

# THE INDICATOR

History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

VANCOUVER, B. C., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1919

FIVE CENTS

## CULTURAL ITEMS FROM SOVIET RUSSIA

**EXPENSES** for Public Education.—In the year of 1917, the expenses of the Ministry of Education amounted to 300 million rubles. In 1918, the expenses for public education were three billions. For the first half of 1919, the People's Commissariat devoted four billion rubles for educational purposes. In the course of the year 1918, the publication division of the Petrograd Soviet published 11 1-2 million books and pamphlets.

**Traveling Shops.**—In the Government of Podolsk traveling shoe repair shops on trucks have been organized which serve the poorest inhabitants of the villages gratis. Each of these trucks is accompanied by a lecturer, who gives talks on educational and socialistic subjects.

**Workers' Welfare for Minors.**—The Labor Commissariat has provided for all minors working in any industrial establishment a month's vacation on full pay. The State has made provision for the transportation of these minors to districts well supplied with food and educationally favorable situated. The minors are united into groups, where they form colonies and camps, and quartered on former estates, where they are maintained at the expense of the State.

### Child-Welfare in Soviet Russia.

**Free Feeding of Children.**—The "Economic Commission" has worked out a plan for all Russia for free feeding of children of the workers and officials who are the lowest paid. The State accepts the full expense for providing the children with food. The free boarding of children ordered by a proper decree was introduced up to June 5 in the following sixteen governments: Archangelsk, Vladimir, Vologda, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, Kaluga, Kostroma, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Olonez, Petrograd, Pskov, North Dvinsk, Tver, Cherepovez, and Jaroslavl.

**The Work Colonies for Workers' Children in Saratov.**—In Saratov, a work colony has been opened for workers' children. The main purpose of the colony is to educate the children for work. Special attention will be directed to the organization of garden and vegetable growing. About a million rubles have been devoted to maintain the colony.

**Feeding of Children in the Government of Moscow.**—The Moscow Government Council has gathered statistics on child-feeding in the Government. The Government manages 224 eating places for 124,260 children, 106 children's houses, and nurseries with 23,895 children. This means that in the various children's institutions of the Moscow Government, 224,166 children receive free nutrition, which covers the actual need of the Government fully.

**The Organization of Homes for**

## Policy of War and Famine

(From "Common Sense," London.)

**I**N spite of protests based upon religion, humanity, statecraft and business interests, the policy of famine backed by military and naval coercion in all parts of the world, has been in operation since the Armistice. It is now an open and undisguised, because undisguisable, failure. Believers in force still exist, and assure us that Mr. Churchill has failed because he is no strategist or because his best energies are devoted to speeches and journalism, and only his spare time to tactics and administration. If Napoleon had consumed his genius in describing beforehand the victories he was about to win, his career would have been less glorious. But Napoleon fell, and Mr. Churchill's rhetoric keeps him in office. His latest article (in the Sunday Herald) declares that force is needed, and great force, in the present turbulence of human affairs. The new military and police State, into which Mr. Churchill and his Imperialist colleagues have converted, this disunited

not only of conquering and holding down vast new territories in Asia and Africa, but with the duty of controlling Europe. Here are the key words of Mr. Churchill's article in the Illustrated Sunday Herald of November 23:—

We shall have to keep an eye on Europe. We shall have to keep an eye on Germany. We shall have to keep an eye on Russia.

We know by his proceedings in Russia, and by the sort of exports (tanks, poison gas, etc.) which he has dispatched to that unhappy country, what Mr. Churchill means by keeping an eye upon a neighbor. But he is good enough to explain his meaning. He wants us to apply "the same vigilance that we used to apply to Fermanagh and Tyrone." Irish coercion is so successful that we need a garrison of 60,000 men in Ireland to prevent a rising. So let us coerce Germany and Russia in the same way. That is what Mr. Churchill says and means. So long then as he remains at the War Office, we must expect British armed intervention in all parts of the world. The War Office

**Mothers and Children.**—The Department for Mother and Child Welfare of the Moscow Soviet has opened a number of homes for mothers and children. The chief aim of these houses is propaganda for the proper nutrition and care of children. In every "home" there is a lecture room, a permanent exhibition of objects intended for the care of children up to the second year, a child hospital, a kindergarten, and a nursery, in which working women may leave their children during the working hours. Here also medical advice is given and well distributed.

would be dull and tame if there were no wars. Whatever the Government may say, their policy requires conscription as well as loans, and leads straight to public bankruptcy.

