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HISTORY ECONOMICS PHILOSOPHY

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On Copying the Bolsheviki

At the time of the 1917 revolution in Russia we approved of the action of the Bolshevik leaders. During the many vicissitudes of fortune that have taken place since, we have seen no reason to alter this position. We understood, as we still understand, that **Bolshevism** is not **Socialism**. Our knowledge of Russian conditions, though perhaps meagre, was sufficient to acquaint us with the fact that this country was not yet ready for Socialism. Economic and social development had not reached that stage where social ownership of the means of production was possible.

But, what was accomplished in Russia should merit the approval of all members of the revolutionary working class. A great change has taken place. A militant, Marxian minority took occasion by the hand and established proletarian dictatorship. Were the conditions not favorable for such action this dictatorship could scarcely have weathered the storms of the past three years. That the Bolsheviks have succeeded, not alone in holding the reins of power but, in materially strengthening their position should, in itself, be proof sufficient that conditions warranted the effort.

The old feudal aristocracy held control of political power longer than elsewhere in Europe. The natural conditions of the country made possible such a state of affairs. But the time came when the rising bourgeoisie was economically important enough to demand political rights. Such demands were successively combatted by the ruling class. At the time when the opportunity for bourgeois success arrived, a great war was in progress. The manufacturing section seized control. They were poorly organized and in no condition to make secure their control. Were the old landed aristocrats all they had to contend with, no doubt their efforts would have been crowned with success. But such was not the case.

A resourceful Socialist minority had been at work for some years. Among the industrial proletariat an extensive educational policy had been carried out. The works of Marx, Engels, and other Socialist teachers were disseminated and studied. The weakness of the revisionist, and reformist elements of Germany, France and England was fully understood long before the Revolution. They were Socialists of the Marxian school. Their object was the abolition of class society, and not the advocacy of palliatives and nostrums.

A weak ruling class, lacking the means of repression found in highly organized capitalist centres; a peasantry uneducated and consequently devoid of that respect for master class teaching inseparable from well developed industrial communities; a state of war in existence, which spelled starvation, bloodshed, and discontent for the masses; all these circumstances made possible the successful attempt of the Bolsheviki to capture political power. This they did.

Just what procedure our self-classified, Simon-pure intellectuals would have followed in such a contingency we are not aware. In all likelihood they would have chosen to remain in wage slavery until they were absolutely certain that a majority were in favor of the change. Once they were able to quote a passage from each of the Socialist classics to prove that the time was ripe, perhaps they would give the proposition their earnest consideration.

To those who are in the proletariat, yet not of it, who secure a livelihood by less arduous toil than the masses who slave in mills, mines, and factories, this policy of "watchful waiting" may well suffice. The system does not yet bear heavily enough on their shoulders to cause an effort for relief. Capitalism still has attractions that prevent their participation in any venture that is not certain of success. "Show us that the attempt will involve no sacrifice on our part, as well as a quotation from Marx sanctioning the step, and we may try it. Anything less than this is anathema to us. Away with it."

To the scientific Socialist, the works of Marx and Engels are valued on account of the knowledge they impart. The principles of the Socialist philosophy —the Materialist Conception of History, the Class Struggle, and the theory of Surplus Value— have been first expressed by these great teachers. Their contribution to social science has been invaluable. Their analysis of capitalist society has been clear, thorough, and accurate. We prize them for what they have accomplished. No one else has done so well in this field.

But there is considerable difference between being Marxian **students** and Marxian **worshippers**. The one implies a critical study, and the other blind faith. They are two distinct modes of approach.

The analysis of capitalist production made by Marx and Engels, over seventy years ago, still holds good. The same social system prevails. But many changes have taken place in the development of this system. The old form of trades unionism, of which Marx has written, is rapidly making way for industrial unionism, which better enables the sellers of labor power to resist the encroachments of capital. Were Marx reviewing the situation today he would doubtless take the same attitude towards the new form that he did to the old. Yet we find some of his followers who still adhere to the craft union idea, and oppose industrial unionism because Marx did not mention it.

Such a situation as that of the British coal miners strike would be utterly unthinkable in Marx's day. Not only because they are a party to a "triple alliance" of other trades, but because of the new methods resorted to by the ruling class. Armored tanks, automobiles, aeroplanes, etc., were all unknown fifty years ago, and today they are regarded as the most efficient methods of coercing workers, and making possible the transportation of commodities while the mines are closed.

With new developments in the machinery of production it necessarily follows that tactical changes are made imperative. In a general sense the tactics of the Socialist movement are contained in the works of Marx and Engels. But methods of attack are not absolute or rigid. They are not set to the system, regardless of time or place, as "perfect music unto noble words." Even if we take the term "dictatorship of the proletariat"—it was not spoken of by Marx till he had seen the effects of the Paris Commune. It matters not, for the sake of illustration, whether we accept the term in the Kautskian or Leninian sense. The point is that Marx did not employ it in his earlier writings, and found occasion to do so only when a new situation had arrived.

So with us of today. We must mould our tactics in accordance with the conditions at hand. This the Bolsheviki did. They took control at the opportune moment. They did not stop to enquire what sages and seers had prescribed. Whether or not their action will lead to Socialism, by the safest and shortest route, time alone will tell. The question cannot be settled by quotations from Marx.

That the methods pursued in Russia are not adaptable everywhere else we know full well. In fact, perhaps in that one country alone could such tactics suffice. The circumstances of the case will determine what must be done. Too many enthusiasts rush to the conclusion that "What's good enough in Russia is good enough here." They fail to understand the situation. In this connexion it might be correct to state that while the Revolution was a good thing for the Russian workers, as many impartial persons and delegations have testified, it has had a detrimental effect, in many ways, on the working class movement in other countries.

That optimism, and impulsiveness, that is sure to follow in the aftermath of victory is likely to retard a philosophical study of human society. Instead of explaining theories and laws of value and surplus value, and probing into the economic base to reveal the nature of the political and social structure, there is now a tendency to get busy and do something. Many of our students develop into master strategists and tacticians. They not only understand every move the Bolsheviki made, and the reasons for making them, but persist in laying out plans of action, and carving the political framework of the structure that must be built. In short they have Bolsheviki on the brain.

Enthusiasm is fine. It is one of the necessary attributes of a militant class. But not enthusiasm alone. There was enthusiasm aplenty in the Reign of Terror, and the Paris Commune. But it was mob enthusiasm. We must guard against this.

The Russian Revolution is an inspiration to the workers of every land in the fight for freedom. Even though it should end in a "colossal massacre," or "blood bath," as some of our quasi intellectuals gleefully predict, the effort has been well worth while. But we must not forget that we can learn from their defects as well as from their victories. Indeed, we can learn more. If all we had to do was to emulate the fame and follow the example of Spartan and Bolshivist, we would have an exciting time while it lasted. But soon we might rue it. We are not strong enough. We must await a favorable condition. How are we going to get it? By making Socialists. By teaching our fellow workers the nature of the system we want to abolish. When a sufficient number understand this the rest will be easy.

They have Revolution in Russia, but at what a cost? Thousands wiped out of existence through the ignorance of their fellow men. Were the majority of Russian workers solid for Socialist principles no nation, nor group of nations, could thwart their efforts. They would not be compelled to accept as allies the factions opposed to them. They would not have to accept "Tilsit peaces," or shake the bloody hand of capitalist Europe. These are the defeats that we can learn from. These are the obstacles that we must shun.

Instead of hollering ourselves hoarse about the virtues of mass action that can do something spectacular, and not understand why we do it, let us work in the sphere in which we find ourselves and teach Socialism to others of our class. We do not contend that a majority of the workers must understand every chapter of Marx's "Capital." Re-

(Continued on page 4.)

Economic Causes of War

Article No. 15.

(Continued from last issue).

THIS steel and iron age of capitalism is not confined to railways; it is also very much interested in armaments. French and German ambassadors at Constantinople engaged in incessant conflict over the right to serve Turkey with armaments, from the forges of Creusot in France or Essen in Germany. The banks take their share in this competition and the procedure is to offer a loan, on the condition that the proceeds be expended to purchase guns from either side as the case may be. A British firm built the forts at Dardanelles in 1914. Austria has been known to make it a condition of a tariff treaty with Serbia, that she should buy her guns from the Austrian works at Skoda. Britain's treaty in defence of Spanish interests in Morocco resulted in the rebuilding of the Spanish navy by British firms. When a loan and railway concession in 1909 went to Germany, the British Ambassador objected and China was going to the dogs, but when Lever and Company combined to found a vast soap factory in China it was good business.

