

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 899.

NINETEENTH YEAR.

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 17, 1923.

FIVE CENTS

What, and Whence and Why This Intangibility?

"It is difficult to describe the growing despair of the masses, because it is itself blind and uncomprehending. The dole of paper marks that seem enough for a week, in a few days will be almost worthless. . . It is an oppression far worse than any previous oppression directly exercised by master over slave, or by one class over another (?) for the oppressor is invisible and intangible."—Manchester Guardian Weekly, August 3, 1923.

IN Capitalist society production is carried on, not for the use and satisfaction of society, but entirely for the profit of the Capitalist class. It is carried on for profit because the social means of life and production belong wholly to the capitalist class. And it is the privilege of ownership to determine the destiny of its property.

Since the object of capitalist production is the acquirement of wealth, the destiny of its production is sale. For there is but one way to acquire wealth—the application of human energy to the natural resources of the earth. And but one way to accumulate profit—by controlling the fruits of that energy. Clearly, since only labor produces wealth, and only ownership sells it, labor must be debarred from the bounty of its own production. Being so debarred, it is equally clear that profit is to be realised outside the source of its production. How?

As capitalist production is commercial production, the whole of its processes belong to the price system. Thus the energy which produces all wealth—the energy of labor—is priced with the money tags of the world market; and that price, in the last resort, is determined by the labor conditions of the world market. Owing to the machine production of the greater industry labor-power is a chronic drug on the market, both quantitatively and qualitatively. And because of the necessary operations of the price system the price of labor-power is the price of its reproduction. Hence, the machine industry, by the same process augments the volume of production, limits the quantity of required labor, and lowers the price of its reproduction. Consequently, with a lower price of wages and an increase in the mass of unemployment, and at the same time an increase in the mass of production, it becomes impossible to sell production to its producers. Relative to the forces of production (value) the volume of wealth is increased. Relative to the forces of exchange (price) the capacity of the world market declines. Hence there is a conflict between the forces of production and the forces of exchange. The elimination of this conflict is, at once, the objective and cause of trusts and combines. They seek to regulate production to demand. That is, to control the market, i.e., to create a monopoly. But as this regulation of the market is entirely in the interests of the price system, it automatically "regulates" the forces of production—the social forces of life and living. For as exchange is dependent on the market, production on exchange, and profit on production, when the market stagnates industry ceases and "prosperity" flies away. And as labor is dependent on industry for wages, naturally labor stagnates with the market.

Nowadays, production is no longer a petty struggle of individual competition with small tools. It is a thing of connective monopolies with high power machinery. The whole process of industry is social; everywhere interlocked; everywhere interdependent. Yet, because industry rests on this basis of private property, the whole bounty of social production accrues to the monopolist owners of capitalist property. Therefore have the owners the legal right of control. So long as they can find a profitable market for the disposal of the surplus of social production industry hums, and the wage slave purrs in "sweet content." But because the market is limited, the market is quickly glutted, with machine production, and enforced idleness degenerates the society of property with ever deepening intensity.

Let us look briefly at exchange. Capitalist commerce has locked the world in business. All nations exchange their products for the products of all others. They balance their books, as it were, annually, and whatever difference there may be between them is frequently settled by shipments of gold. But such shipments are usually small. Because generally, and everything taken into account, exports balance imports. This balance is reflected in the rate of exchange. That is, so many marks, or francs, or lire, or dollars to the £ sterling. In normal circumstances they are practically equivalent. Indeed they must be, for no nation can continuously and excessively increase imports alone without its exchange falling and consequently putting a brake on the process. Because its national resources would be bonded beyond their present face value. And no nation can continuously augment its exports alone without collapsing in a general smother of poverty. Because then its resources would be rapidly depleted, and it could only remain in existence, and be "paid" for its exports, by taking (importing) the commodities of other countries. Thus the whole world is held to the basis of value by the economics of the business system.

This process of exchange, although technically resting on a gold basis (i.e., can be "paid for" in gold) is actually on a basis of credit (interchange of commodities). This change from gold to the fiction of credit has come about because of the enormous extension of capitalist commerce, and the convenience and facility which paper affords in the practical business of exchange. But this paper business has involved industry in the bondage of high finance. It is dependent on high finance, alike for the organisation of its industry, for the production of its commodities, and for their circulation. As the operations of finance are intricate and complex, so the organisation of international commerce is delicate and sensitive to every movement of society. Like an electric wire, finance is strung upon the nations, and a break or flaw anywhere immediately induces its reaction throughout the entire system. Yet so long as the world market can—even languidly—absorb the world's produce, the delicate poise of financial and commercial relations is maintained, the paper of business is everywhere equiv-

alent to the gold of reality, and commands face value for value. But it is not to be forgotten that paper is not gold; that commerce is not wealth; that credit is debt-impossible to be redeemed; and that the greater the volume of credit the greater must grow the world market.

Consequently, to stabilise credit surplus must increase and business expand. But it can only expand under the monopolistic, competitive terms of capitalist society. And it is the inexorable necessity of capitalist production that surplus is only to be increased, *pari passu*, with the shrinking of the world market. For, as already pointed out, competitive production (cheap labor and high power machinery) rapidly increases surplus, but also as rapidly destroys purchasing power, i.e., the effective market. So it comes about that the economic struggle for business becomes transformed—or extended into—the political struggle for markets. That is to say, for the resources of the earth, and concessions, and spheres of influence wherein supremacy may unload them, at a profit. That was the occasion of the war. To open the doors of the world market to the machine industry of Imperial Britain; and to close them against her rival Imperial Germany.

During the war, and for the prosecution of the war, the normal creative industry of commerce was transformed into a destructive market of war. All society was agog. The sudden demand for commodities sent up price. Forced production induced extravagant production. Forced credits (domestic and interallied) plastered the nations with far flung mortgages, and held in abeyance the normal exchange (and rates) of commerce. Thereby the nations were confronted with the necessity of "inflation," i.e., the increase of paper to maintain the cohesion of capitalist society.

With the "great peace" America found herself the greatest "creditor" nation, while Britain stood ready, with unimpaired productive plant and partly remodelled for greater efficiency in the competitive realms of peace. And France, bankrupt in the war, stood menacingly over the fruits of allied victory. Hence we came by "deflation" and "readjustment,"—that is, the abandonment of forced production and forced credit,—with the inevitable consequences, the disbanding of the forces of labor and the shrinking of the effective market. Necessarily, unemployment grew, like Jack's beanstalk; wages vanished in the glutted market; stocks in hand fostered the miseries of abundance; while business "regulation" stiffened the price level and maintained the rate of profit.

The same forces precisely produced like conditions in Germany. But Germany emerged from the war broken and defeated; her commerce gone; her productive organisation and plant ruined or dilapidated, mortgaged in a victor's peace; devoid of foreign credits; stripped of external resources; in dire straits for social necessities; with an inflated currency; and debarred from the international comity of nations. Germany presented a needy enough

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The Significance of Marx

ARL MARX belongs to the ranks of those philosophical and sociological thinkers who throw potent thought-ferment into the world, and set in motion the masses of mankind. They awaken slumbering doubts and contradictions. They proclaim new modes of thought, new social forms. Their systems may sooner or later become obsolete, and the ruthless march of time may finally overthrow their intellectual edifice; meanwhile, however, they stimulate into activity the minds of countless men, inflame countless human hearts, imprinting on them characteristics which are transmitted to coming generations. This is the grandest and finest work to which any human being can be called. Because these thinkers have lived and worked, their contemporaries and successors think more clearly, feel more intensely, and are richer in knowledge and self-consciousness.

