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WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

A Socialist View.

(From the Socialist Standard of Oct., 1913)

What is democracy?

Many people, when faced with this question, conjure up pictures of the American eagle, and think that democracy is all that that amiable bird symbolises. They imagine that a State run on the lines of the American Republic is a democratic State, that the institutions of such a State are democratic institutions, that the spirit of such a State is the democratic spirit, and that the philosophy of such a State—the "Rights of Man"—is the democratic philosophy.

All of which ideas are wrong.

The common meaning of the term "democracy"—a form of society in which supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people—is correct enough as far as it goes; and is sufficient in all that it implies. But it implies something very different from the American Republic, and American institutions, and the "Rights of Man."

For supreme power to be lodged in the hands of the people does not mean merely that they are to have the widest possible franchise and equal voting power. It implies that the people are to have complete control of all social institutions, the ordering of the social activities, the domination of the whole social life. Such a condition of affairs pre-supposes at the very outset the ownership by the people of all the means of life, all the social products, even all the social intelligence and skill and energy.

There can be no other foundation for democracy than this common ownership of all the means of life, for where these fall into private possession social distinctions at once spring up, the owners at once become dominators, and it becomes impossible for the people to control the social activities—because, forsooth, they have not control of the means and instruments through which the most important of those activities—those directed to the production of the social wealth—are applied.

Notwithstanding then, the popular conviction to the contrary, existing republics no more enfold democracy than do monarchies. Nor are they nearer to it since they are no nearer to the property condition upon which democracy must be founded.

That was democracy which existed among all races prior to the advent of private property. There the people of the community really controlled the affairs of the community, deputing functions to certain officials but jealously keeping power in their own hands. The

"little brief authority" in which they dressed their elected persons was never allowed to pass beyond the popular control. Even in the case of the war-chiefs—the direction, perhaps, in which usurpation was most likely—it was in many cases usual to elect two, to act alternately, in order that the influence of one should form a counter balance to that of the other.

If we cannot have democracy under the present social system, at least we may have men and women imbued with the democratic spirit. Indeed, every socialist must be so imbued.

In the light of this spirit he has faith, primarily, in the capacity of the working class to institute the social system based upon the common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

It is obvious that the natural corollary of the claims that the working class must make these means and instruments the property of the whole people is the implication that the people, as such, and not a few directing the many, will be able to organize for the efficient use of those instruments of labor. Therefore the class idea—the idea that the working class possess every qualification for the establishment of a democratic social system—and the democratic idea—the idea that the whole people are capable of democratically controlling the affairs of society—are intimately connected, are, as a matter of fact, inseparable.

Democracy has a philosophy of its own. This philosophy is grounded upon the exactly opposite conception to that upon which all individualistic systems of thought, from the capitalist to the anarchistic, rest. In the democratic conception the organic nature of society is the very corner stone. Naturally this awards to the individual a subordinate place. He finds his true position as an organic atom, the product of the organic whole, and subordinate, therefore, to the social body. In the democratic philosophy it is realized how supremely important the mass of the people—"the rank and file"—are. There is no intellectual class. The highest intellect is a social product, the result of the food, shelter, and clothing produced by society, and of the accumulated experiences for which society has paid with pain. And further, the opportunity even for such intellects to perform their useful part depends entirely upon the general level of intelligence. Just as the female blossom on the gourd vine, open before there is a male to round her career, must die unfruitful, so the intellect advanced beyond its day must prove sterile and useless to society.

The individual, then, is a social product; he owes

ALBERTA NOTES

Comrades Mrs. and Joe Knight attended the farmers' picnic at Edberg and delivered a lecture on "Socialism". Mrs. Knight made a good impression on the women present.

Wimborne local held a picnic on the 19th July at which Comrade J. Knight was a visitor. The local comrades, eager for propaganda, took full advantage of his presence as he delivered two lectures to the merry makers.

Comrade John G. Huculak is breaking ground in the northern half of Victoria riding. By all reports he is doing well, one local being formed at Edward and many propaganda meetings he'd in the vicinity.

The Alberta P.E.C. have enrolled about seventy members at large within the past three months, and its literature mailing list is being taken advantage of by comrades in Alberta and Saskatchewan judging by its growth. Any comrade who wishes to receive current Socialist literature has only to notify the Secretary.

FROM THE ALTA AND SASK. P. E. C.

Our circular of a few months ago asking for volunteers to distribute leaflets and literature in their respective districts met with a fairly good response. However, as we have no particular leaflet for immediate distribution and realising the strenuous effort necessary by every comrade to make a success of the campaign started by the Dominion Executive for a bi-weekly and larger "Western Clarion", we have decided to forward a bundle of Clarions to those who have volunteered to distribute leaflets. This, we believe, will assist greatly in the object desired and augment our limited means of propaganda.

Words, we feel, are unnecessary to urge the comrades to use all their influence and energy to increase the circulation of the Party organ by securing new subscribers. The exigencies of the moment, this period of colossal transition abounding with great possibilities for the Socialist movement, are well known to all "rebels" so let us take advantage. With the willingness and co-operation of the comrades we are confident that the "Clarion" will be placed on a better and firmer footing.

REGINA NOTES

Organizer Wm. McQuoid of Brandon, on request of a few comrades of Regina, visited them with the hope of imbuing a little more pep into their endeavors. This is the first time for many moons since such a gathering has taken place, and the turnout of the proletariat was gratifying. About sixty gathered in the Trades Hall and listened intently to Comrade McQuoid whilst he put forth a glossary of the S.P.C. At the end of his discourse several questions were asked to which Comrade McQuoid gave a lucid explanation and cleared up the mist surrounding several points of contention. At the close of the afternoon propaganda considerable literature was sold and several signed the platform of the Party. An "Economic" class was formed with a membership of fourteen and with splendid prospects of interesting others.

A. E. Jacomb.

not only his being, but his opportunities, to society. Instead of being the "great man" to whom society owes everything, he is the creature of the social entity, without which he is nothing.

In the conclusion of such a philosophy the capabilities, the strength, and the energies of the individual are just as much the product of the social activities as are the means and instruments of production and distribution; also they are just as necessary to the social organism, and there fore just as properly fall under the social control.

The philosophy of democracy replaces the "Rights of Man" of the bourgeoisie—which mocked humanity so cynically at the Paris Commune, and does so every day, in fact, the wide world over—with the "Rights of Society."

In the course of time democracy must also have an ethic of its own. What form this will take can at present only be roughly prognosticated. Just as, with all our knowledge of primitive democracy, we are unable to adequately conceive the outlook on life of the social units of those early days, so we cannot hope to understand the mental outlook of the democrats of the future.

As the Materialist Conception of History, however, teaches us that all ethics take their form from the method in which people gain their livelihood, when the people gain their livelihood democratically, the ethics will be in keeping. Public opinion will then be, as public opinion always is, favorably disposed to the public welfare as it is conceived in the public mind. Today this conception of the public welfare is distorted to the capitalist view of the meaning of the term; but the popular conception shapes the ethic of the day. The revolutionist requires a new ethic, and, cynical as he may pretend to be in this connection, he has got it. It is based on the needs of humanity as he understands them. When the Social Revolution has been accomplished, and warring interests have forever been unified, when the individual interest, having been made one throughout the community, when all the machinery of wealth production and distribution, and the human labor-power by which this wealth is produced and distributed, and the wealth which is so produced, is owned by society; when by the harmonizing of social activities, and the clearing away of confusing social anomalies and contradictions, men and women come to realize through every fibre of their being that they owe everything to the commonwealth, that without society they are but cells in the social organism, on which every act of theirs has a far-reaching effect for good or evil: then the ethic prescribed by public opinion will be such as will make for the clearly known good of society.

Then once again democracy will exist in the world, and men and women, nurtured into finer feeling by that standard of conduct which holds the common good to be the highest good, will unconsciously sink their individuality in the community, and strive always for that common good, as the highest morality of which the human mind is capable of conceiving.

An Appeal for Moral and Financial Support

In Defence of Comrades Joe Naylor and Dave Aitken, from Local Union 2299, United Mine Workers of America

Cumberland, B. C.,
Vancouver Island,
August 28th, 1918.

Fellow Workers and Brothers,—

Bro. Joe Naylor, secretary, and Bro. Aitken, of our Local Union 2299, United Mine Workers of America, charged with assisting draft-evaders by supplying them with foodstuffs, have been remanded for trial at the September Assizes to be held in Nanaimo.

Financial assistance is urgently needed in order that the best legal advice procurable may be obtained for their defence.

Organized labor and sympathizers stand with your brothers in their hour of need. Act at once. Do not

delay, for the time is short in which to accumulate the necessary funds.