It was the great steel interests of the United States that dictated her entrance into the Great War. The exports of the States, which in 1913 were 2,466 billions, increased to 5,481 billions in 1916, the largest share of which went to the war industries. Out of the sudden falling off of their exports through the submarine warfare arose the demand for the freedom of the seas, or in other words a market for their products.

So we find that government today is in reality the executive committee of the trusts and affiliated banks who use diplomacy and armaments if not actually to annex semi-civilized countries, at least to secure markets, excluding competition from the building of railways and the exploiting of mines in their self-allotted spheres of interests. The Great War has ended with the Imperialist strengthened in the saddle of governments. The recent merging of the Canadian steel, iron and coal industries in the British Empire Steel Corporation is an inevitable outcome of the intensive development of the iron stage of capitalism. Imperialism aims at the autocratic control of all the small nations to exploit them for its own benefit. Production of profits merely considers wants that can be paid for, and the worker only gets a small share or slave's portion of the wealth he produces. The Socialist wants to socialize the means of production and produce for use, eliminating the exploitation of one by another.

While the contradictions in the capitalist system have become greater, such as production, which is a social act, yet the appropriation of the wealth is undertaken by the capitalist class because of their ownership of the means of production. Capitalism has severed the worker from the tools and made him a wage slave. There exists, as Engels points out, a: "Contradiction between socialized organization in the individual factory and social anarchy as a whole." Through the perfecting of machinery being made compulsory for each manufacturer by competition there arises the great industrial reserve army, the great contradiction of want in the midst of plenty. Excess of the means of subsistence on the one hand and on the other, excess of workers without the means of subsistence. As soon as a capitalist country is over-stocked with wealth, poverty stalks abroad. The most remarkable contradiction under capitalism is the fact that while the exploitation of the worker becomes greater the rate of profit has a tendency to sink. As Marx points out, profit is mystified surplus value because profit is the percentage calculated on the total capital invested. We are told to save for the dull times, but if all the people of Canada were to save a dollar a head per week they would hasten the industrial crisis by leaving between seven and eight million dollars worth of products on the market. Some say invest that money, but how can that be done when the demand for commodities has been cut down already? Capitalists recognize the social character of production which forced on them the joint stock companies and later the trusts with their concentration of wealth, making the capitalist class superfluous as all their social functions are being performed by salaried employees.

It is this overproduction that brings on a struggle for foreign markets. Listen to a capitalist view. Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, while secretary of the United States Treasury under President Roosevelt, delivered a lecture to the students and faculty of Chicago University, March 1st, 1907, just previous to the financial panic of that year. He was speaking to a critical audience and knew his speech would be given a wide circulation. He said: "The time is coming when the manufactories will outgrow the country, and men by the hundred of thousands will be turned out of the factory. The factories are multiplying faster than our trade, and we will shortly have a surplus, with no one abroad to buy and no one at home to absorb it because the laborer **has not been paid enough to buy back what he has created.** The last century was the worst in the world's history for wars. I look to see this century bring out the greatest conflict ever waged in the world. It will be a **war for markets** and all the nations of the world will be in the fight as they are all after the same markets to dispose of the surplus of their factories." Why this surplus? It is, as Mr. Shaw says, because the laborer has not been paid enough to buy back what he has produced. Then the workers are used as pawns in the fight and die for their country to obtain a market to dispose of the surplus wealth they themselves produced and that Shaw tells us we cannot buy back because we are not paid enough. The worker is recompensed for his services in the war with miserable pensions, street organs, and kicks.

Socialism is nothing but a reflex in thought of the conflicts in fact which exist under capitalism. The fact exists outside of us, independent of the will or actions of even the capitalists who have brought it on. These conflicts are the contradictions I have mentioned and are the cause of the antagonisms between what are called Capital and Labor. Some people would have us believe that war is an economic necessity. In its origin when primitive tribes spread over the earth in search of pastures new, because of famine or inadequate fertility of the soil, war may be termed an economic necessity, but today, while it may be an economic necessity for the capitalist class, to the Socialist it results from the instability of capitalism. The breakdown of the capitalist system, leading to the social revolution, is being brought about by the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system of production itself.

Meanwhile the discontent of the workers is growing, and the sense of the injustice of the present social system has developed a new code of ethics. Having no property of their own, and the means of wealth production being owned by companies and corporations, having no body to be kicked or soul to be damned, the workers fail to see the need of private property in production and shout for government ownership and control. But we must point out to the worker that that is not the remedy. Andrew Carnegie advocated Government ownership of railways, and if the capitalists sell out to the government and hold bonds, their unearned wealth would flow smoother than today because the government would use the military to squash labor with a still firmer hand.

Then again, a new phase has arisen which E. D. Morel in a speech in England has pointed out, and which we as workers cannot ignore, as a result of the Great War; that is that black troops are being used by France in the occupied territory of Germany. These troops, converted into machines of slaughter to save the world for democracy and for the glory of God, have brought about terrible conditions amongst the womenfolk of the occupied territory. France is militarizing her African colonies to such an extent that by 1922 she will have 200,000 African, mostly negroes, without counting the conscripts of French North Africa—Algeria, Tunis and Morocco. Two of the three years of their training is to be spent in France. There is no use in disguising the fact, these troops will be used in France, and Jean Longuet realizes that in a letter he wrote E. D. Morel. This policy of France will be forced upon Great Britain if she hopes to possess her share of Africa, which has only a force of 2,000 police to keep internal order with and which is next door to the French territory that is being militarized. If the policy of using these black troops in France to keep the workers down is carried out, don't forget they will be used elsewhere.

To talk of peace through such a medium as the League of Nations, or any other method under capitalism, is preposterous. We, as Socialists, must carry on the class war by educating the worker to the fallacy of the Imperialists' policy of pitting the workers of one country against those of another. The class war is not against the individual, but against the social system and the social position of the economically dominant class; not a fight to supplant the capitalist class but to abolish them. It is not a fight against an inferior class, because when the class struggle is understood a historic mission is ascribed to every class. The historic mission of the capitalist class has been accomplished and the class itself has outlived its usefulness, becoming parasitical consumers of the wealth produced. As the capitalist class represented a higher plane of civilization than the Feudal lords it does not mean that the Feudal system was of less importance in the general development of human progress. Engels is very clear on this development in his "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," in which he says: "We must not forget that our entire economic, political and intellectual development has its foundation in a state of society in which slavery was regarded universally as necessary. In this sense we may say that without ancient slavery there would have been no modern socialism. It is very easy to make preachments about slavery and to express our moral indignation at such a scandalous institution. Unfortunately the whole significance of this is, that it merely says that those old institutions do not correspond with our present conditions and sentiments engendered by these conditions. . . . And when we enter this matter we are obliged to say in spite of all contradictions and accusations of heresy, that the introduction of slavery under the conditions of that time was a great step forward."

All previous class struggles have been waged in the interest of a minority class with the help of the workers. Today the class which represents social progress are the workers, which embraces all that is essential in the industrial process, and which, being in the overwhelming majority, has not to depend on another class like all previous classes. It is the duty of the Socialist to make the facts of history known to his fellow workers. This I have endeavored to do in these articles. Let us point out to our fellow workers that in capitalist society living labor is but the means to increase accumulated labor, or capital, for the owners. Socialism means accumulated labor is but a means to widen, enrich and promote the existence of the laborer. The mechanical development of the productive forces of today requires production on a large scale, and if we are to eliminate wars, waged to obtain markets for the surplus wealth the workers produce, we must realize that our position in society is to transform the private ownership of the means of production and distribution (which is used co-operatively by the workers today producing socially the means of subsistence for the profit of a few) into social ownership, producing for use instead of for profit. The function of the Socialist Party of Canada is to educate the workers to this end.

PETER T. LECKIE.

[THE END.]

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON IV.

CARLYLE has said: "Man is a tool-using animal, without tools he is nothing, with tools he is all."

Carlyle is not correct in his analysis of the difference between man and the animal. Some animals use the branches of trees, and stones as tools, but we Socialists point out, that it is not the production of the articles of consumption nor the use of tools that distinguishes man from the animals. It is the production of tools, which serve as means of production and defence.

Time has been divided into three periods.

1st—The Geological, or Inorganic Period.

2nd—The Biological Period.

3rd—The Sociological or Economic Period.