The history of philosophy and of social science is comprised in such systems and generalizations. They are the index to the annals of mankind. None of these systems is complete, none comprehends all human motives and capacities, none exhausts all the forces and currents of human society. They all express only fragmentary truths, which, however, become effective and achieve success because they are shining lights amidst the intellectual confusion of the generation which gives them birth, bringing it to a consciousness of the questions of the time, rendering its further development less difficult, and enabling its strongest spirits to stand erect, with a fixity of purpose, in critical periods.

Hegel expresses himself in a similar sense where he remarks: "When the refutation of a philosophy is spoken of, this is usually meant in an abstract negative (completely destructive) sense, so that the confuted philosophy has no longer any validity, whatever, and is set aside and done with. If this be so, the study of the history of philosophy must be regarded as a thoroughly depressing business, seeing that this study teaches that every system of philosophy which has arisen in the course of time has found its refutation. But it is as good as granted that every philosophy has been refuted, yet at the same time it must be also asserted that no philosophy has been refuted, nor ever can be refuted . . . for every philosophical system is to be

considered as the presentation of a particular moment or a particular stage in the evolutionary process of the idea. The history of philosophy . . . is not, in its totality, a gallery of the aberrations of the human intellect, but is rather to be compared to a pantheon of deities."—"Hegel, Encyclopaedia," vol. 1, section 86, note 2).

What Hegel says here about philosophy is true also of systems of social science, and styles and forms in art. The displacement of one system by another reflects the historical sequence of the various stages of social evolution. The characteristic which is common to all these systems is their vitality.

In spite of their defects and difficulties there surges through them a living spirit from the influences of which contemporaries cannot escape. Opponents may put themselves to endless trouble to contradict such systems, and show up their shortcomings and inconsistencies, and yet, with all their pains, they do not succeed in attaining their object; their logical sapping and mining, their passionate attacks break against the vital spirit which the creative genius has breathed into his work. The deep impression made on us by this vitality is one of the main factors in the formation of our judgments upon scientific and artistic achievements. Mere formal perfection and beauty through which the life of the times does not throb can never create this impression.

Walter Scott, who was often reproached with defects and inconsistencies in the construction of his novels, once made answer with the following anecdote: "A French sculptor, who had taken up his abode in Rome, was fond of taking to the Capitol his artistically inclined countrymen who were travelling in Italy, to show them the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, on which occasions he was at pains to demonstrate that the horse was defectively modelled, and did not meet the requirements of anatomy. After one of these criticisms a visitor urged him to prove his case in a concrete form by constructing a horse in correct artistic principles. The critic set to work, and when, after the lapse of a year, his friends were again visiting Rome, exhibited to them his horse. It was anatomically perfect, proudly he had it brought to the Capital, in order to compare both productions and so celebrate his tri-

umph. Quite absorbed in his critical comparison, the French sculptor after a while gave way to a burst of genuine artistic feeling, which caused him pathetically to exclaim, "Et pourtant cette bete-la est vivante, et la mienne est morte!" (And yet that animal is alive, while mine is dead).

Quite a number of Marxian critics find themselves in the same position as the hypercritical French sculptor. Their formal and logically complete economic doctrines and systems of historical philosophy, provided with pedantically correct details and definitions, remain dead and ineffective. They do not put us into contact with the relations of the time, whereas Marx has bequeathed both to the educated and the uneducated, to his readers and to non-readers, a multitude of ideas and expressions relating to social science, which have become current throughout the whole world.

In Petrograd and in Tokio, in Berlin and in London, in Paris and in Pittsburg, people speak of capital and of the capitalist system, of means of production and of the class struggle; of Reform and Revolution; of the Proletariat and of Socialism. The extent of Marx's influence is shown by the economic explanation of the world-war, which is even accepted by the most decided opponents of the materialist conception of history. A generation after Marx's death, the sovereignty of Capital shrinks visibly, works' committees and shops' stewards interfere with the productive processes, Socialists and Labor men fill the Parliaments, working men and their representatives rise to or take by storm the highest position of political power in States and Empire. Many of their triumphs would scarcely have received Marx's approval. His theory, white-hot with indomitable passion, demanded that the new tables of the Law should be given to men amidst thunder and lightning. But still the essential thing is that the proletariat is loosening its bonds, even if it does not burst them noisily asunder. We find ourselves in the first stages of the evolution of Socialist society. Through whatever forms this evolutionary process may pass in its logical development, this much is certain, that only by active thought on the part of Socialists and by the loyal co-operation of the workers can it be brought to its perfection.

M. BEER.

WHAT, AND WHENCE, AND WHY THIS INTANGIBILITY.

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market. But not an effective one,—one able to "pay." Her international credit of business was a minus quantity; she was shut off from the means and material of world production, and faced with high and adverse exchanges in consequence. She was compelled, with a beggar's cap in her hand, to buy what little she was able to buy, in whatever market she was permitted to enter, at the high rates of current prices and to pay for them by pledging what meagre resources remained to her. Necessarily that meant more credit, i.e., more debt, and of course more inflation. She was compelled to export in payment of reparations. But that business brought nothing in return; it further depleted her national resources and therefor further impaired her credit standing. So her exchange fell another thousand or two, producing more inflation, which in turn induced another fall in exchange. Internally, labor was busy. But it was busy on the debts of its masters. It was itself denied even the slave's market subsistence. All effort was centred on reparations. Social production for social existence was at a minimum. What little could be obtained from foreign sources was at the cost of further inflation. Germany was literally driven in on herself, forced to sustain herself from her own limited capacities.

With a teeming population, industrially organized and requiring foreign trade to maintain that organization—the experiment failed. The demand for life's necessities increased, prices rose, wages dragged up slowly after them, and under the stimulus of internal demand and external restrictions the process of inflation went merrily on. So the process has reached the giant stature of today, until exchange that was once par at 20 is now quoted in millions; and until the wages that are paid in those millions, today, vanish like a witch's penny in the nothingness of the price magnitudes of tomorrow.

The "tired business man" avers that the devastation and imminent collapse of Germany is due to the "iniquitous" treaty of Versailles; to reparations; sanctions, and the Ruhr invasion. So it is—superficially. And it is all one may expect from business. But behind the treaty is the power that fought for dominance in the world market. Behind reparations is the tribute that accrued to that dominance. At the back of the "sanctions" is the dread of overwhelming ruin. And the advance on the Ruhr indicated the determination to avoid that ruin—and the inspiration to occupy that "place in the sun" which was once the ambition of Germany. And behind them all is the imperious necessity of capitalist business to subjugate the world's resources for the profit and privilege of capitalist private property. Machine production under the incentive of surplus. Production wholly for profit. Production organized entirely for the private benefit of the cap-

italist class. Production controlled and regulated by an overmastering oligarchy of finance. That is the "intangibility" that ruins and consumes, not only Germany and her people, not alone Europe and its bounty, but man and his potentialities. The holocausts of the last eight years; the great war; the agonies of Russia; the degradation of Germany; the exhaustion of Austria; the chaos and disruption of political demarcations,—these events are not "accidents" and disasters. They are the inevitable and natural outcome of the capitalist system of society. They are vivid pictures of the savagery, the destruction and cruelty, unabated and unabashed, of a ruling class for the retention of its property in the social means of life. And they cry from the rooftops of the necessity of class conscious understanding of the thing we are—slaves—and of the thing we want—social ownership of social production—to meet and overmatch their duplicity and their power.

