Peterson, J. A
20 Hawks Ave

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of CURRENT EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY ECONOMICS PHILOSOPHY

No. 851 | Twice a Month | VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 16, 1921 | FIVE CENTS

"SEE CANADA FIRST."

A Trip on the Great Lakes

THE personal inspection of the forecastle revealed a disgraceful state of affairs. The sleeping quarters were visited and found to be filthy almost beyond belief. Vermin of all sorts was in evidence, the mattresses were filthy, the bunks were of hard boards, the walls and floors apparently had not been cleaned for a long time, ventilation was very bad, and many of the crew were sleeping on the batches. . . . . There was no mess room. The articles of food we saw were badly cooked and served in tin dishes none too clean. Flies were in abundance and there was a lot of waste food about, some of which was in the bunks . . . . . The men complained of bed bugs. The food is carried from the after end forward by the men themselves. They stated that an attempt had been made to get the local health officer aboard but had failed . . . . The cook complained of a superabundance of cockroaches. . . . . The men complained of not getting enough sleep en route, being for the most part 14 to 18 hours out of twenty-four on duty and sleep being interrupted."

Many will imagine this is more of Russia and will be disappointed when told it is part of a report made by a Board of Conciliation investigating the conditions of men working in the shipping industry here in Canada, with special attention to that God-fearing part known as Ontario and Quebec. Of course, the representative of capital makes a statement to the press in which he does not refute the findings of the board, but denies ownership of the ship "Corunna": by making this statement the object is to shift responsibility for such conditions on to someone else. The statement reads: "The steamer 'Corunna' is neither owned nor operated by the Canada Steamship Lines and the Department of labor has been notified to this effect."

Many people would naturally think these conditions applied only to this one boat after reading the above statement in the daily press, but, "The Board in its investigation have discovered that on many ships there were continual changes in the personel of the crew, in some cases the crew having changed completely three times up to date (July 28—'21), and can only come to the conclusion that the conditions, especially in the fire-hole, are such that the men have thrown up their jobs . . . . . As before pointed out, the conditions of the sleeping quarters, sanitation, and hard work have, in the opinion of the Board, been the causes of so much transient employment."

It is not all important to know who owns this boat, as one gang of parasites is as bad as another, but it is very instructive to see how our masters try to twist any statement made by the workers, and the manner in which they will deliberately lie when making statements in the press. First, regarding ownership, this Board states: "With reference to the ownership of the 'S.S. Corunna' I beg to state that Lloyd's Register for 1920 states that she belongs to the Black Diamond Line Steamships, which is owned by the Dominion Iron and Steel Company at Sidney, N. S. . . . , Since that date the D. I. and S. Co., has been absorbed by the British Empire Steel Company and the Black Diamond Boats were taken along with other assets. . . . . Further investigation on the part of the Board revealed the fact that a number of the directors of the British Empire Steel Company were also directors on the Canada Steamship Lines. . . . . This shows a remarkably close association between the two companies."

This resembles a One Big Combine with many names, one part giving orders but acknowledging no identity in the "skin game." The company claimed that only "ten disgruntled employees" had called for a Board of Enquiry, but during the investigation it was found that "after the new schedule of wages had been announced by the Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, there was great dissatisfaction, and the seamen employed by them at Midland, Ontario, being members of the union, had threatened to go on strike, but at a meeting held on the above date (11th April, 1921) at which there was a fair attendance of at least seventy-five representatives of the men it was decided to wait until a Board of Conciliation had been secured in accordance with the Act." And what number of men did this committee represent? "Membership in the union was investigated and it was discovered that there were some twenty-one hundred members (2,100) on the list in good standing." Here is a body of men working under the vilest and most degrading conditions possible, even under capitalism, and when they protest, the acknowledgment from their Christian masters takes the appropriate form of lies and misrepresentation of the actual facts. "We don't acknowledge the existence of a dispute!" As though there was no reason at all for grievance and rebellion among these workers, when we find that they are denied even the common decencies of sanitary accomodation, as was found that "there are no baths or showers on this ship," and "on the passenger steamers a sharp inspection is made daily so far as the passengers' conveniences are concerned, but those of the crew would appear to be sadly neglected." The stinking atmosphere of the forecastle will to some extent be realized when the Board "recommends that steps be taken to have this grievance remedied without delay. It would appear that the idea seems to prevail on many ships that all the ventilation necessary is a port hole, no intelligent study being made as to the circulation of the air."

Both the "intelligent study" and the labor to ameliorate these conditions would mean the hiring of more men, and this means expenditure, calculated as loss of dividend, therefore the Board's recommendations cannot be complied with. In making profit, the capitalist has very little thought for anything else, and in many cases, if it were not that some laws stand in the way really safeguarding the continuance of the exploitation process, the ravages of capitalism would sweep away many more millions than even the black plague. Here is one gang that ignores everything, as was found, "a ship can clear an inland port with a crew palpably too small to operate without danger." What do they, the owners, care about danger? The smaller the crew the less expenditure for operation. There is no rough weather during summer time, so there is no danger of losing the boat, that is the vital and most important matter—preservation of private property. When they hear, "a number of vessels were examined and it was found that the machinery was dangerously exposed and lent itself to accidents, in bad weather especially," they only sit back and say, "we don't acknowledge it." These people know this exists and have known it for years, but the workers have been at their mercy and are at their mercy today. should a man fall sick, it was found that no medicine for first aid could be found on these boats. "The general manager admitted the subject having been neglected." Of course, when a sailor becomes sick he is "sent to a hospital, but unless the sickness has occurred through the fault of the ship, the sailor is obliged to pay his own hospital fee and medical attendance."

When a member of the crew falls a victim to fever, which is the most likely thing he would do, this would not be classified as the fault of the ship, therefore he claims no compensation and pays the hospital bill, providing he has been fortunate enough to save a few dollars. Again, when he happens to be caught in one of the winches and mangled, the Board also finds "several cases where the seaman has met with mishap and apparently through ignorance or neglect of someone has received no redress." Therefore, it is quite evident a case of "heads I win, tails you lose," in any case the worker suffers. The company, not being anxious to report accidents to the Compensation Board, this is considered as not being a dangerous occupation and assessed at a low rate. If all accidents are reported, then the rate per employee would be high and would eat into the general rate of profit. There's not much ignorance attached to this,—just "neglect," but not neglect of dividends.

Inorder to obtain some idea as to the position these men are in to pay doctor's bills, the Board asks "to take the wages of a wheelsman, for example, in 1915 during eight (8) months of service on the Great Lakes, which is the maximum period of employment in the year, at the scale as submitted to the Board: he would earn $336.00 and his board for that period. If he were a married man, and a large proportion of these crews are married, he would of necessity have to support a family on this sum. . . . . The 'Labor Gazette' for 1915 gives a fair cost of ordinary living for a small family as $719.16. This means that he would have at that time to deprive his family of what is usually considered as essential. He has nothing to go on with for a supply of clothing for himself and family, as it certainly appears that he was in very bad financial straits and was evidently underpaid. . . . . In 1920 the wheelsman's wages have been raised up to $880.00 for the season. . . . . The 'Labor Gazette' for that year shows that the cost of living for a small family was $1,212.12. It will then be seen that although his condition was improved over 1915 he still is not in a satisfactory financial shape to meet the requirements of his family."

Bad as this is, with hunger staring the men in the face, the company, not satisfied that they have wrung the limit out of the "disgruntled employee" ordered a 30 per cent. reduction in wages, beginning with "the season." The report states: "The heavy reduction in wages at the beginning of the season put the seamen into a pecuniary condition as bad as 1915, which was bad enough. The Board is of the opinion that the reduction was much too sweeping, and after careful consideration believe that a ten

(Continued on page 3)

The "Economic Factor" in the Materialist Interpretation of History

Being a reply to a letter of enquiry arising out of a friendly controversy between two comrades concerning the "Economic Factor" as all comprehensive in the Marxian system, and concerning also "Race," "Natural Environment," "Cultural Influences," as directing influences in the march of events in history.

By C. STEPHENSON.