In the Geological Period, we have the development from the nebulous whirl to the earth, changes caused by the elements struggling together, estimated by Lyell, the father of geology, at 200 millions of years.

The Biological Period is from the amoeba to man, a struggle not only between different species but also between individuals of the same species.

The fittest to survive was determined by the physiological differences of the animals. When land arose, then land animals would triumph because they had the necessary limbs, if the land sank below the sea level then the water animal would survive. If the change was slow and the organism not too complex, gradual adaptation to environment was possible. The huge fossils to be seen in our museums are the remains of those which failed to survive.

The animal develops its organs to the new environment, but man has reached the stage of developing his tools, which has strengthened and lengthened his natural organs, enabling man to spread over the globe. This has given him a larger correspondence with nature, enlarged his environment, extended his knowledge, and enlarged his mentality over the animals, thus entering into the sociological and economic Period. This development of the tools used by man has rendered invalid all the analysis and arguments the opponents of Socialists are fond of using against Socialism from the Biological viewpoint.

Haeckel at Munich Congress, defended Darwinism, and attempted to overthrow Virchow, who said Darwinism led to Socialism. Haeckel took Bee Society as an illustration to defend classes in society. He pointed out that the Queen bee could perform no other function than reproduction. Drones existed as fertilizers of the Queen, and the workers to gather the flower dust to make the honey. Here we have a biological illustration. Before this argument against class abolition of society is valid, Haeckel would have to prove that a Queen could not wash clothes for a living with starvation as an alternative, or a workingman's daughter could not wear a coronet if her father became a Duke. Haeckel ignored this vital distinction. Society cannot be considered as an organism in the biological sense. The difference between mankind is not a physiological, but an economic one.

Man is a tool making animal, and such difference as there may be between a navvy and a clerk is not like that between two different animals, but exists as a result of the difference of the tools used. There are animal societies that have no biological divisions, therefor no classes. The crow and the pelican recognize only three grounds as a justification of idleness: infancy, old age, or accident. Prehistoric man lived in that period before man had written records.

The knowledge of pre-historic man has been gathered from the implements he used which they buried with their dead, also partly by the study of modern savage races and by words found in some of the related languages. This knowledge has been gained by the discovery of various implements discovered on all continents. There is no definite recorded period of time of the pre-historic age, but we are able to classify stages as the stone, copper, bronze, and now the iron age.

Man, depending on the fertility of the soil, his food was so precarious that war was a result of the uncertainty of his food supply.

The discovery of fire enabling men to dry the roots and fruits was a great advance in man's progress, and brought about a division of labor. Hunting and fighting fell to the men, and the women's duties became cooking the fish and game. This remaining behind of the women folk resulted in the discovery of the cultivation of the soil. The war spirit was weakened with this discovery and the domestication of animals began. The possession of tribal property began a new cause for war. Side by side in fruitful and unfruitful regions war became robbery, and defence against robbery, and it has remained robbery in its essence until today.

When food-getting was precarious and depended on hunting, the old people were killed and eaten, but with cultivation and domestication enabling them to feed the old people, they became the medium through which the knowledge of the tribe was handed down to the next generation, before man could write. Man therefore has developed or evolved from the primitive State to civilization, as a result of the development of the tools which enable man to obtain food easier and more plentifully.

Man has changed from using caves as dwellings to huts and better constructed houses, from the clothing made from skins to the woven cloth, from food of wild roots and fruits to the cultivated fruits and grains.

Language has proven a parent race, but the increasing population, pressing on the limited food supply, caused the younger to emigrate by families banding together.

Lewis Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," gives illustrations of various savage tribes in different stages of development in our own time, which coincide with the conclusions arrived at regarding our own ancestors when they were in the same status of development. That they passed through these stages has been learned from the various implements discovered in advanced countries during excavations.

Morgan says primitive people had no fixed abodes, but wandered about, so long as they had to depend on nature's fertility for their means of subsistence. Time was no object to primitive people. They stayed in one place so long as they obtained subsistence, and when there was no lack of food, the men and women lounged about, while the children played.

The great epochs of human progress have been identified, more or less directly, with the enlargement of the source of subsistence.

The women folk carrying the burdens of the tribe on their backs was an economic necessity during their wanderings. The man could not do it and hunt at the same time.

When the first white men went to Australia, the natives took the oxen to be the white men's wives because they carried the burdens.

Man's first stages of social development must have been by far the most difficult, as hunger and sex passion must have been the first motive power, and not until man developed speech could he be said to have risen above the animals. Although we cannot trace every piece of history of a given race we can, by studying the various developments of savage people whom civilization has not yet exterminated, build up a fairly well defined history of the development of the human race from savagery to civilization.

Morgan divides the period of history in this fashion:—

1st—Lower Status of Savagery.

2nd—Middle Status of Savagery.

3rd—Upper Status of Savagery.

4th—Lower Status of Barbarism.

5th—Middle Status of Barbarism.

6th—Upper Status of Barbarism.

7th—Status of Civilization.

These we will deal with in our next lesson, giving a clearer vision of the materialistic conception of history, which ascribes the driving power of all social change to the economic development of society, with its creation of classes and the class struggle.

P. T. L.

P. T. L.

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THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

(Continued from last issue).

Finally, the continual increase in the use of giant machinery, and the inevitable displacement of labor, through the perfection of productive methods, immensely increases the productive capacity of labor actually in production, and by this increase in volume of production lessens individual cost, while, at the same time, magnifying total value. On the other hand, and also at the same time, the operation of the same causes on the workers by lessening the cost of production of labor power, lessens its price on the open market, and by intenifying competition for jobs, puts an ever sharpening edge on the struggle for bare existence.

There is therefore an ever-increasing surplus accruing to the master class from the ownership of industry; a proportionately increasing lowering of the life condition of the workers, from the operation of that same industry. There is therefore a continually widening gulf between the value of the product of labor and the value of the power that creates the product, and as a necessary consequence of its own productivity the purchasing capacity of labor is progressively lessened.

As the total volume of the world's annual production is annually consumed, and as all wealth is, guaged in money tokens, this accumulated wealth of capital is but paper, and has no real existence. Yet, for the same reason, because it is paper, the purchasing power of the workers' share of that paper is steadily declining. By right of property, the master class owns all that its property produces; by the self same right, the working class owns the price of its labor power. Or, put in another form, for the privilege of working on the property of the owning class, the working class is allowed the price of its subsistence, and because of the perfection of industrial machinery and methods, the value of the creative capacity of social labor, is far in excess of the value of its labor power. That is where the H. C. L. comes in.

Hence it is that no scheme, or device, or reform, however ably conceived, or nobly inspired, can alter the economic relationship of master and slave in the industrial productive system of capital. The H. C. of L. will yield only to one remedy—the abolition of wages and the transference of ownership of social necessities from individual or corporation to the collective community. To the owners of those necessities must accrue the benefits and privileges of ownership; and hope and its desires, art and its attainments, science and its plentitude, life and its fulness, man and his regeneration, can find their realization and satisfaction only in the terms of economic freedom.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., NOVEMBER 16, 1920.

EDITORIAL

B. C. ELECTIONS.

THE S. P. of C. enters the campaign in two districts only in this election, namely, Vancouver and Prince Rupert. In Vancouver, where there are six seats, we have nominated Comrades Dennis, Earp, Harrington, McQuoid, Smith, and Stephenson, and in Prince Rupert, J. H. Burrough, nominated at a convention of various labor groups, made this declaration:

> "It never entered my head until last night that I might be called upon to stand, but if I am chosen I shall stand on the platform of the Socialist Party of Canada. I am not concerned with the opening of closed towns or the reform of conditions for wage slaves, but I would abolish the wage slave system entirely. I would go to Victoria to spread the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism, for that is the only remedy to present day conditions. If that stand is not endorsed by this meeting I would decline to become a candidate."

We quote the above from "The Daily News" (Prince Rupert), in order to correct the reports current that Comrade Burrough is running under the banner of the F. L. P. In the matter of campaign manifestos, that of Comrade Burrough appears in another column. Vancouver has issued as its first manifesto the same proclamation of party principles as was used in Winnipeg in the election there. Further literature will be issued as the campaign develops. Polling day is December 1st. It is evident that the workers throughout the Province are alive to the opportunities offered for Socialist propaganda in such a campaign as this. We have had repeated demands made upon us for candidates to contest outlying electoral districts. We have not yet recovered from the effects the war has had upon us one way and another, and in the meantime we shall proceed steadily with our educational work in every field. While there is evidence all around of the good work our propaganda has done, it is necessary for us to see to it that our educational growth finds its expression through the workers developing their own spokesmen in their own fields. We have been all along insisting upon systematic study. We should insist too upon systematic effort towards the development of class consciousness among the workers.