The problems of exchange belong exclusively to the owners of private property. With them the working class has neither part nor lot nor concern. Exchange is the problem of the disposal of surplus. Having no share in its possession, we have no interest in its destiny. Our problem lies in the sphere of production. It is one and single; and its issue is clear. The private ownership of the social means of life and living is the prime cause of our economic tribulations; of modern wars and frenzied finance; of insensate speed, and insensate necessity; of cor-

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Atonement

IF Haeckel's definition be accepted that God is the spirit of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True, then unity with such a spirit is highly desirable. Atonement, that is, at-one-ment, is the word that describes this state and at least one religion—the forerunner of Christianity—solemnly celebrates for that purpose a whole Day of Atonement. But as Socialists do not specialize in any phases of other-worldliness, the foregoing may serve as introduction to the sort of this worldly atonement or unity that best serves our earthly interests; and also lead us to considerations relative to the causes that prevent it.

Presuming that what we want is "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," these cannot be obtained if, as workers (the typical capitalist class have no need to worry!) we are either unemployed, unpaid, underpaid, or over-employed. Without unity—a house divided against itself—the struggle to gain our objects will end in failure. Hence, our stock demand is for international unity of workers, irrespective of sex, race, color or creed.

Sex agreement is not a difficult problem, but that of race and color is a different matter, especially as the question of creeds with their dietary and hygienic subdivisions adds to the complications. The human race has in its evolution, given off various branches and the struggle for existence has left an ugly phase of obstinate striving for racial survival among many people who by some by-chance or accident came into being. Once these get the idea that they are "a little lower than the angels" and are the victims of persecution and oppression, their signal has been given for the centuries-long waste of thought and energy that goes with all purely national struggles. It was against such ego-mania that Omar directed quatrain:

And fear not lest Existence closing your
Account, and mine, should know the like no more;
The Eternal Saki (cup-bearer) from that Bowl has
poured
Millions of Bubbles like us, and will pour.

And yet, provided the artificial stimuli of outside pressure and miseducation could be removed the most ingrained racial antagonisms would decline and die. How unnatural the whole business is may be seen from the case of an intimate friend of the writer's—a Jew, the son of a Polish father and an English mother and himself a native of Scotland. His speaking accent from dominant maternal influences, is somewhat English but also modified by the Scottish environment. As his appearance is not markedly Semitic, the consequence was that in Scotland he was frequently accused of being English and when in England was just as often charged with being a Scotsman and variously hailed as "Mac" or "Scotty" and, having acquired some Americanisms, had sometimes to submit to Yankee implications; whilst in Dublin on a visit, they did not hesitate to place him as a Galway Irishman! He himself, as a lad, was fain to rejoice in Scottish victories over the hated (and "brother" Anglo-Saxon!) "Southron," not to mention British victories over the French; until in later life some kind and candid friends revealed the fact to him that his ancestors had as much to do with glorious Bannockburn and such like, as any tribe of Africa Hottentots. To crown all, he, to his inward amusement, was not seldom the recipient of vituperative tales from unsuspecting Gentile confidants with grievances fan-

ciated or real against his own compatriots.

So much for one whom, many of his neighbors insisted on robbing of his nationality. Here, on the contrary, are two men also intimates of the writer's, who unjustly and unasked for, received what the other was often denied. Both were Scotsmen, one of Highland and the other of Border descent; and each was swarthy and very Jewish looking; possibly (pace the British Israel Association) members of those lost ten tribes! Both men, on one occasion, had to run the gauntlet of a Scottish "newsy" who pestered each, but without success to purchase his wares. Great minds think alike; so each disappointed lad waited till his victim had walked a safe distance away: then came the taunting, insulting roar, "Sheeny!" It might be mentioned that the Celt earned this epithet solely on the merits of his facial and physical appearance. The Border Scot, however, had the additional advantage, he being a dabbler in art, of extraneous aid in the shape of some framed pictures he was then carrying under his arms; for the picture-framing business is in the same class as what Com. Leckie told us in the case of a priestly economist who (probably in characteristically meek retaliation for Marx's Bible and brandy etc., data) accused the latter of overfondness in using in his "Capital" junk-iron-fraternity illustrations. Yet, as above remarked neither Caledonian had, to his knowledge, the least drop of Semitic blood in his veins.

The moral, to a very large extent, of the foregoing, is that—to paraphrase Hamlet—"there's nothing racially true or false but thinking makes it so." And if a real thinker like the moody Dane, who was not a misanthropist, surveying the entire field of the sexes, could affirm "man delights not me: nor woman neither" is it strange that other thinkers, within the far narrower bounds of race, should refuse to give the stamp of approval to any individual just because they happen to be compatriots? In his "Confessions of a Young Man" Geo. Moore, who was both a Catholic and an Irishman, affirms his detestation for both his religion and his countrymen, his love for Anglo-Saxon and his affinity for France and Frenchmen which influenced him to the extent that after living in France, he nearly forgot how to speak his native English, and had, on his return to London, to relearn it.

Even the late Jas. Connolly, who died a leader in defence of Irish independence, has 2 striking passages in his pamphlet "Socialism Made Easy" in which he indignantly attacks the Catholic Church when she uses her powers to slander Socialism and Socialists on behalf of capitalist blackguards, all of which doesn't read as if, as a prominent American Socialist (*) accused him of he were ever a "Jesuit tool." Connolly also exposes the hollowness of mere Irish nationalism when all it leads to is "when you cannot find employment and giving up the struggle for life in despair, you enter the poorhouse, the band of the nearest regiment of the Irish army will escort you to the poorhouse door to the tune of St. Patrick's Day' Oh, it will be nice to live in those days! 'With the green flag floating o'er us' and an ever-increasing army of unemployed workers walking about under the green flag wishing they had something to eat. Same as now! Whoop it up for liberty!"

Thus we see, mere nationalism is of small value in itself and in excess is a hindrance to progress; especially as no race, not even those that are "pure" is of unmixed blood. But equally as much as nationalism "religious" factors are also to blame in creating dissension and disunity, according to H. E. M. Stutfield who, about a year ago, shortly

* "Prominent American Socialist": De Leon in a silly row he had with Connolly.

after a startling political murder in London, Eng., wrote as follows thereon in "The National Review," and which might throw some light too on the recent Swiss assassination: "I have shown in my book how the spirit of the shambles has always hung round dogmatic religion of the . . . type; and the savagery of modern men with 'cultured accents' and agreeable manners is more revolting than the cruder brutality of primitive barbarism. The gods are athirst, the zealot thinks—athirst for blood; and so it has come about that the army of martyrs to bigotry of all kinds must now be reckoned in millions. Say what we will, it is religion, or the fetish worship which men falsely call religion, that is branded with the deepest stain today . . . a colossal tribute, paid in human suffering, has been exacted by the fanaticism which is mistakenly called faith, and on behalf of rites which are an affront to ordinary intelligence. Ancient Egypt, Greece, India, the Far East, Mexico . . . all have the same tale to tell of religious or quasi-religious butchery and mutilation. Blood, blood, everywhere and always—expiation and redemption, political as well as transcendental, retribution, satisfaction . . . all are unobtainable unless somebody is massacred?"

Hence, it would "pay" humanity honorably and immeasurably if such "religion" were forever scrapped; and it is that conviction, and not perverse wickedness, that lies at the back of all Socialist free-thought activity. Indeed, sometime or other, this MUST be done, for, although tinged with pessimism, the words of J. S. Woodsworth, Winnipeg labor M.P., were profoundly true when he declared that the inherent conservatism of human nature is blocking progress and may eventually destroy civilization.

To achieve the Socialist "atonement," our capitalist government, in striving to make "New Canadians" of their immigrants, points out the way. With our present rulers the desire is to induce each newcomer to speak English, honor the flag, the government, Canada and the British Empire; not forgetting (preferably the Protestant) God and the King.

