

THE INDICATOR

History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

Vol. 1 No. 7

VANCOUVER, B. C., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1919

FIVE CENTS

My Visit to Bolshevik Russia

Industrial Workers and Peasants:—
Some Conclusions.

Prof. W. T. Goode, in the "Manchester Guardian," Oct. 31.

HERE are two questions which have greatly exercised the Bolshevik Government, and no matter what may be the complexion of the ruling powers in Russia these two questions—that of the workmen and that of the land and the peasants—will remain paramount among all the problems of social order and governance.

One of the central doctrines of Bolshevism is work; everyone up to the age of 60, or until invalidated, is supposed to be occupied in work that is useful to the State. This is one of the reasons of the bitter hostility of those who under the former regime lived without work of any kind, oblivious of the fact that, if they lived, someone must be working to supply the means. In a State which is already a great employer of labor and aims at becoming the only one this doctrine of work implies that the State also controls the distribution of labor, and this in turn implies that the workman must forego much of his freedom, since his labor is arranged for and controlled by the State machine. The manner of this control has vast influence. The extent to which it is considerate or inconsiderate to the individual determines whether it is regarded merely as irksome interference or as a blatant tyranny.

The chief lever in the governance of industry is the constant representation of the workmen upwards from the shop committees, through professional alliances and their committees, to the Committee of Supreme Economic Control—the workmen's parliament. The men have thus a direct interest and share in the formation of all regulations affecting them, and if the system were freely acquiesced in by all it would be the apotheosis of co-operation.

A working day of eight hours has been fixed, with less for occupations that are injurious to health, and only six hours between the ages of 16 and 18, the remaining two hours being spent in study, pay being unaffected. Another feature is the right to a month's holiday with full pay, though the full month has not yet been granted owing to the war conditions, except in the case of the dangerous trades. The ordinary worker has received only two weeks of holiday. At the age of 60, the worker retires on full pay as pension, and if he be invalidated or incapacitated before that age, a committee decides on the proportion of incapacitation and assesses the retiring allowance accordingly.

A Graduated Wage Tariff.

Elaborate tariffs have been prepared for all classes of occupation without exception, the gradation be-

ing very minute, and fixed scales of pay for all the stages apportioned. The labor of drawing up these must have been incredible; it was supplied by the professional alliances, and the tariffs are regularly revised. Pay ranged from 600 roubles a month up to 3000 roubles, but a revision provided, from the 1st September, for the lower scale to be 1200 roubles, and the higher 4000 roubles. Even this is not the highest. Where a much-needed specialist is in question, a committee of the Commissaries, after investigating the case, can order any sum to be paid. But such cases are judged on their merits and according to the public need. When I was there, Lenin himself received 2000 roubles a month, a figure a long way below the highest grade of salaries on the former tariff.

There is no reason why any workman should remain in the position fixed for him by the tariff, for by employing his leisure in self-improvement, he can advance, and, it was asserted, many do advance. More than that, it was said that the elections to the various committees tend to bring out the men who possess special qualities, and make the system selective of the best brains among the mass of workmen. If that is true, it is high praise, and, in any case, I came personally across instances of workers who had been elected by their fellows on to a workmen's committee, had proved their worth, and had advanced right up to the Supreme Council.

Each mill or factory has its workmen's committee, concerned chiefly now about the conditions of work, hygiene, keeping of regulations, and the like. Groups of mills belonging to the same industry are arranged in trusts, also with their committee, on which workers, technicians, and the professional alliances are represented, charged with the business operations, distribution of orders, raw material and labor, and controlling the financial business of the mills in the trust. To each mill there is a management committee, where the directors and technicians hold the deciding voice. This state of things is of recent date. In the early stages the change of rule produced chaos; output went down horribly low, and discipline disappeared. It was only after more than a year of experiments that the comparative success of the present was secured. In all this, it seems to me that the industries did but reflect the condition of the railways, and that Krassin's action in the latter case found its counter-part in the efforts made to restore industry to more normal action.

For industries do really function. Many factories are closed, others are occupied in the making of munitions, but very many function more or less fully, and goods are produced. The

absence of raw material has provoked an inventive spirit. Cotton mills, for instance, are working on flax threads cut up into short lengths to imitate cotton fibre; generating stations have been built on the turf marshes for an unlimited supply of power, because of the lack of the ordinary coal and oil fuel and the difficulty of a full supply of wood. One thing seems certain, the Russian has been forced by the conditions of war to be self-sufficient, or, as one mill director put it to me, "We have been forced to learn many things which we shall not forget."

The land question has also passed through various stages since the March revolution. Before the fall of the Kerensky Government, the peasants had begun taking the land, and the Bolsheviks, who played for peasant support by promising land, had to regularize what had already been done and keep their promises. The great landowners were expropriated, the land surveyed, and divided amongst the peasants who were landless or possessed too little. Even here, the doctrine of work was put into force—no one has more land than he and his family can cultivate; there is to be no hired labor. But they tried to overcome the drawbacks of these small holdings by setting up land communes, where the advantages of co-operative farming were worked out in concrete object-lessons for the peasants to follow; by establishing stations, some 600 of them, all over the country for the improvement of seeds and of stock, the results being freely placed at the disposal of the peasants, who were beginning to use them, a fact of which I myself had ocular demonstration.

The special domains of the former landowners, often highly cultivated, were retained either as experimental stations or as examples of farming worthy of imitation. In fact, after the act of expropriation is granted, the land policy seems to be a good one, for much has been done to satisfy, instruct, and raise the peasant.

But, with it all, the political value of these operations among workers and peasants has always been kept in view. The improvement of hours of labor, of pay, the provision of opportunities for a good use of leisure, are aimed in this sense at providing a solid backing for Bolshevism among industrial workmen, while the giving of land to the landless peasant has undoubtedly produced that very effect among the lowest class of peasant. The rich peasant is left alone, he is generally hostile, but the middle peasant, who is a doubtful political quantity, is made the object of a steady and a powerful propaganda. Among a considerable section of workers, and among the lowest class of peasants, the success of the Bolsheviks is great.

JAPANESE WORKERS BOLT CONFERENCE

They Accuse Employers' Group of
Bad Faith in Labor Negotiations

Washington, Nov. 27.—Japanese workers' delegates to the international labor conference "bolted" the conference and denounced the Japanese Government delegates, charging them with bad faith and deliberate falsity.

While trouble has been brewing for some days between the workers and employers' groups of Japan, it came to a climax today, when the employees tried to force adoption of a 48-hour week. This was defeated by the employers' group.

In a statement, the workers' committee charged that certain telegraphic instructions from the Japanese Government which they said were intended for all delegates from Japan, were withheld from the workers' delegates by the government representatives.

TOBACCO FOR CARDINAL MERCIER'S PIPE

The Belgian prelate who a short while ago visited Canada and took occasion to denounce Socialism might with profit tend to his own Belgian vineyard first. The latest Belgian elections gave as result that the Catholics have lost about fifteen seats and the Liberals seven seats to the Socialists. There are indications of Socialist progress everywhere. It seems certain that the Catholics will lose their majority in the chamber.

Workers' Liberty Bonds

For the Defense of the Men Arrested as a Result of the Winnipeg Strike, in Denominations of \$1, \$2 and \$5. Have You Got Yours Yet?

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Labor Defence Fund

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

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth avenue east, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, Room 1, 530 Main street, Winnipeg.

By What Means Is the Price of a Commodity Determined?

The Editor,

"The Indicator," City.

Dear sir:—Being convinced that the Marxian Theory of regulation of commodity prices is at least a little antiquated, I submit the enclosed effort for your consideration, you have my permission to publish the enclosed in part or in whole as you see fit, Yours truly

Le B. P. MILES.

COST, plus a percentage is the usual way of arriving at the price of manufactured commodities—with the manufacturer immediately forced to find a market or a demand. Failing to find a demand, he creates one. Or, accepting that the demand was there—he stimulates it. This is done through an aggressive selling organization, advertising, propaganda, or some other such means. He might even start a war.

Now this finding a market costs money and is a charge against cost. All manufacturers are forced, through competition, to adopt this method of disposing of commodities; hence, the greater the production, the more the commodity costs. The greater the over-production, the greater the cost, which is a larger factor in the high cost of living today than supply and demand. The more we over-produce and the more competitive the production, and all production is competitive for cash, which is a relatively constant factor, the higher will be the price to the consumer. In other words, the greater the supply, and the less the demand, the greater the cost. This reasoning does not agree with Marx very well, nor does it consider that commodities in huge quantities are sometimes dumped on the market through the failure of manufacturers to find a market. The consumer rarely gets the benefit from such a calamity in this day of mergers and subsidiary companies but just keeps on paying prices that are higher than the Law of Supply and Demand would, unhampered, enforce.