William Braes, Dave Little, Bob Walker, Wm. McMillan, John Williams, Defence Committee.

We also ask our readers to give these comrades of ours their ungrudging support. Both are members of the S. P. of C., Comrade Naylor especially being well-known in the movement on the coast. Both are men of lofty character, but they are entangled in the toils of circumstantial evidence.

Make all remittances payable to David Little, treasurer, Naylor-Aitken Defence Fund, P.O. Box 142, Cumberland, Vancouver Island, B.C., Canada.

AFTER-THE-WAR PROBLEMS.

Finis—The Remedy.

By W. A. P.

We will now attempt a brief summary of points established in previous articles and draw what appear to the writer to be obvious conclusions. After that, all that need be essayed is a necessarily short statement of the Socialistic position with an attempted verification of the oft made claim, "that the only hope for working class emancipation from the oppression of wage-slavery, and, consequently, the salvation of society itself, lies in the political victory of the world's proletariat." In a word, in the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a system of society based upon the democratic management and collective control of society's economic forces.

In our first article, "The Returned Soldier," we outlined the social and industrial conditions obtaining in pre-war days. We saw a world market weighted down under a plethora of commodities, use-values of the slave's creation, a market glutted with life's necessities, whose disposal, under our "glorious" civilization in which everything has a price, was an utter impossibility, not because there were none to make use of these things; merely none to buy them. The market was clogged; the industrial machine, dormant. The masters could not sell goods. And looking for buyers in all directions, yet finding none, they could not further buy the only thing which makes all goods possible, the worker's commodity, labour-power.

But with the advent of war, a change occurs; at first almost imperceptible, it moves with ever-quickening pace until we find the erstwhile dormant industrial machine again whirring out its monotonous song of "production for sale."

Several million men, armed to the teeth, slaves of various types, yet slaves withal, face one another in a death struggle, the like of which makes Dante's Inferno assume the modest proportions of a Baptist Convention by comparison. Clothes and food. Quick! Quicker! Quicker still! More men for fighting. More food and raiment. The cry becomes louder. It becomes a national anthem. Food, and still more food, for men who had not known the joyousness of regular feeding. Clothes, and still more clothes, for men who, in many cases, had heretofore been but scantily robed. Clothe them and feed them, for work, stern work, lies just ahead. We are not philanthropers, O writers of history. An army moves upon its stomach. We need these men, fit, strong, and capable of executing at our command and under our direction, deeds of bravery for their country's sake. The glut upon the market eased. Before such blighting heat the mountain of commodities dissolved like snow at the approach of Spring. And with the demand for food and clothes, came also the demand for shells, guns, armor-plate. Slaves who had hitherto wandered dejectedly around "their" country, in search of a stray "job" that would bring the "cats," suddenly found themselves in great demand. They went to work; they were "put" to work whether they desired it or not. Then food and clothes became their portion, for he who works must eat—once in a while, or else those who do not work

would cease to eat, which, for them, would be atrociously inconvenient. So more food and more clothes are demanded for war workers as for war fighters. And thus the market reappears, but in a totally different form. Its rapacious maw is held out once again for commodities which can be sold, and on which profit can be made. Yet it is not the same market. For whereas goods were produced, FOR SALE, in "peace" countries, now they are produced, FOR DESTRUCTION, in a "war theatre." And those other things which are consumed apart from direct war products are incidental only to the war and its prosecution. The world market has become a war market. The disappearance of those conditions which created that war market will result in that war market's disappearance. With the cessation of hostilities there will arise a condition where no longer the slave toils, by compulsion, many hours a day, seven days a week. No longer will the nerve-racked human appendage to the machine be compelled to forego his holidays, his trade-union privileges, his half-day excursions to the sea-side. Instead, stagnation will again be the marked characteristic of the industrial machine. Masters, no doubt willing and earnest in their endeavors to "find a place" for the men who made, at such a cost, a "place" for them; willing to provide, if they could, men with work, but unable to displace the women who have displaced the men sent to war, because the ferocious competition to sell what little the "market" will stand; yet compelled to displace even some of those women because industry can not absorb them all, will find no commercial El Dorado, amidst the glories of which they might "live, and move, and have their being." Instead, a particularly interesting and delicate situation looms larger each day as the probability of the immediate future. A world of working men and women, having received meals in a more systematic fashion than ever before, having been petted and praised, because they displayed sufficient sagacity to do what they were told, under penalty of jail terms; unable to find employment and, therefore, to obtain wages; thus, lacking the price, unable under capitalism, of providing themselves with the food, clothing and shelter to which they had, for a period, been accustomed, such is the glorious vista which opens out before us as the paradise into which we will be ushered as the result of our masters' ambitious policies and our own colossal ignorance.

Human society has often, in its onward march, faced famine, in days of drought, of pestilence, of tribal or national warfare, when the earth could not be persuaded to yield an adequate supply of food. Still society moved. Faced with obliteration or readjustment it acted accordingly. It progressed. It had to. It came to the bridge and worked out its new problems, readjusting its institutions, its habits, its ideas, its ethical codes to the demands of its new environment. But to face famine in a world of marvellous productive appliances! Amidst the vast complex of problems pressing upon capitalist society, upon the masters of the world's means of wealth production today, none assume such uncompromising unpleasantness as that of feeding a vast horde of workers shorn of their only possible means of obtaining purchasing power—working for wages. This question must be solved. But how? For our masters to

do it successfully would mean the destruction of the principle of "production for sale." Such a thing is abhorrent to them. Present property conditions do not allow them such a concept. Their material interests, as rulers in a slave society, blind them to the ideal of a happier condition where "production for use" shall be the guiding rule. They are historically unfitted for such a task as must be essayed ere society can progress. They have fulfilled their period of usefulness. The forces of production have arrived at a stage in their development where further progress becomes impossible under those given conditions of property through which they have developed. The economic base has moved; the institutional superstructure has received a vicious fracture. The sanctity of the contract, the inviolability of the marriage law, the god-prescribed regime of monogamy, these and kindred institutions have been swept aside before the stern dictates of an iron necessity which demand implicit obedience. All the buttressing and shoring of capitalism's architects and engineers cannot save the rapidly disintegrating social system. All the scheming of its politicians; all the soothing of its pulpiters; all the logic (sic) of its intellectual bankrupts cannot avail. Capitalism cannot scramble the industrial eggs that Europe's war has scrambled. The die is cast. The bridge has been reached. Shall we cross it—and live? Or shall we shirk the tedious and unspacious work of proletarian education and organization before us, the drilling and building of the workers into a coherent body possessed with but one thought, held by one concept, enthused by a knowledge of the path to be taken which historic conditions in their ever unfolding have marked out for them, of the task to be accomplished—the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of "The Co-operative Commonwealth." Our masters cannot do it if they would; they would not if they could. They can exist only as masters through a further continuance of capitalism with all its concomitants—misery and oppression the lot of the slaves, affluence and wealth the portion of the machine owners. To stamp out those antagonisms existing at all times between "those who possess and do not produce and those who produce but do not possess," which mutton-headed followers of the "lamb of God" and white-livered representatives of (1) of labour tell us shall, "after the war," be no more the masters, must first of all blot out "the conditions of their own parasitical existence."

And the women? What of them? The danger of an ever-spreading disease, leaving its damnable trail wherever it passes? What of that? These questions are related to "The Returned Soldier" and to the workers who remained behind. How can we cope with this problem? What is the remedy? Can women, that is, women of the working class, receive any great or lasting benefits by taking a mere "anti-male stand," the futile policy of denouncing the tyranny of man-made laws? Have working class women anything to gain by lining up in a sex fight? What is their position? Only this: That they, too, along with working men, find themselves sellers of a commodity, labour-power, that they, also, appear before the masters of the earth and all that therein is, selling themselves into the most abject form of slavery history has ever witnessed, the slavery of the wage market. Not the tyranny of the male of

COMPLICATIONS LEGAL.

Comrade W. W. Lefaux, who has been attending to the legal end of the proceedings against the constable, Campbell, who is charged with manslaughter for the killing of our late Comrade "Ginger" Goodwin, and is also attending to the defence of Comrades Naylor and Aiken, who are charged with supplying draft evaders with provisions, has himself been getting acquainted with the inner mysteries of prison life. Having gone to Cumberland last Sunday to get some necessary affidavits from the last named comrades, he was arrested and placed in jail on an alleged irregularity in connection with his own military papers. The case against him was dismissed on Monday morning and he was discharged. Returning to Vancouver on Wednesday he went to the Police Court on Thursday morning and defended Comrade Kelland, charged with not having the requisite papers, and upon leaving the court was himself again arrested and held by the military authorities. At the moment of writing he is out on bail, but does not appear to be very downhearted about prospects.