"In the middle of the century, (the 19th), two men sought to incorporate in their philosophy the physical basis which Hegel had ignored in his spiritism—recognising that life is conditioned by an environment and not an abstraction for metaphysics. H. T. Buckle in his "History of Civilisation in England" (1857), was the first to work out the influences of the material world upon history, developing through a wealth of illustration the importance of food, soil and the general aspect of nature upon the formation of society. Buckle did not as is generally believed make these three factors dominate all history. He distinctly stated that the advance of European civilization is characterised by a diminishing influence of physical laws and an increasing influence of mental laws, and 'the measure of civilization is the triumph of mind over external agents.' Yet his challenge not only to the theologian but to those 'historians whose indolence of thought' or 'natural incapacity' prevented them from attempting more than the annalistic record of events, called out a storm of protest from almost every side. Now that the controversy has cleared away, we see that in spite of Buckle's too confident formulation of his laws, his pioneer work in a great field marks him out as the Augustine of the scientific age. Among historians, however, Buckle's theory received but little favor for another generation. Meanwhile the economists had themselves taken up the problem, and it was from them that the historians of today have learned it Ten years before Buckle published his history, Karl Marx had already formulated the 'economic theory of history.' Accepting with reservation Feuerbach's attack on the Hegelian 'absolute idea' based on materialistic grounds (Der Uensch ist, was er ist), Marx was led to the conclusion that the causes of that process of growth which constitutes the history of society, are to be found in the economic conditions of existence. From this he went on to socialism, which based its militant philosophy upon this interpretation of history.

But the truth or falsity of Socialism does not affect the theory of history. In 1845 Marx wrote of the young Hegelians that to separate history from natural science and industry was like separating the soul from the body, and 'finding the birth place of history, not in the gross material production on earth.' but in the misty cloud formation of heaven. (Die Heilige Familie p. 238). In his 'Misere de la Philosophie' (1847), he lays down the principle that social relationships largely depend upon modes of production, and therefore the principles, ideas and categories which are thus evolved are no more eternal than the conditions they express but are historical and transitory products. In his famous 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' (1848), the theory was applied to show how the industrial revolution had replaced feudal with modern conditions But it had little vogue except among Socialists, until the third volume of 'Das Kapital' was published in 1894 when its importance was borne in upon continental scholars. Since then the controversy has been almost as heated as in the days of the Reformation. It is an exaggeration of the theory which makes it an explanation of all human life, but the science of dynamic sociology rests upon the postulate of Marx."

Ency. Britannica (11th ed.)

Abstract from history article contributed by James Thomson Shotwell, P.H.D., Prof. Hist. in Columbia University, New York City.

Dear Comrade,—

Received your letter with pleasure. As well as I am able within the time at my disposel, I herein comply with your request for information on certain matters raised in a dispute between you and an opponent of yours, on the Marxian theory of history, i.e., the Materialist Interpretation. In compliance with your further request for the non-Marxian testimony of the "Britannica' on the Marxian theory it is also herewith.

You say your opponent considers any Socialist source of information on the Marxian theory of history as of no authority. The Materialistic Interpretation, then, is in bad case with him, if only the voices of its enemies are to be heard. What should we think of an administrator of the law who would only hear one side of a case? Instead of holding the balance fair, I think he would be degrading his office to that of executioner

In the main, your opponent's objections are pointless and ineffectual because he appears to be unaware of the issue that divides the Materialistic and Idealistic schools of philosophy. Else how could he, for instance, raise the particularly pointless objections to materialism, "that the term 'material' does not allow for human thought as a factor," and 'that human thought is not material as material must partake of matter, and matter is only such as possesses weight or dimension." No one has claimed that the mind, or thought or idea are material substances, any more than it has been claimed for nutrition. Are all our ideas, as claimed by the Materialists, images, formed by the mind, of experienced things of the material world? Or have we ideas as claimed by the idealists, which transcend experience, being innate in the constitution of our mind and independent of experience: principles of knowledge, the categories of time and space, and cause and effect, concepts whose truth we know beyond doubt intuitively; but which we can not know by reason and analysis? In like manner and to the same effect, it is claimed that the knowledge of moral principles, and of God, soul, immortality, free-will, etc., is knowledge which can only be arrived at intuitively and not by matter-of-fact reason and analysis. The dictionary has it: "Intuition, the power of the mind by which it immediately perceives the truth of things without reasoning or analysis." Thus to the Idealist there are two kinds of knowledge; to the Materialist only one. The point in dispute, is, as to the source and nature of such conceptions as named, and this gives occasion for the terms Materialism and Idealism being applied to the opposing schools. The dispute is not at all as to whether thought is a factor in the historical process. Both schools allow for thought as a factor, neither of them denying its influence, least of all the Materialists; for, are not they, everywhere, the hated who sap and mine against the citadels of entrenched orthodoxy, ignorance and that slavish apathy whose other name is mental indolence? And what purpose, indeed, could Marx, himself arch-materialist, have had in view in devoting his whole energies and great ability during his mature life up to his death in harness, to the increase of human knowledge of that very historical process? And whether your friend considers the influence of Marxian thought good or evil, he can hardly deny that it has influenced scientific enquiry and theory in the domains of history, economics, and politics, for, as the "Britannica' has it: "The science of dynamic sociology rests upon the postulate of Marx." As a further consequence of its influence on thought, there is involved the translation of thought into act andact into fact. It is thus with increasing measure that Marxian theory influences practical affairs in the life of our time.

In respect of what I have to say on the Materialistic Interpretation and in justice to that theory, I must call to your minds, what you will both realize, the inescapable limitations, the inadequacies inherent in all brief and summary definitions or explanations. The corollary to that is the dictum that the essence of any school or system of thought, religious or secular, is not to be found in any particular phrase, formula or part of the system, nor in any one man's contributions to it. Its essence is only to be found in the whole body of it. It is hardly necessary to point out, especially in respect of what is known as the Marxian School of Scientific Socialism, that that dictum has been grossly neglected, sometimes in a spirit of partizanship, sometimes in ignorance, though oftener through malice by reason that it takes issue with orthodox teachings and the old familiar ways of thinking to which we, however, have become habituated. The dictum, however, has received its most malicious abuse at hands inspired by private interest, such as Marx spoke of when he spoke of the domain of political economy, that in that domain, "free scientific enquiry meets not merely the same enemies as in all other domains. The peculiar nature of the material it deals with summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant pasions of the human breast, the Furies of private interest."

On the point at issue between Materialism and Idealism, dictionary definitions, as I said, are inevitably inadequate because of their brevity; nevertheless, any dictionary will, I think, show that that dispute is as to which belongs priority, thought, or the world of material qualities and forces. The dictionary has it: "Idealism, is the doctrine that in external perceptions the objects immediately known are ideas, that all reality is in its nature psychical, i.e., mental." In other words, it asserts that there is a conceptual world of the mind that is independent of the race's life experiences.

Materialism rejects the doctrine of Idealism, by taking the position that ideas are the reflection of the material world in the mind of man, and translated into forms of thought. Its attitude to the problem of man and his place in nature is a naturalistic one, based on the biological sciences. It asserts that the whole man, as evolved from lower forms of life, with the physical as well as the psychical traits native to him, his instinctive tendencies and aptitudes of whatever kind, emotional or mental, is an outcome of the interaction of organism and environment, natural and social. Thinking itself, it has been truly said, is but an outcome of the necessity for man of getting out of trouble. As his instinctive traits determine for him what is worth while he is thus driven to be an active factor in his envoronment. The materialist claims that intelligence is not the original shaper and final cause of things, but that thought is but man's mental response to the stimules of his material environment. That mental response carries with it, however, as a further consequence, the translation of thought into action and action into the fact of an adaptive adjustment, either by conforming to the conditions of his environment or by changing the conditions for good or ill, as the outcome may be.

The question that hangs on the issue between Materialism and Idealism, is, are we to depend upon the supposed higher, innate ideas, the eternal and absolute truths of Idealism for our guidance in the affairs of life, or, are we to reject them and take experience for our guide? Materialism says the latter, and even says further, that the so-called eternal truths and verities of Idealism are, after all, but the mental reflections of humanity's experiences of the material world, distorted or sublimated by the imagination. Moral concepts are the product of human association, are the outcome of a generally felt necesity in any community for a rule of live and let live being lived up to in some sort of fashion. Those others, the concepts of God, the soul, of freedom and immortality, have also their causes in the material world. They are attempts to escape from the real world of bitter experience by idealizing it. It has been said, the mind needs system and abhors the unknown and the anarchic. Also, the insatiable heart of man longs for comfort, consolation and support amidst the evils, the oppressive conditions and frustrations incidental to life in a so largely alien world. Hitherto mankind has found what satisfactions and consolations it could by the fictitious way of belief in an independent world of spirit, much as the factory girl may fly to the fictitious world of the Duchess novelettes, or the "movie" show, in order to escape for a time the dullnesses and dread realities of life in a factory town. Materialism, however, calls for a rigorous facing of realities. So may we gain intelligence for re-creating the world.

(Continued on page 3)

THE "ECONOMIC FACTOR" IN THE MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION OF HISORY.

