

THE INDICATOR

History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

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FIVE CENTS

ALLEGES WITNESS KEPT FROM COURT

Direct accusations that witnesses had been tampered with and coerced into staying away from court, were made by Mr. I. I. Rubinowitz, counsel for the prosecution in the perjury charges which are being heard against Barney Roth and Alex. Dourasoff, secret service men accused of making false statements at the recent immigration board enquiry. The accusations were denied.

MATERIAL FOR CHURCHILL'S EXPERIMENTS

Churchill sent the Naval Brigade to Antwerp. Of the 1st Naval Brigade which had arrived at Antwerp, 3000 strong, less than 1000 returned to England.

Churchill invented the Gallipoli campaign. The British casualties of seven months were: 25,000 killed, 75,000 wounded, 12,000 missing, 96,000 sick. When we abandoned Gallipoli we left behind the graves of 50,000 Allied soldiers.

Churchill has planned the vast war on Russia, now revealed by General Ironside. The casualties on sea and land increase daily, and the expenditure is already probably more than 100 million pounds. Is he to be allowed to gesture in the footsteps of Napoleon, who in his Russian expedition lost 470,000 men out of 600,000?

PAYING THE INDEMNITY

Shipyards are to be closed down in Dundee, Scotland, because of lack of work, while a whole fleet of ships are to be sent to Germany for repairs. The "hard-headed" workers of Dundee voted enthusiastically for a spanking indemnity on Germany, not figuring that the German workers would have to be employed if the indemnity was to be paid. Is it now in order for the Dundee workers to ask—paid to whom.

REGENERATION

As a manifestation of the spiritual regeneration through the war which was promised by the pulpsters, we have "an orgy of speculation sweeping the country" and—the shimmy dance.

KOREAN SOCIALISTS PLEDGED TO SOVIET

LONDON, Nov. 20.—Korean Socialists in the course of a meeting in an Eastern Siberian town, according to a Moscow wireless report, decided that close relations must be maintained with Soviet Russia. Korean delegates to the Soviet Congress in Moscow in December arrived at Cheliabinsk, Russia, Saturday.

The Koreans, says the Moscow report, declared martial law in Korea, where a rising was considered inevitable.

Workers' Liberty Bond Campaign Under Way

AT the S. P. of C. meeting last Sunday there was \$278 worth sold. Applications are coming in from all over the Province. Victoria leads the way, Prince Rupert sends donation.

The Workers' Liberty Bond Campaign in British Columbia is now well under way. The initial gun was fired in Vancouver on Sunday last at the working class meetings held in the city. At the Socialist Party of Canada meeting, \$278 worth of bonds were sold, and many more would have been disposed of if the \$5 bonds had been on hand. The first application for bonds came from the Amalgamated Carpenters of Victoria, who telephoned in last week for \$500 worth. Since then there has been calls from all parts of the Province, and the local committee has not had suf-

ficient on hand to supply all demands. In addition to the requests for bonds, the Prince Rupert Central Labor Council sent in \$100 as a contribution. The Street and Electric Railway Employees of Vancouver have appointed four members to be in attendance at the barns on pay day, so that every member of the organization may have a chance to give his mite to the defence of the men arrested in Winnipeg. The Federated Labor Party has a number of members busy selling bonds, and a good number were sold at last Sunday's meeting. From the interior many orders have been received, and Vancouver Island has not been backward.

Word was received by the local defence committee on Wednesday, that \$23,000 worth of bonds would

be on hand by this week end. It is the intention of the committee to see that not a single one of these remain unsold by December 15. In this effort the committee is being assisted by a number of workers from the different organizations, and O. B. U. members and International Union members are working in the common cause. No split is to be found in the efforts being put forth for the defence of the men arrested, who are not all members of the O. B. U., but like their supporters, belong to the International Unions as well as the new form of organization. A meeting of the local committee was held last night to discuss further details of the campaign, and to deal with the many questions that are arising out of the local Russian cases, and the trials in Winnipeg.

What If Lenin Goes Down?

(From the "Daily Herald," London)

MR. GOODE'S CONCLUSIONS

MR. W. T. GOODE'S account of Bolshevik Russia—the fullest and the most dispassionate that has yet been published—has been brought to an end in the "Manchester Guardian."

All competent observers (writes Mr. Goode in reviewing his conclusions) must have seen that a spirit has been abroad in the world for many years which both threatened and promised much. In Russia this has taken since the revolution the form of Bolshevism, which seems to me a purely experimental effort, but a very remarkable one.

The Bolsheviks have not succeeded in establishing Communism, because circumstances have proved too strong for them, but it does not follow that any other form of government, imposed on Russia from the outside, would be more successful.

"And" (adds Mr. Goode,) though I hold no brief for Bolshevism, I am forced to recognize that of the Governments in Russia since March, 1917, it is the one which has lasted longest, done most, and has shown the greatest capacity for government."

The Bolshevik leaders (he adds) are idealists, and have been working with almost superhuman energy to realize their ideal.

These men are sincere, and though sincerity may be an attribute to a criminal as well as of a saint, so much must be admitted, for great play has been made in the West of stories of their self-seeking, their orgies, their personal ambition, all of which are without foundation. The reality is a simplicity of life and manners joined to an incredible amount of work which make the stories highly discreditable. I say nothing about methods; I merely state facts. They have improved the condition of workmen in pay, hours of labor, employ-

ment of leisure, and general conditions, quite out of all recognition.

For the land, they have a real policy. If one grants their principles, one can see that they acted swiftly and with effect. They employed expropriation, certainly, but they distributed the land to those who could and would work it, not in a haphazard fashion, but with the usual Bolshevik minuteness of organization necessary for carrying out so stupendous a proposal.

In Moscow, other towns, and the countryside where I went, they have maintained order and security, and though in Moscow the methods they adopted to put down hooliganism and indiscriminate robbery and insecurity were extremely drastic, they have, at any rate, been successful.

In education they have been acting with wide vision and producing good results. Their provisions for national hygiene, medical service, the endowment of motherhood, and especially for the care of children, are far-sighted, and show a full realization of the responsibility of the State in these respects.

In the crucial matter of the food of the country they have, however imperfectly, maintained a supply to all parts of Great Russia against difficulties of transport—caused largely by the necessary military and other services—that are almost incredible.

In regard to the small nations which have broken away from the old Russian Empire, the Bolsheviks are the only people out of all those contending in Russia who have unequivocally declared their willingness to recognize the independence of these peoples.

Though I do not believe that the Bolsheviks as a body are out to kill, yet they have killed, and their use of the two Revolutionary Courts has given rise to excesses in the past and offers openings for future abuses.

But during the last period, the attempts at regulating these courts have been stronger and more determined. Atrocity-mongering is no argument, and my personal investigations into the state of affairs in Finland, after the civil war, and my knowledge of what has happened on the southern and western fronts under Denikin, Petlura and the Poles, have taught me that in this respect there is little to choose between "White" and "Red."

It should be remembered that with the destruction of the Bolshevik Government, should that occur, spiritual Bolshevism is not destroyed. The setting up of a form of government perhaps in some degree ostensibly democratic, but really renewing the vices of the old machine, which is the great fear not only of revolutionary Russians, but of the border peoples, will but stimulate the growth of this spiritual Bolshevism.

When that is added to the feeling among workers and peasants of the loss of what Bolshevism really brought them, it is not difficult to see here the seeds of a fresh and more acute outbreak of trouble.

The probable effect of the action of the Allies is a difficult question, and I can but state the conclusions to which my six months' work in the Baltic Provinces has driven me. In Russia there are two sections of the population at any rate who have gained very largely through Bolshevism. The first is the industrial working class, the second is the lower section of the peasants.

To me it is impossible to conceive that these two sections of the population—and they are immense—will quietly consent to give up all the new regime has brought them. On the contrary, I fear that any attempt to deprive them of it will bring disaster. If Koltchak and Denikin reinstate the officials of the old regime and restore the former conditions of land-owning, then their success, provided it arrives, will be but the beginning of their real troubles.

THE SHARE OF CAPITAL

(From "Socialist," Glasgow.)

Active Director Required, Birmingham manufacturing concern, employing 90 workpeople. Can draw £1000 yearly on investment of £5000. Applicant with £3000 would be considered. Valuation about £10,000.

The above advertisement appeared in the "Birmingham Post" of Sept. 25, and it is our earnest desire to rescue this sidelight of modern finance from provincial oblivion. It is only natural that when fresh capital is required the brighter side of the capitalist system of production should be revealed, and in an age when capitalists and labor fakirs are denouncing Marxian economics and calling for greater productivity in the factories, the bait held out by capital is worth studying.