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SECRETARIAL NOTES.

A misplaced line in the article of F. Clark, "Is It a Democracy?" in last issue rendered a sentence unreadable. It should have read: "The history of the past five years proves that the mass of the people don't give a hang about their political privileges so long as their economic privileges are fairly secure. In other words, if jobs are plentiful, and hay and oats are coming regularly to the masses, they are not interested in their political privileges. Conscription in Great Britain and Canada, United States espionage acts, government by order-in-council or court injunction, "Dora," jailings, deporaions, expulsion of regularly-elected representatives, etc., were of less importance in the eyes of the masses than the price of sugar, or the latest baseball scores."

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We are requested by the Literature Secretary of Local Winnipeg to draw attention to the fact that our Literature Price List applies in all respects to their department, and that orders may be filled by application to J. Sanderson, Box 1762, Winnipeg. Bundles of "Clarion" back numbers, may be had from the same address, free for distribution.

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The latest class to be organized is reported from Kamloops. Comrade Orchard reports the formation of a class to study "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." A class on economics has been organized around Sechelt logging district by Comrades Donovan and McKenzie. Comrade McKenzie in the meantime, has met with a serious accident. Comrade Donovan is therefore directing the argument on "Value, Price and Profit," in the time honored way.

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Comrades at outlying points, news dealers, local secretaries and others interested should write to: The Educational Press Association, 182 St. Catherines Street East Montreal, for a literature list. They advertize "The State and Revolution," by Lenin, and we have ordered a supply. Their stock of this work is exhausted but they report a further shipment due. Local secretaries should see their literature list at once and order their supplies so that they may be able to estimate the demand.

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We are constantly in receipt of communications regarding medical relief for Soviet Russia. During the past few months we have lent our earnest aid to this worthy endeavor, and have from time to time forwarded collections and donations received to the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, 362 De Kalb Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. (Dr. Wm. Mendelson, secretary-treasurer). This committee, which has the approval of L. C. A. K. Martens, Soviet representative at New York, is now located at 60 St. Marks Place, New York City, and its treasurer is now Dr. John Guttman. We have from time to time published their financial statements in these columns, and we expect to present in next issue a statement in detail of supplies already sent to Reval and received there. In the meantime there has been organized in Winnipeg, Man., a Medical Relief Committee for Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, M. Popovich, secretary, Box 3591, Postal Station B., Winnipeg. We are advised by the Committee of Brooklyn (now New York), that the Winnipeg Committee has their endorsement. We now learn of the formation of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Fund, Chicago, Ill., Chas. L. Drake, Director. This "Fund" issues some literature in furtherance of its "drive" for relief moneys, literature which is hardly distinguishable from ordinary liberal claptrap. Now, we have no desire to prejudice in any way the cause of medical relief for the suffering people of Russia, but would point out that if these committees would expect maximum results they had better work cohesively and assign territories to one another. As it is, each secretary is writing appeals and letters to the same individuals all over the country, and each is duplicating the work of the other. For instance, in August, the Brooklyn Committee sent out letters to arrange a lecturing tour for Isaac McBride. The Chicago people are now sending similar letters, and we are informed that the Winnipeg Committee too are now working to the same end. Curiously enough however, not one of these committees seems to know anything of the existence of the other, and the unfortunate correspondent is required to make arrangements with all three on one affair. We are informed that Chas. L. Drake, who is Director of the Chicago Fund, is the same director who toured Sir Oliver Lodge over this continent some time ago. He addresses us as "Dear Comrade," and he says that the meetings held by Isaac McBride will be "non-political, but radically Socialist" in character. Local Vancouver, of the S. P. of C. have already declined (twice) to arrange a meeting in Vancouver for Isaac McBride, mainly on the grounds that the Russian situation does not warrant the employment of highly paid lecturers touring the country, in view of the fact that publicity is constantly given to the need for contributions towards Soviet medical relief, and that the Russian Revolution is a constant feature here in regular Socialist propaganda. We mean no disrespect to Mr. McBride, and we will continue our endeavor towards medical relief, but we seem to see a danger of a regular industry springing up, built upon the miseries of the Russian people. We have before us now two appeals requesting funds, and each is supposed to be inserted in the same issue. If we are earnest in attending to working-class matters, let us be sensible in our arrangements. These committees have been overlapping one another's efforts constantly. It may be the result of worthy zealousness, but this is not efficiency. If they are overlapping at this end, who knows but they are overlapping at the point of despatch? This is not intended otherwise than as a note of encouragement.

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The following is from the "Evening Standard," March 22nd, 1920:

"The first Levée since 1914 was held today at St. James's Palace, and was a brilliant function, the glorious sunshine enhancing the pageantry and color of the proceedings. There were some 400 presentations to the King.

"Dr. Von Sthamer, the German Chargé d'Affaires, attended the ceremony, and was presented to the King by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Dr. Von Sthamer, in turn, presented the members of his staff.

"A feature of the presentations was the number of representatives of new States who were introduced, among them being representatives of Finland, Poland, and the New Balkan States."

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And the following is by H. G. Wells on Russia:—

"And this specticle of misery and ebbing energy is, you will say, the result of Bolshevist rule. I do not believe it is. This desolate Russia is not a system that has been attacked and destroyed by something vigorous and malignant. It is an unsound system that has worked itself out and fallen down.

"It was not communism which built up these great impossible cities, but capitalism. It was not Communism that plunged this huge, creaking bankrupt empire into six years of European Imperialism. Nor is it Communism that has pestered this suffering and perhaps dying Russia with a series of subsidized raids, invasions and insurrections, and inflicted upon it the atrocious blockade. The vindictive French creditor and the journalistic British oaf are far more responsible for these deathbed miseries than any Communist."

The capitalist press editors don't like Wells on Russia at all. They have already given wide publicity to his story of Russian conditions. It is a terrible story of disease, cold, destitution and want. The capitalist press editors, however, have been forced to include his interpretation of causes, for the very simple reason that Wells is too strong a figure in English journalism for them to wilfully distort his despatches. So they report him "faithfully" and then quarrel with his reasons. Wells' story is a story of the result of six years' incessant warfare and three years' blockade. By his showing misery was the inheritance of Communist control, not the outcome of it.

• • •

This is the composition of the British House of Commons:—Landowners, 115; insurance directors, 61; coal directors, 17; shipping directors, 30; textile manufacturers, 19; general manufacturers, 13; bank directors, 28; oil directors, 4; brewers, 10; lawyers, 102; army officers, 50; naval officers, 12; doctors, 10; labour members, 67.

This is the House of Lords:—Insurance directors, 94; other mercantile interests, 84; bank directors, 68; shipping directors, 33; coal directors, 29; lawyers, 28; oil directors, 11; brewers, 11; textile manufacturers, 10; railway directors, 62.

• • •

Comrade Jack Kavanagh has gone to Prince Rupert at the urgent request of the Dominion Executive Committee, to help Comrade Burrough in the electoral campaign in that district. The process of working class educatino in and around the northern district that has been going on constantly of late, and the nomination of Comrade Burrough is a striking evidence of its influence. With the arrival of Comrade Kavanagh, the campaign will develop in proportion, because outside points will be reached and people from outside points will come to the centre. Winter classes were in process of formation when the election date was announced, and the classes will now start off with enthusiasm, whatever the election result may be. Comrade Kavanagh may go over the G. T. P. as far as Smithers. The comrades there are advised to communicate with him c/o J. H. Burrough, Box 833, Prince Rupert.

:o:

ON COPYING THE BOLSHEVIKI

(Continued from page 1.)

volution might take place without any Marxian students. But what would it be? Chaos, confusion, bloodshed, anarchy. This we want to avert. The greater the number of those who understand the nature of the struggle, the greater the possibility of a bloodless fight. Let education be our watchword!

J. A. McD.

:o:

S. P. OF C. VANCOUVER CAMPAIGN MEETINGS

November 15th, ... **Finnish Hall**
November 17th ..... **Pender Hall**
November 22nd ..... **Ash Hall (Fraser Avenue)**
November 30th ..... **Pender Hall**

Meetings at 8 p.m.