Supply and Demand only govern in first instances, and when a trade is established under competitive conditions, then other factors as strong and in many cases stronger interfere and absolutely govern prices.

Take for instance, the basic industry of Canada, wheat production. Price governed by an Order-in-Council, as we are. No doubt but that some clever government statistician arrived at a cost of production of wheat. But something had to be added to keep the farmers quiet and to keep them voting right. Wheat, during the American Civil War, sold, on the open market, at as high as \$4.50 per bushel, but it didn't in the 1914-18 period. Even in normal times, wheat in common with other raw materials, is very much manipulated.

In fact, the capitalist gambles in raw materials and natural resources, the consumer pays the losses and the capitalist pockets the winnings. Wheat is bought on the basis of chance. The buyer attempts to discount manipulation and conditions relative to the disposal of wheat at a certain time at a certain destination. Completing this, he has sold. This experience is educating, and continued, makes him more proficient in correctly reading the "Signs of the Times." He can

afford a loss and at times does lose. The fact that we are human accounts for the manipulation, we don't all think alike. True that the world's visible supply is a constant factor in these manipulations, but the crop of manipulators grows with the wheat and must be given more consideration than the wheat itself. Such commodities as wheat are out of the producers hands in three months; the supply from other countries help to stabilize the manipulations. With commodities that are being put on the market constantly as by manufacture this manipulation is not so prevalent nor so barefaced. In fact, its a crime. It's profiteering.

Labor-power, as a commodity, is not governed in prices by the Law of Supply and Demand, but by its ability to establish a power sufficient to force buyers to pay more than "the cost of a laborer and his maintenance as a laborer." The capitalist wants him to receive something more than this for the protection of his own property from pillage and theft. But he is also governed in this by cost of production and competition with their accompanying difficulty of sale.

And it is the difficulty of sale or over-production that is causing the disgruntlement of the wage-worker today. The capitalist can not stop producing without a loss of profits, and that is what he produces for—profits. It would be a calamity if all production stopped. Many people would starve. But the more money capital pays labor, the more it gets from its production, provided its selling basis remains as favorable. The extra money paid for labor-power is charged to cost and paid by the consumer. But the capitalist will always be against increasing his cost of production, not only because of increased difficulty of sale, but also because he can more profitably invest his capital, and usually right in his own business. Take any exceptions to this,—Henry Ford, Detroit, for instance. You will find here an established business that almost of its own volition granted substantial increases in wages to employees. They had first established the fact that there was a natural demand for their production, which was at that time unique in its line in many ways, particularly cheapness. Quantity production was essential to the life of the firm, that is, to meet the demand in sufficient quantity to curb competition. Here are two points not usual in business, quantity production and demand. Where ever we hear of "natural" increases in earnings of labor, these two factors will be found to have arisen. Conditions of war time production will bear me out in this, particularly in war essentials.

Commodity prices are influenced greatly by each other. Munition workers relatively high wages help to get high wages in similar lines, to hold the men—here we have supply effected and perhaps the demand impaired, but still a management must meet this condition and overcome it to survive as a producer.—[The writer of the article desired this paragraph eliminated as weak. We decided to let it stand as worth considering.—Edit.]

Take leather, for instance, raw

cow hides are not relatively higher in price to finished commodities produced from them. Ordinary cow hide boots are relatively costly today, both to raw cow hides and to similar boots four years ago. But fine imported stocks of calf and kid are very high and cow hide boots go up in sympathy and for no other reason. If a man will pay a high price for a fine shoe, which eventually he uses as a working shoe, he is sort of educated to wearing a high-priced working shoe. Consequently he pays more for his cow hide working boot. During the war we produced more cow hides and leather than prior to 1914, but even after a year of dislocation of business in war orders with its consequent lack of demand, high prices, excessive prices, in shoes prevail. The psychology of the cow hide boot teaches us another lesson. If we are educated to wear expensive shoes we will wear expensive neck ties; \$2.00 is nothing for a piece of silk to go around our neck, when we have got \$7.50 on each foot. And yet there are as many silk worms in China now as ever and in our market more cow hides.

This line of argument is applicable to every commodity for individual use, food included. The highest-priced dishes in the restaurants are the dishes that are first sold out. The best theater tickets are the first sold. The public is educated to buy these things. No doubt the war effected prices, effected supply,—production from the war zone, dyes medicines, lace, linen, sugar, etc. These would reflect advances in price from the natural cause, but tobacco, booze, theater tickets, wearing apparel, etc., have enhanced in value in "sympathy."

Naturally, when the real governing price with individual traders, the world over, is the highest price obtainable having in view the "signs of the times,"—(discounting future world conditions) which in the market is typified by forced sale and the stimulating of natural demand, we have somebody always 'rocking the boat' of Supply and Demand with the period of 'even keel' quickly passed and the "moments of inertia" of longest duration.

Le B. P. MILES.

The Triple Political Alliance

[By F. S. F.]

THE above-named alliance is an organization springing out of the 1919 convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

There, representatives of the Farmer's Grange, the Railwaymen's Welfare League, met with State Federation of Labor officials and launched this strange phenomenon by the above title, at the same time carefully informing us that it is NOT a "new political party." So the statement of objects tells us. Far from it: rather "it is an organization to assemble the voting strength of the **producing class** for the best interests of **all** the people of the State of Washington." (Extract from the plan of organization.) Keep that in mind while we delve into this new plan.

We are told that the legislative bodies in this state are at present practically controlled by **two per cent. of the population**. This two per cent. is largely composed of members of the various Chambers of Commerce, Employers' Associations, and so on. In short, they are capitalists. Here we have an admission of conflicting material interests. The capitalist class, through their legislative agents, enact laws in their own interest, but detrimental to the interests of the 98 per cent., who compose the producers.

Now, the reasoning of logic dictates that, this being thus, the 98 per cent., or the producers, should form an alliance in line with their interests, and by virtue of their numerical strength and organization, attempt to deprive the 2 per cent. of the population. True, this would involve Federal interference at once, but the Big Issue, thus placed before the whole people of the United States, would provoke immediate and momentous consequences for the capitalist class.

Such a degree of organized intelligence, however, is not yet in sight.

Further, no matter how some alleged Socialists may "kid" them-

selves, and others, that they are on the right road, by joining hands with these new saviours, they cannot explain away that damning piece of evidence, that give-away word, "ALL the people." If the interests of the two per cent. are to be safeguarded, then by so much are the interests of 98 per cent. neglected. If the 98 per cent. are the producers, then the two per cent. are non-producers. Producers are useful citizens, non-producers are useless nuisances.

For any organization representing the producers, to proclaim to all and sundry that they are going to work for the best interests of the useless parasites, would be deemed arrant folly. But, when they announce that they will do that, and at the same time protect the **best interests** of the producers, which interests are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the two per cent., then what shall we say? What are we in charity's name to call these blind leaders of the blind? Let us say they are ignorant wind-peddlers, and let it go at that.

We are told that this new party that is "not a party," is meeting with bitter opposition from the two per cent. Hence, some would argue, the alliance is all right. We would respectfully ask these people, "Did they ever see a hog willingly get out of the trough?"

Daniel De Leon once pithily put it, "that a tiger would fight as hard for the tip of his mustache as for the protection of his whole body."

And so will the brutal robber class. But, so be it, through this reform morass will the Washingtonians doubtless go. Time and economic conditions will force a revolutionary program upon them.

But 'twere a betrayal of all we Socialists ever fought for to link hands with such a visionary conglomeration. We must decline to insult our intellect and be straight with ourselves in our real work of educating the workers to the need of Social Revolution.

Our Book Review

"THE ONLY POSSIBLE PEACE"

DURING the past few months many men have endeavored to find some way of putting an end to war. We have seen such men as President Wilson, David Starr Jordan and a host of other capitalist thinkers try and fail miserably. The latest and most distinguished to appear on the field is F. C. Howe, commissioner of immigration of the port of New York. Howe is known throughout the United States as one of the greatest American liberal thinkers. His many books on various social questions speak for themselves.