Our desire, on the other hand, is to gain a unified adherence to Science, Rationalism and Socialism; for, as DeLeon put it in dealing with the problems of race and religious antagonisms, "Socialism, with the light it casts around and within man, alone can cope with these problems. Like the sea that takes up in its bosom and dissolves the innumerable elements poured into it from innumerable rivers; to Socialism is the task reserved of solving one and all the problems that have come floating down the streams of time and that have kept man in interminable strife with man." PROGRESS.

WHAT AND WHENCE.

(Continued from page 2)

rupting luxury and wanton idleness at one pole; of corroding poverty and rotting stagnation at the other. Capitalist private property in the common means of life—that is the key and secret of it all. We can leave the plant of production in the hands of capitalist possession,—and sink into deeper degradations and inanities. Or we can own and control it socially, for social use and need—and flourish with a prosperity whose developing greatness none can imagine. There is no other alternative. R.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor.....Ewen MacLeod

SUBSCRIPTION:

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

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VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 17, 1923.

A DULL CONGRESS.

THE casual visitor to the gallery of the thirtieth annual Trades Congress of Canada looks down upon a meeting seemingly but little different from any other gathering of tired business men. The majority of the delegates—with good reason enough—have the appearance of being bored stiff. Occasionally a little spirited argument occurs over a minor point; the president's gavel pounds the table:—"All in favor say Aye, contrary No: The Ayes have it." Just like that, no matter where the noise comes from.

The convention appears to run quite smoothly, despite the grave fears expressed last month by the "Alberta Labor News" and reproduced by the "Canadian Congress Journal" that the terrible Reds might get control and so upset the easy-going-eyes-right-line-up in trade union ranks. But no. By the time a dozen or two of the resolutions prepared by branch local unions, including recommendations for the adoption of measures reaching towards national autonomy, the universal union card system (and such like) have been through the digester of the resolutions committee, they have disappeared off the table entirely. Thereupon the collective resolutions, supposed to summarise the sense of the former, are disposed of as easily as they are drawn and the former are disposed of by not being dealt with at all. No deviation from the agenda is tolerated. Which reminds us of the question asked by old man Bart Kennedy, hobo and man of parts, at a convention in his day: "What are agendas? Agendas are things to be done. We have been agendas ourselves in our time."

It is almost pathetic to hear one delegate after another talking and talking about the best method to be employed to place union made cigars and union made hats on the market as a wonderful way to prosperity. The user, the purchaser of anything, one man says, has "the buying power" and so can demand the union label on whatever he buys. Yet he is himself at the moment talking in a building built on open shop lines, the job being worked, if we remember aright, throughout the building trades strike in Vancouver in 1912. The details and business of hiring a convention hall, to be sure, comprise a somewhat different arrangement from the simple purchase of "three for a quarter." All a matter of convenience and familiarity in the use of purchasing power. That is to say, the head under that union made hat would come to no harm with a little attention between conventions. All a matter of education.

Extraordinary statements are made in this Congress which betoken the isolation of union made ideas. For instance, Mr. Trotter, vice-president of the International Typographical Union calmly states that the strike in the printing trades, commenced in

1921, and just recently ended, has marked not only a signal victory for labor, but has demonstrated the international craft form to be the most satisfactory form of trade union organization. Nobody laughs at this, because laughing is not on the agenda. The printers' strike was part fact and the other part fiction, one part of the union being on strike and the other part at work all in the same towns, the work meanwhile being done on schedule time. Mr. Trotter reads his "Congress Journal" in the most responsible way. Discipline must be maintained.

The "Congress Journal" appears to be in a bad way financially. By all accounts its "Here and Now" pulse beats perpetually low. The delegates discuss ways and means of keeping it going—not keeping it alive—and it seems to be the sense of the gathering that reading is a bothersome business anyway and "dependable advertizing" is scarce. There's the Home Bank advt. for instance, that the "Journal" has carried for some time; let's hope Mr. Draper has collected on that.

The big gun of the Congress this year, among the fraternal delegates, has been figured as Frank Hodges, of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, delegate from the British Trades Congress. Last year the visiting notable was Neil McLean, ex-S. L. P. ite, and now "the opportunist member for Govan." Last year McLean propounded the class struggle and Oriental exclusion. This year Frank Hodges propounds brotherly love and the British Imperial settlement of Canadian lands. Knowing nothing of Canada, he cannot be expected to know that these are contradictory hopes. We are frankly disappointed in Hodges. He looks and talks and thinks like the traditional English gentleman who in his own head monopolizes for the English in his stupid way the virtues of the whole human family. So far as we can see the Congress might just as well have had Lord Curzon as a fraternal delegate from England. One imperialist is as good as another.

A man of a little bigger outlook on working class matters appears to be Mr. Brown of the Int. Fed. of T. U. (Amsterdam). Certainly he appears to know something more of trade union history and to have appreciated its educational worth in addressing the Congress than either Hodges or the fraternal delegate from Washington, D.C., the latter representing the A. F. of L. Brown takes occasion to remind the Congress that a hundred years ago legal combination of workers was denied to them.

Mr. Woodsworth, M.P. for Centre Winnipeg, and now a visitor to the Congress, in a short address gives Hodges to understand that British rights and justice, apparently so dear to him, are just so much tripe at times here in Canada. Mr. Hodges might, if he said anything here that could be construed as seditious, be taken and thrown out of the country, all without trial by jury and all quite in accordance with our well built legal code. All well and good, but Mr. Woodsworth himself, apparently quite innocently, proceeds to call for help in restituting "our ancient British rights." We are by this time completely fed up on our ancient British rights and are moving to leave. It seems the British have an uncanny faculty for pre-empting, patenting, hallmarking, laying claim to (and avoiding the enjoyment of) all human rights, political and social and generally legendary, and that the claim stretches far back into time. In spite of this Hodges tells us there are about two million half starved people in England just now, a little problem that will be solved in the British way.

It is to be supposed that the Congress has a function to fulfil in the nature and structure of the general organization and practice of trade unionism. Without the purpose of registering a carping criticism and from the viewpoint of the visitor it would appear that the business of the Congress could be done as well and a more uniform expression of opin-

ion obtained, especially on resolutions and such like matters, by the exchange of some written matter. Be that as it may, the institution exists and we leave it about where it proceeds to elect its officials, an event which is heralded as the real business of the Congress.

Trade union activity and organization primarily concerns itself with matters affecting wages and working conditions in modern industry. Having fought and won the right to combine in trade organizations—in a general way—a hundred years or so ago, the trade unionists have reached the stage where their membership is affected by market conditions encountered by the employers in selling the goods produced; bad trade, a small membership,—good trade a greater membership. And that seems to be about all the hidebound trade unionist at this congress worries about. But while the system of wage labor lasts the advantage is with the masters at every turn, and the general tendency for the mass is to reach at intervals more and more frequent the low level of wage standards. The trade unionists' efforts are mainly efforts as sellers of the commodity labor power. Their status as wage workers determines the nature of the bargaining over price in the sale of that commodity. For the rest, we can do no better here than to quote Marx in "Value, Price and Profit":—

These few hints will suffice to show that the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favor of capitalist against the working man and that consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit. Such being the tendency of things in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. I think I have shown that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labor, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent to their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their every-day conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any large movement.

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!" they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword: "The abolition of the wages system."

HERE AND NOW

Here and Now, by Clarion tradition, denotes subs. It has come to the point nowadays that it denotes lack of subs.

The Canadian farmers have been accused of possessing enormous crops and as a consequence it has been suggested from the prairie country that many of them are likely to secret a dollar or two for Clarion purposes before the bankers and brokers come to collect for the debt of other days. We await the result of the process of bringing in the sheaves.

Following \$1 each: J. Crossley (per W.A.P.), O. Motter, C. Lestor, Wm. Power, E. F. Rawlings, R. C. McKay, A. Tree, G. Elliott, E. Johnson, H. Burman.