MANITOBA MISCELLANEA.

The readers of this will remember the days of the fall of 1914 when according to the capitalist press and pulpit, Socialism died. The "Free Press" here in Winnipeg was specially sure and specially jubilant at this death. Imagine our surprise then to read the following in the issue of July 26, 1918. In an editorial under the heading of "True and False Socialism," we read that those who have come to be known by the generic name of socialist, are now numbered in millions. They are to be found in every country and in every clime. In alliance with labor organizations and through their own specific associations the socialists are acquiring widespread influence in the corporate life of many nations, and especially in those which have adopted representative forms of government.—One can only wonder if this means resurrection or did it mean that we did not really die!

F. G. Tipping, late prominent S. D. Per., is touring the west giving anti-socialist lectures on behalf of the newest Labor Party. If the "Western Labor News" is correct in its report of his Swift Current speech on "Overlords and Overalls", he must be dishing out a mugful of fallacies of all kinds. However Winnipeg Socialists do and say marvellous things when they go West.

All interested in the study of economics are requested to attend the opening meeting of the class, called for October 6th, at 3 p.m., in the room of the headquarters of Winnipeg Local No. 3, 328 Smith Street, Room 4. Teacher, Geo. Armstrong; text book, "Capital," vol. 1, by Karl Marx.

Winnipeg Comrades are strong for a convention to be held here this fall or winter to endeavour to bring all the revolutionary Socialist elements in Canada in to one organization which would devote its efforts to making more Socialists instead of criticising one another. In the meantime, realizing the futility of anything but a revolutionary platform the Lettish local of the S. D. P. here have joined us and we also have great pleasure in welcoming Bach secretary of the S. D. P. English local here into our fold. 'Pat'

the species, not the fight for establishing in power of women with property rights and property concepts, but the realization that, as sellers of labour-power, they stand at all times in opposition to the buyers of labour-power. That here, right where the purchase and sale takes place, they appear, not as women, but as human packages of energy, bought and sold like cotton, coal, copper or mules. And this delightful distinction they enjoy in common with the men folk of the working class. In the selling of labour-power there appears no sex problems. The economic interests of working men and women permit of no "biologic" differences. The interests of our masters demand that sex be played off against sex. The women will be played off against the men, the returned soldier against the civilian. The women, not only faced with the problem of working in order to live, but, for many of them, faced with the masters' demands that they "be fruitful and multiply," and this in face of a great shortage of eligible males, will also have to face fairly and squarely new situations and problems which are better imagined than described. Will they revolt at such treatment? Will they assert their womanhood? We cannot tell. Ancient notions and old-fashioned ideas are receiving some vicious jolts. Men and women are beginning to think in terms which bode ill for the masters. Let the day come when they will see clearly that the interests of all workers, irrespective of race, sex, or color, are one against all masters, irrespective of race, sex or color.

The danger of venereal diseases also is one that can be promptly dealt with by the useful portion of society. For this disease, in fact, the majority of diseases, the bondage of women, as of men, the prostitution of the streets and the marriage market are indissolubly bound up with capitalism. Half the energy spent in prosecuting the war properly directed, would make disease almost entirely non-existent. These bonds are part only of the greater bonds. To break the lesser we must break the larger. We must break the bonds of wage-slavery. That is the remedy. There is no other.

Away, then, with the equivocator, the temporiser, the emasculator. Let the workers demand the truth. Let them learn the truth. Let us make it possible to have straight speaking and clear thinking. Let us realize that between sellers of labour-power, whether male or female, and buyers of labour-power, whether male or female, there can be no peace, even in "peace" times. Let us be up and doing—making Socialists. This is a task for all who understand their own slave position and read aright the signs of the times. The buttresses may hold awhile; the hastily erected shoring may still serve to prop up this dying system; capitalism may prolong its existence for many moons yet. But before the relentless onslaught of the world's class conscious workers, before the impregnability of proletarian science, the devices of our masters and their apologists must fail.

Shall we go back to chaos—and starvation? Or forward to Socialism—and abundance? It is for you, and I, to answer.

Editorial Page

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IF the number before your name on the yellow label of your paper reads 809 your subscription expires with the next issue.

The bourgeois press has avalanched upon the world its own account of the situation in Russia under the regime of the Soviets. But we know the bourgeoisie press from long and bitter experience.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE ALLIES. We know who's interests it has represented to go no further back than the Paris Commune of 1871 down to this day. To vilify the movements of the working class, to misrepresent their actions, to distort their aims and objects has been its proper function.

But always there have been journalists who were also men who could rise superior to a subsidy and their class prejudices. Thus today the accepted history of the Paris Commune is not that one furnished by the bourgeois press to its public during that period and the decades following it. Far from it. For the Communards of 1871 occupy an honored place in the annals of history and of working class struggles, while upon their opponents has been set the mark of disapproval. And this has been due to those independent observers and journalists. Such a one today we have in Mr. Arthur Ransome, special correspondent of the London Daily News, and well-known in the newspaper and literary world. Mr. Ransome writes from Moscow to the "New Republic," issue July 24th, and from his article we take the following:

"From the moment of the October revolution on, the best illustration of the fact that the Soviet government is the natural government of the Russian people, and has deep roots in the whole of the conscious, responsible part of the working classes and the peasantry, has been the attitude of the defeated minorities who oppose it. Whereas the Bolsheviks worked steadily in the Soviets when the majority was against them, and made their final move for power only when assured that they had an overwhelming majority in the Soviets behind them, their opponents see their best hope of regaining power not in the Soviets, not even in Russia itself, but in some extraordinary intervention from without. By asking

for foreign help against the Soviet government they prove that such help should not be given, and that they do not deserve it. The Soviet has stood for six months and more, absolutely unshaken by any movement against it inside Russia. In the Ukraine the anti-Soviet minority asked for intervention and received it. German bayonets, German organization, destroyed the Soviets of the Ukraine, and then destroyed the mock government that had invited their help. We, the Allies, supported that anti-Soviet minority, and in so far as our help was efficacious, contributed our share in obtaining for Germany a victorious progress from one end of the Black Sea coast to the other. In helping the Ukrainian minority we helped the Germans to secure Ukrainian bread and coal and iron that would otherwise have gone to help Russia to recuperate in Finland we repeated the mistake. We gave at least moral help to the White Finns, simply because they were opposed to the Red Finns, who were supported by the Soviets. Now, too late, we realize that the White Finns were the pawns of Germany, and that in defeat of the Red Finns we witnessed the defeat of the only party in Finland which was bound, by its socialist nature, to be an enemy of imperialistic Germany. Do not let us make the same mistake in Russia. If the Allies lend help to any minority that cannot overthrow the Soviets without their help, they will be imposing on free Russia a government which will be in perpetual need of external help, and will for simple reasons of geography, be bound to take that help from Germany. Remember that for the German autocracy, conscious of the socialist mass beneath it, the mere existence of the Soviet government of Russia is a serious danger. Remember that any non-Soviet government in Russia would be welcomed by Germany and, reciprocally, could not but regard Germany as its protector. Remember that the revolutionary movement in Eastern Europe, no less than the American and British Navies is an integral part of the Allied blockade of the Central Empires.

And apart from the immediate business of the war, remember that Germany is seeking by every means, open and secret, to obtain such command over Russia's resources as will in the long run allow her to dictate her will to Russia's people. Remember that the Soviet government, fully aware of this, would be glad of your help, of your co-operation, would be glad even to give you control over some part of her resources, if only to prevent that ominous ultimatum dominion within Russia of a single foreign power.

Remember all these things, if indeed you need, as I think you do not need, such selfish motives to prompt you to the support of men who, if they fail, will fail only from having hoped to die. Every true man is in some sort, until his youth dies and his eyes harden, the potential builder of a New Jerusalem. At some time or other, every one of us has dreamed of laying his brick in such a work. And even if this thing that is being builded here with tears and blood is not the golden city that we ourselves have dreamed, it is still a thing to the sympathetic understanding of which each one of us is bound by whatever he owes to his

own youth. And if each one of us, then, all the more each nation by what it owes to those first daring days of its existence, when all the world looked askance upon its presumptuous birth. America was young once, and there were men in America who would have brought in foreign aid to re-establish their dominion over a revolted nation. Are those the men to whom America now looks back with gratitude and pride?