In his book, "The Only Possible Peace," he deals with the causes of the war and the means to put an end to all wars. The slaves who have their master's ideas will do well to read this book. Their patriotism would disappear like a whiff of smoke. That "War for Democracy" nonsense would be stale for them. The war as he sees it was due to the building of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway by Germany. Completed, it would spell the ruin of England. He gives six reasons why the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway would cause the decline not only of England but France and Russia as well:

1. Germany supreme in the Near East was in a position to cut off England from Australia, Egypt and India.
2. Menace to British investments totalling six billion dollars in eastern countries.
3. British mercantile supremacy menaced by German ascendancy in the Mediterranean.
4. Danger to the economic and financial power of England.
5. Disaster to British industry.
6. Loss of employment to thousands of future colonial rulers recruited from the wealthy class of England.

He then proceeds to describe the methods used by the contending powers to stave off the world catastrophe; how England tried to block the financing of the railway and in 1899 managed through a secret treaty with the Sheik of Koweit to secure control of the last section of the railway from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. He also shows that Serbia was the immediate barrier to the German plan and that in order for the railway to run through German-controlled territory, it was essential for Serbia to be put out of the way. England, through her control of the last section of the railway, also blocked German aspirations in the Far East. Hence the war.

But Howe, in common with other capitalist thinkers, is blessed with the faculty of drawing unscientific deductions from the facts. Nevertheless, one would think from what he writes on page 17 that Howe spent many nights absorbed in the pages of Marx's Capital. Witness this:

"For the new social democracy was international minded. It was opposed to imperialism. It challenged secret diplomacy. It demanded disarmament. It threatened the economic-political diplomatic structure. The ruling classes were further concerned over industrial conditions because of their effect upon political conditions. Industrial depression might mean political revolution. The increase in machine power and capital investment

was increasing the output of the mills faster than it could be consumed at home for the workers received low wages. This limited their power to buy. The surplus produced could only find a market in other lands. The output of the mills and factories must be disposed of somehow, otherwise there would be industrial collapse. Collapse meant distress, increased poverty, possibly revolution. The whole economic structure of Europe was dependent not only on maintaining markets already secured, but on opening new markets to absorb the increasing output of the mills and factories."

Thus he explains why Germany was so anxious to build this railway from Berlin to Bagdad. It would appear very simple from this searching analysis of the capitalist system of production to find a remedy of putting an end to war. Howe reverts back, however, to the petty capitalist patriot and hurls words of condemnation at the heads of the German Junkers for precipitating this war. He begins to imitate the servile editors in accusing the Kaiser of being the cause of the war forgetting what he writes on page 17. There he specifically states that unless Capitalist countries can find an outlet for their surplus products, disaster was in store for them. He does not seem to realize that the German capitalists were face to face with the alternative of a social revolution, due to their inability to find new dumping grounds, or war—and war was the order of the day.

However, in offering remedies to end future wars, Howe proves his incompetency to solve the problems facing human society. And though, unwittingly, he gives the solution of the problem, his petty capitalist mind fails to comprehend that fact. Instead, he advocates free markets, a league of nations, freedom of the seas, etc.

Free markets or other remedies of a like nature cannot put an end to war. While the capitalists of all countries are compelled to find a dumping ground for the surplus wealth produced by the working class, war is inevitable. This is due to the fact that production is conducted for profit and not for use.

The league of nations is a fact, yet Japan is building the largest battleship ever known. The great powers are preparing for the next war. Onward Christian Soldiers!

JOHN TYLER.

WINDY CHURCHILL

The Junker Churchill was afraid to face a meeting of the Liberal Association in Dundee, the constituency which he represents. The association passed a resolution denouncing the policies of the government with a special animus against Churchill and his scheming against Soviet Russia.

A Canadian correspondent of the London "Common Sense," writing in the Oct. 25 issue, of conditions in Canada gives one laconic, but expressing line to its financial position. He says, "The financial situation, is, to put it mildly, bad."

Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada.

A statement of the theories and conclusions of Scientific Socialism.

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The Farmer Question

Comrade,

It is unfortunate that a discussion on a technical subject can not be conducted by the participants without the interjection of sarcasm, but such is "human nature."

In his reply to my article on the "Farmer Question," Comrade Pilkington says some statements he made in his pamphlet "Wage-worker and Farmer" are considered by me misleading. If he had read more carefully, or at least had not been so quick to jump to conclusions, he might have been saved the discomfort of a roughened poll. (Is it red? comrade.) As to considering any of his statements misleading, I had forgotten about the pamphlet mentioned, until it was brought to my notice by his reply to me.

If applying to the sales department of tractor manufacturing concerns is the "only means possible" to find whether the tractor "materially affects the value of farm produce," I do not wonder that "students of the Marxian school"—viz., Pilkington—are "all at sea," for, as "students of the Marxian school" should know, sales do not create commodities, labor does that. Neither do sales of experimental machines indicate anything, except that they "look good," and have plausible salesmen.

If your correspondent refers to the farm tractors when he mentions the "forces at work," I may inform him that they are very seldom at work in this district at least. Most of the time they "set" in the mud. There is at least a dozen within a radius of six miles, and though their owners played at ploughing with them for the first year or so, they soon discovered that what with lost time from breakages, worn parts, owing to dust, etc., and trips to town for fuel, there was no advantage in their use except for threshing, especially, as they usually had horses "eating their heads off" at the same time.

Will your correspondent please tell us what force compelled the "average farmer to buy, buy, buy improved machinery and more land to keep in the game." The present writer, along with many other farmers, has not been so compelled, so far as land and a traction engine is concerned, and has kept in the game very nicely. An improved method does not force itself by occult powers on a victimized community. Over-production is the weapon of force which an improved method employs to compel other producers to adopt it. Without over-production, there is no aggressive force. The first users of the improved method must lower the price of their commodity in order to get a sale for the increased amount of goods which result. This drop in the market price, eventually, as the improvement is adopted by other producers and becomes more general, forces the backward producers who have not adopted it into various stages of "poverty," and bankruptcy. Thus is supply and demand equalized again, and prices brought to the new values. If only a small proportion of the producers have adopted the improved method, they are able to retain almost all the advantage derived from it.

If then, we in the farming industry

are at a point where the method of farming is rapidly changing and driving us to "ruin," and that is the cause of our poverty, how is it that 20 years ago, when the tractor had not appeared on the farm, the average farmer was in, if anything, worse case than he is now, instead of living in comfort, and even in the luxury that the average rate of productivity would, even at that time have granted to the unexploited worker.

The fact, in my opinion, is that the comparatively few large farmers, by exceptional executive ability, have been able to cheapen their individual cost of production to considerably below the average, and so are reaping an average amount of profit, while the average farmer, even if he owns his farm clear, must live in comparative poverty.

Our loving comrade must not attach too much importance to the figures of loans, when given in the aggregate, they sound big that way; but when we consider that a loan of \$3000 drawing interest at 10 per cent., would tax the farmer to the extent of \$300 a year only, we see that that does not make the difference between slavery and freedom. Many skilled wage-workers could stand it, if they lived in shacks, on the cheapest food, and used a clean suit of overalls for a "Sunday" suit.

If Comrade Pilkington doubts that the surplus wage-workers are continually flooding the farmer's field of production and without finding it necessary to "buy a modern farm" either, I can give him the addresses of at least a dozen wage-workers who have become farmers, and who are my immediate neighbors and acquaintances. (Perhaps it is necessary to say that I give this as typical of the West.) Also I may inform him that over 160 thousand homestead entries were made in Saskatchewan alone from 1906 to 1915 inclusive.

"Marxism" has been degraded by a certain section of "Marxists," to a series of narrow formula:

- (1) Average prices equal values.
- (2) Wages are the expression in money of the amount of labor, socially necessary to produce the laborer, etc.

It is forgotten that the value of a commodity may fall, in a broad sense without a reduction in the amount of labor necessary to produce it. It is also forgotten that a standard of living is historically set for the workers, and that by a voluntary lowering of this standard, money may be "saved" by certain individuals, at certain times. I do not think Marx was fool enough to waste his energy writing "Capital," if the intricate capitalist system could be explained so simply. As well try to explain the flight of a bird by an imperfect understanding of the law of gravity alone, though that might be sufficient to explain the falling of a brick from a chimney top.

Let us hope the farmer does get the view in chronic form, that he is robbed at the point of production; (for that is near enough to pass for correct) that he is exploited at the point where he lets go of the product of his labor, and receives less than its "equitable" value in exchange. Is this being "robbed at the point of consumption" as my critic informs us.