(Continued from page 2)

* * * * *

Your opponent's objections to the Materialistic interpretation are certainly not well founded. One statement he makes, that Marx considered the economic factor the **only** factor to influence history may be disproved by reading Marx. Any number of instances may be found in his writings of where he takes acount of other factors. One or two such instances I will quote in due course, and also indicate where others may be found. Marx certainly considered economic factors as basic factors of social progress, find he recognizes that their influence in history is manifested in more ways than through class interest Continued economic development beyond the primitive subsistence level, once of necessity entailed on all members of the human family, makes freedom from unremitting toil for the essentials of mere physical existence possible, if not for all, at least for increasing numbers as productivity increases. Time, free from the strangling grip of primal needs, is the room of human development. Energies are liberated, observation, enquiry, reflection, speculation, the powers of reason and imagination overstep the narrow bounds of brute necessity, diversity of economic activities ensues, the arts, literatures, religions and philosophies and the sciences, refinements and extentions of our cultural life appear. The "state of the industrial arts" and the "state of the cultural arts" inter-act upon each other and, to a degree, merge into, modify, and become a necessity to each other. Progress becomes cumulative and, in some less than satisfactory degree, rounded out. It has also so happened, as a historic necessity, that economic development has given birth to the principle of private ownership with its corollaries, the competitive principle, and also the social classes having divergent and conflicting economic interests: mastery and servitude has been in various forms, though always composed of property owners and the propertyless, the dominant social relationship of human beings down through the later ages of organized society—antique slave owners and chattel slaves, feudal lords and rising capitalist class, and the land serfs, modern capitalists and propertyless wage proletarians. The political history of those societies is largely a history of their class struggles. These strugles, each in its time and place have ended either in one class attaining supremacy in the struggle and, by obtaining control of the powers of the centralized state, thus direct a reconstruction of society in their own interest, or else, the struggles have ended in the common ruin of the contending classes. The centralized political state evolves out of the necessity for a stabilizing power amidst the anarchic conflicts of economic interests which result from competitive struggle for control of the means of life. But the state enforces stability primarily in the interest of the dominant social class who control it. Marx took account of this two sided effect of the influence of economic factors on history, i.e., (1) economic development, laying the basis of general progress in all the arts of livelihood and culture. And (2) as giving occasion for social classes and the political state, and, class interest, giving rise to class struggles, and, as the outcome of the struggles, political development.

Thus far I have merely indicated in crudest outline the effect of economic factors or forces on general progress and the progress and changes of the forms of social organization. The influence of the economic on history is also to be seen in the inter-tribal, racial, and national conflicts for territory, for trade routes by land or sea, for markets and sources of raw materials, coal, oil and ores, etc. It is in the sense that I have tried to describe, that Marx considered the economic as basic. "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life." (Preface, "Critique of Political economy.") The use of the qualifying term "general" implies there are other factors, though they are not so influential. Here I quote one instance where Marx insists on these other than economic factors being taken account of. In chapter 47 of the third volume of "Capital," he discusses the "Genesis of Capitalist Ground Rent," and in the section devoted to "Labor Rent, or the Unpaid Surplus Labor of Independent Producers," he has, in part, this to say (p. 919):

> "The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers, determines the relation of rulers and ruled, . . . It is always the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers, which reveal the innermost secret, the hidden foundation of the entire social construction, and with it the political form of the relations between sovereignty and dependence, in short, of the corresponding form of the state. . . . This does not prevent the same economic basis from showing infinite gradations in its appearance even though its principle conditions are everywhere the same. This is due to innumerable outside circumstances, natural environment, race peculiarities, outside historical influences, and so forth, all of which must be ascertained by careful analysis."

See also quotations in "Geordie's" articles on the "Labor Theory of Value," now appearing in the "Clarion." One feature of these articles is, that they serve to illustrate the cultural power of the material conditions prevalent at any particular time in social life. The concept of "Value" is seen to arise only in certain definite historical conditions of production and exchange, and, that with every change in those conditions, an approximate change takes place in the concept.

Your opponent says that Engels modified Marx's statement. If he means by "modified," moderated, it is only necessary to read Engels to disprove that. What Engels did in his later years was not to detract the power of the economic as a factor in history, but to make war on some who were over-emphasizing its influence to the neglect of other factors. It is significant of the virility of the Materialist Conception that Engels, and others since, by reason that they stand on Marx' shoulders, who himself had only one man's life time to work in and the comparatively limited material of the science of his day to draw upon, have to take account in a more exhaustive manner of other factors than the strictly economic which also influence human conduct and cultural growth. As my quotation of Marx shows, it was a question with him as to the relative efficiency of various material factors in enforcing habits of life, whose daily discipline shapes men's habits of thought, and not a question of the economic factor alone. Another quotation from Marx will show that that was his position. See 'Geordie's" article in the August 1st issue, in which the quotation from vol. 1, p. 69, states, in effect: that the notion of human equality must have acquired the fixity of a popular prejudice before all kinds of human labor (human labor in general) could come to be regarded as equal and equivalent.

:o:

"SEE CANADA FIRST."

(Continued from page 1)

per cent (10 percent) reduction would be more reasonable, especially in view of the fact of the slight percentage in the decrease of the cost of living as given by the 'Labor Gazette.' The reduction made this year in the pay of the masters (captains) and engineers was only ten per cent. (10 per cent). It is diffiicult to understand why only a ten per cent. reduction was made in their cases, and nearly thirty per cent. in the cases of the rest of the crew, unless it be that it was anticipated that there would be considerable difficulty in replacing the certificated staff, whereas in the latter case, it was expected to take full advantage of the widespread unemployment of labor on shore."

The task was not so "difficult" when a little consideration is given the subject, to ascertain why the master class can take such a large slice out of the plug: it only requires a favorable opportunity when they pounce on the worker with full force, never considering the wage-slave as human. "Mr. Enderby testified that when his schedules were being made the company had solely in view what they could afford to pay, but did not consider, in any case, the conditions of living imposed upon their men. It would appear to be evident that the reduction this year was made with the object in view of taking advantage of the abundance of men and labor conditions generally throughout the territory served by the company from which their men are recruited."

As the vulture treats its prey so the capitalist class use their slaves; but their motto seems to be, where there's life the pickings are good. Men drift around in the aimless sort of way, no record behind them and very little to look forward to, no record except that of a pitiable slave with the sweat and blood sapped out, to furnish the parasite with the luxuries of life but, "Britannia rules the waves." Many of these men listened to the call of their master and accepted the invitation to take part in "the war to end war"; some of the men have returned only to find that a greater war is going on—the war to end classes. In order to ensure some measure of protection for themselves against the rapacity of the employers the men join in union with one another, but the masters refuse recognition of the union.

Union men are discriminated against. "General manager Mr. Enderby has admitted in his evidence that at least one officer had been reprimanded for this practice, he having collected and insisted upon the surrender of union books by those men who were being employed." With the men in poor financial shape the union must likewise be in the same position: not even satisfied with this the master class intends to break all power of resistance of the workers, smash the unions, disintegrate them, then impose conditions that no person could stand any longer than one trip, when he jumps off without his paycheck, glad of relief. The company is safe, as there are many men willing to try the west and as many moreanxious to make their way east. The married man tries to stick to the ship; he cannot jump off so easily, unless it be overboard. He tries to provide for his family; when he sees he cannot do so sometimes a note is found in his clothes, as: "The Board had reported to it the case of an assistant cook whose body was recently found in the river, on whose person was found a letter stating that he had committed suicide because he found it impossible to keep his family going on the small wages he was in receipt of."

The Board made some recommendations in order to ameliorate these stunning conditions, but please notice how our kind masters deal with the suggestions. The company writes the following: "I am instructed to advise you that the Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, cannot accept the recommendations of the Board for the adjustment of the alleged dispute in question." While the workers endure these tortuous conditions, both in the fire-hole and on decks, with no prospect of better things in view, the company advertises its services is the daily paper as follows: "There is never a dull moment aboard ship, a wonderful orchestra plays every day and you enjoy a masquerade ball, when prizes are presented to the best dressed ladies and gentlemen. Round trip from Toronto, $108.00." ("Mail and Empire," Toronto).

The working class, owning nothing but labor power, are divorced from the machinery of wealth production, they are permitted to work only when it is profitable to the capitalist class. The sole function of the wage slave (in the case under review, workers aboard ship) under the present system of society is to produce and provide the luxuries of life for a parasite class. What the workers produce is taken from them, excepting the few miserable crumbs that are grudgingly thrown to them and upon which they are supposed to raise successors to fill their places in the fire-hole or on deck as the case may be. These few crumbs constitute the diet of the wage working class under the wages system, and while the workers will be compelled to unite in order to resist the arbitrary will and dictation of the capitalist class, if only to preserve the power of combat, the goal must be the social ownership of all wealth socially produced. When that condition is reached a sailor on the Great Lakes may more closely resemble a human being than the water rat his present conditions make him resemble now.