Well, writing at a speed to break my pen, and with the knowledge that in a few hours the man leaves Moscow who is to carry this letter with him to America, I have failed to say much that I would have said. I write now with my messenger waiting for my manuscript and somehow or other, incoherent, incomplete as it is, must bring it to an end. I will end with a quotation from your own Emerson. "What is the scholar, what is the man for, but for hospitality to every new thought of his time? Have you leisure, power, property, friends? you shall be the asylum and patron of every new thought, every unproven opinion, every untried project, which proceeds out of good will and honest seeking. All the newspapers, all the tongues of today, will of course at first defame what is noble, but you who hold not of today, not of the Times, but of the Everlasting, are to stand for it, and the highest compliment man ever receives from heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels." No one contends that the Bolsheviks are angels. I ask only that men shall look through the fog of libel that surrounds them and see that the ideal for which they are struggling, in the only way in which they can struggle, is among those lights which every man of young and honest heart sees before him somewhere on the road, and not among those other lights from which he resolutely turns away. These men who have made the Soviet government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the story of the human race. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and that writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

And when in after years men read that page they will judge your country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it."

The whole of this article, together with one from John Reed, giving further details of the working of the Soviet system in Russia has been published in pamphlet form by the Alberta P. E. C. Socialist Party of Canada, and can be had by sending to J. F. Maguire, Box 785 Edmonton, Alta. Price \$6 per 100 or 10 cents each.

THE SIRENS OF LABOUR

"The materialist conception of history." "There are two classes in society." To those workers familiar with Socialist literature the above sentences must sound like platitudes.

Yet to those among us who have acquired the know-

ledge contained within them they become the stepping stones for all reasoning. They constitute the key with which students of society unlock the problems which confront them.

Lacking this knowledge, bourgeois philosophers have floundered in the mire of their own ignorance and have carried their followers with them; with the result that many sincere men have spent a life-time endeavoring to cure the many-social diseases which they saw society was heir to and failed.

And the masses, the common herd, the working class, upon whose brain and brawn society depends for existence, they have truly paid in full for this ignorance.

Owing to lack of knowledge they have been the easy prey of press and pulpit. Cheap politicians have tricked them and numbers of their own class have arisen from amongst them and with kindergarten phraseology, and mind destroying epigrams, have led them, bound with heavier chains than before, to the hungry maw of capitalism.

These latter despicable specimens of the Genus Homo, have enough understanding to know that, from infancy till he comes to rest in a cheap pine box, or, mayhap, in no man's land, the worker's life is one long struggle for existence: a tooth and nail fight for life, with periods of monotonous toil, varied only by the pinched days of unemployment. Many of them unable to give expression to paternal or maternal instincts. To them also, the arts and sciences and the cultivation of mind and body are as tales from the Arabian Nights. Dogged throughout life by that hell, insecurity, which wage slavery gives birth to, the workers lives appear still more barren by comparison because they live in an age so productive that the master class can not find markets for the surplus nor exhaust it by the waste of war.

Knowing these things the mountebank, the opportunist, paints his rose-tinted word picture for you fellow worker and calls it something new. If you understand the materialistic conception of history and the class nature of society these traffickers in human credulity would not find you such Lilliputians.

Beware, therefore, the opportunist, with the honeyed phrase, something new. Get to understand your class position in society once you thoroughly realize this dominant fact, the something new which you will desire will be the abolition of the capitalist system.

"Already there are many of us, tomorrow there will be more of us than to-day. The day after to-morrow, millions will rise up under our banner, millions who even now 67 years after the Communist Manifesto, have nothing to lose but their chains." Stewart

Comrade J. R. Knight will be making a tour to Winnipeg in the very near future. On August 25th he held two meetings at Brule, Alta. Literature sales amounted to \$102.

EDITOR WANTED

Applications are invited for the position of Editor of "The Maoriland Worker," to close October 31. Applicants are required to forward credentials, and state date on which they can undertake the duties. All information with regard to salary and duties can be had by writing the Secretary, P.O. Box 1500, Wellington, New Zealand.

FARMERS' FORUM

Comrade Editor:

After reading both contributions by Comrades Bruce and Springford re the position of the small or working farmer in modern society; I feel compelled to give my views on this perplexing question.

The farmer (I mean the small so-called independent working farmer) belongs to the working class, although he is not exploited in the same way as the wage slave. In fact he is not exploited at all.

He is in much the same position as the hand loom weaver, at the time of the introduction of the power loom, who had to work 18 or 19 hrs. daily instead of 9 or 10 before its introduction, because of the fact that only one half of the former time of labor was required to change a given amount of yarn into a yard of cotton.

The large farm operated by Capital, with the latest improved methods of agriculture, machinery, and division of labor, must of necessity reduce the labor time socially necessary to produce a given amount of, say, wheat, beef, pork, etc., so that the poor working farmer will have to work longer hours in order to produce the same amount of value that he formerly could produce in less.

With the result, that in a great many cases the lot of the farmer is more miserable than that of his fellow-worker the wage slave. But the idea of being a small "property" holder, his own master, the security of a steady job, and all the sundry blessings that pertain to such a position, compel him to hang on to it, until, with the further development of agriculture the position becomes untenable.

The question is asked: "Is the farmer robbed?" and the correct answer is—No! And before setting out to explain why, and how he is not, it will be necessary to clear up Comrade Springford's economics, which he would give us to understand are of the Marxian school.

What the farmer buys he buys at its value, and he sells his products at their price of production; their value not being determined until they come into the hands of the consumer. This is, I think, the point which requires elucidating.

The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time required to reproduce it. That value consists of necessary value and surplus value. The necessary value being the amount which the wage-worker had to receive as the value of his labor power, and what is left after subtracting that from the value of the commodity is surplus value. (Something for nothing).

This surplus value goes to the industrial Capitalist in the form of profit; but, does he get it all? By no means. He has to divide it up with the banker for interest on money loaned, or to the landlord as rent, and to the state as taxes, etc. Should he work with his own capital, and be his own landlord he will of course pocket these respective shares.

But as I stated above the value of a commodity is not determined or realized until it comes into the hands of the consumer, and there ceases to be a commodity, and becomes a use value, and, when it is under-

stood that all values are made in the production process, and that, as well as the above mentioned division of surplus value, it is also divided among the various capitals in the circulation process, according to the amount of, and the time employed, of a certain capital, determined by the law of competition, and the general rate of profit.

For instance, the manufacturing capitalist sells his commodities to the wholesale merchant at a price, called the price of production. The wholesaler in turn sells to the retailer at a higher price than he paid for them, the difference being his share of the surplus value, and the retailer sells them to the consumer at their final price, which is the monetary expression of their value.

Now, the difference in the intermediary prices at which the commodity was sold is the amount of the distributive shares of the surplus value among the various capitals employed in the circulation process, based upon the ultimate price to be received from the consumer in accordance with its value.

The above is the general way in which a commodity circulates.

Lack of space forbids me to dwell longer on this point, and, to those who want a clearer and more detailed explanation of it, I refer them to volume II of Marx's Capital.

To make the position of the farmer clear, put him as a seller of commodities in the position of the manufacturing capitalist, with this exception, that his commodity contains no surplus value, (if you except the wear and tear of the tools he uses, which are products of social labor, and replace themselves piecemeal in the finished product) but is the result of his own labor, part of which goes to the various capitals employed in the circulation process.

And when it is understood that he is not only in competition with higher developed methods of agriculture in his own country, but in every part of the world, where climatic conditions may be more favorable, etc., because of the fact that his commodity goes on a world's market.

In other words, those of Frederick Engels—"The product governs the producer."

This cannot be called exploitation or robbery in the same sense as the wage slave is exploited; but the farmers, and I mean through all this discussion, the small working farmers, are members of the working class with the same interests as their fellow workers, the wage slaves.

Comrade Springford says that the farmer sells congealed labor power in the form of wheat, etc. What is congealed labor power? There is no such thing! There is congealed labor in the form of products or commodities, but labor power is simply a commodity which the wage worker sells to the capitalist (his ability to produce wealth). When the capitalist buys it, and uses it, it is no longer a commodity, labor power, but labor. In fact, labor power, far from being "congealed," is very fluid and mobile; it being inseparable from the person who sells it. Such a misuse of terms cannot beget anything but confusion, and instead of

Comrade Springford taking on himself to teach Bruce Marxian economics, he should study them more thoroughly before assuming the role of a teacher.

As to the attitude of the farmer towards the Revolutionary Movement, it would be an error to say that he will not count as a factor, because, being a part of modern society, he cannot help becoming a factor, and, in fact he will have to look to the Revolutionary Movement for a solution of the Agrarian question. But at the present stage I am inclined to agree with Comrade Bruce that it is a difficult task to show him his true position; but, in the words of Marx, "The development of Capitalism will drum dialectics even into the heads of the Prussian Junkers", and one can see the feeling of unrest at present not only among the urban population, but among the rural, as well.