The first point to notice is that an "active" director is required—one hears so much of "sleeping partners" that it is encouraging to learn that this one must work for his living. No mention is made of a forty-seven hour week, but those of us who know the engineering world realize full well that this only applies to the ninety workmen. The activities of the new director will be devoted solely to seeing that those poor souls sweat still more assiduously towards producing still another "active" director's £19 odd per week. It will be noticed that the present valuation is £10,000, and that the addition of a further £5000 will enable the lucky lender of the latter to draw £1000 per year. Taking this as a basis, the investors will withdraw at least £3000 from the concern annually. After all charges, i.e., maintenance, depreciation of plant, wages, rent, profit and interest, etc., have been met, and supposing the money to be invested by three persons, they will be in receipt of the "district rate" of £19 per week, compared with a high average of £3 per week to the actual workers. Perhaps some of the Birmingham Trade Union leaders in the local branch of the Employers' and Employed Industrial League will show us how we can perpetuate the system based upon such a wholesale swindle as this, and maybe "Hell-dread" Hallas, of Conservative fame, will explain how reconciliation may be effected when he sits on the platform with the Bishop of Birmingham, Neville Chamberlain and J. H. Whiteley on October 2.

It is obvious that as no total sales are given it is impossible to apply the relative wage to these figures, other than to point out that the selling price of the commodity marketed by this firm will yield sufficient money to:—

- (1) Yield £3000 per annum to investors.
- (2) Put by sufficient to remedy depreciation of plant.
- (3) Pay all expenses of running the plant: (a) purchase of raw materials; (b) rates, lighting and power; (c) rent.
- (4) Pay ninety workmen for the pleasure (?) of selling their labor-power.

The contrast is more striking when it is found that a workman gets about £3 per week, and an "active" director £19.

One wonders how much the latter would receive had he only his labor-

An Open Letter to a Novelist

[Extract from a letter in the "New Age," (London,) by Will Dyson, the cartoonist, to writers for the capitalist press in general.]

Dear Ernest,—

I know that you are not writing against your convictions. You are not bought or even consciously influenced by the money that is in the exploitation of the querulous fears of the English middle classes. That you believe what you write is your greatest crime, for sincerity coupled with the indoctrinated wrongness you display in every line you write on industrial matters is more potent for ill than a ruffianly but open and honest malice. . . . You lend to wrong, through sheer muddleheadedness, a quality that is the attribute of right. This is a finer crime than the other, but it is also one more offensive to the nostrils of God. You link the moral fervor of a saint to the mentality of a Boy Scout. The burden of your article was the need for propaganda to counter the Labor malcontents. This irritates by its three accompanying false assumptions:

(1) That there is no Capitalist propaganda—when the wells of information are foul with it—there is only one newspaper among hundreds that is not tainted with it;

(2) That the authorities innocently leave the field to Labor propaganda—when Labor propaganda and propagandists are being suppressed with an access of blue funk comparable only to the national ebullitions of the Black War periods;

(3) That the sort of propaganda you suggest is based on higher motives than that of the working people's propaganda.

You hint at conspiracies—do you also see this industrial situation as a vast scenario for the cinema? Do you look beneath your bed for Bolsheviks? You have the timorous alarm of your own aunt. Did you, when you took over her opinions, also adopt her megrims? For five years you and your kind have talked of German gold. You finished the war too soon. It ended before you had discovered in the pocket of any English agitator one authenticated kronen of their elusive hoard. But you are still hinting at mysterious subsidies to Labor propaganda. In fact, ninety per cent. of the cost of English Labor propaganda is paid by English laborers, the rest by English friends. The large proportion of its production is sold to English laborers; it is the propaganda organization to sell and not capital to invest. It is only too obvious that his position depends not upon ability but upon the money he is prepared to put into the concern. Alas, poor Mallock!

T. D. SMITH.

MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada.

A statement of the theories and conclusions of Scientific Socialism.

\$6 per 100 10c per Copy Postage Paid.

zations of your friends that flood us with gratuitous propaganda. You speak for a class that was loudest in its protestations of the new England that was to be the reward of the heroisms of the common people of England. That class is now moving hell and earth to prove that any attempt to make it fulfil its promises is a criminal conspiracy backed by Bolshevik gold. Any man who talks of "English Bolshevism" as you do is inciting the middle classes to violence. He is instigating a middle class and governing class terror. And the thing to be terrorized is an unarmed and non-responsible class which is demanding no more than that upon its shoulders shall be put the burden of a greater public responsibility than it at present bears. It is demanding, in effect, the right to help to run industry better, more efficiently, more humanly than it is run today. All its other demands spring from that parent stock, and form an awakening consciousness of the fact that as a class they are, if not the intellectual equals of their superiors, wanting only a chance to become it.

This class, or that part of it that does not accept the panacea of more work for the individual as the solution of the individual's demand for less of it, you call by inference or direct mention Bolshevik. You or your friends have previously carefully given the word a connotation more sinister than any other word in the language. To have called them murderers would have been weaker, for Bolshevik is that and other things. To have called them perverts would have been weaker—the Bolshevik is that and other things. Also raper of women, thief, liar—a Bolshevik is all of these in one—and other things. This is the meaning you attach to the word Bolshevik and you attach the word to a vague and undefined section of an English movement that historically has been constitutional and docile and patient in its methods beyond the bounds of human credibility. Is this decent?

The man who so writes today must inevitably be regarded by posterity as we regard the men who wrote in this strain prior to, and produced thereby, Peterloo. In kindness to yourself I will not particularize the amount of loathing proper for those men. Forbear before the Peterloo has been produced. Do not imagine it can produce anything for your side more heroic than a Peterloo, and one on a scale in keeping with the superiority in engines of destruction that would be at the command of the modern Mr. Hulton and the modern Derby. There can be no stern-eyed soldiers of the truth deploying in grim heroism against any of those odds that lift killing from the status of murder. All the machine-guns and all the miserable panic will be on one side; on the other side will be Bill Jones of the Putty-workers' Union, with no weapon but a determination to do no work.

No, Ernest, you are on a side that is lying with the meanness of area sneaks and the phraseology of empire-builders. Surely there never has been such an orgy of exalted mendacity. It begins with Cabinet

Ministers who live in a realm where falsehood carries no penalty, material or immaterial; where the problem of being honorable men without ceasing to be liars has been happily solved. Any propaganda that comes from that quarter and in that interest must take the color of its origin. And the propaganda in favor of the big business interests—in favor of vast production as outlined by the Mad Mullahs of super-production—must take on that color. It is based on a big lie, and little lies must be propagated in shoals for its support. They are being so propagated with a fecundity that is less shaking the moral of the English revolutionaries—gentle people—than paralyzing them with a cynical bitterness. You know that I have never had respect for the myth of English public honor; but I, who normally would have been rather gratified at the exposure of this as of any other fetish, am overwhelmed with shame at the reckless prodigality with which the ruling rich of England are proving themselves or allowing themselves to be proved to be a class, a class that knows nothing of civilization but its comforts.

Is it not appalling to you that the engines of propaganda that were used against the Germans are now turned upon the British—workers! The same machinery and the same method—one could almost swear to produce the same result. And spies—this vile and poisonous growth that seems so to the taste of our governors—is the creation of people who hate England and loathe the English—no one else would give a bonus for the development in England of that comparatively rare beast, the professional spy, when there is not even the justification of "conspiracy" for his existence. There is nothing in the English labor movement to spy upon. Its decisions and intentions are shouted from the house-tops. The one avenue of activity open for the spy is in the date and hour of a lightning strike. If the Government is subsidizing spies for the gathering of this information for employers, common justice demands a similar activity on its part in the interest of the employed; a branch of Scotland Yard for the keeping of a sleuth eye upon the secret intentions of the capitalists needs only to be suggested to be adopted.

When you cry that the workers must be told the truth you forget the earlier necessity that you should tell the truth about the workers. That you do not prejudices all else you say in the name of truth. With a common sense that is, after all, elementary, they believe all that comes from the sources indicated by you is tainted, especially when it is matter of advantage to those sources. What lies about them lies to them—that is rock-bottom.

Also, Ernest, to tell the truth, it is necessary to know it—Do you? Nonsense, Ernest, you neither know nor want to know the Industrial Truth, and if you did I doubt whether you would write about it. You are a professional writing man and interested primarily in subjects capable of attractive statement. The industrial truth is not one of them.—Yours,

WILL DYSON.

Two Years

[A Rhapsody]

November 7th, 1917.—Memorable day. Alone, in my cell of perpetual silence as I am, I still can feel a most joyous uplift of the spirit when I reflect on the situation.