Following \$2 each: Roy Addy, H. W. McKnight, J. Graham, A. E. Hollingshead, H. P. Graham.

San Francisco Labor College (per J.K.) \$9.60; H. Lerner \$1.50.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 29th Aug. to 14th September, inclusive, total \$31.10.

Wage-Labor

By GABRIEL DEVILLE

WE know that those whose activity is subordinate in its exercise to a capital which they have not—and these compose the working-class—are compelled to sell their labor-power to some of the possessors of this capital who form, on their side, the bourgeois class.

What is sold by him who has to labor in order to live, and who has not in his possession the means of labor, to the possessor of those means is simply labor in the potential state, that is the muscular or intellectual faculties that must be exerted in the production of useful things. In fact, on the one hand, before those faculties are brought into active exercise, labor does not exist and cannot be sold. Now, the contract is made between the buyer and seller before any action takes place and has for its effective cause, so far as the seller is concerned, the fact that the seller is so situated that he can not by himself bring his capacity for labor into productive use. On the other hand, as soon as the action (labor) begins, as soon as labor manifests itself, it cannot be the property of the laborer, for it consists in nothing but the incorporation of a thing which the laborer has just alienated by sale—capacity to perform labor—with other things which are not his—the means of production.

To sum up, when the labor does not exist, the laborer can not sell that which he does not possess and which he has not the means of realizing; when the labor does exist, it can not be sold by the laborer to whom it does not belong. The only thing which the laborer can sell is his labor-power, a power distinct from its function, labor, just as the power of marching is distinct from a parade, just as any machine is distinct from its operations.

What is paid under the form of wages by the possessor of the means of labor, the purchaser of the labor-power to the possessor of that power, cannot, therefore, be, and is not, the price of the labor furnished, but is the price of the power made use of, a price that supply and demand cause to oscillate about and especially below its value determined, like the value of any other commodity, by the labor-time socially necessary for its production, or in other words, in this case by the sum which will normally enable the laborer to maintain and perpetuate his labor-power under the conditions necessary for the given kind and stage of production.

But, even when the laborer gets a value equal to the value of his power, he furnishes a value greater than that which he receives. The duration of labor required for a given wage, regularly exceeds the time necessarily occupied by the laborer in adding to the value of the means of production consumed, a value equal to that wage; and the labor thus furnished over and above that which represents the equivalent of what the laborer gets, constitutes SURPLUS-LABOR. Surplus-labor then is unpaid labor.

And here let us be clearly understood. When we speak of unpaid labor, we are stating a simple fact, and do not at all intend to say that capitalists, in the existing state of things, are personally guilty of extracting from the laborers labor for which they do not pay them. We are not of the number of those who think that "the causes of the ills from which we suffer are to be found in men rather than institutions," as M. Glasson declared before the

members of the Le Play School. We say exactly the contrary; for us the evil is due to institutions rather than to men and, in society as it is at present constituted, things cannot possibly take place in any other or different fashion.

On the side of the laborer, the thing sold, as I have proved, cannot be his labor. It is his labor-power. The sum paid cannot be the price of his labor, a price which, in view of the number of applicants for work, can only very rarely be equal to its value; but, even in this case, he furnishes a greater value than he receives. If he does not, his remuneration is not, strictly speaking, wages, for the furnishing of surplus-labor by the worker is a condition sine qua non of wages. When his compensation is split up into wages and supplementary remuneration under any other form, the working-man does not furnish less surplus-labor, less unpaid labor; quite the contrary, we may say, for it is clear that this supplementary remuneration, for the laborer, is a mere delusion, mere supplementary moonshine. All that the workingman can hope to achieve under, I repeat, the existing organization of society, is the curtailment of his surplus-labor, and that is the explanation and justification of the struggle for the reduction of the working-day, of the Eight-Hour movement.

On the side of the capitalist, on account of the fierce war of competition with low prices as weapons which rages throughout the field of production, it is financial suicide for the employer to extract from his work-people less unpaid labor than his competitors do; and that is why it is necessary to strive to obtain the reduction of the day by legal enactment. I add that so long as the employer, so long as the capitalist keeps within the bounds of what may be called the normal conditions of exploitation, he cannot reasonably be held responsible for the economic structure which is so advantageous to him, but which the best of intentions on the part of individuals would be powerless to modify. On the other hand, if capitalists are personally powerless to ameliorate the state of affairs, it would be rash to rush to the conclusion that they are capitalists in the interest of the workers. We must avoid exaggeration in either direction.

Surplus-labor was not invented by the capitalists. Ever since human societies issued from the state of primitive communism, surplus-labor has always existed; and it is the method by which it is wrung from the immediate producers, which differentiates the different economic forms of society.

Before man was able to produce in excess of his needs, one portion of society could not live upon the fruits of the toil of another portion. How could a man work gratuitously for others when his entire time was hardly sufficient to procure him his own necessary means of existence? When, in consequence of human progress, labor had acquired such a degree of productiveness that an individual was enabled to produce more than what was strictly necessary for his needs, it became possible for some to subsist upon the toil of others and slavery could be established.

That it was established by force is not doubtful; but it must be confessed that its establishment promoted human evolution. So long as the productiveness of labor, although sufficient to make surplus-labor possible, was not sufficient to render participation in directly useful labor compatible with other occupations or pursuits, the toilsome drudgery and exploitation of some was the necessary condition of the leisure of others, and, thereby, of the development of all. For, if none had had leisure, no progress could have been made in the sciences, the arts

and all the branches of knowledge, the benefits of which we all enjoy in some degree. And the fact that the thinkers of antiquity and the greatest among them, Aristotle, excused slavery, is a proof that the mode of thought is determined by the exigencies of the economic organization of society. To reproach Aristotle, in particular, because he did not regard slavery and property as it is natural for us to regard them, is equivalent to reproaching him for not having applied the processes of our modern production to ancient industries.

Slavery did not appear to lack a rational foundation, and did not begin to disappear until the external conditions were profoundly transformed and thus rendered another kind of labor and of surplus-labor more in harmony with the material requirements. Following upon the economic environment in which slavery was the rule there came then the economic environment in which serfdom predominated, and the latter, in its turn, has been superseded by the economic environment in which the wage-system has become the general rule. Each of these environments has had or has its own habits and modes of thought which may be in contradiction with ours, but which are the natural consequence of the modes of life in vogue in their respective eras.

An examination of the aspect of surplus-labor in these three environments shows that it has the appearance of being the labor in the first, a larger or smaller fraction of the whole labor in the second, and apparently falls to zero in the third. In fact, in slavery, during a part of the day, the slave only replaces the value of what he consumes and so really works for himself; notwithstanding, even then his labor appears to be labor for his owner. All his labor has the appearance of surplus-labor, of labor for others. Under serfdom or the corvée system, the labor of the serf for himself and his gratuitous labor for his feudal lord are perfectly distinct, the one from the other; by the very way in which the labor is performed, the serf distinguished the time during which he works for his own benefit from the time which he is competent to devote to the satisfaction of the wants of his lordly superiors. Under the wage-system, the wage-form, which appears in the guise of direct payment of labor, wipes out every visible line of demarcation between paid and unpaid labor; when he receives his wages, the laborer seems to get all the value due to his labor, so that all his labor takes on the form or appearance of paid labor. While, under slavery, the property-relation conceals the labor of the slave for himself, under the wage-system the money-relation conceals the gratuitous labor of the wage-worker for the capitalist. You will readily perceive the practical importance of this disguised appearance of the real relation between labor and capital. The latter is deemed to breed or expand by its own virtue, and the former to receive its full remuneration.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Following \$1 each: Harry Grand, O. Motter, J. Chrystal, F. Cusack.