J. BRAMMELL.

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy, and Current Events.
Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of Canada 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.
Phone Highland 2582

Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor ..... Ewen MacLeod

Subscription:

Canada, 20 issues $1.00
Foreign, 16 issues $1.00

852 If this number is on your address label your subscription expires with next issue. Renew promptly.

VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 16, 1921

DOMINION ELECTIONS

THE political trumphet has sounded from the headquarters of class rule, and the government, as the saying has it, "goes to the country." In the present case Mr. Meighen names the question of tariffs as the pet issue, and his government might as well hang its hat on that peg as on any other. In politics as in war some more or less plausible excuse is required as a rallying cry, and if it happens to be time worn it is the more likely to appear important and difficult of settlement.

To the wage workers of Canada the question of tariffs is of no more importance than the shape of the prime minister's hat. Tariffs concern those who own and control in a greater or lesser degree the products of labor, and labor these days is quite plainly in the same position of hunger and want whether it be located in a country of free trade or of tariff protection. No solution lies there of the worker's problem, and no solution will be found by anyone but himself.

In spite of appearances the worker has only one problem, and that is to secure unto himself the means whereby he produces the necessities of life. The necessities of life are produced by the working class alone, and world wide working class misery and destitution serve only to illustrate it.

Present day society is based upon class ownership of the means of life. Election cries will express the class interests of those who give voice to them, while the promises issued by the several competitive master class political parties will be generous, while the productive processes are in the hands of private owners the share of the wealth enjoyed by labor will be a slave's portion.

The election will appeal to the worker as an equal with his master. His condition of wage servitude will be forgotten or, if alluded to at all it will be pictured rosily in terms of foretold continuous employment and prosperity. The antagonism between master and wage-slave, properted and propertyless, will be denied existence and its burial advocated and prophesied in the happy co-operation of capital and labor.

The condition of misery and hunger of the wage workers of all lands today, sharpened and brought into relief more noticeably through widespread unemployment, is but the inevitable condition of class ownership of the means of wealth production. The worker's interests as a producer and non-owner are opposed to those of his master, owner and non-producer. The political expression of the two must stand opposed, and while the machinery of State is in the hands of the master class it must be used to conserve their interests, consequently the interests of the working class are opposed to those of all sections of the master class, whatever their parties may be called, and a working class political party must oppose all other parties, to the end that the working class may take control of the machinery of state.

The Socialist Party of Canada has already four candidates in the field. Comrade W. A. Pritchard will contest the constituency of Nanaimo, Vancouver Island; Comrade J. D. Harrington will contest Burrard; Comrade T. O'Connor, Vancouver Centre; and Comrade J. Kavanagh, South Vancouver. The Winnipeg comrades are in convention at this date of writing and other parts of the country are yet to be heard from. Volunteer workers for organizational work are urgently required, literature must be distributed, meetings arranged and funds collected. The expenses will be heavy and the heavy election deposits must not keep us out. All comrades are urgently called upon to help, financially where possible and in all cases with personal aid. Working committees must be active in the various constituencies, and they must proceed with organizational work at once.

HERE AND NOW

Following, one dollar each: Cumberdand Lit. and Athletic Assn., H. A. Black, J. E. Lindberg, H. Vindeg, W. Mitchell, W. R. Miller, G. Ross, C. Cezar, G. Sangster, R. W. Hattley, H. Judd, J. Harries, A. Smith, W. J. Inglis, F. A. Charters, F. E. Moore, A. Stedman, G. W. Fairdge, Geo. Rossiter, Geo. Wallick.

Sid. Earp $5; M. Vanger $2; T. Roberts $2; W. Hoare $4; J. Glendenning $9; G. Kabrugi 50 cents; J. J. Egge $2; J. Fraser $2.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 30 August to 13 September, inclusive, total $46.50.

The "sub" barometer, "set fair" last issue, has cracked up again and, (to be truthful) if we are not surprised—considering the working class pocket—we are privileged to be disappointed.

It seems to be that when we do not hoist screaming signals of distress and speak quietly, whispering our woes, we inspire more anxiety among the blessed sub-hunters, but be it known to all men (in caution), that the "Clarion" printer is become a dread person with a faculty for figuring and a holy distrust of the ungodly. With him, the matter of working class education is stated only in terms of cash calculated in the form of printer's costs, and when confronted with his side of the story we are impressed with the weight of his unwelcome ideas. Conveyed to our readers, this impression means that we must have more "Clarion" subs. This is intended as a whisper to that effect. Lie in wait for the unwary. They need education and the "Clarion" needs subs., ergo—even things up a bit by reducing our fear of the hungry printer.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Katherine Smith $5; Oscar Motter $5; Jock Henderson $5; F. Clark $1; B.L.J. $2; G. R. Ronald $1.

Above, C. M. F. contributions from 30 August to 13 September, inclusive, total $19.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Comrade Stephenson's article "What is a Point of View?" which appeared in last issue, will be continued in the issue of 1st October. Some further points raised in the letter of enquiry dealt with by him in the present issue will also be attended to in next issue if possible.

NOTICE: Local (Vancouver) No. 1 will elect campaign committees on Tuesday 20th September, at 8 p.m. All workers willing to help are requested to attend.

:o:

PHRASE WORSHIPPING

H. G. Wells wrote a satire on "The Misery of Boots" wherein he emphasises the foolish practice of suffering pain in order to be fashionable. "Boots" however, is not the only folly which the wise animal inclines to.

He is given in a lamentable degree to copying, and indulges his vent in all his manifold activities, aping his superiors, so called, in airs, dress and gait, and suffering with a patience, the more remarkable because it so rarely manifests itself in efforts which make for comfort and security. It is furthermore worthy of note that this proclivity is best expressed by the term I use above—aping—Swift has given us a revision of what the horse should think of man; let us be thankful the apes cannot speak.

But more than fashion in dress, is the havoc wrought by slavish worshipping of phrases. The labor press is not free from this vice. If some hack discovers in his reading a felicitous phrase, and boldly claims the lights of discovery, it is seized upon within a short time by every ink-spiller in Christendom. And however appropriate its advent may have been, its subsequent usage is generally vague in meaning, where it does not actually deceive.

Some one discovered in Homer where the bard sings of the snare laid by Vulcan to trap his erring spouse: "Came Appollo of the Golden Bow." Or perhaps it was Hotspur's "Came there a certain Lord." And then after "Came" everything, when Lissagaray penned his magnificant phrase, "Bismark prepared the war, Napoleon III. wanted it, the great bourgeoise looked on. They might have stopped it with an earnest gesture. M. Thiers contented himself with a grimace," he little realized how his words would be reuttered a thousand times weekly in all the radical and intelligencia organs of 1920-21. Everything is a gesture nowadays. If you propose to start a study class, you are told society cannot be saved by a gesture. If you seek to enlarge the sale of some book, you are met with the suggestion that a gesture should not be confounded with a revolution.

The logic is perfect. It is unanswerable. It has one fault, its apparent truth obscures its measureless stupidity. Between the action contemplated, and the term applied to it is a chasm distant as the interstellar spaces. But the radical press and their intelligencia contributors affect this style of reasoning, and all the labor press howl in chorus. The Misery of Boots Forsooth!

In his "Civil War in France," Marx says: "the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery and wield it for their own purposes." He then goes on to demonstrate why. What goes before and immediately follows this sentence is a searching analysis of the working class and its relation to class government. No matter. A section of the working class who estimate noise as the one revolutionary factor, have torn the sentence from its context, and hold it as a guiding star. In itself it is meaningless. Perhaps that explains its popularity. For of a surety, meaning is not an essential factor in some quarters. Take the "vivas" of Latin peoples. No doubt in France and adjacent countries "Long Live" this and that, has significance and force, lustily shouted by males on the rampage. It has historical force, and traditional values. It belongs. And its use is never outraged, by combinations childish and hysterical, as when introduced interminably in working class periodicals published in England. "Long live the Social Revolution," "Long live the Class Struggle," sounds more like the cry of an ignorant police spy than evidence of revolutionary fervor where the social revolution is yet a thing remote.

Then there is the famous denial of Marx by Marx himself, which has at last wandered from the books of Spargo and his kind. These wise men are very fond of commiserating Marx on his latter day expounders. Whenever they have cause to object to working class activity, they invariably sigh, "Poor Marx! no wonder he said, he was not a Marxist." Of course Marx did not say it, a fact which has little weight with them, but which ought to weigh greatly with us. In the early days of Marxism, there appeared in France a school which fastened upon Marx's fair hair, and perpetrated even greater departures from his philosophy, albeit calling themselves Marxist. Asked what he would be, should he go to France, Marx replied he did not know, but at least he would not be a Marxist.