Two years, since the working-class world was thrilled and shocked by the news of Russia's greatest achievement.

At that date, we had a working class doped with their masters' vicious patriotism, calloused to suffering, and almost totally indifferent to the call of their class.

"We are in a beleaguered fortress," said Lenin, "and will be, till the workers of the world come to our aid."

Looked askance at by some revolutionists, too intent on theory to see reality, sneered at by pedants, too deep in books, to look for deeds. Maligned by false leaders of Labor, intent on their own petty pilfering. Most viciously caluminated and reviled by the foulest product of man's brain, the filthy prostituted press.

Attacked without declaration of war; Blockaded without warning.

Facing their enemies on thirteen fronts.

Enemies of all nationalities.

Enemies of all colors and creeds.

Enemies brought together by the Black International of Capital.

In their midst, counter-revolt, sabotage, disorganization, sickness, starvation; all the tasks that any mythical Hercules could have asked for. And winning out, by God!

You, fellow-slaves, be proud of your brothers, I say; hats off to them.

It is not given to men to see such heroes but once in a century or so. They have fought with an elan unknown since Napoleon's day.

They, without gas, tanks; losing 800 men by blindness in a single gas attack, and still winning!

Suffering the tortures of the damned in operations, without anaesthetics, or antiseptics, denied them by the "humane" English.

So much, they have achieved; not one-tenth will we ever know.

No class but ours, bent on its freedom, could have faced the odds, and won.

For today, both their chief enemies, Kolchak and Denikine, are in a hopeless plight; the whole country in their rear in revolt, and splendid Red armies in front.

The Northwest Yudevitch, Von der Goltz, German junker and British capitalist adventure, doomed and damned.

Economic rivalries in their midst; French rulers suspicious of German designs.

All small Baltic states hostile, fearing (and rightly) the loss of their independence if this "offensive nuisance" continues.

British Labor unmistakably awakening to their class interests.

Italian and French Labor will give proofs of their position.

German Reds only awaiting the withdrawal of Allied police.

American Labor refusing to load munitions for the Kolchak monsters.

Japan seething with unrest.

China a dark horse.

How much we have to thank our heroes for!

Remember the dark hours of our past.

Think of the Gethsemanies we have gone through.

The thought of enduring a lifetime of this hellish servitude to the cursed wage system, and then to see our innocent little ones take up the chain we dropped.

It shall not now be.

Labor is now awake.

The class struggle is nakedly here.

No more a theory but a fact.

It is a struggle for power which we shall win.

We are consciously organizing for it.

The battle thrills us, as nothing in this old world ever could.

And now, after two years, we hail with unqualified joy, our super-comrades in Russia.

We owe you a debt we can never repay.

We suffer with you, in your agonies, and rejoice in your victories.

Your cause was ours, is ours; and the day is dawning now when victory will crown our efforts.

Heads up, brothers and sisters. Our day is come! F.S.F.

THE DEATH STRUGGLE OF SMALL PRODUCTION

(Continuation of Capitalist Method of Production in Last Issue)

At first, the new system (of machine production) differed but little from the old so far as external appearance was concerned. The capitalist delivered raw material to his hired workers and collected from them the finished product. Later he found it advantageous to gather them in a large building called a factory.

As soon as workers produced together in a factory, it was discovered that a division of labor increased the profits. Gradually systems of production became so developed that each operative had to make but a single motion or perform a single operation. That is, the laborer had been reduced to the level of a machine. Only one step remained to replace him with a machine, and that step was soon taken. It was made possible by the development of science—and especially by the application of steam power to industrial processes. The introduction of machinery meant an industrial revolution. With this change economic development became the triumphant march of capitalism.

Between 1770 and 1789, the first practical machines were introduced into the English textile industry. The steam engine was invented at the same time. From that period on, the machine conquered one branch of industry after another and one country after another. It has placed it in the power of a factory operative to do the work of several hundred handiercraftsmen.

Under these conditions, the factory rules, and the days of handicraft, of independent production, are numbered. What remains is carried on chiefly by unfortunates who can not find places in the factory system.

(Next Issue, "The Proletariat.")

Propaganda Meeting, at Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings street, Sunday, 8 p.m. Doors open at 7:30 p.m.

The Artistic Temperament

Reflections After a Reading of Buckle's "History of Civilization."

WHAT is the use of that "Temperament" with which the exponents of the nine fine arts are imbued? The enquiry is necessary, as many artists imagine that they are a mysterious sort of chosen people, and therefore justly entitled to pose to be conceited, peculiar, unique and eccentric; to make themselves unpleasant and obnoxious, and indulge in temper or tantrums.

Whatever may be the uses of the temperament, it is certain that, so far as the unfortunate possessors are concerned, the abuses too often far outweigh the advantages. It has been said, for example, that one might as reasonably desire to be born a deaf-mute, as a poet. More than a century before this pronouncement, Robert Burns had agreed with this conclusion in describing the members of his tribe as being "quite unfit for fortune's strife, yet oft the sport of all the ills of life; prove to enjoy each pleasure riches give, yet haply wanting wherewithal to live." Doubtless this state of things arises from the fact that the true artist is, physiologically, but a "sublime child" with the calculating factors very much underdeveloped. However, to compensate his temperament is the result of an innate abnormal sensitiveness and responsiveness to inner and outer impressions, especially of an elevated and beautiful character. Hence, he is, par excellence, the seeker after the good, the true and the beautiful, and which he endeavors to realize.

Place the artist in a capitalist environment and provided he has backbone, grit, independence and a capacity to suffer present pain in order to achieve future pleasure, in other words, the gift of "self-sacrifice"—and ten chances to one he becomes a valuable Socialist propagandist, as did William Morris, Walter Crane and many others. That numbers of artists have been lacking in the necessary virility to throw off the vile yoke of mammon, the history of intellectual parasitism, only too clearly proves. In our present system of production for profit, amidst people whose masters have, (to safeguard the latter's power,) deliberate fostered ignorance and false idealism,

RUSSIA

General Yudenitch resigns command formally, and also automatically, his forces being signally defeated. Kolchak is on the run with revolutionary uprisings behind the "great democrats" (vide the capitalist press) own lines. Dennikin seems to be in an equally parlous state. And so the latest attack on Soviet Russia falls to pieces. The bourgeois world is cheated of its prey again. But we look for another method of attack on the working class Republic.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS, VANCOUVER

Every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, in the Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings Street. Doors open 7:30. Come early.

the exponents of the fine arts can not cleanse themselves of the resulting filth, for to live at all, they are compelled to pander to the general degradation.

But, it is not only as a born searcher and craver after the Higher Life that artists are destined to play like Wagner, a revolutionary part. Due to the large share that the faculty of imagination occupies in their mentality, artists have a special tendency to arrive at conclusions by a different process from that adopted by the scientist. Broadly speaking, there are two methods of arriving at a generalization. These are the inductive and the deductive. We say, "broadly speaking," because even the deductive method of thinking is based upon innumerable inductions based on particular observations of single phenomena, and the two methods can not be divided by any sharp line. However, the inductive thinker is naturally cautious patient and somewhat creeping; while the deductive thinker is more remarkable for boldness, dexterity and often rashness and this is just what we would expect of passionate, impatient, high-souled artists. But though the artist is inclined to the latter modes of thought, it must not be assumed that in all cases they are necessarily bad and productive of false conclusions. "The fool," says the proverb, "will often enter and carry off the prize, where the hesitating angel loses out by fearing to take the step." A famous historian says that the two mightiest intellects that England has produced are Shakespeare and Newton, and that the former preceded the latter was no casual nor unmeaning event, because Shakespeare, and the poets sowed the seed, which Newton and the philosophers reaped. Leslie, an early nineteenth century Scotch natural philosopher, assures us that, in assuming the principles from which he reasoned, he derived great aid from poetry, for he knew that the poets are, after their own manner, consummate observers and that their united observations form a treasury of truths which are no wise inferior to the truths of science, and of which science must either avail herself or else suffer from neglecting them.

No true artist can spend his life in contact with the blemishes of capitalism without having a constant stimulus to perpetual disgust and rebellion against them. Hence, it was that Burns in protesting against the Great Critic's notion, that only love and wine are the exclusive themes for song writing, sent a poem to his publisher on neither subject; adding that if it could not be allowed to be a song, yet it contained two or three pretty good prose thoughts, inverted into rhyme. Ever since this judgment, Socialists have loved to bear it out, for, living as we are in a period of bitter class wars, hellish hate and international conflicts, the Scottish poet's keen mental insight clearly foresaw the time and embodied that vision in the song referred to, when under the Socialist Republic.

"Man to man the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that!"

PROGRESS.