St. John comrades (per M. Goudie) \$8.25; G. Hubbard (collected) \$4.

Above, C.M.F. receipts from 29th August to September 14th, inclusive, total \$16.25.

MANIFESTO

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

Per copy 10 cents

Per 25 copies \$2

Post Paid

Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Thirteen.

THE assault of reaction on all the accomplishments and gains of the revolution, we intimated, was weakened by the news from Hungary, where Bem was defeating the Imperial troops on all sides, so that, it was said, the bells of Vienna were muffled because their tolling served to remind the people of Bem; Bem! Bem! Bem!

What truth there may be in that we are not prepared to say, nor yet to follow the victories which gave point to the story, limiting ourselves to the day when this military genius found his army confronted by the Russians. From that moment, reaction, secure in its triumph, swept away all that remained of the revolution. A movement which had swept Europe from end to end, driving kings, princes, and prime ministers from their palaces and their countries in all manner of wretched conveyances; peopleing dear old London with the bluest blood and the most ancient families of Europe, and providing the loungers on Piccadilly with the amazing spectacle of a future Emperor of the French pacing his beat as a special constable; kept the Iron Duke awake all night with four times the troops he required to defeat Napoleon at Waterloo, and a "would to God night or Blucher would come" feeling in his heart. Blucher did not come on that occasion, the Prussians having woes of their own, Bismark being reduced to disguising himself in a goatee and a slouch hat, ineffectually it seems, for some one whispered to him—follow me! you are recognised. No, Blucher came not, but the rain did, and Thackeray hurried needlessly home from a banquet.

But rain was powerless to drown the revolutionary flame on the continent, and we now arrive at the days when the Russian army occupied the passes and plains leading into Hungary and Prussia. This occurred in May 1849, and in the same month the last of the German parliaments were dissolved.

Saxony and Baden had been the first to respond to the February revolt in Paris and had been the strongest supporters of a republic. There had been less race feeling and a more international outlook in their activities, and the New Rheinische Journal edited by Marx had received its greatest support from there. Richard Wagner was then official conductor of the Saxony state-aided Royal Opera with a handsome salary, which was acceptable in view of the general feeling that his music was the work of an imbecile. August Roeckel, his second in command, was an active revolutionist; through him Wagner joined the Fatherland Union and wrote a pamphlet advocating a republic, which was circulated throughout German. Von Hainberger, a young man, later famous as a violinist in London and then having some claim to attention as the son of an old noble who was an Imperial Councillor of Austria, and Michael Bakunin, another young man destined for an infamous rather than a famous, career: these four formed the staff of the People's Paper which though less solid and influential than the Journal was nevertheless a powerful influence in shaping the last struggle. One of the exhibits of the Saxony government in a document which indicted some twelve thousand people among whom were thirty mayors, a greater number of army officers, and almost a hundred government officials, was a letter to Roeckel from Wagner dated May 3rd '49, in which these words appeared: "Return at once. For the moment you are not threatened, but there is a fear that the excitement will precipitate a premature outbreak." The opening day of May saw the Saxony parliament dissolved by force, and Roeckel had fled with others immediately, having information that prison awaited them as soon as the immunity of their position ended.

Roeckel arrived in Dresden on the 6th and the

barricades were already manned, with the fighting general. The military experience of the Dresden revolutionists fell far short of many other towns, but in courage they were equalled by few. Hainberger was chosen messenger because his legs were sufficiently long to enable him to walk over the barricades, and on one of his missions he met Roeckel who had been admitted at the gate in time to see his opera house on fire. Leaving aside the ominous words which sent the greatest musician of the day warning Europe, "a premature outbreak," let us turn to what actually happened. The revolution of '48 had secured certain safeguards in the form of free speech, free press and parliamentary representation; after a year's enjoyment of these dearly bought concessions they were withdrawn. A strong military force was at hand, and all those whom the people had been regarding as their saviors were hourly threatened with arrest. Naturally an immense crowd gathered to express their indignation. The town hall was just as naturally the chief assembly point, and in the tremendous jam of people swaying to and fro at this point another accident such as we have had occasion to recount before, happened. The gate of a military magazine gave way under the pressure, and the soldiers, realizing what could very well follow, lost their nerve and fired on the dense multitude. In a moment, without warning, and to the crowd without reason, women and children lay in convulsive agony dying at their feet.

All Germany was aflame within three days.

But first let us follow the initial point of revolt. We have mentioned the low standard of military knowledge possessed by the people, the low barricades were an evidence, but Roeckel was equal to that and he and Wagner conceived the brilliant idea of placing burning tar on them. For this Roeckel was sentenced to death, after several trials, which sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, of which he served thirteen years. Four days the barricades held, and the difference between these four days, and those terrible four days of June '48 in Paris might be estimated by the casualties; thirty of the troops killed, about a hundred wounded. Two hundred and fifty men and seven women killed, one hundred and seven men, four women wounded of the revolutionists. The difference between killed and wounded recalls Mark Twain's famous letter regarding the same discrepancy between the American troops and the Phillipinos in 1899. Without casting any reflections on either Mark's patriotism or the marksmanship of the Saxony workers we think the figures are suggestive.

There is a story told of Wagner at the barricades. While they were eating their meagre meal, a young girl who was standing guard was deliberately shot. The Prussian soldier who gave this exhibition of courage and patriotism was detected and immediately followed his victim to the never-never, but this did not satisfy the excited brain of the great musical genius. Jumping on a cart he called on the barricade defenders to follow him: "Men! will you see your wives and daughters fall in the cause of your beloved country and not avenge their cowardly murder. All who have hearts, all who have the blood and spirit of their fathers, follow me." Leaping the barricades, they captured a number of Prussian troops. Such is the spirit engendered in an otherwise mild, and by many thought to be in later years a far from courageous genius.

Marx pays eloquent tribute to the man who was to be his life long enemy. Bakunin, though without military training, was the most effective leader in that four days' fight. His coolness and resource saved many a situation. Roeckel and Hainberger were occupied in the dangerous duty of supplying the food which the peasants brought up. But the mass of trained Prussian troops and heavy artillery

settled the day. Wagner escaped with the absorbing idea of securing his invaluable manuscripts, and we can reflect as we listen to the haunting music of the Prize Song and Oh Thou Bright Evening Star on our fifteen dollar Stuart that their author only remembered them when at last his work at the barricades was ended, and that the mind which conceived them could also pen a revolutionary pamphlet, although he did in that pamphlet take a slap at communism. Then let Nietzsche and the art-for-art's sakers rave about the prostitution of his art as they will, we recollect that neither art nor a soft job stood between him and what he considered was his place. He deposited his manuscript with Listz and finally escaped.

Meanwhile the general revolutionary movement spread, and while in Prussia it was soon smothered, and Saxony offered a stiffer resistance, in South Germany it went with a rush. Baden and the Palatinate declared republic; with Brentano as President, whom, Marx says, with his other petty bourgeois officials never forgot they were guilty of high treason; their manifesto contains nothing remarkable, and immediately they sensed the outcome of their victory would leave them at the mercy of the proletariat their concepts of liberty suffered a change. But without further regard of them, we can trace the last struggle in the field. The New Rheinische Journal had been suppressed, Marx was expelled from Germany, and Engels, having fought in the Prussian Rhineland struggle, was in hiding after that brief and hopeless effort had ended.

With the insurrection giving hope of success in the south, Engels immediately hastened to enlist his services.

