, and so on until it fell to normal.

I asked the question: "If we carry your logic to its last analysis, and the boy was so choked full he could not shove another sandwich down, as his utility was now zero, if he orders still another sandwich, would he get it for nothing?"

He said, "No, he might drop it to a cent, or its normal price."

Then I asked what was its normal price, and he answered, "Its cost of production." You see then where diminishing utility leads us to. Go into a restaurant and eat four dinners, one after the other, and see what the restaurant man will say if you ask the fourth cheaper because it has the "marginal utility." Here are a few instances in my Professor's talk which contradict his own utility theory. He pointed out how large industries buy raw material, machinery, and power, cheaper than the small manufacturers, and sell cheaper the finished commodities. For instance he took the boot industry as an example.

Now if the larger manufacturer sells his boots cheaper where does the utility theory come in? Are the boots of a large concern not just as useful to the consumer as the boots of the small manufacturer?

When he dealt with Ancient Commerce he showed the most expensive things, such as silk and other luxurious commodities, made commerce worth while. Here again the utility theory is false, as other things had more use-value, such as foodstuffs, etc.

The utility of a loaf of bread is the same today as the first year bread was made, but not so its exchangeability. The improved machinery of the last hundred years have produced an enormous increase

in use-values, while their exchange value has fallen. A commodity's use-value can only come into play in its consumption, and disappears, unless it is consumed in production like raw materials, which reappear, unless it is consumed in production like raw material, which reappear in a new form. The use-value forms a basis for commerce, the substance of wealth being realized when commodities are consumed; that does not affect their exchange value; they are the material depositaries of exchange value.

A box of matches is more useful than a bear skin, yet it has less exchange value, so you see utility has nothing to do with exchange value.

The use value of money, however, is in its circulation, and is not consumed, but we will leave money over to the lesson on money.

Marx in his "Critique of Political Economy," says: "A commodity is a use-value, wheat, linen, a diamond or machine, etc., is at the same time not a use-value. If it was a use-value for its owner, i.e., a direct means of satisfying his own wants, then it would not be a commodity. To the owner it is only a means of exchange."

He illustrates this: "The bread in the hands of the baker is the bearer of an economic relation, and bread, e.g., by changing hands from the baker to the consumer does not change its identity as bread, but the consumer is the only one who regards it as a use-value. What the baker receives in exchange may be a use-value and generally is a use-value, to him greater than the use-value of his bread; to the purchaser the bread has more use-value than that which he gave in exchange for the bread." But, as Marx says, "As mere use-values they are indifferent to each other and are incommensurable. As use-values they can be exchanged only with reference to certain wants. They are exchangeable only as equivalents, and they are equivalents only as equal quantities of materialized labor-time."

The wealth, therefore, of any capitalist country is an accumulation of commodities, and this accumulation is a result of the application of human labor; power to nature.

In 1875 when the German Socialists adopted a programme, the opening sentence which read: "Labor produces all wealth," Marx wrote and said: "Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is just as much a source of use-values, and it is of these materials wealth consists as is labor which is itself a manifestation of natural force . . . human labor power."

Marx quotes Petty as labor being the father, and the earth the mother of wealth.

He did not forget natural environment; he wrote:

"Aside from the more or less developed conditions of social production, the productivity of labor depends on natural conditions. They are all reducible to the nature of man himself, such as race, etc., his natural surroundings. The outward natural conditions can be divided economically into two great classes: natural wealth in the means of subsistence, such as richness of the soil, fish abounding waters, etc., and natural wealth in the means of production, such as useable waterfalls, navigable rivers, woods, metal, coal, etc. In a primitive community the first class of natural wealth is most important; on a higher plane of civilization the second class is the most important."

Next Lesson: "Capital."

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Book Review

"THE ENGINEERS AND THE PRICE SYSTEM."—By Thorstein Veblen. Publishers, B. W. Huebsch, New York.

TO begin with, I must make a confession, that I find myself too much in sympathy with Veblen's argument to be critical of it in this review. Criticism, therefore, I will leave to the reader, contenting myself with summarizing the author's argument, which, though far from doing justice to him will, I hope, serve to whet the reader's interest in the subject matter and his desire for the book. As a "Clarion" reviewer, I am primarily interested in education upon social problems, and, in summarizing Veblen's argument without criticism, though I tatter, I trust I may not altogether fall sheer from that high objective.