History has proven that the industrial wage slaves have been the backbone of all previous proletarian movements towards revolution, and the writer thinks that they will be the principal militant portion in the impending revolution.

This does not mean that the farmer is less capable of acquiring a knowledge of Socialism than his fellow worker, the wage slave, but he is hampered greatly by his environment, including his status as a seemingly independent producer, and his isolated mode of life, fit conditions to keep alive ancient traditions, religions, and concepts, which act as a brake to progress. A soil with such weeds means harder work for the Socialist propagandist.

After what has been said above, and there could be whole pages written on the subject, the writer hopes that he may have made some points clear re the farmers' position, and hopes that a greater interest will thereby be stimulated in Marxian Economics, which are so necessary to an intelligent understanding of the Agrarian question.

W. B. McK.

*This article was intended for the August issue.

COMMERCIAL WARS AND INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION

The history of England's commercial progress, like that of any other country's, is a record of almost uninterrupted warfare. Beginning with the piratical expeditions of the Elizabethan sailors, England's efforts to attain commercial greatness continued through out the 17th and 18th centuries and were invariably successful.

When England first joined in the struggle for foreign trade, she found Spain and Portugal masters of the Eastern and Western trade. The fact that Spain was a Catholic country gave a very convenient excuse for entering into a conflict with her, and under this pretense of fighting Roman Catholicism, England took every opportunity to weaken the position of her enemy. England and Holland formed an alliance against Spain, but when England had finished with Spain, she found it necessary to match forces with Holland, who had succeeded in entrenching herself very materially in the New World. With the capture of New Amsterdam (New York) in 1664, Holland's commercial position was doomed.

The growing influence of France next caused England much concern. The French had possessions in the southern part of India, while England, through the East India Company, formed in 1600 and given a mon-

opoly on Indian and Chinese trade, controlled the northern part. It was inevitable that a quarrel should ensue, and here again England was the victor. French interests and English interests also came in conflict in America and at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, England secured almost all of the French possessions, which gave her practically a free hand in America.

England now occupied a dominant position among the nations of the world. Each victory upon the seas or upon foreign lands necessarily demanded a corresponding increase in home production. It was this heavy drain on the productive forces of the country that gave birth in the latter part of the 18th century to several very important inventions which rapidly revolutionized industrial methods.

From the beginning of the human race, man's progress has primarily rested on the development of his tool and on his use of the resources and forces of nature. Of the three factors necessary to production of any kind, human energy (labor), the objects of labor (natural resources and raw materials), and the instruments of labor (tools, machines, etc.), the latter have alone changed from the earliest of times and have undergone a steady development.

The first form of production existing in England was the family system, under which each community produced for itself with simple tools the things it needed.

We have seen how English trade first consisted of an exchange of wool and grains on the part of the English for manufactured articles, such as fine metals and fine cloths, which were used by the feudal lords. The first demand for foreign products arose therefore from the ruling class. Through this intercourse with other lands, standards of workmanship became higher, and in order to do good work, a man trained for it and perfected himself through constant practice. In this way, various trades sprang into existence, and with them the craft guilds, which were found necessary to regulate production as well as to supervise the quality of the work. Under the guilds, goods were still produced mainly for use. The demand in each locality was limited, and in return for his goods, a craftsman would sometimes receive board and lodgings or by going to a fair, would secure through barter whatever he required. The craftsman owned his own tools and dealt directly with the consumer.

After the 14th century the export of wool steadily declined, as through the influence of Flemish immigrants English weavers had learned to make a great variety of cloths, and thereafter exported an increasing volume of woven goods. Demands were now no longer confined to immediate localities. After the discovery of America, a heavy trade developed with the English colonies. The regulations of the guilds as to workmanship and as to the number of apprentices prevented the wealthier craftsmen from increasing their output, and to avoid these restrictions, we find them leaving the towns and founding industrial communities in the open country. Production was then carried on under the domestic system.

Here we see the employer, known as the master clothier, buying large quantities of wool, and giving it out to the families in the villages to be spun and wo-

ven. Every member of the family had a share in the work. Women and children did the spinning and men and boys the weaving, finishing and dyeing. In addition to their industrial work, each family possessed an allotment of ground which it tilled for its own use. Under this system, each family was under the direct control of the master clothier, and received in payment of its work anything he wished to give it—money or kind. This form of production is often pictured to have been a very happy and contented one for the workers, but anyone who cares to study the subject from an unbiased point of view will arrive at a different conclusion. Goods were now produced solely for exchange, and as a consequence, profit, and not quality, became the primary consideration.

Through the family, the guild and domestic systems of production, the instruments of labor had experienced a gradual development. But now within the space of a few years (1763-1793) the tools of many centuries were discarded and substituted by newly invented machines that enormously increased the productive forces of the country.

The first important invention was that of the spinning jenny, which enabled the worker to feed from 12 to 18 spindles, and later many more, instead of only one, such as was possible with the spinning wheel. The next invention was the spinning frame, which worked through water power. The mule, which followed, was a combination of the two former devices. The power loom, next appearing, introduced machine methods in the weaving industry.

It is important to note here that outside of human energy, the only forms of power used in production up to this time had been wind and water. It needed but the invention of the steam engine to complete the remarkable change in industrial methods which took place at this time. The steam engine when first invented was used only in mining operations, but it was soon adopted in manufacturing with startling results.

The steam engine made possible for the first time the production of iron and coal on a large scale, both of which had a tremendous effect on the development of industry. The southern part of the country had always been the most heavily populated, but with the development of the coal mines in the north, it was to the advantage of manufacturers to shift their location, and from this time on the northern population grew steadily until now it far outnumbers that of any other part of England.

It is interesting to note also the great general increase of population throughout the country from the time of William the Conqueror, when some 2,000,000 people were recorded in the Domesday Book. In the reign of Elizabeth, the population had reached over 5,000,000 and at the time of the Industrial Revolution it was over 8,000,000.

With the introduction of the factory system, domestic, or cottage, industry gradually disappeared. The new machines were installed in large factories and there men, women and children were collected to work longer hours than ever before and at a rate of speed only limited by that of the machinery. It is no wonder that the machines were looked upon with great bitterness by the workers, and that attempts were often made to destroy them.

By this time the manufacturers had succeeded in

gaining greater political strength, at the expense, of course, of the landowners. Two great political parties sprang into existence as a result of this rivalry, the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs, disputing the rights of the King and championing an extension of the powers of Parliament, were the representatives of the manufacturing class. The capitalists naturally felt that they should be allowed to have a voice on questions of taxation and other matters concerning their affairs, while the Tories, who represented the land-owning nobility, desired, of course, that such rights be withheld from Parliament and vested in the King and his council.

We see, therefore, each party striving for its own gain and concerned only with its own interests, often advocating a measure beneficial in some way to a certain portion of the workers, if that measure would but weaken the position of the other party.

We shall next see the factory system at the height of its development, and review the awful working conditions which existed, conditions which were later somewhat alleviated, not by any power of the workers but through just that intense conflict of interests and struggle for dominance between merchants and landowners which has been mentioned above.

A. C.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

(By M. Phillips Price, long time Russian correspondent of the Manchester Guardian.)

Moscow, May 15, 1918.

"Last night I was present at the sitting of the Central Executive of the All-Russian Soviet, at which Lenin opened a debate on foreign relations. He began by pointing out the possibility of the creation of a league of the capitalist nations of the world because of the fundamental antagonisms between the two chief Imperialist states of Europe—England and Germany on the one side and the Far East on the other. America and Japan, he said, prevented these powers from establishing a stable system in Europe and Asia. The capitalist system thereby showed its bankruptcy, for the modern financial capital could only exist by the struggle for undeveloped areas of the earth's surface.

"Lenin said the problem of the Soviet government was therefore to keep clear the two struggling groups of world-capital till the crash should come and the proletariat of these lands should take the reins of government. The Soviet government would use diplomatic methods as far as possible, to tide over the time, but if the German military party determined to tear up the Brest-Litovsk treaty, they would meet with all the resistance the Red Army could offer, and also of the millions of armed peasants, who now had their land and knew what they were fighting for."

M. Phillips Price who wrote the above is an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge University, England, and author of a book named "The Diplomatic History of the War." This book was reviewed in the "Clarion" of March, 1917. We make this note because Price is a publicist little likely to be possessed of pro-proletarian prejudices, or at least not preconceived ones.

THIS PAGE RESERVED FOR "The Workers' Socialist Party of the United States"

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

Dear Editor:—

My friend, Jack, referred this letter to me for criticism. I am forwarding it to you for publication as I believe it to be excellent propaganda which could be used to great advantage, especially since it deals with one of the greatest discussed, yet least understood questions.