But before going into that last desperate effort let us take a glance at Bismarck's own words, in a conversation with those in control of the Government forces. It was feared that the Bavarian troops moving on Baden would join the revolution as the native troops had done. To this he replied, "God grant that they will revolt openly; then there will be a big fight, but it will be decisive and thus heal the sore. If you make peace with the untrustworthy part of your troops the sore will remain festering inwardly." The Bavarians thought Bismarck a flippant young man, but he encouraged them. "The Prussian troops are sure, and be sure we shall tear through your job and ours, and the madder we get the better." He was of the opinion after the victory that it would have been better for the government had not only the Bavarian but the Wurtemberg troops joined the insurrection. A man of his mentality could scarcely have failed to have profited by the strategy of Cavaignac in Paris. Here again we are faced with the problem of overthrowing capitalism by force, without trained men in that business having full command, and the cool, cynical speculation of deliberately planning to force a disgruntled soldiery to revolt with the full knowledge that force sufficient to crush them is at hand. But to those revolutionists in whose minds dire battles such as never were by sea or land are nightly decided, and over which the Dictatorship of the Proletariat stands guardian angel, such considerations constitute treason to the revolution.

However, Bismarck's hopes and desires were not to mature, and all the troops proved true. As usual the insurrectionists were handicapped by lack of recognized leaders, and when at last the Pole, Mieroslawski, took command, the war was practically at an end. Engels tells us that success was to be looked for not on that bloody field, but in Paris, and on June 13th Ledru Rollins' attempt to seize control by force after the election of reactionary rurals was defeated, but we shall leave that till later. Marx says that Hungary might have furnished the opportunity, but it was partly overrun by

(Continued on page 8)

The Story of the Evolution of Life

BY T. F. PALMER.

(Continued from last issue)

The Galapagos Islands again, amplify the foregoing testimony. These isles lie in the Pacific about 600 miles from the West Coast of South America. They also are of volcanic origin and rise from great depths. While pondering over the problems presented by the animals of these isles, Darwin detected cogent proofs of the truth of evolution. As he stated in his "Origin": "The naturalist, looking at the inhabitants of these islands in the Pacific, distant several hundred miles from the continent, feels that he is standing on American land. Why should this be so? Why should the species which are supposed to have been created in the Galapagos Archipelago, and nowhere else, bear so plainly the stamp of affinity to those created in America? There is nothing in the conditions of life, in the geological nature of the islands, in their height or climate, or in the proportions in which the several classes are associated together, which closely resembles the conditions of the South American Coast; in fact there is a considerable dissimilarity in all these respects. On the other hand, there is a considerable degree of resemblance in the volcanic nature of the soil, in the climate, height, and size of the islands, between the Galapagos and Cape de Verde Archipelagos; but what an entire and absolute difference in their inhabitants! The inhabitants of the Cape de Verde Islands are related to those of Africa, like those of the Galapagos to America. Facts such as these admit of no sort of explanation on the ordinary view of independent creation; whereas on the view here maintained, it is obvious that the Galapagos Island would be likely to receive colonists from America, and the Cape de Verde Islands from Africa; such colonists would be liable to modification—the principle of inheritance still betraying their original birthplace."

The organisms of St. Helena and the Sandwich Islands tell the same story. In fact there is no island, isthmus or peninsular which fails to provide its quota of evidence in favour of the doctrine of descent. Owing in large measure to their isolation, oceanic islands contain a considerable proportion of peculiar forms, and when we turn to the British Isles which were recently, geologically speaking, united to the European Continent, we meet over 14,000 species of plants and animals common to our Isles and to the Continent, while we find only 200 species peculiar to the British area, even when floral and faunal organisms are classed as peculiar, which various naturalists regard as mere local varieties, and these facts become more striking when we remember that 1,000 islands are embraced by Great Britain and Ireland.

Vast indeed is the contrast between our isles and the solitary volcanic island of St. Helena where almost all the animals and about half the plants are peculiar, while in the British group only 1/80 of the animals and 1/30 of the plants are peculiar. Then again Britain is still well furnished with reptiles and mammals, organisms unknown in oceanic isles. There exists no example of any sea-girt isle further than 300 miles from a continent which contains a single species of indigenous mammal with the exception of bats which were able to fly over the ocean. Once more, the spawn of amphibia become sterilized in sea water and in consequence newts, toads, and frogs are absent from oceanic isles, and curiously enough there occur in some sea islands, as Professor Romanes pointed out "certain peculiar species of plants the seeds of which are provided with numerous tiny hooks, obviously and beautifully adapted—like those of the seeds of allied plants elsewhere—to catch the wool or hair of moving quadrupeds, and so to further their own dissemination. But . . . there are no quadrupeds in the islands to meet these beautiful adaptations on the part of the plants." The plain deduction is, that these plants are descended from ancestors which

lived in surroundings where mammals dwelt, and they still retain the organs they originally utilised to assist them in securing their reproduction.

Having advanced a tiny percentage of the available facts, the question arises as to the principle or principles which elucidate the facts. Multiplex are causes which produce variation, and we must now consider one of the leading factors in determining the triumph of some variations and overthrow of others. Darwin realised that a much greater number of plants and animals are born into the world than can conceivably survive, and that a never ceasing struggle for supremacy takes place. All living things strive to secure possession of food, air, water, and the other necessities of existence. Now, the problem to be solved was what decided the success of one, and the failure of so many others. Obviously those organisms which were best fitted to their surroundings seemed likely to prove the winners in life's race. It therefore follows that some are selected for survival, while the remainder perish, and it is equally true that those living forms which have varied in a manner favourable to their survival transmit these valuable variations to their offspring, and as the selective agency is in constant operation, generation after generation, then in course of time, plants and animals become more harmoniously adapted to their environment than their ancestors. Nature favours those best fitted to their surroundings because, other things equal, those best conforming to the demands of their habitat live longer lives, and produce a larger number of offspring, than those less adapted to meet the requirements of their environment. Again as time goes on, organisms tend to develop more useful variations, and the earlier variations, so serviceable in their day against less efficiently equipped competitors, in turn succumb to the more fully advantaged rivals with whom they are now driven to struggle. For, much as plant and animal breeders select choice specimens from which to perpetuate their floral and faunal stocks, so the sum total of encircling phenomena which we term Nature, gives preference to those that prove themselves most adaptable to the requirements of life.

Some may surmise that, as the struggle for existence has continued from the dawn of life onwards, then, organisms should by this time have become so harmoniously adapted to their surroundings, that no future advance is possible. This view would contain much truth were it not for the fact that natural surroundings themselves are never stationary. Geographical, climatic, and countless other changes of a physical character, reinforced by the ceaseless modifications set up in the world of life itself, by the wanderings of plants and animals from place to place, render any cessation of the selective processes of Nature entirely improbable. Consequently, the gradual but unceasing fluctuations of the environment evolve alterations to which organic forms are constantly driven to accommodate themselves.

The foregoing contention is in reality an unvarnished statement of obvious truth. Yet, apart from a few thinkers who dimly realised it, no one until the period of Darwin and Wallace adequately grasped its profound significance as a factor in the lives of organic things. The female cod was known to lay millions of eggs one or two only of which ever reached maturity. Of the countless seeds of certain plants very few were reproduced. And even in the case of the elephant, one of the slowest of breeders, Darwin noted that the progeny of a single pair, were they all permitted to procreate themselves to the full stage of adult life, then a population of 19 million elephants would be produced at the end of 750 years. And in the vegetable kingdom it is estimated that if an annual plant set two seeds only per season, and most plants produce hundreds and thousands, were the yearly seeds then, a mere couple, if these and their descendants all reached

maturity, in twenty years there would be 11,000,000 plants descended from a single ancestor. But viewing the world as a whole, not one in a thousand seeds or young survives. Therefore the ordeal through which organisms pass must be indeed severe.