Copying the mouthings of literary cheap jacks is not any more edifying than aping the fashion of social cheap jacks. The master class are willing to expend vast sums to fool the workers. Those who speak for the workers should endeavor to prevent them from getting this service free, gratis and for nothing.

J. H.

Concerning Value

Machine Industry and Wage-Labor—Capital as Dominant Factor in Production.

Cost of Production of Commodities—"Apologetics" in Political Economy.

Price of Production and Value.

"BY GEORDIE"

"Furthermore, in the capitalist system of society the economic equality of the workers of the pre-capitalist era is supplanted by the economic equality of the capitalists which decrees the principle: 'equal profits for equal capital,' and enforces this in industry, commerce and finance, as long as free competition survives in any of these spheres. This means that capital, instead of labor, has become the decisive factor. No longer the quantity of labor incorporated in a commodity, but the cost of production determines the price. Hence the tendency of competing capitalists to reduce the cost of production by increasing the labor of the workers."

—H. Cahn, "Capital To-Day", p. 38.

"The 'price of production' includes the average profit. We call it price of production. It is, as a matter of fact, the same thing which Adam Smith calls 'natural price,' Ricardo 'cost of production,' and the Physiocrats 'prix necessaire' (necessary price), because it is in the long run a prerequisite of supply, of the reproduction of commodities in every individual sphere."

"Capital" Vol. III. p. 233.

"The whole difficulty arises from the fact that commodities are not exchanged simply as commodities, but as products of capitals which claim equal shares of the total amount of surplus-value, if they are of equal magnitude, or shares proportional to their different magnitudes."
—L. C., page 206.

"The exchange of commodities at their values, or approximately at their values requires, therefore, a much lower stage than their exchange at their prices of production, which requires a relatively high development of capitalist production."—L. C., p. 208.

During that earlier part of the Capitalist era which came in with the Industrial Revolution and occupied the greater portion of the nineteenth century the outstanding feature was the prevalence of free competition in industry. Capital had invaded, to a greater or lesser extent, all spheres of industry, and had reduced the free and independent craftsman to the condition of wage-laborer; the development of the machine having rendered obsolete his old hand tools. All the "factors of production" were now capital. The machine was owned by the Capitalist and was his capital; the labor-power he had bought was his capital; the resources of the earth, so far as they had been appropriated, were capitalized. The commodity appeared no longer as the product of labor, it was the product of capital and, by virtue of the capitalist's ownership of the means of production, it was his property until he sold it. This he would only do at such a price as would bring him what he considered a reasonable return on his capital expenditure. This he had to get, seeing that he had engaged in production for no other purpose than the realization of this very profit. That equality which must exist between commodities in exchange was, therefore, no longer a matter of labor-cost. It was a question of the respective capitals employed.

Capital was the dominant if not—in appearance at least—the only factor in production. This condition of affairs was reflected in the economics of the time by the concept of the "cost of production."

"Ricardo" says Marx, "gave to classical political economy its final shape, having formulated and elaborated with the greatest clearness the law of the determination of exchange value by labor-time." (Critique," p. 70.)

He had no sooner done this than the spokesmen of the subject class of wage-workers, created by capital itself and now becoming more or less conscious of its class interests, drew the logical conclusions from this theory and began asking awkward questions. They wanted to know how came the discrepancy between labor-cost and value; whence came rent, interest and profit and whether these parts of the products of labor might be in justice appropriated by people who had not in any way participated in production? These questions they answered to their own satisfaction by the formation of various "exploitation" theories. This line of thought culminated later in the theory of "surplus-value" elaborated by Marx. Henceforth capitalist political economy was on the defensive and confined its attention very largely to "apologetics," that is, to the elaboration of such theories and the presentation of the facts in such a way as to conceal the fact of exploitation and to justify the existing order. It is a matter of no moment that this, in many cases, was done unconsciously. Now **the facts of exploitation cannot be explained away,** but they may be ignored or obscured, and this theory of the cost of production is much more convenient for this purpose than the labor theory. Apart from all this, however, it is very useful in explaining the superficial phenomena of the period and, in the hands of Marx, as the "price of production" it was used to good effect in his analysis of the system. In what I have further to say at this time I shall follow Marx in the main.

This particular phrase—the cost of production—is very often misunderstood. It does not mean the mere expenses involved in the production of a commodity. It means the expenses of production plus the average rate of profit prevalent at the place and time. From the capitalist point of view this profit is one of the expenses of production seeing that the commodity could not, or rather, would not be produced in its absence. The average rate of profit is, of course, brought about by competition. Capital naturally seeks those employments paying the highest rate of profit. Those industries paying a high rate would be subject to an influx of capital. This would result in increased production with a consequent increased supply of commodities on the market. This would bring about lower prices and thus tend to lower the rate of profit in that industry. On the other hand the industries paying a low rate of profit and which capital had, in consequence, neglected, would suffer from decreased production, resulting in decreased supply and higher prices. This would tend to increase the rate of profit in those industries. Of course, no actual level was ever struck, because of defective mobility of capital or because of special conditions existing in many industries. It is sufficient that there was a tendency to an average rate. (See on this point—"Wage-Labor and Capital.")

It is readily seen that this competitive process will account for the striking of an average rate of profit, but it does not account for the general level. That is to say, it will account for an average rate of, say, 20 per cent., but it does not explain why it is 20 per cent. and not 15 or 25 per cent.

"The general rate of profit," says Marx, "is actually determined, (1) by the surplus value produced by the capital; (2) by the proportion of this surplus value to the value of the total capital; and, (3) by competition, but only to the extent that this is a movement by which capitals invested in particular spheres seek to draw equal dividends out of this surplus value in proportion to their relative magnitudes." (Capital, vol. iii., p. 431.)

It is a matter of average productivity of labor, that is, of the degree of exploitation.

Let us assume an average composition of capital of 4 to 1, that is, 80 per cent. constant and 20 per cent. variable capital. That means that of every 100 dollars invested 80 dollars go for raw materials and depreciation of machinery, while 20 dollars are expended in wages. Let us further assume that the rate of exploitation is 100 per cent. That is, that the laborer requires half the working day to reproduce his wages. But in another way this means that the laborer produces two dollars in values for every dollar he receives in wages. The rate of surplus value is therefore 100 per cent.

Now, then, for every hundred dollars invested we have embodied in commodities the 80 dollars constant capital, the 20 dollars variable capital and 20 dollars surplus value, which makes a total of 120 dollars.

Assuming that this particular investment resulted in the production of 100 commodities the price of production of each one would be one dollar and 20 cents. The actual price at which they were sold—the market price—would, in obedience to the law of supply and demand fluctuate around the price of production so formed.

Now, if the average composition of capital obtained generally throughout all industries, it is clear that the prices of production would aproximate to the real values of the commodities and, as a matter of fact, we may assume this to be the case where the average composition of capital does obtain. This is as near as one can ever get to an apprehension of the value of any commodity. But, in actual practice, the various industries are at very different stages of development and are of varying compositions of capital. This introduces a certain complexity into the question and results in considerable deviation of the prices of production and therefore of the market prices of commodities from their values. More of this anon.

———:o:———

THE CARE OF THE SICK.

In the socialization rapidly taking place under capitalism one of the interesting phases is in the care of the sick. The advances made in therapeutical appliances and surgical implements, the development of those machines like the Xray, miscroscope, camera, etc., which greatly facilitate the acquirement of knowledge and which has led to specialization in the science of the specties, has caused a revolution in the methods of caring for the sick as marked to the observer of social phenomena, as that in any field of industry.

The simple instruments of the general practitioner have given way to the complicated machine which is far too expensive for the average physician to own, consequently, they are concentrated in the hospitals and in order that physicians may have access to them the patients are, more and more, being sent to those social institutions, and the individual care of the sick bids fair to become the exception rather than the rule.

In connection, or rather as an outcome of this endeavour of the doctors to care for the most patients with the least expense to themselves, has arisen a competition among the doctors for the exclusive privilege afforded by the hospitals, and they resort to the same methods of freezing out competitors as their brothers in the industrial world. The necessity of cheap care for the greatly increasing number of derelicts cast up by the capitalist system gives ample play for this practice. The physicians join the staff of a hospital, giving a modicum of advice to the ward patients for the privilege of exploiting the resources of the hospital for their own private patients and the profits accruing therefrom. Woe betide the outside doctor who ventures to butt in on what the staff doctors assume to be their own exclusive prerogatives.