:o:

HERE AND NOW

Following, One Dollar each—Major Hyslop, R. Dickson, J. Keenn, G. H. Kimball, E. D. Mitchell, F. Hrman, J. M. Brown, E. A Evans, S. J. Rose, A. Shepherd, W. B. Mitchell, C. Crook, R. Hatley, C. Donner, A. Harris, Jim Cartwright, J. Pack, G. Wallack, F. J. Enman, H. Black, B. McLeod, A. Tree, A. E. Cotton, R. Sinclair, H. C. Mitchell, G. Beagrie, Jake Klein, Wm. MacIntosh.

Following Two Dollars each—J. Nelson, T. DeMott, J. Sanderson, F. J. McNey, D. Caird, D. Stewart.

Frank Cassidy, $19; C. E. Ingram, $4; J. J. Albers, $4; H. Roberts, $3; Hugh Russell, $3; J. A. Untinen, $3; J. A. McD., $8; Elsie Thorburn, $6.

Total subscriptions received from 28th October to 11th November, inclusive, $90.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Major Hyslop, $1; R. Dickson, $1; J. Nelson, $1; Wardrop, $1; C. Donner, $1.85; J. A. Untinen, $4; J. Pack, $1; F. J. McNey, $3; Larson $2; F. S F., $1; H. C. Mitchell, $4; Wm. MacIntosh, $4.

Total donations for C. M. F., from 28th October to 11th November, inclusive, $24.85.

The Soviets and the Woodpile

RECENT news despatches from Russia sound an extremely melancholy note, as, for instance, this one: "In Petrograd all the children below 12 and all the adults above 60 have been conscripted to go into the damp and unwholesome forests of northern Russia, to cut wood for the inhabitants of the said city for the coming winter." This it is stated, is a horrible condition of affairs in as much as the rigor of the northern winter and the damp atmosphere of the dense forests is bound to work a great hardship on the weaklings.

Such is the despatch in all its bareness. One can believe it or not, as he is disposed. The writer does not care to comment on its veracity. But evidently it is published to discredit the "conscription of labor"—a practice which on its face is held in high disfavor in capitalist countries, because conditions for capitalist production require that labor be mobile and in a state of aimless flux, so to speak. Indeed, the conscription of labor seems to have struck capitalism a blow which makes it quite garrulous.

Criticism of the workings and doings of the Soviets of Russia has been forthcoming regularly ever since their establishment, but none of this body of criticism seems to be as full of prejudice and bitterness, and as far from hitting the mark, as the criticism which has been levelled at the so-called "conscription of labor." Many recent critics lay much of the blame for the conditions existing in Russia to the institution of conscripting labor. How serious these conditions are is really a matter of conjecture for most of us, since there are so many conflicting reports abroad. However, the writer ventures the opinion, based upon considerable reading of these reports, that the average every day conditions in Russia are probably not much worse, if any, than the every day conditions in United States, France or England.

The general trend of the criticism levelled at the Soviets, and through them at the Bolshivists, amounts to an accusation of having committed a huge crime against the Russian people. Now what have the Bolshevists done that they should merit such an indictment? In the first place, they have sized up the capitalist system of production from all angles, and as a result thereof, they came to the conclusion that the capitalists, as a class, were wholly and absolutely incapable of managing the huge and complicated machine that the system really is. Ground for this conclusion was found in the conditions that existed both in the spheres of production, and of distribution, in the ravages wrought by wars and in the unspeakable contrast existing between the social conditions of the workers and the idlers.

In the second place they saw, as so many people throughout the world see, that this machine, because of its hughness and complexity, must be managed with a high degree of skill and care, if its operation is to bestow upon those who operate it the greatest amount of comfort and advantage. Disaster only awaits the people which leaves to chance, and ill-working economic frictions, the co-ordination and regulation of the working parts of the machine. Social control had to be placed over it. Moreover it is only the working class that is able to develop the necessary care and skill to wield this social control.

But social control implies two things. Production and distribution must be carried on according to a definite and well organized plan, that is according to the needs of the community, and there must be some central authority to direct this organization. This authority need not be autocratic, as the composition of the Soviets and Industrial Councils show. On the contrary it is, by its very nature, democratic. On the other hand, this body of authority must have under its control the forces of production at its disposal. In no other way can unity in the prosecution of the work of a community be maintained. This unity is essential if the policy of social control is to be an improvement on the anarchy which prevails under the capitalist system of production. Moreover, as part of the work connected with supplying the necessities of life to a community is of a seasonable nature, such as agriculture and lumbering, a part of the laboring force must be marshalled so that this work may be prosecuted and finished in season. As the Soviets followed this plan of concentrating on the most important work of the season, a large force of men were, at one time, cutting wood in the Urals; at another time a large force was tilling the fields, and still at another time the laboring force was concentrated on repairing the transport. By this method of social organization and control of the forces and machinery of production, the supply of goods can be made to approximate to the social demand for them. There is no doubt that the adoption of this plan is responsible for the great showing that Soviet Russia has made, in spite of the fact that it has not worked as smoothly as one could wish, because of the fact that the Soviets have had to expend a good deal of their energy in fighting the enemy on four fronts, at the same time as they were organizing this system.

But the system of social control has now been assailed from the four corners of the earth because forsooth, it has meant the "conscription of labor," Say the labor leaders and sycophantic bourgeois: "The Soviets may have accomplished all that they claim. But look, at what a price! The conscription of labor has robbed the Russian people of all liberty. They have no longer any freedom of action. They are bound like slaves to the authority of the Soviets." One capitalist editor deprecates this loss of liberty because the Russian workingmen cannot now go on strike to better their conditions. I wonder—can a capitalist editor advocate a strike on the grounds of personal liberty without inwardly hating himself for his blatant hypocrisy.

The defenders of capitalism hurl their thunderbolts of denunciation at the so-called conscription of labor as if it were not only a travesty on human liberty, but also a new idea invented by Lenin or Trotsky. The truth is that there is nothing new about it except the words. Conscription of labor is as intimately bound up with the machine process as profits are with the capitalist industry. For what does this term mean but the control of the laboring forces. In capitalist establishments this control is certainly exercised. Directly, as regards the application of labor, and indirectly as regards compelling men to work. Railroad men, for instance, cannot work when they please, how they please and where they please. They are always at the command of the officials. They are ordered about not only within the confines of an individual shop, but they are also moved from one locality to another. And in any factory the workers are transferred from one department to another as the needs of the process demands. In cases where one company owns more than one factory the workmen are shifted from one to the other as one needs more laborers than the other. Moreover, the more extensive the machine process in any plant, the stricter is the control placed over the disposition of the labor of the workers. A modern plant cannot be operated successfully unless a precise supervision is maintained over the working force employed in it.

Of course it is true that a worker may resist such control. A machinist in the employ of the C. P. R. may refuse to go from the Winnipeg shops to the Calgary shops if ordered, and a factory worker may refuse to be transferred from one department of the factory to the other. They may quit their job, and some very often do quit under such circumstances. And a great deal is made out of the show of liberty and freedom manifested by such action. But now, however, the wolf of hunger makes his appearance, and with his leering laugh bids these workmen find another job. Whereupon they seek a job in some other establishment only to be put under the same control as they were under in the jobs they quit.

Accordingly, capitalists control labor by both direct and indirect means. They do not conscript labor in the sense of compelling men to work. They do not have to. Laborers flock to the factories, and it has happened that the superfluous numbers have had to be driven away. This run on the factories is not so much an indication of an eagerness to work as it is of a necessity of having to work. In Russia the recalcitrant workmen have at least this advantage, that their supposedly autocratic masters try to persuade them to work.

The state of dependence of workmen in capitalist countries does, naturally enough, not seem either horrible or intolerable to the bourgeois critics of the "conscription of labor." They were brought up amidst this state of affairs. It is for them a part of nature, and therefore not to be questioned. It could not occur to their self-complacent brains to question the right of capitalist owners to maintain control and discipline over the workers in individual plants. On the contrary it is a dogma with them that the workers in individual plants must be directed, must be controlled, must be disciplined. Otherwise the business could not be maintained on a paying basis, which is, of course, only another way of saying that otherwise profits could not be obtained.

If now, the attitude of the bourgeois toward the proposition of the control of labor is compared to the attitude of the Bolshevists this likeness and difference is observed—both agree on the principle of control, but the former want control of the laboring force applied to individual plants only, while the latter want it applied to all social and necessary industries, and exercised by the workers themselves. Thus the single plant marks the limit of the capacity of the capitalist class to manage modern industry.