The Indicator

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The Indicator

We are devoting most of our space to matter which is calculated to assist educational classes and individuals studying history and economics during this winter season. In places where there are classes being held, those who are not already attending them should do so and help to make them a success. Where there is no class, one should be formed. Two or three gathered together for study will make greater progress than if as individuals they pursued their studies alone, chiefly because, an understanding of Socialism and its method of criticism of the present order is not a question of memorizing phrases and unrelated facts, but of getting a firm mental grasp of its fundamental principles and the acquiring of sound mastery in their application. All Socialists are, or should be, by virtue of their knowledge, propagandists, and should do their best to carry on propaganda in such a way as not to misrepresent or convey false ideas of the Socialist philosophy. They should strive to be proficient in explaining conditions and penetrating below the surface appearance of things in order to drag to light their hidden meanings for the benefit of their fellow workers. Let us educate ourselves and at the same time keep after the other fellow. Try introducing him to "The Indicator."

A word on the circulation of "The Indicator." We think it is the only Marxian Socialist journal published in Canada, we had nearly said on the continent. There is a big, clear field for it to circulate in, and its circulation should not be languishing and causing anxiety at this end. In a very few weeks if the circulation does not increase considerably, something will have to be done. The paper must be kept going even if it is issued at longer intervals and by voluntary labor, so far as editorial work is concerned. There is, however, a very pressing need for Socialist education as our readers only too well know. Make "The Indicator" a medium. There are comrades who are rustling hard for subscribers. Will others join with them?

20 issues for one dollar; bundles of five or over, 4c per copy. All obligations guaranteed or money returned.

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.

Theory of Surplus Value

THE Vancouver "Sun," of Nov. 21, publishes an editorial from the London "Nation" on Marx's theory of Surplus Value. The theory is characterized as a "stirring fallacy," which the writer thought had been long ago analyzed out of existence by the Fabian Society. He is shocked to find it has more adherents today than ever. It must be more than twenty years ago since the then champion of the Fabians, George Bernard Shaw, stated that he would knock the stuffing out of the Marxian Law of Value, but to date, he has failed to fulfill his contract. No sooner was Marx's theory, announced, some sixty years ago, than was launched against it all the weight and learning of the professorial world, but down to this day it has succeeded in withstanding the shock. In fact, there are, and have been, defections to the Marxian position from professorial ranks, even at the expense of losing their jobs. For what? Says the "Nation" man, for an idea, which "is obviously untrue as a description of the state of the workman today." Does he imply that it may have been true at some other day? He continues, "He," the workman, "is not living on a wage of barest subsistence, the rest of the industrial product, which is rightly his, having been absorbed by the capitalist." Did the workman, in general, ever "live on a wage of barest subsistence" in the sense implied. At any period it was conceivable for the worker's standard of living to be reduced still further, even of that of Asiatic coolies. There is always room for one more on a street car.

A standard of living, whether, in China, Europe or America, is determined by many factors, climatic and historical in the main. Generally, the needs of industry of any particular period will determine the standard of living of the laboring masses. The high power production of capitalism with its higher nerve strains determines that the workers get a higher standard of living than those existing under a less strenuous system, as under Feudalism, or as in China today. The "barest subsistence" stands in relation to the rate the physical and mental energy is extracted from the worker. The writer in the "Nation," remarks on the elasticity of the wage system. If he had noted the elasticity of the rate of production from the leisurely processes of the pre-machine age to the strenuous rate of today, he would have put his finger on the cause of the elasticity of the wage system. The introduction of the machinery of capitalist production into China is forcing the industrial proletariat of that country to abandon the traditional low standard of living of its forbears.

In spite of the boasted "elasticity of wages," those wages have fallen enormously in proportion to the productive power of labor. The increased social powers of production in modern times have almost solely redounded to the gain of the capitalist class. The division of wealth between capital and labor has become more disproportionate as the days go by. The power of the capitalist class over the laboring class is thereby increased; the social position of the laborer has deteriorated and is depressed further degrees below that of the capitalists. The editorial refers to the capitalists as directors of industry. But in

what sense are they directors of industry? Only in a bad sense of supervising output in the interest of profit, carefully limiting production to what the "market will stand." So far as direction of productive activities is concerned, this is done by hired production managers, experts and engineers. The owner of capital is a mere coupon clipper, or if active, a merchant learned in the mysteries of marketing but ignorant of the technique of production. His activities include the supervision of his production experts to the end of regulating output of goods in view of the highest profitable return to his capital from his sales on the market. As a capitalist he is not concerned with a serviceable output of goods from a community—welfare, standpoint. That is why Capital and Labor drift further and further apart.

OBITUARY

Comrade Alf. Leah, died at the Vancouver General Hospital last Monday at 6 a.m., after a week of suffering from pneumonia.

For more than twenty years he had been closely identified with the Socialist and Labor movement, and his activities were always characterized by his own special personal touch. He was forty-nine years of age, and was born in the South of England. In his early years, he was identified with the Secularists in England, and he forever maintained a vigorous and healthy prejudice and antipathy against the clergy, requesting at the hospital that no priest or parson be allowed to approach his bedside.

It would not fit the character of the man to write any sad or tearful notice of his death, but we have to record that his personal interests were working class interests, and his friendships working class friendships. He was altogether a man of big calibre and his personality was unique and striking. We buried him in Mountain View Cemetery on Wednesday, the funeral arrangements being conducted by the Longshoremen's Association, of which he was a member. His death creates a gap in the ranks of the old-time Reds locally, and removes one whose cheery word among us will many a time be missed.

E. M.

SMITHERS, B. C.

All workers in the upper country should assist the comrades of Local Smithers to build their hall. When built, it will be a great convenience to those visiting that vicinity. The hall will be open as reading room and for meetings and social gatherings. A library will also be installed as soon as possible. It is estimated that five hundred dollars will be necessary. All services are donated free, by the comrades of Smithers. Finances, materials or services will be thankfully received. Send assistance to R. C. Mutch, Box 10, Smithers, B. C.

OUR LITERATURE

The Communist Manifesto, at the rate of \$8 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

Wage, Labor and Capital, \$8 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

A College for Labor

Rand School Training New Leader Type

With the tremendous power of labor threatening to unchain itself, seeking to find its proper level, beating at the restrictions which have kept it within bounds, with the cry of strike re-echoing against the high cost of living cliffs—voiced by policemen and steel workers, by actor and miner and every other branch of industry—there comes the sad realization of the lack of trained leaders in the labor movement.

There are leaders, able men, schooled in the constant clash between capital and labor. But there are few leaders who have been able to build their field experience upon a trained mentality, trained in the history of the labor movement, politics and economics.

In New York City, the Rand school has earned the title of "The Workers' University." In its full time class, taking six months, it offers a "workers' training course." It is an intensive and systematic course of lectures and class study, of assigned reading, preparation of papers, field work and office practice.

The class of 1910-1920 began Monday, November 10, at the school building, 7 East Fifteenth street, New York, where every facility for study and recreation is provided.

Graduates of the Rand school "workers' training course" are today holding responsible positions in various labor unions, co-operative societies and the labor press. Practically all of the full time students come from outside New York, many from distant parts of the country.

There are no hard and fixed entrance examinations beyond a fair working knowledge of the English language. The principal subjects taken up are: The Elements of Economics; Wealth and Income; Elements of Statistics; Interpretation of Social Facts; Elements of Political Science and American Civics and Politics; Elements of Law; Modern General History; American Social History; Current World History; History of Working Class Movements; Current Problems and Issues; Principles of Natural Science; Physiology and Hygiene; Public Speaking; Use of the Voice; Grammar and Composition; Oral Reading; Organization Methods; Industrial Engineering.

For those who can not take the full time courses, the Rand school last year established a part time workers' training course. Combined the two courses and in fact the entire effort of the school is an assurance to the labor movement in America of a source of trained men and women. While few may become leaders, all of them will be of inestimable value to the bettering of labor conditions.

A number of unions are offering scholarships at the Rand school, and individuals with the best interests of the nation at heart are enthusiastically supporting the institution, which boasts a list of instructors and lectures equalling that of many of the great universities.

WANTED

Copies of "Short History of Politics," by Professor Jenks. Send into W. Bennett, Office, "Indicator," 401 Pender street east, Vancouver, B. C., stating price.

What Are Wages and How Are They Determined?

[Note: The students attending the educational classes of Local Vancouver No. 1, have adopted the practice of writing essays on the subject matter of their studies. They are finding this practice of great benefit to them, and we would recommend other classes to follow suit. On this page we publish two of the essays handed in on "How Wages Are Determined."]