Yours in revolt,

RAB.

Dear Brother Jack:

It was, certainly, good news to hear that your baby is fast recovering. Wife was just saying that we, poor folks, certainly keep paying more and more for goods which are always getting cheaper in quality and are, even, adulterated. She thinks that the grocer who sold you the rotten eggs and adulterated milk should be hung and if our baby took sick, she would shoot the responsible party. You, yourself, in your whole letter railed and raved against "the whole tribe of highway robbers and cut-throats." Dear brother Jack, your ideas are prevalent amongst the workers and for once, I am going to deal with rock-bottom facts, for only by understanding how and why you are robbed, can you or I hope to alter matters. After all, our letters have been full of sports, shows, and trivial things, that at the present time, don't amount to very much for us who just eke out a bare existence by the sweat of our brow.

On the surface, it appears that when you buy groceries, clothing, or what not, you are robbed by a clique of thieves who raise prices at their own sweet will. It's just like a great many things that appear on the surface: far, far different from the facts. On the surface the world is flat and the sun travels from east to west, but you know, actually, the world is round and travels around the sun, which is, roughly speaking, stationary. It seems that you are robbed as a consumer when you buy things. As a matter of fact, you are not robbed when you purchase your needs, for, on the average, commodities sell for what they are worth. There is a robbery taking place, all right enough, but it is in the workshops, the mills, the mines, etc. But more of this anon.

Let us analyze the scientific basis of the high cost of living. It may be a little dry, at first, Jack, but isn't it worth while if, thereby, we find a remedy. About the first thing that strikes our eye is that the whole question of prices is a question of exchange. You exchange money for goods. Why do these goods exchange at different prices? There must be some basis for this exchange. What is there common to all commodities that acts as the measure of exchange, i. e., as the measure of the values of the various articles? Is it size, weight, color, usefulness? These are all common to every commodity. None of these, however, is the measure of value, for they are all inherent, natural qualities which are incapable of measurement. Can usefulness measure value? How are you able to

tell that your Sunday suit at \$25.50 is more useful than your overalls at \$3.50. In fact, if usefulness counted for anything, your overalls are a great deal more valuable to you than your Sunday suit. Should you wear your Sunday suit all the time, you would starve for the want of a job. Is it weight? Six pounds of lead is worth about \$1.50 and six pounds of gold \$1750,000. Without further comment, we see the absurdity of weight and, for that matter, size or color measuring value.

Exchange presupposes a social relationship. We must analyze goods in their social, not natural, functions. What is there common to all commodities that is furnished by society? Regardless of how simple things may be they are all common having labor bestowed on them. There is no article for sale that has not labor worked or about to be worked up in it. Incidentally, how clear this makes it apparent that labor is the source of all exchange values.

Is it reasonable to state, that labor is the standard of value, i. e., that as articles have a greater or less degree of labor embodied in them, they are more or less valuable? Yes, for just a little investigation will prove to you that on the average, those things having the most labor wrapped up in them sell for the highest price, while those with the least labor, sell cheapest. Below is a chart which should help you to understand the relative value of commodities, i. e., the quantities of labor contained in commodities explain the proportions in which they exchange:

Chart No. 1.

Value of A. — Amount of labor fixed in A.
Value of B. — Amount of labor fixed in B.

As we increase the amount of labor worked up in A we increase its value in proportion to B, and vice versa. In other words, it does not take a great deal of labor to produce a suit of clothes (B). Thus the overalls sell for \$3.50 and the clothes at \$25.50. Were we to reduce the amount of labor in the suit of clothes one fifth, it would sell for \$21.40 and would only be six times as high a price as the overalls.

However, it is not wholly true to say that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor it took to make it. This labor must be socially necessary. Some jawbreaker, eh Jack! What do we mean by socially necessary? Simply this: Not only is there labor expended in the making of the final product, but there is labor stored up in the raw materials, machinery, etc., required to make the article in question. All of this labor which, plainly, is social, adds value. Of course, the article which is manufactured cheapest, sells at the lowest figure. That article can be manufactured cheapest which eliminates labor, waste, etc., to the greatest degree. All other articles in competition with it must sell at its prices. Now, the point is, that the commodity containing the least amount, i. e., just the necessary amount, of social labor, sets the value for its host of competitors. Thus we may state the law, the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor contained in it.

By the way, Jack, you should always bear in mind that I am only touching the high points. There have been volumes upon volumes written touching this question (the greater number of which I have not read yet) so that I am leaving unsaid a great many essential points, but I am laying down a foundation for you to build on. A commodity is any form of wealth produced for sale on the market. In the realm of commodities, which is the realm of our subject, we find the energy of the workers to labor, the labor power of the workingman is a commodity. In fact, it is the only thing he has for sale. In a recent ad in the Detroit newspapers, the Employers Ass'n. said: "Automobile workers, do not leave Detroit. The only thing you have to sell is your services and you can sell that here to better advantage than anywhere else." We saw how the value of a commodity was determined. Now let us apply this law to this commodity, labor power. His energy of work is wrapped up in his very existence. No work no life. The value of his labor power would be then, the value of the things it takes to keep him and his family alive; and the competition of workers for jobs, keeps it at the level of a bare subsistence. Let us look at Chart No. 2:

Hours	Value
1	\$.75
2	
3	\$2.25
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	\$7.50

Suppose that it takes three hours labor to produce the value of the necessities to keep the average worker alive. Then, the value of his labor power is three hours labor. If he worked three hours and received his value (\$2.25) there would be no profit for the employer since it took all that the three hours labor produced to pay the worker, but the workingman is not hired on any such basis. He is hired at his value, it is true, (i. e. at \$2.25) but his working day is limited only by his own physical endurance and the revolution of the earth on its axis. He is hired at his value i. e. three hours labor but continues, let us say, 7 more hours creating more wealth i. e. more value. The result is plain, although this commodity cost three hours labor, it sells for 10 hours labor which is the value of this new commodity. This seven hours labor for which the worker receives no return, i. e. this seven hours of unpaid labor we call surplus value. Is it becoming apparent where the robbery takes place?

I believe a simple chart is a most effective way of clearing up misunderstanding. If you fix these five charts in your mind, though you may forget the contents of my letter, they should help to give you a grasp of the subject.

Hours	Value
24	\$18.00
27	20.25
34	25.50

Your Sunday suit is worth \$25.50. In the woollens, cottons, shoddy, sewing machine (the amount of wear and tear on the machine, due to this one suit), etc.

there are let us say, 24 hours labor represented. Our tailor added three hours labor, so that there is a total of 27 hours labor (necessary labor) in your suit. There remains, seven hours unpaid labor, or \$5.25 surplus value. Your clothes have thirty four hours of socially necessary labor in them and are therefore worth thirty-four hours labor—\$25.50. But this suit cost twenty-seven hours labor—\$20.25. From this surplus value, comes all profits, rents, interests, the maintenance of the State, etc.

You are probably getting impatient to see the connection of all this to the high cost of living. We shall soon see: Price is the money expression of value, or in other words, the exchange value of all commodities is expressed in gold, which is ideal for this purpose on account of its weight, size, rarity, etc.

For the moment, let us analyze supply and demand so that we may dispose of this very confusing factor which, otherwise, would limit our understanding. The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor in it; but its price is regulated by supply and demand.

Supply	Demand
—	—
—	Value
—	—
Demand	Supply

Should we have a small demand but a large supply, the price would be low. On the other hand, a small supply accompanying a large demand, results in a high price. What happens when supply and demand balance each other. There still remains a price which exactly coincides with its value. We see, also, how absurd it is to maintain that supply and demand determine i. e. cause or create value. It merely regulates prices, now above, and now below their value. In the long run, the ups cancel the downs and vice versa. This suit of clothes at \$25.50 sells at its value as we have seen; and a profit is made, that is \$5.25 (see chart No. 3). Supposing it sold permanently, above its value? What we, then, would gain as a seller, we would lose as a buyer, and it is foolish to argue that merchants are always sellers and never buyers. This alone, almost, proves that goods sell at their value, for merchants are not in business for love.

But then, let our masters' flunkies and so called "political economists" who do not care to understand, much less explain the law of value peddle that junk. We know better.

The value of gold is determined in the same way as all other commodities. Vast changes have taken place in the mining of gold. By the cyanide process and other means, it takes less labor to produce an ounce of gold than ever before. The value of an ounce of gold has, therefore, dropped and its relative value to all other commodities changed (see chart No. 1).

Value of an ounce of gold
—
New value of an ounce of gold
—
Value of a suit of clothes
—

One ounce gold could exchange for this suit of clothes, but due to the lowering value of gold, it can now only exchange for four-fifths of a suit. In other words, in order to buy the same suit of clothes, it requires more than one ounce of gold (represented by the dotted

THE INCEPTION OF CAPITALISM.