As for the realm beyond the single plant, the sphere of the inter-relation between the different industries, that is to the capitalist an unknown world: it is a chaos, a bedlam of confusion, a sphere of the action and reaction of uncontrollable forces. With religious awe he contemplates these forces as they hurl disaster and destruction on the human race. Still, with the obstinacy of senile old age, he assails whoever tries to bring order out of chaos. Such meddling is an infringement on his liberty; it brings about the conscription of labor.

The bourgeois indeed, and for that matter all those who are obsessed with bourgeois ideology, have strangely fantastic notions of liberty. The concept of liberty belongs to the realm of the sentimental and in this realm the human brain seems to lose its ordinary power to reason, and its capacity to make logical distinctions. Hence, most people look upon authority, no matter what its source may be, as an infringement on personal liberty, and as such, is always to be condemned, though it may be tolerated, in so far as it preserves the prosaic law and order. Consequently most people either do not stop to, or else they are not capable of, distinguishing between the authority which is imposed by political agents in the interests of a special class, and the authority imposed by industrial overseers, who are acting under a mandate approved by the community, in the interests of greater productive efficiency and for the sake of lifting the burden of enervating toil. But these two classes of authority must be distinguished from each other if one is to view the matter logically. The former class of authority is exercised so that a certain privileged class may gain thereby, the latter so that the community may gain. Accordingly, whatever restriction is placed upon the actions of the individual by the democratically elected authorities of a community, acting as the representatives of the economic organization of the community, is, in reality, not an infringement on personal liberty, since the individual, and therefore his liberty, is inextricably bound up with the economic organization of the society in which he lives. It follows that in a society where the machine process is the mode, par excellence, of producing the necessities of life, the actions of the individual must be determined by the demands made upon him by that process.

(Continued on page 8.)

Concerning Value

By H. M. Bartholomew.

Article No. 4.—Value and Price.

IT will have been observed by the careful reader of these articles, that nothing has so far been said regarding the price of commodities. This despite the fact that "price" is regarded by most people as the synonym of "value."

The fact of the matter is that there is an important difference between value and price, a difference which must be recognized if we are to gain any clear concept of exchange-value.

> "The truth in relation to the theory of value is disguised from ordinary observers to-day by the phenomena of price."—Hyndmans "Economics of Socialism," p. 54.

We are so accustomed to regard the current market price of a commodity, to study the value of that which we desire to sell or to buy in relation to the vicissitudes of this market-price, that we are apt to lose sight of the fundamentals of true exchange value.

What do we mean by price? What relation has the price of a given commodity to its value?

The relations of exchange of all commodities are expressed in some one commodity—gold, for example. Cowries, hides, iron, copper, salt, bullocks, tobacco, silver, gold, and a variety of other articles have all performed, and some still perform the functions of a common medium of exchange and standard of value. The majority of these medii of exchange have been discarded, being much too cumbersome for the needs of modern commerce. (i.)

Gold has become the common measure of value and of currency in the existing social order. The advantage of this system in preference to the old system of barter and exchange can best be appreciated when we remember the tremendous drawbacks to the latter. These are ascribed by Jevons to three factors:—

(1) Want of confidence;
(2) Need of a measure of value;
(3) Lack of means of subdivision. (ii.)

Or, to quote the famous passage of Mill:

> "If a tailor had only coats and wanted to buy bread or a horse, it would be very troublesome to ascertain how much bread he ought to obtain for a coat or how many coats he ought to obtain for a horse."—"Principles of Political Economy, bk. 3,: ch. 7.

Thus arises the employment of gold as the money standard of value.

Regarding money Prof. F. A. Walker tells us that:

> "Money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debt and **full payment for commodities** being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it to consume it or enjoy it or apply it to any other use than in turn to tender it to others in discharge of debts or payment of commodities."—"Money, Trade and Industry," p. 4.

In the above quotation the reader should note the passage which the present writer has emphasized. Gold, the common money-standard of the existing social order is the common medium of exchange, the common standard of value by which "full payment for commodities" is made.

It is essential that we examine this common medium of exchange before we can arrive at an accurate conception of the relation of price and value.

Money, as we have hinted above, facilitates the processes of exchange. But it does more than this. Prof. J. S. Nicholson, writing in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," says:

> "It is better to regard the functions of money as being only three in number, viz., (1) the common medium by which exchanges are made possible; (2) the common measure by which the comparative values of the exchanged are estimated, and, (3) the standard by which future obligations are determined."— Sect. "Money."

We see, then, that money makes possible the exchange of commodities of different character, that it enables the contracting parties to measure the values of those commodities relatively to each other. It is especially important to remember that money is the common measure of value. Says Adam Smith:

> "At the same time and place money is the exact measure of the real exchangeable value of all commodities."—"Wealth of Nations," bk. 1, ch. 5.

Prof. Stanley Jevons, speaking of gold as the medium of exchange says:

> "The chosen commodity becomes a common denominator or common measure of value in terms of which we estimate the values of all other goods."—"Money," p. 5.

Mill tells us that:

> "The value of a thing is its general power of purchasing, the command which its possession gives over purchaseable commodities in general."—"Principles of Political Economy," bk. 3, ch. 7.

Money enables us to estimate the relative values of widely different commodities. It is, in short, the money equivalent and expression of two or more different use-values.

Thus far our analysis has been more or less of an easy character. But it is at this point that we arrive at the difficult portion of our analysis, and find the inadequate results of the investigations of the members of the classical school of political economy.

It will have been noted by those of my readers versed in economic science that no mention has been made of the most important phase of gold as a common medium of exchange. I refer, of course, to the important fact that **gold, or any form of money, can only become a common medium of exchange and measure of value by virtue of the fact that it is, in itself, a use-value.**

Primarily gold is a useful commodity, and as such, social human labor power on the average has been embodied therein in just the same way as in other commodities. Moreover, the value of gold varies according to the ease or difficulty with which it can be procured. Scarcity simply means difficulty of attainment, a greater quantum of social human labor power necessary for its production, and a consequent rise in its exchange-value in relation to all other commodities. In other words, **the value of gold, as money, is determined, like the value of all other commodities, by the quantum of social human labor power which is essential to its production.**

Gold is the common measure of value in exchange simply **because it is the embodiment of human labor power, and** can be conveniently employed as the common expression and measure of its fellow-commodities.

Marx states that:

> "The first chief function of money is to supply commodities with the material for the expression of their values, or to represent their values as values of the same denomination, qualitatively equal, and quantitatively comparable. It thus serves as the universal measure of value."—"Capital," vol. 1, p. 106.

Then he tells us:

> "But only in so far as it is itself a product of labor, and therefore, potentially variable in value, can gold serve as a measure of value." —Ibid., p. 110.

Whilst later he states:

> "Just as when we estimate the value of any commodity by a definite quantity of the use-value of some other commodity, so, in estimating the value of the former in gold, we assume nothing more than that the production of a given quantity of gold, costs, at the given period, a given quantity of labor."—Ibid., p. 111.

This money expression of the value of any given commodity is its market price, is the "general power of purchasing" over other commodities which its possession gives to the possessor. The quantity of social labor power embodied in definite quantities of the whole series of commodities on the world-market is expressed in a certain weight of gold, and this certain weight of gold, represents the money-equivalent of those commodities, or their market price.

But we have seen, previously, that the value of this money-equivalent—gold—varies according to the greater or less cost of obtaining it, or, to say the same thing in economic terms, the exchange value of gold varies in proportion to the quantum of social labor power of which it is the embodiment. But if the value of gold varies in relation to other commodities, then it follows that prices vary also. If the cost of production of gold rises, the exchange value of gold increases in relation to other commodities, and there is a general rise in prices all round. But if, as happened in 1849, the cost of production of gold decreases, then it follows that there is a fall in prices all round.

But this does not mean that there is a fall in the relative values of commodities to one another all round. That is an impossibility. A general fall in prices is a matter of common experience: but (from this viewpoint) **a general fall in values nobody ever saw or will ever be able to see.**

We have arrived at the point in our analysis when we can gain a bird's-eye-view, so to speak, of our subject.

In this and the previous articles we have arrived at the following conclusions:—

That human labor power is the sole creator of various comodities;

That a commodity possesses value only when it is the material embodiment of labor-power, and is socially useful;

That the exchange-value of any commodity can be only expressed in relation to other commodities;

That the value of an article is determined and measured by the quantity of social human labor power in the abstract of which it is the material embodiment;

The gold (iii.) is employed as the common medium of exchange and measure of value, and the value of gold is determined in the same way as that of all other commodities;

That price is the gold-name, or money-name for value;

And that all prices may fall: all values cannot possibly fall.