A CONSIDERATION of the term "wages," presupposes the existence of a system of wealth production wherein commodities, as, for instance, tea, sugar, coal, shoes, etc., are produced and exchanged and wherein a single commodity therefore, constitutes the unit of wealth. That system is capitalism. This must be so, since wages is the term used to denote the exchange-value or price of the commodity labor-power.

The main features of any commodity require that it must be produced by social labor, be useful to mankind and be produced for exchange. Labor-power, which is the term applied to the mental and physical energy of the worker engaged in wealth production meets all these requirements, and must therefore be considered as a commodity.

Now, since the commodity labor-power is useful and exchanges for other commodities, it follows that its use-value is realized, not by the producer but by the consumer. We have then, the laborer, exchanging or selling his labor-power, the use-value of which he himself cannot realize, for commodities that have use-value for him. By examining the process by which he effects the exchange, we may arrive at an understanding of the term wages, and see also how they are determined.

In order to secure those use-values, which are food, clothing and shelter for himself and family, the laborer

sells his labor-power to his employer and receives in exchange his employer's commodity, money, as wages, that is, payment for the use of his labor-power during a given time. Having received a sum of money which he may exchange for other commodities, the laborer has effected an exchange of his own commodity for other commodities upon a basis of equal value through a medium of exchange, i.e., money. He has received wages. Price is the monetary term applied to the exchange-value of commodities. Wages therefore, as the exchange-value of labor-power, must be the price of labor-power. Labor-power being a commodity, its price, wages, must be determined in the same manner as the price of all other commodities. When commodities enter into an exchange relationship with each other, they show thereby a common characteristic feature. The only feature common to tea, sugar, coal and shoes is labor, and if the same given amount of labor is necessary to the production of 20 lbs. of tea, as is necessary to the production of a ton of coal, then 20 lbs. of tea and a ton of coal will exchange equally with each other; their values are equal. Labor time is the common measure of value in exchange, the cost price of commodities being stated in monetary terms.

Under competition to sell, however, the price of a commodity will fall; under competition to buy the price will rise, and in either event the price of some other commodity must rise or fall, as the case may be, in comparison. This applies to labor-power as to other commodities, and brings us to a consideration of:

- (1) Nominal Wages.
- (2) Real Wages.
- (3) Relative Wages.

Nominal wages are the money paid for labor-power, or its price in monetary terms. So that in the rise and fall of wages, not only the money received, but, the real wages, i.e., the commodities that amount of money will buy, must be considered. If nominal wages remain constant and the prices of food, clothing and shelter rise, then real wages have fallen. Real wages and nominal wages may rise and the relative wage fall, however, as the rise in real and nominal wages may amount to less relatively to an increased productivity of labor; in this case, relative wages fall while nominal wages and real wages rise.

Generally speaking, the value of labor-power varies as the value of the commodities required to maintain it; supply and demand of labor regulate its price. This is easily calculated, given location, time and period, and the occupation of the laborer. As the value of a machine is gradually (usually) transferred to the commodity it may be used in producing, so also is the exhaustion of the laborer as a value producer taken into account. That many laborers do not reproduce their kind does not affect the question, as the supply of laborers is never exhausted.

In exchanging wages for labor-power, the employer is interested entirely in the fact that labor produces values greater than its own value; he is interested in the difference between the price of labor-power and the value labor produces for him. The employer pays wages, not out of the product the laborer has immediately produced, but out of past products, owned by the employer, his property. Labor is performed for a given time and its product belongs to the employer. The laborer's payment is for his labor-power, but his labor produces value

greater than the value of that labor-power. This must be so since the employer is able to store up the products of labor, while the laborer has to continue the process of selling his labor-power, expending it as labor, receiving the value of that labor-power from past products, and leaving surplus products owned by his employer.

The maintenance of the process means simply that the laborer keeps on producing new values which, as they are not his, are the source of the employer's command over him.

So far as the laborer is concerned, he reproduces for himself the value of his labor-power and receives value in exchange for it, but, his total product has value greater than that of his labor-power. The accumulated surplus belongs to his master and becomes capital. But that is another question. No special attention has been given here to the qualitative aspect of labor, as for instance, the concrete work of a shoemaker producing the use-value, shoes. Our attention has been directed for the time being to socially necessary labor, without any distinctive differences as to its quality—as a definite quantity, wherein all labor is reduced to a simple unit, producing value.

We have seen then, that commodities are produced for sale, that they are exchanged upon a basis of equal value, that their value is determined by the amount of necessary labor required to produce them socially, and is expressed in terms of money.

Wages, expressed in monetary terms therefore, is the price of the commodity labor-power, and are determined as in the case of all other commodities by its cost in reproduction as outlined.

EWEN MacLEOD.

Wages---What They Are and How They Are Determined

STATED briefly, wages are the price of the commodity labor-power, or that portion of wealth which the capitalist class surrenders to the working class.

In order to analyse wages, however, it has been found convenient to classify them under three heads, which are known as:

(1) **Nominal Wage**, being the amount of money received for a certain amount of labor, for instance, for making a pair of pants, or, for pursuing the gentle art of wielding a pick for a specified number of hours.

(2) **Real Wage**, or actual purchasing power of wages.

(3) **Relative Wage**, which is the amount received in relation to the wealth produced.

The nominal or money wage may be high, expressed in dollars and cents, and yet be low in purchasing power, when compared with wages of a few years ago, or with some other part of the world. This may be demonstrated by comparing our present so-called high wages with what was received, let us say, before the war for the same class of work. In Vancouver, before the war, wages for unskilled labor averaged about \$3 for 8 hours; today for the same class of work, from \$4 to \$5 is paid, and yet we find more discontent

among the average workers at the present time, for the simple reason that they can not purchase food, clothing and shelter so easily with their high wages as they could with their previously nominal low wages.

Now as to the real or purchasing power of wages, it has been stated that wages are the price of a commodity known as labor-power. Let us compare this commodity labor-power with some other commodity or commodities, such as coffee, bread, meat, etc. If for instance, the price of meat and the other necessities of life fall in price and wages remain the same, then the real wage has risen, but if on the other hand, food, clothing, etc., rise in price and the nominal wage remains the same, in that instance, the real wage has fallen. For example, let us say that wages have advanced 50 per cent., and all other commodities have advanced 75 per cent., then it is obvious that wages have fallen in purchasing power. The relative wage may be explained by comparing the present day method of production with the more crude way which obtained in the early days of wage slavery. It is well known, for instance, that the production of shoes has increased tremendously since the advent of machinery. A very conservative estimate would be 6 to 1,

that is to say, that six pairs of shoes can be produced with the same amount of labor, measured by time which was required to produce one pair, say 50 years ago. We will assume that the time taken to produce shoes with crude machinery was one pair in eight hours, and that the worker received \$2 per day of eight hours, and that today, six pairs can be produced in the same time, viz., eight hours, and that the worker receives \$4 per day. It will be readily seen that wages, in relation to the amount of wealth produced, have fallen.

Now, how is the amount of wages which the worker receives, arrived at? What circumstances determine the amount that he receives for so many hours labor?

The value of a commodity according to Marx, is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor-time embodied in its production, and labor-power, being a commodity, is bought and sold on the market exactly the same as sugar, ships or shingles.

One pair of shoes produced by crude machinery, equals eight hours labor.

Six pair of shoes produced by modern machinery, equals eight hours labor.

The value of the commodity shoes measured by time has fallen one-

sixth, but the laborer does not wear six pairs of shoes more than formerly, therefore to reproduce his shoes requires only one-sixth of the labor, measured in time, required in the days of more crude machinery. We can follow our example over practically the whole field of commodities and find it holds good. That being so, it will be readily seen that with one-sixth of his former labor measured by time, the laborer can produce enough to keep himself alive. Why does he not therefore only labor for his employer one-sixth of the time he did formerly? For the simple reason that he does not own the tools of wealth production, and is therefore compelled to sell himself, in order to live, to the class who own these tools, and as the employer classes him as so much raw material to be used up in the production of wealth, he pays him accordingly.

Let us say that three gallons of milk can be produced with the same amount of socially necessary labor-time as six pounds of sugar, and that both exchange for one dollar. Now let us assume that the six pounds of sugar or the three gallons of milk represent all that is necessary to keep the laborer alive, that is to say, the food, clothing and shelter required for one day. With modern

(Continued on Page Eight)

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 economics of various historical epochs, and thus to reach an understanding of present-day social problems more easily, and with a greater measure of success.]

I.