H. F. S.

The Indicator

A Journal of History, Economics,
Philosophy and Current Events

Published every Week By the
Socialist Party of Canada,

401 Pender St. E., Vancouver, B. C.

Editor.....C. Stephenson

Subscriptions to "The Indicator,"
20 issues \$1.00

SATURDAY.....NOVEMBER 29, 1919

Conferences

WHAT is to be the end of all this striving to get labor and capital together. Will it eventually succeed? Will the shapness of the first antagonisms finally wear off under the streams of debate? It does not look hopeful even from the most optimistic point of view. Though the personnel of the labor groups at the great conferences of labor and capital have been handpicked from the most conservative and "safe" and "sane" elements, yet when brought face to face with the capitalist groups, they act almost in the reputed manner of Bolsheviks.

The superstitious bourgeoisie say it is the malign spirit of Karl Marx, wandering like the fabled Jew over the face of the earth, which has entered into the working class. A little of the common sense materialism of Marx, however, would lead them to look into other more earthy factors for the cause of these untoward "boltings" of labor groups from the "get-together" conferences and for the labor unrest.

The trouble, basically, is the capitalist system itself, which places these groups in impossible positions from the harmony standpoint. All the differences between capital and labor that can be settled are settled on the industrial field, either by agreement between groups of workers and capitalist employers or by means of a test of strength by the strike or the lock out. All larger issues with which these conferences are supposed to deal with whether they be of seeking a radical change in conditions or of seeking a permanent basis of agreement, are beyond solution under the present order.

The disease of the present system is found in the ownership of society's means of production by a class who exploit these social powers for their own benefit. There can be, in the nature of things, no permanent agreement or solution while this condition prevails.

Sub. Hustlers Wanted

To increase the circulation of "The Indicator," Urgent. One dollar for 20 issues, money returned if unable to fulfill obligation. Do not delay. Help on the educational movement.

Violence and the I.L.P.

[From The Socialist, Glasgow]

IT may be truthfully stated that at the present moment the Independent Labor Party is in a more unsettled state as regards Socialist theory and policy than it has been at any time during its past history. As a result of its courageous attitude to the war it has been compelled to abandon much of its former worship of the

State. Having attracted to itself a large pacifist following during the past few years of universal slaughter, it is now faced with problems which only arise through a lack of fundamental Socialist thought. One of these problems, and, perhaps, the one which is causing most agitation within the ranks of the I. L. P. is the problem of violence and the Revolution. Although a large number of the rank and file is rapidly moving more and more towards "the left," it is probably the thought that revolution spells bloodshed which at present prevents the party as a whole from adopting a more uncompromising attitude, from renouncing the Second International and all its works, and from joining the Third International at Moscow.

The problem of violence and the Revolution is quite simple to the average reader of The Socialist. We as Socialists do not believe in violence and do not advocate it, although our reading of history and the working of capitalism leads us to presume that violence most probably will be resorted to by the capitalist class when the workers are ready to assume control of the instruments of production and distribution. But we also know that the more the proletariat is educated to the realization of its social position the less possibility there is of violence being used. And if it were possible to permeate successfully the armed forces and the flunkies of capital with our doctrines of class-conscious Socialism no violence at all could take place, because at the hour of need capitalism would find itself deserted by those upon whom it relies for protection. In short, more class-conscious education at the present means less violence in the future.

Strange to say the I.L.P. when judged by this test of education is sadly lacking. For nearly thirty years the I.L.P. has been organized as a propagandist body, and yet its educational results towards a class-conscious proletariat are practically nil. It possesses a network of branches spreading all over the country, which might have become a veritable honeycomb of centres of revolutionary education, but, at present, its activities are confined to windy political demonstration of no lasting importance. Classes in those vital subjects of economics and industrial history it has practically none. Again, the I.L.P., whilst issuing superficial pamphlets and leaflets by the million, has failed to produce any Socialist literature of lasting value. In this connection it is amusing to note that Ramsay MacDonald speaks of Noah Ablett's excellent 'Easy Outlines of Economics' as follows:

"It is a profound pity that thousands of young workmen earnestly seeking for instruction in the social problems which they wish to help to solve have to turn to such handbooks which are educational neither in spirit nor in substance."—Socialist Review.

What, it may be asked, has Ramsay MacDonald done during the years he has been one of the guiding stars of his party, to help forward the dissemination of solid Socialist literature among the workers?

The I.L.P. does not want violence and yet is doing very little to obviate violence by real educational work, this in spite of many protests that have been made by industrial members at conferences and in the Press.

In conclusion it should be stated that the writer has not been com-

Industry and the Gild

From Jenks "History of Politics"

(Continued from Last Issue.)

ORGANIZATION of Industry.

Having now seen something in the way in which industry, in its two branches of production and exchange, arose, we turn, as in dealing with agriculture, to examine how industry was organized, i.e., what institutions were developed to work it.

Village Craftsmen. There can be little doubt that, at first, there was an attempt to fit industry into the village system. Although the smith, as a stranger, would not readily be absorbed in a group of kinsmen, although, as a matter of fact, we generally find the smithy at a little distance from the village, yet the "village blacksmith" became, and, indeed, still is, a recognized village in-

stitution. So also with the other early crafts. The carpenter, cobbler, tailor, the weaver, tiler and baker, are, in Oriental countries at the present day, and formerly in European countries were, integral parts of the village system. As for the primitive merchant, we find him in the humble guise of pedlar or huckster, going about with his pack from village to village, and so being, if not a villager, at least a connecting link between villages.

The Market. But, as industry became more and more specialized, as new crafts developed out of the old, it gradually became clear that more rapid progress was made, and better work done, if the workers in a particular craft collected together in a centre, perhaps specially suited for the particular industry; and thus we get the beginning of that tendency for industry to gravitate towards towns, which is so marked a feature of modern industrial life. It may be that the gradual collection of craftsmen formed the town or it may be that the existence of a fortified town attracted the craftsmen. That is a much disputed question. But it is tolerably certain, that one of the earliest institutions in connection with towns was the market, and the existence of the market was closely connected with the development of industry. The neighboring villages would not want to come to market for agricultural produce; but they would want to come for the produce of what is specially known as "industry."

EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

Vancouver Local No. 1, S. P. of C. Hall, corner Pender Street and Dunlevy Avenue

Economic Class.—Every Sunday at 3 p.m. Text Book, Wage-labor and Capital.

History Class.—Every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. Text Book, Industrial History of England, by H. De B. Gibbins. Everyone invited. No questions asked.

ANOTHER JOKE, LABOR CONFAB

So-called Labor Representatives Are Protested Against.

Washington, D. C.—As the international labor conference, called in anticipation of the ratification of the League of Nations Covenant, continues its sessions, more and more protests are being filed against the delegates accredited by the various governments.

Things began when organized labor of Japan declared that the Japanese delegate was really an exploiter of labor. Next followed the announcement that Australian labor had refused to have anything to do with the Washington conference, on the grounds that hand-picked government appointees were not free agents.

Argentina followed, the Argentine Labor Federation issuing a declaration that the Argentine delegation had been chosen without consulting the central federation of the workers of Argentina, this being in violation of the League of Nations convention on this point. Argentine labor further points out that the technical advisor of the delegation is a member of the railroad strike-breakers' organization.

Lastly, Hindu workers within the United States are greatly disturbed to find that the representatives of Indian labor are appointees of the British Government who are pledged to a mild form of home rule under the British flag.

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Now the very essence of the market is, that it is neutral ground, on which the members of different communities can meet without trespassing on one another's territories. As its name implies, it was frequently on the march or boundary of two or more districts. And, whether it was so or not, in any particular instance, it was essential that it should be a place of peace. The existence of the market cross in later days shows that the church took the market under her special protection. And, also later, kings and emperors made a special point of protecting the peace of their markets. How the peace was guarded in the ancient days before Church and State, it is difficult to say. In savage times, the essential point is, that seller and buyer shall never actually come into contact. The seller brings his article near the strange camp, lays it down on the ground in full view, and retires. The intending purchaser comes out, inspects the article, places beside it what he is willing to give in exchange, and also retires. The seller once more comes up, inspects the proffered exchange, and, if satisfied, takes it away, leaving his own article to be fetched by the purchaser. If he is dissatisfied with the offer, he takes his own article away. Needless to observe, savage barter is a trifle tedious; but time is of no value to savages, who, indeed, do not understand what it means. In Patriarchal times, the "gods of the market place" probably are supposed, in some mysterious way, to guard the peace of the market. At anyrate, the bazaar, which is the Oriental market, is a typical feature of town life in Patriarchal countries at the present day.

Next Issue: "The Gild."