The contents of the book under review, "The Engineers and the Price System," were first published as a series of articles in the New York "Dial," in 1919. In its totality, the series constitutes a study of the case for a revolutionary overturn of the existing industrial system in the United States. The study mainly directs itself to a consideration of the economy of the modern industrial system, approximately to the following effect—As a technological system it is known as the machine process, being a mechanical structure of interlocking technical processes, all its parts so highly interdependent and balanced among themselves that the due working of any part of the system is conditional on the due working of all the rest. "It is a system of interlocking mechanical processes rather than of skillful manipulation such as characterized the handicraft system, although the skilled craftsman and tools are also an indispensable part of its comprehensive mechanism. It runs to quantity production of specialized and standardized goods and services. For all these reasons it lends itself to systematic control under the direction of industrial experts, skilled technologists, who may be called production engineers for want of a better term. This technological system, as it now stands, is tied on to the price system of bargain and sale for profit. This industrial system is subjected to an analysis as it works out as a going concern affecting the welfare of the community at large." The human factors moving in the foreground of Veblen's study are two classes of individuals, show as occupying strategic positions within the industrial system; first, the business men who have discretionary control over industrial enterprises; and second the technologists who are responsible to the business men for industrial efficiency within the limits set by commercial ends.

As now obtaining industrial plants are subject to the discretionary control of business men who stand only in a pecuniary relation to industrial processes. These industrial processes, being thus operated for profit making are accompanied, of necessity, by vast wastes of material resources and labor through working at competitive cross purposes, and through curtailment of productive activity short of capacity, in the interests of a profitable price. All of which, entails hardships on the underlying population. The overturn of this system involves removing the business control, putting the community's industrial power in charge of technologists, industries to be operated not for profit, but as a straight engineering proposition for supplying the community as a whole with goods and services. This revolutionary overturn entails as corollary to the above, what Veblen has termed, the disallowance of absentee-ownership. Under the credit economy and larger-scale industry, that means the disallowance of capitalist class ownership and control of those type industries and the vesting ownership and control in the community as a whole.

Out of his preliminary discussion of the price system, our author derives, for him, two important conclusions, one, that the price system is evolving to a state of collapse in the not distant, but unspecified future; and second, that the production engineers are indispensable to a movement of successful overturn. The continued advance of mechanical tech-

nology has called for an ever-increasing volume and diversity of special knowledge. The constant supervision of the production engineers is indispensable to the due working of the technological system. They constitute the general staff of industry whose work it is to control the strategy of production at large and to keep an oversight of the tactics of production in detail. The main lines for working out any practicable revolutionary movement in any advanced industrial country are thus already laid down by the material conditions of industry; and, transient failure to make good in the management of the industrial system would plunge the population into starvation, and defeat any movement of overturn.

For the fuller discussion of the factors leading to the above contention recourse must be had to the book. But whether we agree with Veblen in full as to the indispensability of the production engineers, or merely welcome their voluntary accession to the movement for an overturn as simplifying the problem of a change that much come with or without their voluntary support, our interest may well ask the question: How do the production engineers stand towards a movement for revolutionary overturn? Our first thoughts on the question might not be of a hopeful cast, probably because the more evident, though perhaps relatively superficial, facts about the engineers are their closer affiliation to the business class (including all those who live on free income), by habits of thought bred of social intercourse, than they are with the working masses. Nevertheless, work-day habits of thought; and, when reinforced by instinctive traits, as in the case of the engineers, according to Veblen, they will count for very much in human thought and conduct. In any case, whatever the stimulus, Veblen says the production engineers, particularly the younger generation, are beginning to draw together and take stock and discuss that all-pervading mismanagement of industry that is inseparable from its control for commercial ends; and in the taking stock are becoming "class-conscious," i.e., conscious of themselves as a class having habits of thought that run counter and to a different effect, to the habits of thought of the business men.

Some time ago, I read a review of this book in "The Freeman," in which the reviewer said he detected a weakness in Veblen's philosophy. As many others may have the same objection I will quote the reviewer in part as follows:

"Mr. Veblen sees the industrial problem primarily as a physical one. His analysis discloses that the present system of obtaining and fabricating goods is faulty; and his remedy is, roughly, to put all discretionary authority in the large scale industries in the hands of engineers and production economists, disallowing absentee-ownership in any form. Such a physical change, however, presupposes something like a spiritual conversion—and one is constrained to ask in despair where on earth is that to come from? "Be efficient" is just as much a council of perfection as "Be good"; and there are just as many obstacles in the way of practicing it."

True, but Veblen does not base his forecast on the engineers on the effects, however influential, on "councils of perfection," or on moralizing exhortations to "be efficient" which, in technological matters is synonymous with "be good"; nor does he base it on the strength of pure rational considerations by the engineers. "Pure" rational thought is non-existent in fact. With Veblen it is mainly a question of the instinctive human traits engaged, together with the disciplinary effect of habits of life and work in the formation of habits of thought; under given material conditions, the outcome in conduct depends on the relative strength of all the influencing factors. Lacking other compulsions than a rational one, we might well despair of the social problem.