A LOVELY scene extends before my eyes. A virgin meadow stretches down a valley clad in emerald green. Innumerable blossoms of dandelions and bluebells rise from it like golden and violet flames. A gray granite wall, a witness of primordial days, forms the background to the fresh wave of full life. Above it, like a dark blue stage setting, rise the fir forest and the opposite mountain wall. And far, far beyond it, almost merging into the soft blue sky with a slightly deeper tint, appears the outline of the giant mountains. Now, a snow white cloud, glistening in the sunlight, floats slowly and phantom-like towards me, coming down from the unknown distance beyond, and disappearing above me in the glittering light. The bright glow of the sun is diffused throughout it all, lending charm to the flowery meadow, the granite and the mountain forest—a great unity sunk in harmonious tranquility. Now, I hear far-off voices. Human beings are passing by, shielded from my sight by the great stone blocks. They are strangers, I do not know them. How much may be hidden by such distant voices—good and bad! What an infinite variety is comprised in this little word "man," how much that is noble and sublime—and how much that is brutal! And yet, while those feeble undulations of the air which carry those voices towards me are still trembling in my ear, I am thinking of the simple message of nature, according to which all men without distinction are my brothers. Our civilization has at last risen to the point of impressing us with the fact of this many-headed mass of fifteen-hundred million people on the surface of this globe are bound by one common tie of sacredness which is expressed in the word man! They are all one unit, these human beings, one great family assembled on the surface of the globe, ready to share their sins, to forgive one another, to enjoy their pleasures together, to go hand in hand on their way through this great valley of riddles, the universe.

But a clearer and sharper sound, not articulated into words, mingles with those indistinct voices. It is the fine voice of a little baby, this monotonous and clear wail which sounds so helpless and yet stirs so much compassion!

We all have grown up, we all have developed from such a small baby, such a bud of humanity. And my glance wanders once more over the green meadow. All those golden blossoms of dandelions and all the bluebells have developed from a bud. Everyone of those plants has grown up into the sunlight from some simple germ. And it seems to me that it is this same sun which neither of them can dispense with. The little rosebud of humanity in its cradle needs the sun quite as much as that brown, rough bud of yonder meadow flower. If the sun above us which is floating in the ice-cold solitude of space ninety-six million miles away were to be extinguished today, humanity would perish just as surely as the kingdom of meadow flowers.

And from the depths of the human soul, still another voice whispers into my inner ear. It is that same voice which was first heard in the wisdom of ancient India, and it said that the tie of common interest, of brotherhood, is not confined to man and man, that it comprises all living things of this globe, all things which grow up under the rays of the sun in the silent grasp of secret, natural laws, and gradually develop to the summit of humanity. It is that other simple message which tells us: Thou shalt not torture any animal uselessly; thou shalt not wantonly break any flower, for they too are distant relations in the great flow of life, they too are still your brothers in the unfathomable recesses of nature. Helpless stands that flower, or that glittering little beetle before you, just like a trembling, little child. But the child grows up into man, and who knows what this flower or that beetle may become some day, or what may have become of others like them, millions of years ago:

If such sentiments as these which every one of us feels in his or her best moments which seem to me fitting for the discussion of such a tremendous question—as that of the evolution of man.

Wherever the compassion of man can find its way, there the longing

for understanding may also wend its steps without fear or shame. Whoever has so much love that he can feel it for an animal may also approach with perfectly clear conscience that other question, whether the blood relationship that freely binds him to other human beings does not perhaps extend still further, whether he himself may not have developed from an animal. And he may recognize with calm conviction that this fact can not have any more significance morally than that other fact which is affirmed a thousand times every day and sanctified by the deep love of every mother—the fact that even the greatest man must have developed from a primitive human bud, from a child which can neither speak nor walk, which germinates in the dark recesses of nature, just as the bluebell out there develops in the hot rays of the sun. And if the individual develops in this way, why should not all humanity have developed in this way, once upon a time?

It was about a million years ago. If a man could have had the opportunity to wander through the present European continent, with a rifle in his hands, he would have seen in those days a very strange country. He might have imagined that he was in the interior of Africa as we know it today. He would have tramped for weeks over immense prairies in Southern Europe, dotted sporadically with a few dense woods, and out of the wilderness of this green ocean of grass, he would have started before him unnumbered herds of antelopes, giraffes and animals resembling wild horses. From his camp near a rippling spring, he could have watched in the clear moonlight, such colossal forms coming to drink and to bathe as were once seen by the first hunters who ventured into the interior of Africa by way of Cape Colony. There, he could have seen elephants of various species, with two and four tusks, or even with tusks bent downward like those of the walrus, massive rhinoceros, and ponderous hippopotami. Behind them he could have heard the roaring of lions, panthers, and giant wildcats armed with sabre-like teeth. Wandering further north into localities which are now the scenes of a highly advanced civilization, he would have entered the most impenetrable, primeval forest, similar to that in which Stanley in the heart of Africa experienced all the sensations of daring conquest of an absolutely wild tropical country. Out of the dense undergrowth, splendid palms arose towards the sunlight. Parrots of many colors shrieked, the features of a large anthropoid ape, similar to our gorilla, might peep suddenly out of the thick covering of foliage, piercing the daring intruder with sharp glances. And above it all, there trembled the atmosphere of a hot climate.

Our wanderer would have been still more surprised if he could have compared our present day maps with the road travelled by him in those primeval days. Where the blue surface of the Mediterranean now extends so widely, that a navigator can not see the shores on either side, he would have advanced over dry ground from horizon to horizon through prairies inhabited by giraffes and forests peopled by monkeys. And where today the red rose of the Alps grows upon dizzy heights near the grim ice of the glaciers on the mountain passes, there he would have found nothing but wooded hills in which his geologically trained eye might have discovered traces of a slow but irresistible rise. And where today the sun is sending its glowing rays down upon bare mountain ranges, as in the heart of France, he could have observed the horizon tinted blood-red, a reflection of the boiling lava of volcanoes.

A strange world in an immeasurably far off time!

A million years is a tremendous period of time for human minds to grasp. If the history of human civilization is traced by written chronicles, it does not take us back beyond six thousand years. One might fill entire libraries with events through which human beings have passed merely in a period of a thousand years. Here, we are supposed to place side by side thousands of thousands of years. What wonder then if the mirror of research transports us back to those primeval times into a different Europe, composed of different seas, countries, mountains and climates.

It is the so-called "Tertiary Period"* into which we have looked.

(To Be Continued.)

*Note: The third in order in which the rocks of the earth were formed: pertaining to the series of sedimentary rocks lying above the chalk and other secondary strata, and abounding in organic remains.

CENTRALIA STORY IS REVERSED

Attack Was Made On I. W. W. Before They Retaliated.

(By Associated Press)

Centralia, Wash.—Testimony, tending to show that the marching ex-service men started toward the I. W. W. before shots were fired from the building or from the opposite side of the street, featured the coroner's inquest over the four soldiers killed here, and is said to have been responsible for the failure of the jury to return a verdict to fix responsibility for the shooting.

Dr. Frank Bickford, one of the marchers, testified that the door of the I. W. W. Hall was forced open by participants in the parade before the shooting began through the doorway or from the Avalon Hotel opposite. Dr. Bickford said he was immediately in front of the I. W. W. Hall at the time and that during a temporary halt some one suggested a raid on the hall.

The fact that the man lynched by the mob, and who was thought to be Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W. local, was in reality Wesley Everest, a returned soldier, has been estab-

lished definitely.

"The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act," said Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte post of the American Legion, when asked his opinion of the recent Armistice Day riots, which resulted fatally for four of the attacking party and one of the defenders.

"Mob rule in this country must be stopped," continued Mr. Bassett, "and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the

I. W. W., it is not only the right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law can not stop these raids, perhaps the resistance of the raided may have that effect.

"Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case. The reports of the evidence at the coroner's inquest show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action they took."—B. C. Federationist.

Capitalism and Counter-Revolution

A Series of Six Articles.

This series of articles by Walton Newbould are taken from a pamphlet published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E3. Price 3d. (Editor, "The Indicator.")

EXPLANATORY FOREWORD.

This pamphlet is largely a reprint of four articles which appeared in the "Workers' Dreadnought" in the Autumn of 1918, and which were written about six weeks prior to the German Revolution and the signing of the Armistice. Hence, a number of the references may appear to be out of date; others may make clearer the reasons for the failure of the Spartacus movement to bring off their counter-part of the November Revolution in Russia. The purpose of the compilation of the four articles, together with a lengthy addendum, as a pamphlet is to give permanence and further publicity to a Marxist examination of certain important issues of immediate and practical significance that have been given all too little attention by the revolutionary elements in this country.

London, June, 1919. J. T. W. N.