If the first string in the bow of Imperialism is coercion by armies and navies, its second string is coercion by famine. Both have been tried on Russia. Bolshevist Russia has been denied everything—food, fuel, raw material, even medicine, although war has never been declared. The Russian blockade and our expeditions, by using up men, fuel, food and shipping, as well as destroying the natural wealth of Russia, have aggravated fearfully the ravages of plague and famine. By persistent use of the famine screw, Allied diplomacy has exacted a Peace Treaty which the Senate of the United States has rejected, and it has created such economic conditions in Germany and Austria that the indemnities imposed are not regarded seriously by serious persons anywhere. The state of Vienna now it too frightful to contemplate.

the possibility of another catastrophe. Next door to defeated Austria is victorious Italy. Imperialism has brought pauperism, discontent; and if the telegrams which have passed the Italian Government's censorship are correct, discontent is now verging on Revolution. D'Annunzio's exploits against the Jugoslavs aroused much popular enthusiasm. But Imperialism is no proof against unemployment, cold, and hunger. If only we had given coal to Italy instead of poison gas to Russia; if only our Government had been guided by mercy and charity from the time when fighting ceased, all would have been better. Europe needed healing remedies. Instead of these, Mr. Churchill and his friends have poured vinegar into its wounds.

### LIBERTY BOND CAMPAIGN; GOOD PROGRESS IN B. C.

Splendid is the only word that fits the response of the workers of this province to the defense of the men on trial in Winnipeg. The sixteen thousand dollar mark is now passed, and still a large number of places to hear from. The committee is desirous of having reports forwarded by local bond sellers as often as possible so that some estimate of the position can be gained. The fact that \$16,000 has already reached the local committee insures the quota being raised. But it is essential that the committee should have fuller information so that the future activities of the committee can be planned. Everybody heard. There is three more weeks to the close of the campaign, and British Columbia should be well over the estimate.

### PREMIER HUGHES' MAJORITY MERELY A WORKING ONE

LONDON, Dec. 16.—The Westminster Gazette, Liberal, says that Premier Hughes of Australia has not been able to repeat the election coup of the British coalition in December last. According to the latest returns the Nationalists secured 35 seats, the Farmers' party 11 and the Labor party 29. The Farmers will co-operate with the Nationalists, which gives Hughes a working majority but the gains of the farmers have been made at the expense of a section which Hughes leads. Labor has six more seats than in the last Parliament and there are fourteen less pledged supporters of Hughes.

It is a victory, says the Westminster Gazette, that trembles on the verge of a disaster, the more so as Hughes has, like the Liberals in the British coalition government, joined with a party to which he was opposed and to which his own personal following is in a minority. He will carry on for the time being, no doubt, but the handwriting is on the wall.

### MINERS STRIKE WHEN LEADER IS SENT TO JAIL

PIPERBURG, Kansas. Seventeen Kansas coal mines, where approximately 3000 miners are employed, were idle this morning.

The miners went on strike in protest against the action of Judge Anderson at Indianapolis, sending Alexander Howatt, president of the Kansas district United Mine Workers of America to jail.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Dec. 23.—Alexander Howatt, president of the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers was today released from jail and allowed to return to Kansas, when he agreed to call off the strike of miners in his district.

Called before Judge Anderson, Howatt agreed not only to call off the strike, which has been in effect since last July, but also to order miners back to work who struck in protest against Howatt's arrest.

## 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?

### A DAY'S PAY FOR WINNIPEG

Liberty of Speech and Action Is Worth Paying and Fighting For

Make all monies payable to A. S. Walls, Secretary of Defense Committee, 405 Dunsmuir Street, Vancouver, B. C.