In lining up this review I sensed difficulties ahead in making Veblen's point of view clear as to the causes of the tendency noted among the engineers, i.e., that their mental reaction to the industrial situation being mainly conditioned on non-rational psychological factors and processes (inherited instinct and acquired mental habit) and not on conscious reasoning alone, the character of the ideas in con-

sciousness, indeed, results from the former. These matters are unfamiliar in our discussions, though in a vague way we have taken account of them. But there is as much need for clear thinking as to the nature of man as there is on the nature of the material environment, if his responses to environmental conditions are to become more calculable, whether as individual, or, as specially concerns us, in the aggregate in occupational groups and social classes within a national aggregate, or as a national aggregate itself. Therefore, in my next paper I shall briefly treat of instincts, more especially of the so-called instinct of workmanship and its relation to other instincts and to acquired habit. I can not write with much confidence on this subject; I shall make mistakes, I hope not too serious ones; but if I stimulate interest in the study of man I shall be satisfied. In this paper I shall mainly lean on Veblen, taking the introduction to his "Instinct of Workmanship," as my guide and mentor. In a third paper I propose to take the "Engineers and the Price System" again, and by a series of excerpts attempt to give the gist of Veblen's argument in that study. Whatever estimate may be put on his final conclusions, there is value in the light his analysis throws on the present system of production.

C. S.

THE THEATRE, OLD AND NEW

The influence on modern art of the development of science is well illustrated in the marked effect that electric light has had, not only upon the architecture of the modern theatre, but upon the manner of the modern actor on the stage, and also on the literary form and content of the drama itself.

In the days when the ancient Greeks flocked to the open-air amphitheatres to witness a performance of "Eodepus Tyrannus," or the "Frogs," the actors were so far away from the audience that only the favored few in the front rows could hear them, and the acting had to be the simplest of pantomime—broad gestures that would "carry" to the farthest rows of spectators.

The absolutely essential interpretations that could not be shown in pantomime were shouted by a great chorus, and the drama had to be written with this manner of presentation in view. The Passion Play of Oberammergau is a survival of that particular school.

Without elaborating upon the various transition stages down to and including the gas-lighted theatre, it may be pointed out that as the modern "picture frame" stage details of dress, make up, and other accessories have to be carried to a pitch of perfection to stand inspection under the revealing electric lights, while the broad gesture and ranting elocution of the earlier theatre has given place to the suggestion of emotion or thought by the lifting of an eyebrow or the twitching of a finger. The intimacy of the modern playhouse makes it unnecessary even for the actors to speak above an ordinary conversational tone.

In other words "acting" today consists in acting as people similarly situated might conceivably behave in real life, and the electric light that makes it possible for the audience to catch the slightest change of expression or more minute movement has made this possible. The modern playwright has adapted his literary form and style, perforce, to the niceties and subtleties, thus made possible, of expression upon the stage.

The statement of the Victrola Company that it had paid \$40,000 the past year to the Caruso estate, and the observation that artistes received a larger income from their contributions to the mechanical production of their talents than to their public renditions show to what an extent the development of electricity has invaded the world of music.

The effect, as can readily be seen, is the same as in other industries, to increase and cheapen production. Whereas the works of a few great artistes can be carried to many more people, less skill on the whole is required and we see inexperienced youth supplanting the artistes who acquired their renown after long years of preparation.

KATHERINE SMITH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
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HERE AND NOW

Kirk seems to have come to the conclusion that the next stage to be reached in Clarion sub. hunting is denunciation of the frugal ones. He looks at our financial totals and compares them with his own well charged and eloquent argument and concludes that something has gone wrong with Buddy's hearing. Not so! Buddy, like Kirk himself, is up bright and early every morning looking for a job; he's convinced that the Clarion needs money, but he's broke himself and therefore must appear to be dull o' hearin.' But Kirk knows all about this, so what's the use of arguing about it? Let's read a word or two from the critics. One says:

"My sub. for the Clarion has nearly expired; I enclose a bill for renewal.

"As I see it, the message of the S. P. of C. through the Clarion is as needful right now as at any time in its existence—perhaps more so—since the 'actionists' have funk'd education along working class lines in social and political aairs and taken up the barren illusion of 'tactics.'"

Another says:

"Enclosed find a dollar to continue my sub. to the Clarion. "As a member of the Workers' Party of Canada I sincerely appreciate your viewpoint of same. As you say, the results remain to be seen. In the menu of the class struggle yours is the only straight goods that I can see. Hash seems to classify the rest, and where the workers in these parts are heading none could hazard a guess, the way I see it, but they are on their way, doped and dying in ignorance, resisting the slightest effort of mental exertion."

These, and more, of a complimentary kind. The worst feature of being modest is that it prevents a man from being altogether truthful.

"The Drifter" ("Nation," New York), quotes the "masthead" of one journal in its appeal for subs. Here it is:

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It's rather strange that they missed from the list tobacco and strong drink.

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