(Concluded)

IN the same way that the manorial economy and the feudal polity of the Middle Ages produced their spiritual as well as their scholastic counterparts in the religious orders of the Roman Church, so capitalism has gradually evolved semi-spiritual, semi-humanistic institutions almost as ubiquitous and certainly as influential as the Order of St. Dominic or even the society of Jesus. The Y.M.C.A. is one capitalist instrument of propaganda by influence and endeavor to check the progress of Revolution. Liberally subsidized by the "big interests," whose leading figures are either Nonconformist or Episcopalian, it is used to keep in touch with "Tommy" and with "Sammy," to keep them fit and in contact with moderating influences, to watch over them and make them feel that somebody cares for them. Nor is it to the armies alone that the Red Triangle goes to forestall the Red Flag. It caters for the industrial army at the great shipyards and munition plants. It is financed by Rockefeller and by the Steel Corporation to carry out its work of making good American citizens of the immigrant population. It was sent ahead with railway pioneers and other peaceful permeators to bring a practical message of "Democracy" to the peasantry and proletariat of Siberia. Nor is it the Y.M.C.A. alone. There is that other body to whose organization Mr. J. P. Davison of Morgan & Co. has been giving his services—the American Red Cross. This body claims that "its field is a stricken world." It is going ahead of the tribute-collector, in advance of the commercial canvasser and the international investor, to feed the multitude. It is an agency of Pity and of Charity. It gives medical and surgical treatment to the sick and the needy, it doles out corn and other necessities to the famine-stricken, it purposes to equip the destitute peasantry of Central and Eastern Europe not only with wearing apparel but also with farm implements and with seed. Far be it from us to discredit the philanthropic impulse that promotes so much of this endeavor. Its instigators are prompted by the kindest of thoughts and the best intentions, but they have no doubts in their own well-ordered minds as to the part they are playing in the aversion of "Anarchy" and the avoidance of "Bolshevism." They believe in

the perfectibility or, at any rate, the unmeasurable improvement of the present social order and have set themselves to reinforce it. If in Petrograd the American Red Cross gave hospitality to the Counter-Revolutionary plottings of Kerenski and Kornilof, they also, when they discovered that the Soviets were too firmly established to be overturned, recognized their error of judgment, and placed their services at the disposal of those who were relieving distress under the new regime. They were opposed to armed intervention and favored the policy of aiding the Russian people with food and machinery.

Capitalism has thrown up, more particularly in the Nonconformist countries, America and Britain, a considerable section of persons, both men and women, who have no need to earn their own living, who have often both time and money to expend, but who have, partly by temperament, though mainly by training and precept, no inclination to indulge in luxury, extravagance, or vice. These people, who, in this country, are organized and aided by such persons as the Cadburys and Rowntrees, and, in America, by Carnegie, Rockefeller, and others, are devoted to and trained for "social reform." Their leisure—and their lives are one long, fully occupied leisure—is earnestly and sincerely given to the elevation of their less-favored brothers and sisters. Some of these "persons of goodwill" pass from the Universities to the W.E.A.; some go from training colleges and the Student Christian Movement to the China and India Mission fields; some become "Welfare Workers" and officials or advisors in the bureaux of paternal statecraft. We know scores of them, having watched them and mingled with them for the last twelve years, ever with the observant eye of a Socialist agitator.

It is this army of sub-conscious and generally quite unconscious spiritual and intellectual police who constitute one of the most sinister, because unsuspecting, elements of danger to the awakening and uprising of the working class. Now that the War is over and so many young men and women have no careers ready to receive them and no desire to settle down in commerce and home life we are likely to have an immense reinforcement of these persons from amongst those who have learned to instil and to administer discipline to the khaki-clad rank and file of the proletariat.

Not only in America, but here, the same tendency is becoming evident. The Boy Scouts have received a great stimulus by the War, and there is no doubt that the master class sees in their oath of loyalty to employer a very good reason for encouraging them in every way possible. The influx of women into industry has brought the Girl Guides more into the eye of the public. The are natural recruiting agencies, "preparatory schools" for the W.A.A.C.'s and the "Land Girls." Not only do we see the Girl Guides more frequently now than was formerly the case, but if we look closely at the shoulder-straps of the Women's Police Force we shall frequently, if not always, detect the initials "N.U.W.W." of that philanthropic agency the National Union of Women Workers.

Discipline, military in its origin and

in its bias, thus meets and intermingles with Welfare, industrial, social and religious in its impulse. It is almost as if the military orders of the Knights Hospitallers and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem or of the Temple had been brought up-to-date and the idea underlying them adapted to the needs of Capitalist Civilization.

As the church has lost its hold, the propertied class has devised new secular agencies, whether voluntary or governmental, to take over its social functions. This class is marvellously adaptable in its methods to meet ever new requirements, and merely to detect it/in the obvious is not adequate for those who would counter its every endeavor to secure its dominion.

So, those who see in Conscript Armies the present menace to working class freedom have been very slow to learn the lesson of contemporary history. The rise of the Workers', Soldiers and Sailors' Councils in Russia and Germany, the unrest in our own army and in the police might have taught our people that these armed forces are no necessary and unchanging obstacle to Social Revolution. They may eventually—we will not prophesy how soon—assist in the overthrow of the existing order and very materially contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a Working Class Republic.

The governing classes are by no means assured of the trust that they can repose in armed nations or confident that a militarized proletariat is a certain guarantee of the security of the property state. Not only the colossal expense of maintaining conscription but the danger that the workers may become class conscious whilst retaining their weapons, weighs with the would-be initiators of perpetual law and order through the medium of a League of Nations. These rulers of ours would like to dispense with armies for more reasons than one or, if they must retain them, to have only a small, highly trained, admirably equipped, and well-paid International Police Force. They have noted the potentialities of mechanical and chemical warfare and observed that whilst machine guns and "tanks," fire-jets and gas apparatus, aeroplanes and trench-mortars add to the effectiveness of large bodies of men, they also can be adapted to conserve man power and even to economize it and to dispense with it.

All these devices have already been employed in fighting Bolsheviks and Spartacists, or in guarding against Clydeside and Belfast strikers. If the governments of the nations or the Executive of the League should, at any time, feel that they could not trust the many with arms they may determine to hold down the masses by keeping and using their own control of the deadly implements of aerial and automatic destruction.

It is open to the gravest doubt whether the propaganda of disarmament and the demand for the abolition of Conscript are not calculated to facilitate the more effective repression of the workers and the easier policing of the peoples in the sinister interests of these new converts to Propertied Pacifism.

Workers would also do well to take

note of the enthusiasm which their masters are showing for the low-paid and diligent laborers of Asia. Use has already been made of these in France, where Chinese have been employed extensively in the transport and supply services of the Allied Armies. Not only have Orientals been recruited to man the steamers of patriotic shipowners, but they have latterly been initiated in the building of ships to American and British orders at Shanghai and elsewhere on the Yangtze. The American magazine, *The World's Work*, speaks of the Chinese as "the most industrious quarter of the world's inhabitants." Production, the official organ of the British Empire Producers' Organization, which circulates only amongst influential business men (of whom the writer happens to be one,) describes them as "an admirable proletariat." The Federation of British industries kindly informs me that the average wage for unskilled labor throughout the Middle and Far East is 8d. a day, whilst Mr. Yamaguchi, a manager of the engine works of the South Manchurian Railway, says: "The Chinese.....waste no time in talk. They just plod on. It really seems as if they prefer working seven days per week to six. They are frugal and truly industrious in every sense.....They want to make money and they will work hard and work long hours to make it."—"The Far East Unveiled." Truly, "an admirable proletariat!"

These "excellent," "quiet," "dependable," "efficient" ideals of the propagandists of "Output" have only one failing. Over them there is "a thoroughly unsatisfactory aristocracy." They need, we are told, "a bureaucracy, a ruling class."

Thus the organ of Lord Milner, Lord Lonsdale, the Marquis of Graham and other "producers." These gentlemen probably have in mind the "ruling class" in Bombay, where no nonsense is tolerated from striking cotton operatives, or the "bureaucracy" of Cairo, where the fellaheen are disciplined for their own good.

In their private organs, their confidential bulletins, and their trade literature, the capitalists make no bones about their aims. There we get them off their guard. There we learn what they really think. There we read their minds like an open book.

We find, however little the workers grasp the importance of International Solidarity, that whether it be America's premier banker advising his colleagues to "think internationally," or it be a Lancashire cotton magnate or a Glasgow shipowner, they all turn hopeful and expectant glances to the Chinese, the Indian, and the Lascar workers.

They have used them at the loom and the spindles, the blast furnace and the stoke-hole, the automatic riveter and the automatic rifle. They have tried them in Asia, in France and in Russia. They eat rice and work hard.