Patriarchal Society

Excerpt from Jenk's "Short History of Politics"

TWO stages of Patriarchal Society. The study of Patriarchal Society has, until quite lately, been rendered very difficult by the practice, adopted by writers and speakers of treating all Patriarchal Society as though it were of one kind. As a consequence, the picture has been confused, inconsistencies and difficulties have arisen, and impatient critics have been tempted to regard the Patriarchal stage of society as an ingenious fiction.

Tribal. As a matter of fact, a patient study of the evidence soon reveals the truth, that Patriarchal Society fall into two subordinate stages, represented by two different groups or social units. The first of these may properly be called the **tribe**, the second the **clan** (or **Sept.**) The former (**the tribe**) is a large group, consisting of several hundred individuals, the fully qualified among whom certainly believe themselves to be descended from a common male ancestor, and are certainly bound together by the ties of kinship through males, but, in most cases, if not all, the common ancestor of the **tribe** is a **fictitious** person, invented to satisfy the etiquette which has now come to regard descent from a common male ancestor as the only true basis of society; and, as a matter of fact, the lawfully born children of all male members of the tribe are entitled to be classed as tribesmen.

Clanish. The **clan**, on the other hand, is a much smaller body, consisting of some three or four generations only, in descent from a perfectly well-known male ancestor, and breaking up, automatically, into new clans or septs, when the proper limits have been reached.

Supported by evidence of savage society. This view put forward by Mr. Skene in his "Celtic, Scotland," (vol. III.) has been strengthened, in the most remarkable way, by the discoveries concerning the nature of savage society. By these discoveries it has been proved, that the earliest social group, so far from being a small household of a single man and his wives, is a large and loosely connected group or "pack," organized for matrimonial purposes on a very artificial plan, which altogether precludes the existence of the "single family." If it were necessary, it could easily be shown that the origin of society in "single families" is inherently impossible; but it is sufficient to point out that the evidence is against it.

Origin of the distinction. Although however, the author acknowledges his debt to Mr. Skene for the establishment of the true relationship between the tribe and the clan, he is not aware that the **causes** of the appearance of either have been stated anywhere in brief form. He thinks it better, therefore, even at the risk of anticipating matters a little, to state clearly his own view, which is this: **that the domestication of animals converted the savage pack into the Patriarchal tribe; and that the adoption of agriculture broke up the tribe into clans.**

Propaganda meeting, Sunday, 8 p.m. Empress theatre, Gore and Hastings.

Marxian Economics

WE have had shown to us the following syllabus of an economic class held under the auspices of the Edinburgh and District School of Marxian Economics. Schools and classes of like nature, as well as Labor colleges, are being started up all over the British Isles, by the workers, for the education of the working class in political economy and kindred subjects. This educational activity in that country springs from a consciousness that things can never be well in that country, or in the world, until the working class gain political supremacy so that they may transform the profit system of the bourgeoisie into a system of production for use. It is realized that this assumption of power must be preceded by intense educational activities; intense, because otherwise—social catastrophe will be upon us worse than any yet experienced. The question that should strike all class-conscious workers in Canada is: What are we doing in this country to hold our end up? The working-class problem of economic slavery is fundamentally an international, a world problem. It stands inseparable in relationship with the capitalist system of production. Are our educational activities in measurable proportions to the need, or even to what we might be doing? We know they are not, most of us. Some are laboring at it with all their energy, and they need the active co-operation of every one. Study, pass your knowledge along; form classes, form locals, spread literature, attend propaganda meetings, support your press; in short, be a Socialist.

Study of Marxian Economics

"Wage-Labor and Capital"

Session commences October 14, 1919.

First Lecture—What are wages?

Second Lecture—By what is the price of a commodity determined?

Third Lecture—By what are wages determined?

Fourth Lecture—Nature and growth of Capital.

Fifth Lecture—The relation of wage-labor to Capital.

Sixth Lecture—The general law that determines the rise and fall of wages and profits.

Seventh Lecture—The interests of Capital and wage-labor diametrically opposed. Effect of growth of productive capital on wages.

Eighth Lecture—Effect of capitalist competition on the capitalist class, the middle class, and the working class.

Second Session—General review of capitalist production, and the revolt of the wage-workers against the system:

1—Commodities, Money and Wages.

2—Wage-Labor, Capital, Exploitation. The wages system an economic injustice to the worker.

3—History of the labor-process under Capitalism—

(a) The manufacturing period.

(b) The collective laborer.

(c) The industrial revolution.

(d) Modern machine industry.

4—The revolt of the wage-laborer—

(a) History of industrial combination of workers.

(b) Present position of the question of industrial unity.

(c) Workshop Control: The practi-

New Zealand

[An agreement has been reached between Marxian Socialists of New Zealand and Canada to establish their own news service as to conditions and events affecting the working class in those countries. It is hoped that this news service will be progressively extended in its scope to also include other countries. The following is the first report received by the Socialist Party of Canada from the New Zealand "Marxian Association." A report on affairs in Canada will be despatched to New Zealand in return.]

OCTOBER 1, 1919.—Although New Zealand is but an insignificant country its productive activity fits in with, and is dependent upon, the social process as a whole. The laws of social development giving to the class struggle in the highly-developed countries its active form are just beginning the creation of conditions in New Zealand that tend to compel the working-class movement to assume a revolutionary character. The social element entering into the value of labor power, a factor peculiar to colonial conditions, is rapidly disappearing, thus involving the intensification of the wage struggle.

But at the present time the working-class movement has not passed beyond the trades union on the industrial, and the reform party on the political field.

An approaching election has stimulated the Labor Party—the popular workers' party—into abnormal activity. It is the New Zealand equivalent of the Australian Labor Party, the I. L. P. of England, and the S. D. P. of Germany. In its hasty struggle

cal side of Industrial Unionism.

5—Solution of the economic problem—

(a) The wages system untenable and doomed.

(b) The independent democratic industrial organization of the workers provides a new social institution which can assume control of industry.

(c) Social revolution.

(d) Abolition of the capitalist hiring of labor power.

(e) Increase of production.

(f) Introduction of Socialist distribution.

ECONOMIC CLASS NOTES

THE Vancouver Economic Class recently set a subject for essays and there has been a gratifying response. A large number of papers have been received, many of them of a very high order of merit. The unsuspecting McStephenson, harassed by a copy-hungry printer, incontinently seized upon two of those, mainly, I suspect, on account of their space-filling possibilities, and had them printed last week. It will, however, be impossible, at the present time, to print all the efforts submitted. Essays by the following are highly commended. G. M., W. L., J. G. Meldrum, Jean W. Morgan, Elsie Martin, Mary Haines, E. McLeod, J. S., J. L. and "Man-power."

The order in which they are here set forth is not intended as an indication of the relative merits of the papers.

The Committee.

for power it is compelled to seek the support of the small farmer and petty trader, promising to maintain their present social status in the face of concentrating capital. To the returned soldiers, it offers larger gratuities than those offered by the present government and thereby justifies the war in which they took part. An expression of class ignorance and prejudice, its miserable struggle is a sorry spectacle.

The trade unions in their struggles for better conditions and increased wages are tending more and more to reveal to the wage slave his real position. But, unfortunately, the part played by the government in suppressing strikes turns his interest to the Labor Party. Owing to the lack of revolutionary propaganda the lessons of the never-ceasing wage-struggle have no great significance.

During the past five years there has been a movement of trades unions towards federation which has culminated in what is known as the "Triple Alliance of Labor." A loose federation of railway, mine and water-side workers' unions, its average member is no more class-conscious than if no unions existed at all. Even as a sample of industrial unionism it is a miserable failure for at the present time one section, the coal miners, are engaged in a "go-slow" strike whilst the other sections are still working. A section of the miners have commenced to speed up in spite of the majority decision. The whole proposition is a farce in spite of the disturbing influence of its existence upon the capitalist mind.

The only semblance of revolutionary movement is that of a number of Marxian students in the making of a revolutionary Socialist party. Owing to the smallness of their number and the extent to which they are scattered over the country their organization is rather loose. In the first days of this year a conference was held at Christchurch. Thirteen students attended and after a lengthy discussion decided upon the formation of a Marxian Students' Association. Its function is the propagation of Marxian Socialism in order to create the element necessary for a Socialist party. Its sole activity is in the field of education; in political activity it takes no part. Beyond spreading literature and conducting economic classes it cannot extend its activities until its numerical strength is sufficient to maintain a sound party organization.