Having examined, with absolute impartiality, the theory of value which forms a basis of the principles of Socialism, let us, in the following articles, analyse, with equal impartiality, the several theories which have sprung into existence from time to time regarding Value.

(i.) Consult Bagehott's "Economic Studies" and Howe's "Evolution of Banking."

(ii.) This is dealt with, in a fairly comprehensive manner, in Jevons' "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange."

(iii.) I have dealt with gold as the sole medium of exchange and measure of value in order to simplify the subject. My remarks re gold apply, with equal force, to silver or any other money form of value.

Next Article: "Supply and Demand."

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On Progress.

HENRY FORD told an interviewer recently that farmers have never been properly paid for what they produce, and they spend far too much time producing it. "With the ordinary crops 15 to 20 days a year is all that is necessary if the workers are equipped with the necessary implements. We have proved that to our satisfaction on our own farm of 10,000 acres here at Dearborn."

The interviewer was impressed but not convinced. He says he took the scheme to a level-headed farmer in Illinois. The man sustained the proposition.

"A great deal of the farm work can be done in a few days," he said. "We are renting a farm that we do not spend more than 20 or 30 days a year on."

This might seem like a dream to all who have studied farming close up.

But we must remember that the average farmer is an antiquated person. He uses old fashioned tools, and toils along as his father did, consequently his ideas are a reflex of the past.

He is not to blame that he doesn't do things the way Henry Ford outlines. With little or no capital, he has no chance to be modern. In fact, the farmer is in nowise different to the bygone handicraftmen.

He has lingered on the stage longer for several reasons. Cheap or free land. The ability to grow most of what he eats, to raise a large family and exploit them for long hours, breaking down the health of his children prematurely as a result.

And the contrast between the dependent position of the wage-slave and his own apparently free status, makes him toil fiercely to preserve his "independence."

I have read the story of a wage-slave who went on the land, having saved a few hundred dollars and being desirous of escaping the uncertainties of employment in the city.

He said he **succeeded.** But the story of the **success** was heartbreaking. It was purchased at a price, that few intelligent men would pay, and required constant and unremitting toil to keep it. It spelled years of wretched slavery for all the family, even to hauling stumps by moonlight; and he was only compelled to stick by the lamentations of his wife, when he despaired of standing more of it. And he **won.** He himself said it. His picture and his fellow slave of sorrow adorned the page of a well-known farm magazine, and the poor nut was encouraging others to escape wage-slavery by that route.

His number is legion. And the dismal swamp of ideas generated in such environment would sicken a Chinaman, and they too can work. But here comes Modern Machinery, and let us slaves who have been "help" to Farmer John hail with joy our mechanical Saviour. Here is Henry Ford's idea:

> "A big factory is to be set down in a farm region. He would operate all the farms within several miles' radius as a unit with a resident manager, and over all these managers a highly qualified superintendent. This superintendent would do the farm planning. Then most of the year the workers would work in the factory, but when the time came to plow, cultivate or reap, he would put them on the farms with highly efficient machines and do the farm work thoroughly and effectively. The 20 days—or 30, according to the Illinois man—would hardly be missed from the factory work, and having enough skilled labor and machinary would do great things for the production of food."

That is what the world needs; to be put in charge of engineers, men of science, so that wealth may be produced efficiently, without waste or adulteration for the benefit of the whole world.

Under capitalism such a thing is impossible; the ensuing plethora of products would glut the markets continually, resulting in unemployment, and consequent poverty, misery, suicides, crime, prostitution, war, and so on, link on link; the fatal effects follow the original cause—the production of wealth for private profit. But this thing can be solved, and is in the way of being solved, though under most unfavorable circumstances.

In the midst of a dreary swamp of small peasant proprietors, who wish to compete for the pleasure of being **big** proprietors, the new idea is endeavoring to take root.

Below, follow some remarks of a Washington State officer, a mechanical engineer, who served two years in Siberia with the American forces. He was captured by the Reds, and in his ignorance, expected every morning to be shot. Instead, he was allowed comparative freedom.

But read what he says:

Withdraw From Siberia.

"When Maj. Buchanan was released practically all of the American soldiers had been withdrawn from Siberia. After waiting at Vladivosok for some time for a transport to take him back to the United States, he finally obtained passage on an army transport being one of the last American soldiers to leave Siberia.

"Siberia is a wonderful country and the Russian peasant is a hard working, industrious person who may some day put his land in its proper place among the nations of the world, Maj. Buchanan believes. The workings of the soviet regime are good and bad; some of the things it has accomplished are working out admirably, while others are theoretical impossibilities, the major said.

"Nationalization of industries has not been such a terrible failure as some would have the world believe, according to Maj. Buchanan. '**They have plenty of well trained men, men whose training in technical schools** has been augmented by long experience,' said the army officer. '**It is this type of man that is placed in charge of the larger enterprises**; not the ignorant workman who can only handle the job somebody else maps out for him.

"Many of the directors or superintendents held similar positions before Bolshevism captured Russia. In most instances they have been transplanted from the city where they originally worked to some far distant place. They are being paid more than ever before and the same is true of the workmen. Even though their pay still is comparatively small, yet their wants are so simple that they do not want the amounts required by American labor.

"Business was more or less at a standstill when I left the interior of Russia where sovietism is in control. As fast as the military government moves out of captured territory, the civil government moves in and assumes charge of all affairs and regulates all industry and business. This is an immense task of course, hence actual accomplishment is still more or less hazy, especially so to a foreigner."

If economically backward Russia, in the midst of the most heart-breaking circumstances, and appalling difficulties, is far-seeing enough to place men in their proper spheres, according to ideas outlined in Bucharin's "Programme of World Revolution" (a masterly exposition of our position in clear, simple language), how much could not be accomplished over here with the equipment at hand? But doubtless, we shall see capitalism exhaust all possibilities of exploitation first. And the working class complain, grumble, try this way, that way, rebel; do anything in fact but reason, till the limit of their endurance is reached; and absolutely nothing remains but revolution.

This may be a fatalistic view, but it should not preclude Socialists from giving most generously of their time, energy and money to push the work of enlightenment along.

Our day will come.

And may it be a speedy coming.

F. S. F.

:o:

Canadian Workers' Defense League

Send all money and make all cheques payable to A. S. Wells, B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, 220 Bannatyne Ave., Winnipeg.

Literature Price List

Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $2.00.

Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $2.00.

The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $1.50.

Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. 1, Marx). Single copies (cloth bound), $1.00; 5 copies, $3.75.

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

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(All above post free).

All above literature can be obtained at the same prices, post paid, from—J. Sanderson, Box 1762, Winnipeg, Man.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

LOCAL (VANCOUVER) No. 1

EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

POLITICAL ECONOMY: Every Sunday afternoon, from 3 to 5.

HISTORY: Every Thursday evening, from 8 to 10.

An additional class is now being formed on elementary economics. This class is especially intended for those who are commencing the study of this subject for the first time. Intending students should come to the class room now, or send a note of name to the Secretary of the Economic Class. This class will begin as soon as intending students get together and arrange a suitable date.

Classes meet at 401 Pender Street East. No fees are asked and no collection is made. All that is required is an earnest interest in the subject taken up. All points raised and all questions asked are fully discussed. Membership in the Socialist Party of Canada is not a condition of membership of these classes.

You are earnestly invited to attend.

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LOCAL (WINNIPEG) No. 3—EDUCATIONAL CLASSES.

ECONOMIC CLASS: Every Friday at 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS' CLASS: Every Sunday at 11 a.m.

These classes are already well attended, and the number of members is increasing. The classes meet at 530 Main Street, Winnipeg, and all workers are requested to attend.

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TO THE WORKING-CLASS ELECTORS OF THE PRINCE RUPERT ELECTORAL DISTRICT

FOREWORD.

J. H. BURROUGH was nominated to contest this riding in the interests of Labor by a Labor Convention held in the O. B. U. Hall, McIntyre Block, Prince Rupert, on Friday, October 20, 1920.

In allowing his name to be voted on, he made it plainly understood that he was standing on the platform of the Socialist Party of Canada, with no reservations or subtractions therefrom, and it is on the principles therein set forth that the campaign so far as he is concerned, will be fought.

Therefore, the contest will be waged on a strictly class issue, and our candidate is put forward as a class candidate, expecting and seeking support from no other section of the electorate than that which recognizes the futility of attempting to reform the present system of wealth production in such a manner as will benefit the actual wealth producers.

THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

THE CANDIDATE'S ADDRESS.

The holocaust of death and destruction into which the capitalist imperialisms plunged the whole world in their insane competition for domination in the world's markets has nearly run its course.

Where is the "New World" which they told us we would be living in when the war was won? What is the position of the working class now as compared to the days before the war?

The struggle for existence is keener, the chances of procuring the prime necessities of existence during the coming winter are blacker—the whole outlook for the class that sells its productive ability for wages is more ominous and full of dire portent than at any time within the memory of those now living.

The so-called "rights" of free speech, free press, free assembly have been proved to be but **privileges**, recognized by the ruling class as a matter of policy in the "piping times of peace," to be cancelled in time of crisis by the stroke of a pen if exercised to question its right to rule and exploit, or used to contrast its professed love for "justice," "democracy," "self-determination," and all the rest of the high-sounding clap-trap, with the exhibition of sordid greed and cynical disregard of the elemental decencies so glaringly manifested in its acts. Individuals of the working class that dare to exercise such criticism have been dragged out of their beds in the dead of night and thrown into gaol, or their movements have been dogged and reported from point to point. Labor organizations that refuse to be pliant tools in the hands of the employing class are permeated with hired stool pigeons, spies and agents—provacateur of a secret police system that bids fair to surpass in its brutal, dishonest and corrupt methods the "Black Hundred" of Russia under the Czars.

Reared on a basis of human enslavement, the capitalist system, following all previous slave systems, is fast nearing the abyss towards which it is being impelled by the force generated by and contained within itself. It is no longer able to justify its existence, for it can no longer meet the needs of the society it has created. The wealth producers, divorced from all title of ownership to the means of wealth production, and thereby forced to sell their physical and mental energies to the owners of industry at a wage that hovers around the cost of subsistence, are starving in their millions—because there is no gain in sight for the owners of industry in putting them to work. The inflation of the currency has intensified the distress by forcing the prices of commodities to the point where the wage received on a falling labor market is insufficient to provide the bare necessities. The raw materials, the machinery, the will and ability to operate and direct industry are present in as great a measure as ever—and the need is greater than ever—but instead of revolving faster to meet the increased need the wheels of industry are slowing down and stopping, increasing the distress by throwing multitudes of unemployed on to a labor market already congested.

Such is the position in Europe, and the black shadow of the approaching panic is making its advent felt in Canadian industry. The conditions that now face the wealth producers of Europe will shortly face those of this continent.

In view of these facts, the futility of advocating reforms that will leave untouched and unchallenged the control and ownership of industry by a small class in the community is obvious. Buttressed and entrenched by the forces of the State, the owning class will see to it that no reforms will be enacted that need cause it any anxiety.

The issue is a **class issue**, an issue between the class that owns and does not work, and the class that works and does not own.

The present election is one of the periodical opportunities accorded us of testing the growth of class intelligence in the mass of wage-earners in B. C. Candidates representing the different sections of the population that derive their sustenance from the exploitation of Labor are in the field appealing to Labor to grant a new lease of power and life to the system by which they profit and by which Labor suffers. That is their real appeal, but, as always, it will be camouflaged and disguised in a flood of flambuoyant oratory and specious argument, designed to conceal the real issue from view.

The secret of the power possessed by the ruling class to exploit Labor lies in the possession of the political, repressive force of the State, which it can hold and retain as long as a sufficient number of its victims are ignorant of the causes of their condition. That power can only be wrested from the rulers by an intelligent working class, and the object of entering the fight in this election, as in all others, is to spread the knowledge of the true relations between the classes. With that knowledge as a guide, the workers will be qualified to act in accord with their class interests. The workers of the European countries are forging ahead as never before. While Canada is but "a village among the nations," we have a task to perform which devolves upon us alone as our job. That is to prepare the minds of our fellow-workers for the coming change by the dissemination of a knowledge of the principles of Marxian Socialism. Education is our task. All wild talk of "bloody revolution," "street fighting," "picking up the gun," etc., emanates from the frothy brains of enthusiastic idiots or from treacherous provocateurs. Our weapons are those which appeal to men's interest, reason and intelligence, not to their passions.

Ownership and management of industry by the workers, with its concomitant of production for use and benefit of the producers—or a continuation of the present system of ownership by the non-producers, with its wars, panics, unemployment, destitution and misery for the workers; this is the choice which is once again placed before us. The strength of the support given to the candidates standing squarely on this class issue will show us how far we have progressed in class intelligence and revolutionary spirit since 1916.

* * *

For the benefit of those enquirers who wish to know in detail what kind of a society it is that the Socialists wish to inaugurate, it must be pointed out that the Socialists are not in the business of making new societies. All institutions, conceptions, morals, and ethics that have a social validity are the product of the manner in which society produces and distributes the wealth created. Under capitalism the dominant institutions and codes of thought are those of the dominant (capitalist) class, owners of the means of wealth production. Consequently the institutions and codes reflect the wishes and material interests of the class that dominates. The fact that there exists a mighty volume of protest against the capitalist system is, therefor, evidence that the development of the process of capitalist production has evolved new interests, a new psychology and new points of view more in keeping with the developed mode of production than the interests and moral concepts that are accepted and imposed by the dominant owning class.

The revolutionary Socialist movement is the scientific interpretation of the factors that have created the movement of protest. Its function is to investigate, analyse and explain the economics of social development ,and inasmuch as its conclusions, scientifically reached, point to the ultimate ownership and operation by the producers, for themselves, of the whole socially operated machinery of production and distribution, it has become the class-movement of the producing class. That is the sense in which the term "revolutionary" is applied to the Socialist movement, for the attainment of its objective entails the capture of the political power from the present owning and ruling class for the purpose of inaugurating a system of production under which the producer and the means of production will no longer be divorced. This will be the "social revolution."

J. H. BURROUGH.

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THE SOVIETS AND THE WOODPILE

(Continued from page 5.)

The objections taken to the principle of social control of industry on the plea of personal liberty, have validity only superficially. For in view of the advanced state of modern industry there is every indication that social control will increase the liberty of the individual in that he will have to spend a lesser part of his time as a mere appendage to the machine than he does now. This fact is demonstrated mathematically by industrial engineers. On the other hand, the evil effects of capitalism, unemployment, starvation wages, over-production, panics, and periods of stagnation, result from a lack of social control over the industrial system as a whole. These effects can only arise because the workers are slaves to the machine, instead of masters of it. Capitalism compels the worker to follow the movements of the industrial cycle from the periods of frenzied prosperity, during which, he usually gets the necessities of life, to the periods of stagnating depression, during which he lives in abject and miserable poverty.

We turn again to the Soviets and their woodpile. This woodpile makes it look as if the inhabitants of Petrograd are not going to freeze to death this winter. Moreover it appears as if the people of Petrograd have decided to get their wood while getting was good. If now the Allies would allow them to get some food, these same inhabitants of Petrograd might spend a real pleasant and comfortable winter. At all events this much is clear. The members of this community know they have to have wood for the winter. So they sent out the available labor force to cut this wood and to help to bring it to the place where it is to be used. This is certainly a very practical way of using the labor force of a community for the purposes of the community. It is the very essence of production for use. Its advantage will become fully apparent if it is compared to the bungling, the delays and the incompetence that arise in connection with bringing coal from the mines at Drumheller to the capitalist ridden city of Calgary.

Capitalists condemn the principle that is associated with the Soviets and their woodpile. Ostensibly they do so on the plea of personal liberty; in reality it is because this way of doing the work of society leaves them no room for the extracting of profit from the process. They look upon social ownership of the means of production and distribution, social control of these means and social control of the laboring forces that must be applied to them, as a new form of slavery. In thus taking their stand squarely opposed to social ownership and control, the capitalists not only show an inveterate selfishness and an unholy greed for profits, but they display an absolute incapacity to appreciate the social forces which compel men to make necessary innovations in industrial organization in order that mankind may derive the greatest benefit from the machine process. It is for this reason capitalists proclaim as slavery the system which many workingmen hail as their libertor from industrial despotism. And so, capitalist criticism and opposition to the contrary notwithstanding, workingmen, who base their ideas on the hard facts of life and who do not feed on ideas which are long since the waste of the past, will go on to push to universal adoption, the principle of social endeavor which underlies the practice of the Soviets in getting together their woodpile.

C. M. CHRISTIANSEN.