The British trade unionist may keep the Oriental out this country, but he can not prevent the capitalist bunkering ship at Bombay or loading her up with the fabrics of Calcutta or the steel rails of Hanyeping.

Their masters will teach them, sooner or later, the truth of Marx's saying—"Workers of all lands, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win!" Would it might be not later, but sooner!

Industry and the Gild

(From Jenks, "History of Politics")

(Continued from Last Issue.)

Commerce. But, in remembering the makers or producers, we must not forget another equally important class of industrial workers, viz., the merchants or exchangers. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that exchange precedes production in the order of ideas. The Australian do not make anything worth speaking of, but they exchange certain of their natural advantages, for others which they need.

[On the matter of exchange preceding production, we can not agree with Professor Jenks. As an economic category production includes the simplest act of appropriation from nature of things useful or desirable to man and also the storing and transportation to the place of exchange. Even natural advantages within the territory of the tribe, such as, a spring of water, mineral, deposit, etc., would entail the labor of guarding as the exclusive possession of the tribe. Besides, the first care of the tribe will be the productive act of satisfying its own immediate needs. These needs will not wait for an act of exchange to take place. In using

WAGES

What They Are, And How They Are Determined.

(Continued from Page Five)

machinery, it is possible to produce much more wealth than can be consumed (that is normally) in the same period of time, therefore, although our laborer may produce wealth to the value of thirty or thirty-six pounds of sugar in one day, it will be found that his wages will be in the neighborhood of one dollar, or merely sufficient to keep him alive for one day.

There is, however, another factor, which has a bearing on this question of wages, known as the law of supply and demand. The value of commodities expressed in price are regulated by this law, for instance, if sugar is scarce, and there is a demand greater than the supply, the price of sugar will rise above its cost of production and vice versa, but it will be found, within a period of years, to have exchanged at its actual cost of production.

The argument may be advanced that the above instance does not apply to wages, as labor-power is invariably in excess of the demand, and would therefore always exchange at a price below its cost of production. This argument may, however, be replied to by stating that the standard of living of the working class is continually tending to a lower scale,* and consequently, the cost of its reproduction is ever becoming less; and also wages, in relation to the wealth produced are lower than formerly owing to advanced machinery being continually introduced. G. M.

*[The critic questions the assertion that the standard of living of the working class is continually tending to a lower scale.]

the word **make** (presumably meaning handicraft,) as the beginning of production, Professor Jenks places an arbitrary, restricted limitation on the meaning of the term covering that phase of human activity.—Edit.]

Thus, a pack which hunts a country abounding in a peculiar green stone, greatly valued for the purpose of stone axes, will send some of its young men with lumps of the precious article, to exchange against the feathers of certain birds collected by another tribe, which are greatly valued for decorative purposes. These primitive merchants observe certain formalities in their approach to the stranger camp; and are, by immemorial custom, entitled to be treated as **guests** not as **enemies**. The custom of making presents on approaching an African chief as a stranger, is said to be a survival of this ancient practice; for it is to be noted, the chief always observes the etiquette of offering return gifts. At any rate, we get here the earliest appearance of the **law of the market**, which again is a notable factor in the history of civilization.

BARTER AND SALE

Trade is, of course, for long ages, conducted in its primitive form by barter, i.e., the exchange of one article against another. The disadvantages of such a form are obvious. One tribe or clan may have plenty of ostrich feathers, for example, to dispose off, but may not require the only articles which another has to offer. It is clear that no business can be done between them. Inside a community, the matter could be adjusted by a sort of debtor and creditor account; but between stranger, possibly rival communities, such a course would not be possible. Occasionally, some token, such as the African cowrie shell, is adopted as a standard value, (In the Marxian classification, the cowrie shell would be called a **Standard of Price**) in which payments can be made. But the objections to this course is, that these articles are not really in themselves valuable, and may, therefore, involve the community which takes them in a loss. A great advance is made when some article of universal demand, such as the ox, is adopted as a standard of value. (The Marxists would classify the ox as functioning as the **Standard of Price** and a **Measure of Value**.—Edit.) We then get the difference between barter and sale. The community which requires the ostrich feathers, but which has no article specially required by the other community to dispose of, pays so many oxen in exchange for the feathers. The oxen are thus the price which, as economists tell us, is value expressed in terms of money. A curious testimony to the truth of this account is found in the fact that, when oxen are superseded as money by the precious metals, which, as being more portable, and less easily subject to depreciation, are really more suitable, the earliest coins are often found to be stamped with an ox's head. But we must not suppose that coined money

Patriarchal Society

Excerpt from Jenk's "Short History of Politics"

[Professor Jenks places the Patriarchal form of society as the second stage of social development; the first being the "savage" organization, which could properly be called the "pack," as it far more resembles a hunting than a social organization. This form was dealt with in a previous issue. Remarking on the old theory that the beginnings of society was to be found in the single household, and that from that developed the clan, and from that in turn, the larger social unit, the tribe, he says, that that theory has now been definitely exploded. Chiefly to the Scottish historian, Mr. W. F. Skene, he says, belongs the merit of having shown by actual demonstration that the old theory really reverses the historical order of things. The tribe or larger unit is the oldest; as it breaks up, clans are formed; and the break-up of the clan-system leaves as independent units the households formerly comprised within it. Finally, but not till long after patriarchal society has passed away, the household is dissolved, and the individual becomes the unit in society.]

PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY IN GENERAL

DISTINGUISHING Features. We now approach the consideration of the second stage of social development, in which the binding ties are more perfect, than in the preceding stage. All patriarchal society is characterized by certain well known features, which distinguish it from earlier as well as from later types of society. These features are:

(1) **Male Kinship.** In the "savage" type of community, while something that might be called kinship prevailed, it was so arbitrary and artificial, that it might be regarded as a superstition rather than a fact. So far as there was any recognition of blood relationship at all, it was relationship through women, not through men. But, in the patriarchal stage, paternity is the leading fact. Men are counted of kin because they are descended from the same male ancestor. Sometimes, no doubt, the relationship is fictitious rather than real; as when deficiencies in a family are made up by adoption or fosterage. But the very existence of such devices shows the importance, attached to descent through males. Leaving for the present the question of how this important change came about, we notice another feature of patriarchal society closely connected with it.

at once takes the place of oxen. There is an intermediate stage of uncoined money, which passes by weight. Abundant evidence of this fact survives; but we need not look farther than our own word the (English) pound, which may mean either a weight, or a coin of a particular value.—Professor Jenks, (Short History of Politics.)

Next Week: Organization of Industry.

(2) **Permanent Marriage.** Without such an addition, the first feature could hardly develop. In a state of society (the group or totem marriage relation) such as that of the Australian aborigines, no one could be certain who his father was. It is not until a woman becomes the wife of one man only, that anything like certainty of fatherhood appears. But it must not be assumed that marriage, as we understand it, i.e., permanent union of one man with one woman, is a feature of all patriarchal society. On the other hand, **polygamy**, i.e., the marriage of one man to several women, is very characteristic of patriarchal society in its earlier stages. Only in its later developments does it approach to the modern system of marriage. But the existence of polygamy is no bar to the recognition of kinship through males; on the contrary, it renders it increasingly certain, by providing against a superfluity of unmarried women. Finally a third essential feature of patriarchal society must be mentioned.

(3) **Paternal Authority.** The principles upon which patriarchal society is conducted require, as we shall see, the existence of groups presided over and controlled by the well nigh despotic authority of a male ancestor. This male ancestor controls, not only the business affairs of the group, but its religion, and its conduct. He alone is responsible for it to the larger group of which it forms a part. The precise limits of this authority differ in different stages. In early Rome, as is well known, the "patria potestas" extended to all the descendants of a living ancestor, no matter how old they were, and even survived, in a modified form, over the female descendants after his death. Moreover, it comprised even the power of life and death, to say nothing of control and chastisement. In later forms of the patriarchal system, this power becomes greatly modified, but an interesting record of Welsh society at the end of the patriarchal stage says of the "Mab," or youth under fourteen: (He is) "at his father's platter, and his father lord over him, and he is to receive no punishment but that of his father, and he is not to possess a penny of his property during that time, only in common with his father." In fact, for legal purposes, he has no separate existence.

Actual Examples. These are the universal features of society in the patriarchal stage, whether we look at it among Jewish tribes, or the early Greeks, (e.g., the Homeric heroes) or Romans, or among the Arabs of the desert, or the Hindus and Mahomedans of Northern India, or the Afghans of the frontier, or, better still, among our Teutonic forefathers in their German homes, or, perhaps best of all among the branches of the Keltic race, the Welsh, the Irish and the Highland Scotch, with whom it lingered until a comparatively late period.

Next Issue: "Two Stages of Patriarchal Society."