One distinct peculiarity in the psychology of the New Zealand working class is the general appreciation of the Russian Revolution. The most ignorant of slaves heartily acclaim the Bolsheviki, imagining in their struggle, a rebellion against conditions which they themselves feel but cannot understand.

The Labor Party fakirs also support the Bolsheviki, but are nevertheless busily engaged in explaining to their audiences that the working class of New Zealand need not pursue the same course. They are going to achieve the same end by constitutional means to which the Labor Party is organically adapted.

T. F.

New Zealand Marxian Association.

The Evolution of Man

By PROF. WILLIAM BOLSCHE

[It is considered by the Editorial Board that this series from William Bolsche's work, "The Evolution of Man," as illustrating the evolutionary process in nature, will assist students to approach the study of the same process in society, as seen in the birth, growth and decay of institutions as well as in the different economies of various historical epochs, and thus to reach an understanding of present-day social problems more easily, and with a greater measure of success.]

II.

[In last issue, No. 1 of this series, the author described in part, from the findings of scientific research into the past history of the earth, what is likely to have been the appearance of Europe during that geological age, one million years ago, known as the Tertiary period. In No. 2, this issue, he discourses on some other features of that far off time.]

THE TERTIARY PERIOD

FOUR great periods are distinguished by the historians of the earth, in speaking of the change and succession of animal and plant life as it is discovered in the course of the many million years during which it has developed. We may use the simple Latin numbers to designate these periods: Primus, the First; Secundus, the second; Tertius, the Third; Quartus, the Fourth. There is the primary period, the very first in which we discover traces of living beings on our earth. It was then that the forests were green, the fossil remains of which we now know as coal. Strange and uncouth newts crawled about in their shade. The sea, the shores of which were covered by these trees, was alive with long forgotten crustaceans and fishes. Then followed the Secondary period, in which the terrible giant saurians, typified by Ichthyosaurus, infested land and sea. After that we reach the third great period, the Tertiary period, when Europe had the climate and the fauna of present day Africa, such as giraffes, elephants and monkeys. And when this epoch came to an end, the Quaternary period began, with which our entire historical tradition is identified and in which we are still living today. We do not meet any familiar objects until we reach this last period. The surface of the earth then assumes the form to which we are now accustomed. All things come closer to us. The things that lie beyond are strange to us, like an unknown creation, like a dream of some other planet.

And yet man lived even in that Tertiary period. No song, no heroic story, gives any information about him. But where the voice of tradition, the chronicles of conscious humanity are silent, there we find other witnesses that speak to us—the stones. The tradition of mankind expires within the Quaternary period. There is an extreme moment when even the most ancient inscriptions of the Chinese, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians become mute. Written characters disappear and with them the earliest direct voice from the cradle of humanity about itself. But beyond that point we are made aware of a very important event in the development of this earth which took place in this Quaternary period, the tracts of which are still largely visibly impressed in the rocks. It is the great ice age. For many thousand years, colossal masses of glacial ice were piled on top of the continents of Europe and

North America. Large herds of mammoth, a species of elephant, covered with a thick coating of hair as a protection against the cold, grazed along the edge of these glaciers, just as in our day the musk-ox and the reindeer are doing in the countries near the North Pole. Undeniable and plain traces of human beings are still preserved from that period.

In the sand, which remained when the glaciers flowed into the caves which were formed by the mighty ice waters boring their way through the lime rocks, the crude and simple stone tools have been found with which men of that period hunted the mammoth. The walls of such caves in France are still covered with colored pictures in which the men of that ice age have drawn unmistakable pictures of the mammoth. As it happens, we are enabled to test the accuracy of those pictures, since well preserved bodies of mammoth with skin and hair are found in the ice of Siberia. We have also found the skulls and bones of those men, so that we now have a fairly good idea of their characteristics, in spite of the fact that all written and oral traditions of the civilized nations now living have completely forgotten their ancestors of the ice age.

But these simple stone tools, especially knives and arrowheads, which give us such reliable information of man as the contemporary of the mammoth, are occasionally found also in the strata of rock which were already present when the ice age with its glaciers and mammoths began. We find in them remains of that most primitive human civilization, together with bones of a giant elephant, who was not only larger and of different form than the mammoth, but also older—the so-called South-elephant (*Elephas meridionalis*.) But this South-elephant was still living in laural groves and under magnolia blossoms in France and Germany, instead of feeding on reindeer lichens on the edges of the glaciers. With this elephant we have come into the middle of the genuine Tertiary period. This Tertiary period, the more we follow it backwards, takes us into a warmer climate instead of a colder one. In the middle of this period we meet with that very picture which I drew in the beginning. Europe then had the giraffe plains and the primeval forests of the present day inhabited by anthropoid apes, and there is no longer any doubt that the oldest tools of man, which we can distinguish as such, lead us even to the limit of this very hot, middle period of the Tertiary age. Man is even then a part of the picture! He is himself almost a million years old on the surface of this globe, and had simple stone weapons and other tools which he used in his fight with the giant animals of that time. In other words, he possessed the indubitable beginnings of civilization.

It seems to me that we can not trace matters up to this point without confronting this further question: Is it not possible that man may be still older?

With this venerable age of one million years, he is part of the wonders of the primitive world, he drifts into the company of still stranger animals than the mammoth, into other climates than those of present-day Europe, the Alps of which were then in the first stage of formation and the seas of which had not yet found their present level. So it really would not change matters very much even if we found that we must trace him further back into still more ancient and strange landscapes of this globe. It is true that

all traces of civilization disappear at this point. We do not know of a single piece of flint stone in the first half of the Tertiary period, or even of the Saurian period following it, which would show the traces of the human hand. But long before we reach this point, we may observe a gradual divergence of these flint stone tools. They grow cruder and cruder. Is it too wild a speculation to suppose that men may have existed even beyond that time who may not have possessed sufficient civilization even to fashion the simplest stone tools? In that case, we could not expect to find any stone tools as witnesses.

But, one might say, there should at least be genuine human bones preserved in a fossil state in the solid rocks together with skeletons of the ichthosaurians? Still, this objection would not carry much weight. We know very well that not all of the living beings which once lived upon this earth left their fossil bones behind. The bones may have been destroyed, for human bones particularly are not very durable. Or they may be buried in certain places of the earth which we can not investigate today, because they may be at the bottom of the sea, or covered by the perennial ice of polar regions. How often has not this earth been shaken through and through and turned inside out in these long, long periods? Strata, which were once sediment at the bottom of the sea and which are still full of sea shells are now found on the high summits of the Alps. On the other hand, entire mountain ranges, ground into sand, are now found in the flat sandstone of the plains, or at the bottom of the sea. Many of the remains of the primitive world have certainly been destroyed in this wild chaos, have been ground into powder, or broken to pieces. We get a vague conception of this when we see that even the gigantic monsters of those primitive days have frequently left but one single bone, a thigh bone or skull of one single individual. That is to say, while thousands and thousands of individuals of this species lived once upon a time, only the scant remains of one single individual have come down to our time.

Then too, there is still another possibility which is far more interesting. It is very probable that we may not recognize the man of those far distant days, even if some of his bones were preserved. For man himself might have become transformed in his structure, and his bones might differ from ours. Might it not be possible that his bones might look so strange to us that scientists might have described them as belonging to some other being, little aware of the fact that these remains represented just the thing for which they were looking?

Similar ideas have ever played a role in various tales and legends. There, we read that the men of the primitive world were gnomes, or again giants, or fauns with goats feet, tails and pointed ears. When mammoth bones were first found, it was said they were the actual remains of such old fabulous men, bones of the giants Gog and Magog, or of St. Christopher. Of course, this was nonsense, and the supposed human bones were nothing but honest mammoth bones with no relation to primitive man. But, we of today have really something better, than mere remains to rely on, we have reliable scientific data for the theory that men with essentially different characteristics from ours existed not so very long ago.

Next Issue: The Men of the Ice Age.

EXTRACT FROM A

WINNIPEG LETTER

Dear Comrade:

The Defence Committee has issued a Liberty Bond which seems to be selling at a rapid rate.

The Labor Party have a full municipal ticket in the field for Nov. 28, with a possible control of the next Civic Council in sight, and, as they have promised everything from proportional representation to Home Rule for Winnipeg, all parties should be happy ever after, should they succeed.

The Local of the S. P. of C. is getting under way again with two good business meetings in succession, and an election of new officers. We

have an active literature agent who is eating holes into that stack of stuff you sent us in the summer. I am starting an economic class on Sunday next as per instructions of the Local; this, with several other classes now in operation should bring this community to a high standard of intellectuality. Propaganda meetings are now operating regularly, being held at the Labor Temple.