The consequences to the patient are as usual. Those who have the money and can pay well for special care recover in a large majority of cases; those who have not money recover sometimes, but quite as frequently continue to drag out an existence unless death intervenes, which quite frequently is the case.

The socialization of the care of the sick under capitalist control is for profit with all that entails. The socialization of the care of the sick under the control of the proletariat, when he who needs the care is the one who will get it, will alleviate the most of the suffering of the working class that the abolition of the wage system does not otherwise abolish.

KATHERINE SMITH.

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 20.

CHINESE OPIUM WAR: CRIMEA; U. S. A. CIVIL WAR.

BY PETER T. LECKIE

ENGLAND violated for years the laws of China against the importation of opium, which China believed to be demoralizing to her people. China endeavored by vigorous measures to enfore her laws against the opium traffic; she seized 20,000 chests of opium valued at ten million dollars and dumped them into the sea.

England bombarded China's coast and burned miles of territory until China shouted for peace, which was granted by Christian England on condition of the payment of a war indemnity of $21,000,000 and that England be permitted to introduce her opium into China.

The British government continued persistently to impress upon China the importance and advantage of legalizing the opium traffic, by imposing upon it regular import duties and so to secure a large revenue from its use.

The Chinese, though fully realizing this advantage of raising revenue never wavered in their indignant refusal of the opium traffic.

The heathen Emperor's declaration was:

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowering poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes. But nothing shall induce me to derive a benefit from the vice and misery of my people."

In 1857, a second conflict occurred over the opium question. British forces attacked the Canton from gunboats drawn up in the river, opened fire upon an unarmed, defenceless city with narrow streets crowded with women and children, that some papers of the time asserted a more horrible or revolting crime had never been committed in the ages of barbarian darkness.

The Emperor's palace, with all its curiosities and artistic treasures of centuries was set fire to and destroyed deliberately. Britain obtained a perpetual lease of Hong Kong and five ports were thrown open to British traders.

Redpath says, in his "Universal History":—

"Thus by the law of the strongest, by the law of the cannon was China compelled to expose her teeming millions to the ravages of a life-destroying drug of Turkey, presented by the hand of Christian England. It was the work preparatory to the successful planting of Christian missionaries. The mockery needs no comment."

We have arrived at a revolutionary period when insurrections broke out in almost every country of Europe. A very valuable history of this period is to be found in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," by Karl Marx himself.

The Chartists of England intended to hold a large demonstration and procession, which was frustrated by the military under direction of the Duke of Wellington. McCarthy, in his "Short History of our Own Times," says that nearly two hundred thousand persons were sworn in for the maintenance of law and order, "and it will always be told of an odd incident of that famous scare, that the Prince Louis Napoleon, then living in London, was one of those who volunteered to bear arms in the preservation of order. Not a long time was to pass away before the most lawless outrage on the order and life of a peaceful city was to be perpetrated by the special command of the man who was so ready to lend the saving aid of his constable's staff to protect English society against some poor hundreds of thousands of English workingmen."

The period of 1844 to 1848 was one of strikes, lockouts and especially 1847, was one of financial panics as a result of the gambling in railway speculation. When a large calico printing firm failed in Kilmarnock, the firm's creditors seized the workers' wages as part payment of their accounts; the creditors had the law on their side. The smashing of factories and burning their owners' houses, in the forties was no unusual occurrence. The factory condition was such that millowners were magistrates and had employees brought before them for refusing to work when refused an increase of wages which they had asked for. Johnstone's "History of the Working Classes in Scotland," p. 310, gives us one of these incidents:

"A Dundee case, raised in parliament, gives us a light on the factory conditions of this period. Six factory girls in the employment of Messrs Baxter, their ages from 14 to 20 and their wages 5/-6 and 6s. a week, had the audacity to ask for an increase of a halfpenny a day; the request was refused; after dinner they did not return to work; by the rules of the mill they could be fined time and half for undertime; but next morning Mr. Baxter, instead of fining the girls, had them arrested and marched through the streets under police escort to a private office where there was a magistrate, one of the Baxter family, and the overseer and manager of the mill. The judicial Baxter there and then sentenced the girls to 10 days hard labor."

Baxter was a free trader and had subscribed £600 to the Anti Corn Law League. The depression of trade waned, and with 1849 becoming prosperous wages rose as the demand for labor increased. The workers were gaining increases and winning strikes up until the outbreak of the Crimean War, which interrupted the supplies of flax, hemp and jute, when wages again fell.

The Crimean War was a conflict of the ambitions of France and Russia over the Turkish Empire, each wanting to peg out spheres of interest and influence on the quivering body of the sick man of Europe, who was supposed to be sick unto death. Great Britain supported the Turks because of the danger of Russia obtaining the possession of the Straits and Constantinople, which would allow a passage for Russia's navy into the Mediterranean Sea which might interfere with Britain's trade routes.

The Crimean War, like all wars, had its profiteers and its blunders. Food was sent where it could not be landed. Trussies for hay were filled with manure and cargoes of boots were all for the left foot. Turkey was preserved from disaster to prevent a Russian outlet to the Mediterranean.

After the Crimean War came the second war with China over the opium, which I have already drawn your attention to. General Sir William F. Butler's "Life of General Gordon," says

"In the long service of English wars with China which began 1839-40, opium was from first to last the cause of the trouble."

We come down now to the Civil War in America between the North and South to control the political power and give expression to their economic interests. A book entitled "Cotton is King," says:

"If they, the slaveholders, could establish free trade, it would assure the American market to foreign manufacturers, would secure foreign markets for cotton, repress home manufacturers, force a large number of North men into agriculture, multiply the growth and diminish the price of provisions to feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates, produce their cotton at one-third of the former prices and rival all other countries in its cultivation, monopolize the cotton trade throughout the whole of Europe and build up a commerce and a navy that would make us rulers of the seas."

The Union of the States of America in the first place was economic. Judge Millar, quoted by Bryce in vol. 1 of "American History," says:

"It is not a little remarkable that the suggestion which finally led to the relief, without which as a nation we must have perished, strongly supports the philosopical maxim of modern times, that of all the agencies of civilization, and progress, commerce is the most efficient. What our deranged finances, our discreditable failure to pay our debts, the sufferings of our soldiers could not force the several states to attempt, was brought about by a desire to be relieved from the evils of an unregulated and burdensome commercial intercourse."

Montgomery's "Leading Fact of American History":—

"The States quarrelled with each other about boundary lines, about commerce, about trade. If a farmer took potatoes from New Jersey to New York he might have to pey 10 to 15 cents tax a bushel. If a New York merchant sent boots to New Jersey he might be taxed 10 cents a pair before he was allowed to sell."

"The Union gave every citizen of the United States equal rights in all States to buy and sell in all parts of the country. Thus entire freedom of trade was secured throughout the country."

The Civil War, in short, was a political struggle to secure possession of the big stick, the State.

The northern capitalists wanted to build railroads, and collect tariffs.

The southern slave owners wanted free trade and the right to hunt down fugitive slaves.

The north was so far from abolishing slavery that it passed a resolution, December, 1860, prohibiting any future amendment interfering with the slave traffic within the bounds of any existing state.

The south did not secede to maintain slavery but to repudiate the two to four million dollar debt.

The south proposed to abolish slavery to get European support when the war was going against them.

The negro was changed from a chattel slave to a wage slave because it was more profitable. Like all other wars we had the workers fighting on both sides a quarrel which was none of their business.

The Civil War was won because of the higher developed means of producing wealth by the north.

The McCormick reaping machine, which allowed the women and children of the north to be employed while the men fought was one of the superior economic advantages.

The usual war graft was employed. $17,000,000 out of a $50,000,000 million order, shoddy uniforms, rotten leather and adulterated rations were sold to the government, and the northern capitalist fattened on the life blood of their fighting slaves. Here was laid the foundation stone of the wealth and power of the majority of today's fortunes. It was stated upon the floor of Congress that "the movement of armies had been conducted more with a view to carry on trade than to strike down rebels."

A glance at the south adds further proof of the superiority of wage slaves to chattel slaves as a means of exploitation. In a short time the rails of the street railroad at Richmond were taken up to make armour for a gunboat and the old ploughs, spades, axes and stoves were gathered from the plantations to be made into weapons of war. The south being a one crop country, depending on foreign trade, had its industrial life paralyzed the moment the blockade was applied.