In successful emergence in life's conflict thousands of factors co-operate. The cunning, the strong, the shrinking, even the social organisms, derive advantages from their various qualities. Nature dispassionately picks out for survival those that best respond to her demands. As already intimated, advantageous variations are always transmitted through heredity to offspring, and we need not consider whether the effects of use and disuse are hereditary. It is beyond all doubt that inborn variations, however caused, are always transmitted from parents to offspring, and this is sufficient for the working of the selective principle. But although no one disputes that an acorn invariably produces an oak, a cow a calf, a woman a child, and a duck's egg a duckling; that a Japanese child is never procreated by two European parents of a German through the reproductive processes of a male and a female Turk, yet, the offspring begotten are never exactly like the parents producing them. Except in the case of identical twins, out of the hundreds of million of human creatures dwelling on the earth's surface, no two are precisely alike, in form and feature. It may be imagined that human beings differ more from one another than lower forms of life. Yet the shepherd distinguishes the many sheep that makes up his flock by their differences. No two chicks hatched from eggs laid by the same hen are alike; no two leaves or blades of grass are exactly identical, and so on throughout the entire realm of living Nature. And slight variations which seem nothing to us are to Nature important things. The slightest departure from the average may possess priceless value in the battle of life or may, on the other hand, help to throw an organism into the rear in the struggle. Thus far we are on scarcely debateable ground, for these facts which ought to be truisms, need only be stated to command unprejudiced assent.

We are mainly concerned in progressive evolution with the variations which contribute to the preservation and perpetuation of the race. And it is well to bear in mind that variations of permanent value must necessarily be prolonged beyond the life of the individual displaying them. For it is a biological axiom that however serviceable the possession of certain qualities may be in the individual existence of an organism, if that organism is unfitted to beget a sufficient number of suitable offspring, that organism must give place to others whose procreative capacities are more complete. Plants and animals of all orders make heavy sacrifices in the interests of their species. At the period of reproduction many of the lower organisms die in giving birth to descendants. The entire life of an annual plant is devoted to the development and ripening of its seeds. Instinct and reason unite in the higher animals to impel the parents to bestow the most painstaking and affectionate care in the rearing and protection of their young. The general law permeating Nature insists that where the instincts of the individual co-operate with the interests of the species, survival is in ampler measure secured.

It is erroneous to assume that evolution always takes the form of progressive change. Although, when we survey the past and present phenomena of life, progress is usually evident, yet there remain innumerable instances in which organisms having attained a high level of development have elapsed into inferior modes of life. Degeneration is prevalent among parasites which plainly betray in their structure the witnesses of their former more exalted position in life. Various parasites still retain as functionless vestiges the relics of earlier functional limbs, eyes, and other organs. Their form of adaption has assumed the meaner mode of living at a nobler creature's expense. In such circumstances, not merely would selection cease to act in strengthening structures essential to animals

leading an active existence but would, on the contrary, tend to favour those degraded creatures that possessed the least efficient limbs and other organs so useful to their freer ancestors. The nourishment necessary to maintain locomotive and other structures quite valueless to parasites that permanently attach themselves to their victim, would be better utilised, from the parasite's stand-point in sustaining other and more essential parts of its body. Again, unused organs probably deteriorate through disuse but, in any case, the selective factor would cease to operate, and, in truth; the whole selective process would become reversed. Instead of the possession of appendages conferring an advantage on such creatures they will prove a hindrance and thus tend to dwindle and disappear.

As is now clear the struggle for existence, promotes the survival of organisms adequately adapted to their habitat, and eliminates those forms indifferently equipped to meet the exacting demands of their environment. Exotic forms of life, when introduced into new surroundings flourish exceedingly, and frequently drive the original inhabitants to the wall.

It has been justly emphasised that out of the myriads of structures and habits, so marvellously suited in most cases to the plants and animals possessing them, there is no certain instance of a single organ which is employed for the sole benefit of another mode of life. Darwin attached so much importance to this remarkable fact that he offered to surrender the theory of selection if only one case of this character could be discovered. From his day to ours no such example has come to light. The great naturalist was so firmly convinced by his own multitudinous researches that natural selection constituted the main means in the evolution of adaptive

structures that he was fully prepared to stake its validity on the discovery of a single instance in which such characters had been developed for the sole benefit of a separate species, and logically so, for it is indispensable to the truth of his doctrine that all adaptive features should render some assistance in life's struggle to the organism presenting them. The most sanguinary beasts, in common with the most gentle creatures, are endowed with special organs and instincts which minister to their own interests alone. That the adaptive structures of floral and faunal forms are sometimes utilised by other organisms is of course quite true. The point, however, is that such structures were developed, and are maintained primarily in the interests of the organisms possessing them.

The almost boundless capacity for variation in the living domain has been dealt with in abundant detail by Darwin, Bateson, and Wallace, and these remarkable phenomena have long been familiar to plant and animal breeders owing to their ability to seize upon variations, reproduce them, and extend their range. All species and varieties of cultivated cereals, fruits, and flowers, together with all the great array of domesticated animals have been derived from wild ancestral forms. It is only necessary to compare the odious crab apple with the choice pippins, or any of our garden flowers with their comparatively insignificant ancestors, to realise what has been accomplished in the vegetable domain. Our various strains of sheep, oxen, horses, goats, pigs, dogs, etc., have all arisen from widely different forerunners. So immense have become the modifications that anyone unacquainted with their mode of origin would unhesitatingly consider them as entirely distinct species. Yet these, and many additional organisms, were selected, generation after generation by man, to please his fancy, or to minister to his utilitarian needs; while in a state of Nature, those organisms would have been selected and preserved which proved themselves best fitted to the habitat in which they dwelt, without paying any attention to the comfort and convenience of man. But the underlying principle is the same both in natural and in artificial selection. The tendency to vary is ever present in all means of life, and when we reflect on the innumerable races of pigeons, fowls, rabbits, canaries, etc., which have been evolved through human agency in a few short centuries we may in some measure estimate the tremendous transformations which nature was capable of accomplishing in the course of the unspeakable aeons during which mother earth has been the arena of life and death.

Once more, the theory of selection provides the most satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that animals are frequently so coloured that they completely harmonise with their surroundings: These protective colourings and markings are positively advantageous to the animals displaying them. Nature utilises these seeming defences extensively, and they are deliberately employed in modern warfare, for the uniform worn by the troops is so shaded that the soldiers cease to be conspicuous objects in the landscape and are therefore less likely to be seen by their enemies.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

(Continued from page 6)

Russian troops, and so the few Baden regulars with their proletarian badly armed comrades were forced to contend with disciplined, well armed troops, outnumbering them six to one. Engels tells us, and he was a participant in the struggle, that with reaction triumphant East and West and North, the fight was nothing but a bloody farce.

"Stupidity and treachery ruined it completely. With the exception of a few, the military chiefs were either traitors, or officious, unlearned, cowardly office seekers. . . . The whole revolution resolved itself into a comedy, and the only comfort was

that the six times greater opponent had six times less courage."

And so Mieroslawski brought his army together at last under the walls of Rastatt and there after many a panic and head long flight, the tired out and demoralized army of workers demonstrated that fighting is their natural trade, and on the 23rd of June the revolution in Germany was at an end. Two months later Bene, after superhuman efforts against traitors within and the combined Russian and Austrian forces, surrendered. And all that remained of the most widespread revolutionary movement of all time was the freedom from feudal dues. The Frankfurt Parliament had, during these months of spring madness, stood like Hood's unfortunate with amazement; they met the same fate as the state parliamentarians and were dissolved, part rushing to Wurtemberg, there, to the jargon of the fancy writers making a final gesture of magnificent impotence, and finally kicked out, unwept, unhonored and if we accept Marx on the matter unfortunately, unhung.

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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.