Will write you again when I gather more subscriptions which will not be long I assure you,

Yours for Socialism,

G. A.

Articles are desired on the Socialist Philosophy or on current events interpreted in the light of its principles.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT DELEGATE BETRAYS INDIA'S LABOR

WASHINGTON, Nov. 6.—In accordance with instructions from the British Government in India, M. N. Joshi, the government delegate in the International Labor Conference at Washington, upheld that working hours in India should be reduced from the existing 12-hour working day to 10 hours only, instead of 8-hour day, recommended for Europe and America. His contention was that the British Government would refuse to pass laws for 8-hour day. Though Mr. Joshi is an honest and sincere man, his hands are tied by the government he represents.

A special Asian Committee has been

formed in the International Labor Conference to make special recommendations for India, China, Persia and Siam. It is significant that Japan declined to join this committee.

FRENCH ELECTIONS

There is something suspicious about the press reports of the French elections. The Red element have been defeated by the sane elements we are told. Better to wait for fuller returns. British labor, we were also told, suffered a defeat at the last elections, but when the aggregate vote was totalled, they were found to have made immense gains.

"The Indicator," 20 issues \$1.00.

The Anthem of Production

THE siren song of more production has become international. From the labor fakir to the tinhorn politicians; from the corner grocery (struggling to maintain a 10 per cent. on falling wages) to the "great captains" of industry. "Production or ruination," shout the trade magnates. "Production or ruination," echo their henchmen, the politicians. Rather funny after a "great victory." Sackcloth and ashes used to be the garb of the conquered; apparently history—the great scorner of precedents—has given it as reward to the victors. With which we have no quarrel. But what does the panic of production mean? Let us begin at the beginning and see.

The summer of 1914, saw the climax of perhaps the greatest "financial panic" in the history of Capital. Markets were glutted; commerce stagnant; industries closing down, unemployment rampant. The energies of production had brought to the Capitalist deadlock—to the producers, starvation.

Came the war. Our masters issued their slogans of "national integrities," "eternal justice," "freedom," "democracy," "patriotism," and the workers, in their millions, responded to the call; eager, with the enthusiasm of an ideal; passionate with a tradition, substanceless as the shadow they set forth to achieve.

But our masters had found a market. The mighty armies of "glory" had to be fed, clothed, sheltered, equipped, transported; supplied with the armaments of war. Industry began to hum; the slave temples were reopened; the "captain of industry" sharpened his sickle for the harvest; the coupon clipper sniffed the sweet savor of profit; the financier beamed with visions of loot. The whole economic organization was transformed into a gigantic war machine, and from compulsory idleness, the "loafers" were driven into compulsory labor.

Hitherto, capitalist wars have been for the fullest freedom of national expansion. But the nineteenth century had developed the nations to capacity. "Peaceful penetration" blotted out boundary lines. The tree of commerce, with its roots in the "nation," spread its ruddy branches across the "empire." The fateful expansion of social forces forged the tragic alternative of world dominion or commercial failure. The war organizations were well ordered, science was their hand-maiden, the "democratic" institutions of society, their slaves. They were ready to strike, and striking, they involved the whole of society—the whole world—in the strain and stress of their unmeasured ferocity.

But capitalist society means profit. It moves not but with the incentive of profit; now it had to fight to secure or maintain its profit, to widen the horizon of its desire. And it had to be paid for doing so. Where was the payment? Nowhere but in the industry of the future. Credit was therefore the necessity of the ruling class—of all countries. Unlimited credit. Unlimited market lifted the price of commodities; unlimited demand for labor increased the cost of production. But the need of the capitalist was great. "Win

the war" was the slogan. At all costs and hazards. To the point of "attrition." "To the last man and the last dollar." "If we lose," said Lord Rosebery, "we are ruined and damned." The most malignant devil, conjured by the mind of fear, could achieve no more.

But this effort produced changes in the industrial life of the nations. Effective machinery and unlimited manpower for the fighting forces evolved efficient methods and machinery for the productive forces. To such a degree that about one-fifth of society produced the total war and industrial and social requirements of the whole society—and produced it in superabundance.

With peace, came reaction. The new methods and system of production become more and more socialized, contrasted more sharply with the individualist ownership of the productive machinery. The new consciousness of service, the new concept of democracy, flashed in friction on the old political sham. With the war market gone, industrial activities faded away; the commercial market bound and blockaded, there was no room in the new formation of production for the "gallant heroes" of a transient hour; finance trembled in the vicissitudes of uncertainty, the balloon of credit was inflated to bursting point, while imperialist revisions flung all society into greater straits of chaos and anarchy.

The billions involved in the war effort, however, still remained. What those billions represented had disappeared in an orgy of destruction, but the cyphers still figured in bonds, day-books and ledgers. Big business required payment of its fictional wealth, and industry owned and controlled by big business is the only source of payment. In other words, the continued exploitation of the working class, without which no payment is possible.

Now that the red orgy of fury is spent, and the whole fabric of capitalist society, swaying as in an earthquake, the capitalist directors of this fury see the havoc that it has wrought in society, see their privileges threatened; their power shaken. Full well they recognize that political moonshine and financial juggling can avail them nothing. Full well they realize that labor alone can save them and their sordid commercialism. That is where the cry of "production" takes the hue of significance. This is why industrial reforms and arbitration boards are everywhere in evidence. This is a life and death affair. "Man the boats and save the nation," i.e., the ruling class. And only increased production and foreign trade can work the oracle.

But labor too, begins to see. The "great unwashed" stirs with the dawning of a new era. Old customs, methods, ideas are sinking below the horizon of the past. Profit, interest, dividend, the spoliation of labor, the crushing of the social spirit, the degradation of intellect, the centuries-long crucifixion of man—they are trembling, breaking in the rude shock of peace. Labor shuns production for the enrichment of the few; is not allowed to produce but for the profit

of the class. Service and use, the need of the many are voided by the sham "conciliations" of the owners—the "conciliations" of "thrift" and "economy," unremitting toil and arduous hours for the impoverished wage slave; privilege and wealth and fullness for the master. Thus is the industrial machine jammed upon itself, and disaster utter and complete, threatens the reign of capital. This is the "abyss at the bottom of which lies ruin," says Lloyd George, and rightly. The ruin of the capitalist class, whose spokesman he is, and if he would lift his eyes to the other side of the gulf, there too, he would face ruin. For production without markets is unavailing, and where is the market?

To be sure the war has opened up vast territories and sources of supplies in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. Lured with the gleam of profit, international finance is hammering out its schemes of aggrandisement and imperialist ambitions on the anvil of "mandatory powers." The dissensions in the councils of the "great powers," are evidence of the political intrigues amongst them for territories of exploitation. The "help" given to the Koltchak Government at Omsk, the recognition of the Finnish Mannerheim; the association with German reactionaries; the investiture of a "democratic Poland and Bohemia; the re-establishment of a Hapsburg in Austria," all show that imperialism has lost none of its native cunning and resource; is still lusting for power; capable of any holocaust for the retention of its privilege; possessing the strength and stature of a giant, and the nature of a cannibal.

And it has powerful assets for the realization of its dreams of conquest. Entrenched in property-right; buttressed by hoary custom; commanding the powers of State; having the sanction of an invertebrate middle-class; and above all—greater than all—supported by a sham democracy, nourished on the colossal political ignorance of society. What can we put on the debit side of the book?

In all the Russias, there is the Bolsheviki, a power which may be over-estimated, but whose influence will be felt in an increasing degree. Moreover, that is the greatest supply source of raw material, and is therefore, peculiarly susceptible to entanglements, probably preventing the complete union of autocratic forces which alone can work the fall of the Soviet regime. Europe is in a ferment, unproductive, bankrupt, exhausted. The blockade of "enemy" countries has disorganized production and commerce, not only in the beleaguered countries, but in the working centres of supply. There is a staggering debt of 200 billion dollars, a stupendous increase in the powers of production without a proportionate expansion of consumption ability; and a consequent chronic "financial panic." There is, surely, a good broad phylactery of silver on the black cloud of wage slavery.

Recovery from the present crisis can hardly be other than tardy. Credits will be hard to establish; collection difficult; industry passive, because profit is not in sight, yet, the

longer the delay in re-organization, the greater the discontent; the more dangerous the national conditions; the more feeble the interposing barrier between the Soviet East and the "democratic" West. Everywhere the ruling class will be faced by revolt, and it will reply in but one way—force. And that will augment the disease, hasten the inevitable end.