The only sign of working class opposition to the war was the uprising against the exemption clause of the draft, which enabled the wealthy to escape from military service, and New York was in the hands of a mob for a few days in 1863. The plutocracy arose imediately after the war. Iron, steel, bank and railroad interests, using illegal methods of calling the roll, omitting the representatives of the Southern States (although present), and proclaiming a military dictatorship over the Southern States. This same class is howling today because of the revolutionary ideas of the workers.

The Republican party lived on the glory of the emancipation and enfranchisement of the negro, conferred by their tender conscience, yet the solid republican states of Ohio, Kansas, Minnesota and Connecticut, between 1865-1867 defeated by referendum measures granting the suffrage to negroes residing in these states, but they needed the southern negro vote to obtain the political power from 1867 to '76. When the Republican party became strong enough to control political power without the negro vote they did not protest against the disenfranchising of the southern negro.

After the Civil War, when industry fell to pieces owing to over-production and the panic of 1873, we saw its effect in a reduction in wages and a few small unions swept out of existence. The first Centennial celebration of Independence (1876) found

(Continued on page 7)

The Answer

"There is overproduction because of underconsumption, there is underconsumption because of lack of purchasing power, there is lack of purchasing power because there is unemployment, and there is no employment because of overproduction."—(Rochester "Herald.")

THE key to the above 'vicious circle" is in overproduction. In the cause of that lies the solution of the puzzle.

Capital presupposes wage labor, and wage-labor, in turn, presupposes dispossession of the means of life, obviously, since no one would labor for wages who could otherwise acquire a living.

This is the fundamental on which our present society rests, and all the complex and intricate phenomena of modern life is determined and brought about by the nature and character of that organization. How this organization came to be, we need not here enquire: the mere statement of the fact is apposite to our present purpose.

The nature of capital ,then, is wage-labor; its character, production for profit. Naturally, therefore, its sole business is the accumulation of wealth. But the wealth accumulated rests in individuals at first, with further development, in corporations. The organizations of capital automatically turns the whole productive activity of society into profit for the owners of industry, and just as automatically does it strip the actual producers of all the wealth they are co-operatively instrumental in producing. Production is a social act; it can only be carried on harmoniously through joint effort and industrial co-ordination, and through this co-ordination the whole of society is a wholly individual affair. The whole of the surplus belongs, by property right, to the "captains of industry," i.e., the capitalist class, and this process of dispossession is entirely legal, because the ruling class,—that is, again, the capitalist class,—has enacted it so. And its ethic of slavery is also entirely moral, because it conserves the interests of the same ruling class. Thus, the "opportunity" of the worker is the opportunity to labor—when he can find a master; his incentive, the necessity of escaping from absolute starvation; and our much belauded industry, the industry of the slave compound .

Distribution, being individual, interest in its acquirement is single, i.e., it is the motive impulse of business. Hence there is an unabating struggle for possession. Also, the greater the possession, the more deadly and unscrupulous is the struggle, on the one side, and on the other, the more impossible for the small owner to maintain his possession. Consequently, accumulation not alone centres on the owners of private property, but is continually augmented in ever fewer but ever more powerful groups, blotting out business opportunities and competitive endeavor, and dropping the total society ever deeper into the surge and effect of proletarian impecuniosity.

The accumulation of wealth does not mean the amassing of money, of hoarding and saving, of having a sporran full of "yellow Geordies." Business amplitude will not permit of that and social necessity does not require it. Accumnlation of wealth means, in reality, the accumulation of exploiting power, the concentration of the productive forces in corporate minorities, the re-investment of all surplus (over necessity) in productive activity, so that greater profit,—and with it greater power—may accrue. That is to say, greater power to crush all competition from the wealth fields of the world. "Freedom of trade,"—i.e., freedom to garner everything to itself,—is the watchword of all business, and it dare not lag, on pain of death, in its pursuit of the game.

Yet this accumulation is fatal. For, in proportion as capitalism garners and accumulates, in proportion as it reinvests and develops, it delimits itself. It narrows its sphere of subsequent conquest, it checks its rate of future advance; it sets ultimate bounds to its field of endeavor; it is, at length, actually compelled to erect barriers against its own progress. Because self-interest—competition—demands the lion's share of commerce; it must have the widest market; it must have the largest control; it must produce cheaply; it must regulate both production and market to its own all-obsorbing self-interest, no matter at what cost, or at what sacrifice to society.

But to produce cheaply means the greater industry. It means the elimination of waste and overlapping, of friction and inefficiency, ultimately of competition in production. Which is good and much to be desired. It also means the reduction to its lowest terms of the component elements of necessary labor. To which we set the seal of approval. For the minimum of necessary labor is the prime condition of ultimate achievement, the foundation from which society can attain to the peak of possible development. But the shutting off of labor in production closes the doors of the world market. The inability of society to buy results in the regulation of production to the effective market; and the necessity of that regulation, in turn, demands the widest control of whatever market is available. Hence we come to confliet and deceit; to luxury and want; to vice and filth; to disease and stagnation; to the waste of the idle, but eager and willing forces of production; to the appaling destruction of consummated capitalism.

Capitalist private property is the ultimate cause of it all. The private ownership of the means of life necessitates the production of human requirements only for profit. Self-interest, pre-determines each competitor to the struggle for greater gain, and free competition ensures the elimination of all but necessary labor. But this competitive struggle involves the production of the greatest volume of commodities to meet the full market demand. For, only in the sale of commodities can the surplus of exploited labor be realized, while the mass profit of the transaction is in ratio to the mass volume, and necessity of cheap production displaces uncertain labor with the tireless machine. All competition is subject to like conditions. It is presented with the same problems, is moved by the same impulse, and is determined by the same laws. Consequently, we have the phenomena of over-production on one hand, and on the other, the complete inability of the limited labor forces to buy back what their machine slavery has produced. Hence production can only take place when the master class can secure a profitable market. But the development of the capitalist system itself, progresively destroys the market, because it impoverishes the one creative force of production, whereon all the others rest.

Over-production and under-consumption are but incidentals of the capitalist system of society. They are not original elements, but secondary causes, solely derived from comomdity production. They are merely the evidences of a society aproaching dissolution. The primal features of the "vicious circle" consist in that there is no employment because there is no profit to be derived from production; there is no profit in production because there is no market; there is no market because there is no purchasing power, and no purchasing power because of unemployment.

The remedy is obvious. The abolition of capitalist private property, i.e., property in the means of life. The abolition of class control of natural resources; the abolition of production for profit, and its corrollary, wage-labor. And, instead, the social ownership of social necessities: the social control of all resources; the social management of social production, and all industry carried on for the use and benefit, not of one class but of one society. Then, but not till then, will the vicious circle of crises disappear. Then will feverish activity, alternated with feverish stagnation, give way to the abundance of social prosperity. Then will competition and exploitation in life's resources vanish away. Then will wanton affluence and appalling poverty offend us no longer: the entangling confusions of class law and class morality disgust us no more. And all their inevitable consequences, their untold iniquities, their unmitigated vice, their sordid depravity, and the bloody curse of political civilization will melt away from us like phantasms of medieval night and, like a butterfly from its chrysalis, society will emerge from the bondage of capital, and grow into full-winged beauty, with all its wonderful powers and potentialities, its impassioned aspirations, and dauntless mind, free and untrammelled, individually enjoyed, but socially possessed, as they are socialy created. That is the answer to the problem. R.

—:o:—

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISOORY

(Continued from page 6)

the workers in a condition of servitude more pitiable than the colonists under the tyranny of George III.

When trade began to revive, economic conditions, with further development of machinery, brought about corporations and joint stock companies and the disappearance of the individual capitalist as an active participant in the productive process. The capitalist henceforth can be an infant, idiot or imbecile person, with ownership protected by law, and live on the productive energy of others.

Although trade began to revive, wages were cut still lower owing to the glut of the labor market. Things became unbearable, 16th July, 1877, saw the railway strike, which extended to other industries, and the workers were forced to realize what the civil war had been fought for when the capitalists, with all the power of the State, used it in a bloody defeat of the workers. This was the first great fight between so-called capital and labor in America.

The rise of corporation and joint stock companies reduced the numbers of establishments of wealth production from 13,514 in 1850 to 11,193 in 1900, even although the population had increased 50 per cent. and the territory occupied had doubled. So we see the opportunity of the worker to pass out of his class is becoming not only more difficult, but practically impossible so far as the prominent industrial establishments are concerned. It is reckoned that 30 billions of dollars of wealth has passed from the competitive system into the control of a score or more individuals. The government is a committee to manage the affairs in the interest of the capitalist class.

Thousands were unemployed in the cotton industry of England as a result of the Civil War, but they sided with the north while the higher classes favored the south, and vessels were built for the south, e.g., the "Alabama." The States received 15 million dollars compensation from England for the "Alabama' incident. The 'Alabama' claims were disputed by England 1862, 1865, 1869, 1870, but when the European political sky grew threatening with France and Germany, Great Britain herself made overtures on January, 1871, and a tribunal awarded the above damages September, 1872.