(Continuation of article in August issue).

A word may be said on the important part the introduction of gunpowder and of printing played in the advance of the new order. Gunpowder was first brought into England from Arabia in the 14th century. It was used by the King's army against the feudal nobility with such telling effect that its power was at once recognized. The days of chivalry, when every man with a bow and arrow constituted a soldier and when every lord's castle served as a fort, were numbered with the advent of this new weapon. In the extension of trade and commerce, gunpowder proved of invaluable assistance. Without it, England could not have become so quickly a dominant commercial power, nor her efforts at colonization been so successful.

The art of printing was introduced from Germany in the 15th century. Besides greatly stimulating an interest in literature, the printed page made possible a more general distribution of scientific and technical knowledge, and through the exchange of books with other countries, English merchants were able to profit by the experiences and discoveries of foreign merchants.

The voyages of Drake from 1577-80 laid the foundation of English commerce. Soon after, the Venetian Fleet, which had for so long taken care of England's exportations, made its last trip to her shores. England was now able to carry her products on her own ships to all parts of the known world. The manufacture of cloth was the foremost industry of the time, and therefore sheep-raising took on ever larger proportions.

Both wife and myself send regards and love,

Your brother,

JIM

P.S.—Some may criticize my letter since I do not deal very greatly with the effect of gold on prices, but I maintain that after all, the knowledge of the law of value is the essential thing, since it gives the key to the understanding of the high cost of living and all other economic questions of Capitalism.

Erratum Notes Re Article on "Proletarian Logic" in the August Issue.

- 1—7th paragraph, 4th line, should have read: "Imagine the thoughts of a man."
- 2—13th paragraph, 23rd line, should have read "Infinite, finite, and ever."
- 3—15th paragraph, 21st line, should have read "Giving us an understanding of the human brain. The old Greek philosophers strove for understanding by attempting to make, etc." Rab.

SECRETARIAL SCRAPS

The Comrades of Winnipeg are issuing propaganda leaflets, each one containing an article selected from the organs of Scientific Socialism. The leaflets are suitable for distribution in any part of the country. They forward us two samples, No. seven and eight, of the series, which we can recommend. One is from the "Clarion" on "Trades Unionism," by Jack Harrington, the other from the "Proletarian," of Detroit, Michigan. Send to A. Paterson, Box 2025, Winnipeg, \$3.00 per thousand.

Comrade Jack Kavanagh, secretary of Vancouver Local No. 1, and delegate to the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council from the Longshoremen's Union, is attending the Trades Congress in Quebec.

In our next we shall review the wars and commercial expansion of the new system, together with the great changes which took place at home due to the influence of the Industrial Revolution. **Adelina Crosetti**

STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE

By Mary E. Marcy

(Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, Chicago, \$1.00.)

It has often been observed by Socialists that the education handed down by the Capitalist class to the children of the workers is singularly lacking in many respects. This state of affairs, no doubt, is chiefly due to a determination to limit the education of the children to those subjects only which would make them efficient workers, carefully avoiding sciences such as ethnology, sociology and economics which would tend to develop a consciousness of their true position in human society.

Mary E. Marcy in her book "Stories of the Cave People" published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., has attempted to meet this want: The book consists of a series of imaginary episodes each purporting to describe the first discovery or invention of the different arts and industries such as the use of fire, weapons, pottery, etc.

The book has a certain educational value and is evidently designed to be used as a text book in Socialist Sunday Schools and such like, a series of questions being appended to each chapter.

The book is attractively printed, illustrated and bound and sells for one dollar.

BUSINESS MEETING DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Convened in the office of the Secretary, 401 Pender St. E. Vancouver, August 18th, 1918.

Present: G. Morgan, W. A. Pritchard, L. Robertson, J. Harrington, J. Kavanagh, Chas. Oakley (delegate Vancouver Lettish Local); seated as visitors, W. Bennett, J. Smith; Chairman, L. Robertson.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence Read:—British Columbia—L. E. Bartlett, Whonock; H. Bolingbroke, Greenwood; E. J. Calnan, Cumberland; N. L. J. Grogan, Anyox; W. J. McMillan, Cumberland; P. O'Brien, Powell River; Magnus Olson, Golden; I. I. Olson, Cumberland; Mrs. Richards, Brechin, Alberta—R. A.dy, Alhambra; Mrs. Butler, Taber; Otto Muller, Coleman; J. W. Dargie, Empress; Geo. A. Faulkner, Kinross; J. G. Haeulak, Whitford; J. R. Lawson, Calgary; J. F. Maguire, Edmonton; (2) A. D. Oakes, Tilley; Geo. Paton, Delbourne; C. Russell, Nordegg. Saskatchewan—J. Carruthers, Saskatoon; J. H. Moon, N. Battleford; Ole Hjelt, Tristram; Harold Melbo, Horse Butte; E. M. Mutch, Regina; H. Smith, N. Battleford; H. Vindeq, Sunist, Manitoba—W. Breeze, Winnipeg; J. Fisher, Lac Du Bonnet; E. Mitchell, Brandon; H. J. Raymond, Winnipeg; A. Paterson, Winnipeg (2). Ontario—F. Cuntance, Toronto; J. Chapman, Ottawa; A. Leckie, Ottawa; S. Major, Toronto (2); A. McIntosh, Parry Sound; D. Thomson, St. Catharines (3). New Brunswick—M. Goudie, St. John; F. Willard Thompson, St. John. Foreign—L. M. Beardsley, Detroit, Mich.; S. G. Lamp, Detroit, Mich.; F. Kissack, Portland, Ore.; C. M. O'Brien, Rochester, N.Y.; Walter Menzies, Okongo Gt. Barrier, New Zealand; Radical Review, 202 East 17th St., New York.

Moved by Harrington, seconded by Kavanagh: That the recommendation of the Manitoba P.E.C. re Charter for the Winnipeg Lettish Local be complied with.—Carried.

Admitted to Membership at large, J. Carson, Smithers, B.C. Financial Statement, June, 1918

RECEIPTS—

Subscriptions for Clarion \$205.40
Directory and Bundles 21.75

C. M. F.	11.75
Literature Sales	55.25
Stamps & Supplies	19.90
Cash on Hand, 1st June	341.62
EXPENDITURES—	
Printing Clarion No. 806	\$ 80.00
Wages	54.00
Miscellaneous	23.99
Returned Money Orders	.40
Cash on Hand 30th June, 1918	507.28
	\$965.67

Financial Statement July, 1918

RECEIPTS—

Subscriptions to Clarion	\$153.50
Directory & Bundles	54.88
C. M. F.	13.00
Literature	27.09
Stamps & Supplies	21.82
Cash on Hand, 1st July	507.28
EXPENDITURES—	
Printing Clarion No. 807	\$ 85.50
Printing 500 extra Clarions No. 806	8.00
Wages	54.00
Miscellaneous	34.25
Cash on Hand, 31st July	595.42

\$777.77 \$777.17

The above Financial Statement was submitted and received, pending Auditor's Report. Adjournment.

BUSINESS MEETING DOMINION EX. COMMITTEE

Convened in office of Secretary, 401 Pender St. E., Aug. 23rd, 1918, Vancouver, B. C.

Present:—Comrades Pritchard, Harrington, Jenkins, Robertson, and Secretary. Chairman, Com. Jenkins.

Correspondence:—British Columbia—J. Carson, Smithers; A. Webster, Trail; Ella Darlington, Victoria; J. E. McGregor, Crawford Bay; W. Webster, Powell River; S. Oliver, James Island; J. Stevenson, Victoria (2); Oscar Erickson, Fernie; W. J. McMillan, Cumberland; H. J. B. Harper, Quatsino; W. Churchill, Beaverdell; C. D. Haven, Smithers; A. P. McCabe, Smithers (2); J. Crieder, Kingcome River; I. I. Olson, Cumberland; Alberta—N. D. Thachuk, Camrose; Mrs. Jean McEwen, Calgary; J. R. Lawson, Calgary; F. E. Creer, Calgary; C. M. Christianson, Dickson; Gas Johnson, Wayne (2); S. Larson, Lethbridge. Saskatchewan—The Star News Agency, N. Battleford. Manitoba—T. Hawell, Brandon (2); A. Paterson, Winnipeg (3); J. Carruthers, Saskatoon. Ontario—M. Chersgill, Jack Fish; F. J. Connert, Kenora; A. G. McCallum, Ottawa. Quebec—O. A. Field, Montreal. New Brunswick—R. A. Fillmore, St. John. Foreign—Radical Review, New York (2); The Milwaukee Leader, Milwaukee, Wis.; Raymers Old Book Store, Seattle, Wash.; Occidental News Agency, Seattle, Wash.; Moses Bartis, Seattle Wash (3); C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.; C. H. Wellerman, France.