Social need will violate ancient sanctities; the economic pressure of imperialist policies will wither the middle class out of social existence; saddle the workers with greater poverty, and expose the contemptible flimflam of capitalist-labor, conciliatory-schemes; monopolistic concentration on the one side, and increased efficiency on the other, will focus the vision and the action of the workers on the plane of the political—the real pathway to triumph and prosperity. For these reasons, then, production and expansion, labor and thrift are necessary for the success and perpetuation of international finance; and for those same reasons, the indispensable conditions of success for that finance—undisputed control of raw material, unlimited market, cheap and docile labor would appear to become more illusory, more pregnant with the certainty of impossibility.

R.

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The Anarchy in Capitalist Production

JUST in proportion as the individual adapts himself to the laws of nature, seeking to obey instead of ignorantly disregarding them, so will he or she develop physically, morally or mentally. These are simple facts universally accepted.

However, to the great majority it is utterly impossible to conform to the requirements of nature under present economic conditions. If it were not so we would beyond doubt have a very different race of people on this old earth today.

This being so, it necessarily follows that we should study social evolution, should study the laws that govern society that we may guide our actions accordingly, that is, that instead of using up our energy in trying to scheme out Utopian plans for the good of society, which, however pleasing in their appearance, would be found to be nothing but the product of a misguided brain. We should instead devote that energy in seeking out the reason for the contradictions within society. For instance, if a sufficient number of workers understood why it is that on one hand we have land and raw material in abundance, and the most perfect labor-saving machinery man has yet been able to devise for turning out in greater quantities than the human race could consume, all the things necessary to satisfy man's wants, and on the other hand, countless numbers in abject want, begging to produce but denied the right—if they understood the reason for this anarchy in production, it goes without saying that they would take any measure necessary to remove the cause of such a glaring contradiction, and bring into harmony the wants of the people and the means of production for satisfying them.

When it is realized that each and every advance in methods of wealth production continually lessens the amount of human labor expended, and that our system of distribution remains the same or stationary as it were, and that we have blundered and brought upon ourselves the state of affairs referred to, because we failed to change our methods of distribution to conform to our methods of production: when we have discovered that a glutted market, overproduction, and multitudes starving and in want go hand-in-hand, it is not sufficient that we investigate no further and merely appeal to the reason of the people in general to correct the methods of distribution, as Utopian reformers are wont to do; for, while we have found the cause for misery and want, we have not yet found why the cause is effective. By investigating a little further, we find that there is a class, numerically weak, yet well fortified, who benefit by this system. A class that owns not only the natural resources and machinery of production, but who also own the multitude of wealth producers as well. This statement is not far-fetched, it is absolutely true, because, in owning the only means that the workers have of producing

the necessities of life, they hold them at their mercy. In short, we have master and slave.

This brings us to the class struggle. The masters struggling by every means in their power to maintain their ownership of all the essential means of wealth production and their mastery over the toilers thereby, and the workers to wrest from the master class their control of the means of life and thus break the chains of servitude.

A little more study and we discover that this economic control is maintained by the capitalists through their political machine, the State. This very valuable weapon, the only weapon in fact of importance, has been given into their hands in all countries by the workers; but when it is realized, that once in power, capitalist governments control largely the minds of the entire people, because of their control of the schools and of practically all avenues of in-

formation, or more strictly speaking, misinformation, then we no longer wonder why it is that the masses have been so blind as to hand their own weapons to their enemy.

As time goes on, however, even the blind begin to see and become restless, and governments are forced more and more to show where they stand. Note the Winnipeg strike of last summer, and the present strike of the miners of the United States.

A few more such lessons, and the workers will arise in their might and beholding how they have been so shamelessly deceived, murdered, tortured and bled of their birth-right, nothing will then stand between them and liberty.

In that day, the last barrier to freedom will vanish and give birth to human progress, happiness and natural development.

J. PILKINGTON.

Art and the Worker

(From "Socialist," Glasgow)

THE delight of the artist in his art, the contemplative and genial enjoyment of beauty, may seem out of harmony with the burning need for social change. But this is quite a superficial view. The man who is deeply impressed with the beauty and harmony of nature and the play of life-forces going on around us, will see more clearly the ugliness and discord of human society today. Capitalism will disgust him altogether. All the higher and finer impulses of his personality will rise in revolt against it. This explains why men like Maxim Gorky, Jack London and countless other artists have been with the labor movement in its upward struggle.

It is imperative that the artistic side of man should be developed—that he should become a complete man—though some boasted "materialists" scoff at the idea. Yet there is nothing in the materialist, or as it is better termed, the Monist Philosophy of Life to warrant anyone adopting that attitude. By doing so, they merely give credence to the silly slander that their school of thought is committed to what is low, base and mean, and therefore unable to rise to the appreciation of higher and finer things. The reason why some Socialists view art with a measure of scorn and will have none of it is easily explained. There is so much cant talked and written about the "selfishness" and "lowness" of the workers' material aims that the Socialist is often inclined to say to the artist: "Away with it all. You are only out to swindle us with pretty nothings while your friends keep hold of the material things, to our detriment."

Such an attitude, however, shows lack of discrimination. Because hypocrisy is mixed up with art, because

art today is often prostituted, we should not condemn or despise it. So soon as it is prostituted it ceases to be art. We should remember this. Our opponents are like that man in the fable whose touch turned everything he handled into gold—but with this difference—that everything they touch turns to dross—they defile everything. True Art is on our side because truth is on our side.

One thing is sure, if the artistic perceptions of the workers can be awakened they will make short work of capitalism. By "artistic perception," I do not mean that the workers should be induced to wear funny hats and curious ties, to live on chopped straw or to indulge in the eccentricities of any particular "Art School."

That sort of thing may be left to those who can do nothing else. I mean that they should get a real insight and see the possible glory of life and its actual shortcomings. They should realize that life is a wondrous thing, but hideously marred by Capitalism. They should feel stirring within them the power to put things right.

When the workers get such a view, not all the "reconstruction," shorter hours or higher wages will save Capitalism with its unutterable sordidness and rottenness. It will have to give way to something clean and beautiful, something healthy, free and sane. It is important, then, that the dulled sense of beauty and love of harmony should be awakened in the worker. For we are marching forward to life, and the song and inspiration of the artist is ever found in the thick of the battle, urging us forward in the struggle and illuminating the heights which we have to gain, as the crests of the hills are gilded by the sun.

R. M. FOX.

The Proletariat

From Apprentice to Proletarian.

ORIGINALLY it took forcible methods to secure the supply of proletarians necessary for the Capitalist system. Today, however, such methods are no longer necessary. The economic power of the system has become sufficient to accomplish the desired result without breaking the law of private property.

That the number of the proletariat is steadily on the increase is such a palpable fact that no one attempts to deny it, not even those who would make us believe that society today rests on the same basis as it did one hundred years ago, and who try to paint the picture of the small producer in rosy colors. Indeed a change has taken place in the make up of society, just as it has in the system of production. The capitalist form of production has overthrown all others, and become the dominant one in the field of industry; similarly wage-labor is today the dominant form of labor. A hundred years ago the farming peasantry took the first place; later the small city industrialists; today it is the wage-earner.

In all civilized countries, the proletarians today are the largest class; it is their condition and modes of thought that tend to control those of all the other divisions of labor. This implies a complete revolution in the condition and thought of the bulk of the population. The conditions of the proletariat differ radically from those of all former categories of labor. The small farmer, the artisan, the small producers generally, were the owners of the product of their labor by reason of their ownership of the means of production. The product of the labor of the proletarian does not belong to him, it belongs to the capitalist, to the owner of the requisite instruments of production. True enough, the proletarian is paid by the capitalist, but the value of his wages is far below that of his product.

When the capitalist in industry purchases the only commodity which the proletarian can offer for sale, that is, his labor-power, he does so for the sole purpose of utilizing it in a profitable way. The more the workingman produces, the larger the value of his product. If the capitalist were to work his employees only long enough to produce the worth of the wages he pays them, he would clear no profits. But his capital cries for profit and finds in him a willing listener. The longer the time is extended during which the workmen labor in the service of the capitalists, over and above the time needed to cover their wages, the larger is the value of their product, the larger is the surplus over and above the capitalist outlay in wages, and the larger is the per cent. of exploitation to which these workmen are subjected. This exploitation of labor finds a limit only in the powers of endurance of the working people and in the resistance they may be able to offer to their exploiters.

(To Be Continued.)