Note: The British slave trade was abolished by parliament on the 25th of March, 1807. Slavery itself ceased to exist in British possessions in 1834. The French did not abolish slavery until the revolution of 1848. The slave trade was abolished by the United States in 1808, but slavery itself continued in the country for more than half a century after that. The negro slaves of the United States were freed by Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of January 1st, 1863, the system was finally abolished by constitutional amendment in December, 1865.

—:o:—

FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

For the Drought Stricken in Soviet Russia.

To All Labor Organizations—An Appeal for a Great Cause!

Fellow Workers,—Twenty million workers and peasants in the Volga region in Soviet Russia are dying of hunger! The crops there have been completely ruined by an unpredecented drought. Russia which for seven years has been devastated by world war, civil war, and foreign interventions, caused by base manipulations and intrigues of the great capitalist powers, is now unable to cope with this new catastrophe. For the first time the workers' republic surrounded by a hostile world, is crying aloud for help to the workers of the world. Comrades! Soviet Russia is the only fortress, the only bulwark of the workers against capitalism, and we cannot afford to

(Continued on page 8)

Communism and Christianism

Analyzed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D.D. The writer, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalism from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all."

Published in October, 1920. Fiftieth thousand now ready, 233 pages, 25 cents or six copies $1; postpaid (Canada 5 copies for $1).

Send M. O. (United States rate).

The Bradford-Brown Educational Co., Inc., Publishers. 102 South Union Street, Galion, Ohio or from

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
401 Pender Street E., Vancouver, B. C.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.

3—The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

NOW READY.
Preface by the author.
132 PAGES.

Per Copy, 25 Cents.
Ten copies up, 20 cents each.
Post Paid.

FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 7)

forsake her in this, her darkest hour! The working class in Europe ,although themselves pushed to the starvation line, are already responding magnificently. The members of the General Federation of Labor of France have voted one day's wages for the starving on the Volga. From other countries similar heroic sacrifices are being made.

Fellow Workers! You must realize that the greatest bulk of the necessary help must come from us here in Canada, and from our comrades in the United States. We must now be ready to make greater sacrifices than we ever have been called upon to bring to the Altar of Class-solidarity!

Comrades! We can save Soviet Russia if every one of us gives one day's wages to the famine stricken on the Volga. Poverty is haunting our own doors, but we still can exist with one day's wages short—Soviet Russia cannot, without this sacrifice from us—and the cause demands that we give it gladly.

The Winnipeg Famine Relief Committee for the Drought Stricken in Soviet Russia, which is composed of delegates from all local progressive labor organizations, and which by consent of other similar committees in the Dominion, has become the Central Office of all these committees, is sending this appeal out to all labor organizations in Canada. What will your answer be to this appeal? The fate of millions of starving little children, the fate of Soviet Russia, depends upon this, your answer! Can the workers of Canada rise to such a lofty, heroic sacrifice and save Soviet Russia? Remember! your answer must come quickly, or it will come too late.

In view of the urgency of help needed, this committee has set October 18th as the closing date for this appeal. Bring this question before the next meeting of your organization, and let us hear about your decision.

Yours for the Famine Stricken,

The Press Committee.

Help Famine Stricken Workers and Peasants in Soviet Russia

Twenty Million of Our Drought Stricken Workers and Peasants—in Soviet Russia—Call for Our Assistance.

How Much Will You Give to Help Them?

Will you feed 100 children today, at a cost of only 5 cents per child?

A total contribution of $5.

Will you feed 20 families today at a cost of only 25 cents per family?

A total contribution of $5.

Will you feed 10 families to day at a cost of only 25 cents per family?

A total contribution of $2.50.

Will you feed 20 children today at a cost of only 5 cents per child?

A total contribution of $1.

You must give all you can, and give and give again.

Send all remittances to—

P.O. Box 3591, Station B, Winnipeg, Man., secretary, Miss A. Schultz.

Form branches everywhere, and affiliate with the Central Office at the above address. Collect funds, grain, etc. and ship to the Central Committee, advising when done so.

MANIFESTO

— of the —
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
(Fifth Edition)

Per copy ..... 10 cents
Per 25 copies $2

Post Paid

Literature Price List

Cloth Bound	Per Copy
Positive Outcome of Philosophy (Dietzgen	$2.15
Woman Under Socialism (Bebel)	$2.15
End of the World (McCabe)	$2.15
Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844 (Engels)	$1.75
A. B. C. of Evolution (McCabe)	$1.15
Economic Determinism (Parce)	$1.75
Socialism and Modern Science (Ferri)	$1.75
Physical Basis of Mind and Morals (Fitch)	$1.75
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Engels)	$1.75
Industrial History of England (H. DeGibbins)	$1.75
The Student's Marx (Aveling)	$1.15
Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen	$1.15
Darwinism and Race Progress (Haycraft)	$1.15
Evolution of Property (Lafargue)	$1.15
Critique of Political Economy (Marx)	$1.75
Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx)	$1.15
Philosophical Essays (Dietzgen)	$1.75
History of Paris Commune (Lissagaray)	$1.50
Ancient Society (L. H. Morgan)	$2.15
Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis)	$1.75
Capitalist Production (First Nine and 32nd Chapters "Capital," vol. 1, (Marx)	$1.00
Savage Survivals (Moore)	$1.00
Vital Problems in Social Evolution (Lewis)	.90
Science and Revolution (Unterman)	.90
The Militant Proletariat (Lewis)	.90
Evolution, Social and Organic (Lewis)	.90
The Social Revolution (Kautsky)	.90
Class Struggle (Kautsky)	.90
Puritanism (Melly)	.90
The Worlds Revolutions (Unterman)	.90
Ethics and History (Kautsky)	.90
Life and Death (Dr. E. Teichmann)	.50
Law of Biogenesis (Moore)	.90
Social Studies (Lafargue)	.90
Germs of Mind in Plants (R. H. France)	.90

Paper Covers	Per Copy
Two Essays on History (C. Stephenson and G. Deville)	5c
The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax)	5c
Communist Manifesto	10c
Wage-Labor and Capital	10c
The Present Economic System (Prof. W. A. Bonger)	10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	15c
Slave of the Farm	10c
Manifesto, S. P. of C.	10c
Evolution of Man (Prof. Rolsche)	20c
Causes of Belief in God (Lafargue)	10c
The Structure of Soviet Russia (Humphries	20c
Shop Talks on Economics (Marcy)	15c
Right to be Lazy (Lafargue)	15c
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)	15c
Economic Causes of War (Leckie)	25c
The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia (Kaplun)	15c
The State and Revolution (Lenin)	25c
Civil War in France (Marx)	25c
Eighteenth Brumaire (Marx)	25c
Christianism and Communism (Bishop W. M. Brown)	25c
Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder (Lenin) Detroit Edition	60c
Theses and Statutes of the 3rd (Communist) International	25c

Quantity Rates on Paper Covered Pamphlets.

Two Essays on History	25 copies	75c
Criminal Court Judge	25 copies	75c
Communist Manifesto	25 copies	$2.00
Wage-Labor and Capital	25 copies	$2.00
Present Economic System	25 copies	$1.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	25 copies	$3.25
Slave of the Farm	25 copies	$1.50
Manifesto of S. P. of C.	25 copies	$2.00
Evolution of Man	25 copies	$3.75
Causes of Belief in God	25 copies	$2.00
Value, Price and Profit	25 copies	$3.25
Economic Causes of War	10 copies	$2.00
Christianism and Communism	5 copies	$1.00

All Prices Include Postage.

Make all moneys payable to E. McLeod, 401 Pender Street, East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

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

NEGOIATIONS WITH AMERICA.

Riga, "Rosta Wien."

The negotiations between Litvinov and Brown will not be confined merely to the questions of relief work for the famine districts of Russia but will be extended to the clearing of the political relations between Europe, America, and Soviet Russia.

Brown, the representative of Hoover, has stated that the Americans will begin at once with the work of relief. There are eight thousand tons of food stored in Hamburg and Danzig which will suffice to feed many thousands of persons during a month. Food transports will arrive in Petrograd, Riga, and all the Black Sea harbours every fourteen days. The transport in Soviet Russia will be in the hands of the Soviet government and the distribution will be in the hands of the local authorities. The question of distribution of clothing comes for the moment in second-place. The plan of organization can for the present only be generally announced since the manner of relief can only be laid down after practical experience. The relief work will be continued so long as the distress of the districts concerned makes it appear necessary.