Moved (Harrington), second (Pritchard) that the old charter of Cumberland Local be rescinded and a new charter be granted, together with the library and effects of the defunct Local.—Carried.

A Charter was also granted to Lettish Comrades on recommendation from Manitoba P. E. C.

Moved and seconded that Com. Lafaux's offer to close Multigrass account of \$79.00 for \$50.00 be accepted.—Carried.

Admitted to membership at large: Joseph Taylor, Fort George, B. C.

Socialist Party Directory

HERE AND NOW

Goodwin Memorial Meeting, Cumberland	43	7
Victoria Local	17	7
Winnipeg Local	7	29
Vancouver Local	4	5
St. Catharines Local	4	1
Joe Johnson, Vancouver	18	4
W. J. McMillan, Cumberland	11	4
L. I. Olson, Cumberland	9	4
Gas Johnson, Wayne, Alta	8	—
W. Bennett, Vancouver	4	5
M. Goudie, St. John, N. B.	7	5
L. H. Moon, N. Battleford Sask	4	1
C. Steen, Vancouver	4	—
D. Caird, Vancouver	3	1
J. Stevenson, Victoria	4	1
O. Muller, Coleman, Alta	3	—
T. C. Mace, Vancouver	2	2
H. Vindeq, Sunist, Sask	2	1
J. Carruthers, Saskatoon, Sask	2	—
F. Cuntance, Toronto	2	—
R. A. Fillmore, Burton, N. B.	2	—
E. J. Calnan, Cumberland	2	—
H. Bolingbroke, Greenwood	2	—
A. P. McCabe, Smithers, B.C.	2	—
W. Breeze, Winnipeg, Man.	1	14
Geo. Hallen, Vancouver	1	1
Joe Hiebley, Vancouver	1	1
T. Hawell, Brandon, Man.	1	1
N. Booth, Vancouver	1	4
E. M. Mutch, Regina, Sask	1	4
F. J. Connert, Kenora, Ont.	1	4
J. Chapman, Ottawa	1	4

169 165

1008ingles:—A. D. Oakes, Tilley, Alta; Geo. Faulkner, Kinross, Alta; J. M. Dargie, Empress, Alta; C. M. Christianson, Dickson, Alta; N. D. Thachuk, Camrose, Alta; Ole Hjelt, Tristram, Sask; J. Fisher, Lak Du Bonnet, Man.; E. D. Mitchell, Winnipeg, Man.; C. M. O'Brien, Rochester, N.Y.; R. Addy, Alhambra, Alta; Alex. Leckie, Semans, Sask; Magnus Olson, Golden, B. C.; N. Loffgren, Anyox, B. C.; J. E. McGregor, Albert Bay, B. C.; Mrs. Richards, South Wellington, B. C.; Casey and Tim Walker, Buckley Bay, B. C.; H. Bedford, Milwaukee, Wis.; A. W. Pritchard, Vancouver, B. C.; Dave Watts, Vancouver, B. C.; Oscar Erickson, Fernie, B. C.—20.

50 cent Singles:—J. Harrington, Vancouver; J. Mathieson, Vancouver; J. Hanson, Vancouver; W. McMahon, Vancouver; J. Ewart, Vancouver; A. Chertil, Jack Fish, Ont.; Fred Kissack, Portland, Ore.—7.

Bundles:—L. L. A. Vancouver, 5 copies for 20 months; Occidental News, increase to 100 copies per month; Raymer's Old Bookstore, 50 copies per month.

This list compiled August 22nd.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Tim Walker, Buckley Bay	\$5.00
J. Casey, Buckley Bay	5.00
R. A. Fillmore, St. John, N. B.	.75
Local St. Catharines	1.20
T. Hawell, Brandon	.50
Vancouver Lettish Local No. 38	5.00
J. Williams, Ottawa	1.60

\$18.35

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Sunday, 2 p.m., Socialist Hall, N.E. cor. Pender and Dunley, Vancouver, B. C.—C. Stephenson, Secretary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL
Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, meets same as above.

ALBERTA AND BASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary, John F. Maguire, Box 785, Edmonton, Phone 4803.

LOCAL ALHAMBRA, No. 74 (Alta.)
S. P. of C.—P. O. Peterson, Secretary, Horseshoars, Alta.

LOCAL BRANDON No. 88 (Man.) S. P.
of C.—Secretary, Thos. Hanwell, 343 21st Street, Brandon, Man.

LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P.
of C.—Business meeting every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p.m. Economic class every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Headquarters, Room 207, Hay Block, 236A 8th Ave. W. Secretary, W. R. Lawin, 1018 13th Ave. west.

LOCAL CLAYTON, No. 83 (B.C.), S. P.
of C.—John T. Dempster, Secretary, Clayton, B. C.

LOCAL CUMBERLAND, B. C. No. 70.
Business meetings every first and third Sunday in the month, at 10:30 a.m. Economic classes every Monday and Friday, at 7 p.m., in the Socialist Hall opposite P. 5478. Regular Propaganda meetings at every opportunity. J. McMillan, Box 212, corresponding and financial secretary.

LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.
Free reading room and headquarters Room 5, Bellamy Bldg. Propaganda meeting every Sunday in the Hijou Theatre, First St., at 8 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. Slater, organizer. E. H. Plegg, secretary, P. O. Box 785.

LOCAL ESKINE, No. 32 (Alta.), S. P. of C.
—A. A. McNeill, Secretary. Eskine, Alta.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C., hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. Oscar Erickson, secretary, Box 505.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, No. 25, S. P. of C.
—Meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Will Jones, Box 125, Secretary.

LOCAL FERGUSON FLATS, No. 85 (Alta.)—O. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Flats, Alta.

MEDICINE HAT (Lettish) Local S. P. of C. Meets first Sunday in the month at 528 C Princess Ave., J. R. Kalnin, Secretary.

LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta.) S. P.
of C.—F. H. James, Secretary, Deerling P. O., Alta. Business meetings first Saturday of every month.

LOCAL ECKVILLE, No. 58 (Alta.), S. P.
of C.—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.

LOCAL KINDERLES, No. 10 (Sask.)
S. P. of C.—H. Vindeq, Secretary, Sunist, Sask.

LOCAL MARKERVILLE, No. 31 (Alta.)
S. P. of C.—S. E. Baldwin, Secretary, Markerville, Alta.

LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.
—314 St. Catherine St. W. Address all enquiries to P.O. Box 253, Station H, Montreal, P. Q. Secretary Charles M. Robertson. Headquarters open every evening.

LOCAL FLOWERDALE, No. 71 (Alta.)
S. P. of C.—Mrs. J. K. Macdonald, Secretary, Richdale, Alta.

MANITOBA P. E. C.—Jurisdiction from Moose Jaw, Sask., to the head of the Great Lakes. Information and literature freely supplied.—Apply Sec. Treas., Alex. Paterson, Box 2025, Winnipeg. Phone G3338.

LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 101 (Alta.)
S. P. of C.—Benny Johnson, Secretary, Baraca, P. O. Alta.

LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.)
S. P. of C.—Economic Class every Sunday, 2 p.m., 28 Queen Street.

LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B., No. 1, S. P. of C.
—Visiting Comrades welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 24 Main St.

LOCAL TRAVERS, No. 55 (Alta.), S. P.
of C.—W. A. Brown, Secretary, Travers, P. O., Alta.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C.
—Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 401 Pender St. E. Propaganda meeting at the Empress Theatre every Sunday, 8 p.m. Secretary, J. Kavanagh.

VANCOUVER LETTISH LOCAL No. 58.
S. P. of C.—Business meeting every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday at 11 a.m. Open to everybody, at Social-Letter, Secretary, Robert Kalnin, Box 667.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., No. 45. Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month at 2215 Pender St. East, Ovia Lind, Secretary.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C.
—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1424 Government St., Room 8. Business meetings every second and fourth Tuesday in the month. Secretary, J. Stevenson, 1424 Government St.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 3, S. P. of C.
—Headquarters Room 4—328 Smith St. Business meetings Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings Sundays, 8 p.m. Economic Class, Sundays 5 p.m. Lending Library 50 cents per year. Organizers, Johns Henderson and Stewart, Secretary, Albert Korin, P. O. Box 2025.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.
—Business meeting 1st Sunday in the month at Monument National, 2nd Floor, 3 p.m. Secretary, A. G. McCallum, 276 Laurier Ave. W.