# The Proletariat

## The Increase of the Proletariat— Mercantile and Educated Proletariat.

IT is not only through the extension of large production that the capitalist system causes the condition of the proletariat to become more and more that of the whole population. It brings this about also through the fact that the condition of the wage-earner engaged in large production strikes the keynote for the condition of the wage-earners in all other branches. The conditions under which the latter work and live are revolutionized; the advantages which they may have had over those engaged in capitalist industry are turned into so many disadvantages under the influence of the latter. To illustrate: Where, for example, the craftsman still boards and lives with his master, this arrangement becomes a means of forcing him to be content with even poorer board and lodging than those of the wage-earner who carries on his own household.

There is another and very extensive domain in which the capitalist system of large production tends to turn the population into proletarians—the domain of commerce. The large stores are already bearing heavily upon the smaller ones. The number of small stores does not, for that reason, diminish. On the contrary, it increases. The small store is the last refuge of the bankrupt small producer. Were the small stores actually crowded out, the ground would be wholly taken from under the feet of the small traders; they would then be thrust forthwith below the class of the proletariat—into the slums; they would be turned into beggars, vagabonds and candidates for the penitentiary—a wonderful social reform!

But it is not in the reduction of the number of small stores, it is in the debasement of their character that the influence of large production manifests itself in commerce. The small trader deals in ever worse and cheaper goods; his life becomes more precarious, more proletarian. In the large stores, on the contrary, there is constant increase in the number of employees—genuine proletarians without prospect of ever becoming independent. Child labor, the labor of women, with its accompaniment of prostitution, excessive work, lack of work, starvation wages—all the symptoms of large production—appear also in increasing quantity in the domain of commerce. Steadily the condition of the employees in this department approaches that of the proletarians in the department of production. The only difference perceptible between the two is that the former preserve the appearances of a better living, which require sacrifices unknown to the industrial proletarians.

There is still a third category of proletarians that has gone far on the road to its complete development—the educated proletarians. Education has become a special trade under our present system. The measure of knowledge has increased greatly and grows daily. Capitalist society and the capitalist state are increasingly in need of men of knowledge and ability to conduct their business, in

order to bring the forces of nature under their power. But not only the hard-working small farmer, mechanic or the proletarian in general have no time to devote themselves to science and art; the merchant, the manufacturer, the banker, the stock-jobber, the landlord—all are in the same situation. Their whole time is taken up with their business and their pleasures. In modern society it is not, as it used to be under previous social orders, the exploiters themselves, or at least a class of them, who foster the arts and sciences. The present exploiters, our ruling class, leave these pursuits to a special class whom they keep in hire. Under this system education becomes a merchandise.

A hundred years or so ago this commodity was rare. There were few schools; study was accompanied with considerable expense. So long as small production could support him, the worker stuck to it; only special gifts of nature or favorable circumstances would cause the sons of the workers to dedicate themselves to the arts and sciences. Though there was an increasing demand for teachers, artists and other professional men, the supply was definitely limited.

So long as this condition of things lasted, education commanded a high price. Its possession produced, at least for those who applied it to practical ends, very comfortable livings; not infrequently it brought honor and fame. The artist, the poet, the philosopher, were, in monarchical countries, the companions of royalty. The aristocracy of intellect felt itself superior to the aristocracy of birth or money. The only care of such was the development of their intellect. Hence it happened that people of culture could be, and often were, idealists. These aristocrats of education and culture stood above the other classes and their material aspirations and antagonisms. Education meant power, happiness, and worth. The conclusion seemed inevitable that in order to make all men happy and worthy, in order to banish all class antagonisms, all poverty, all wickedness and meanness out of the world, nothing else was needed than to spread education and culture.

Since those days, the development of higher education has made immense progress. The number of institutions of learning has increased wonderfully, and in a still larger degree, the number of pupils. In the meantime, the bottom has been knocked out of small production. The small property holder knows today no other way of keeping his sons from sinking into the proletariat than sending them to college; and he does this if his means will at all allow. But, furthermore, he must consider the future not only of his sons, but also of his daughters. The development in the division of labor is rapidly encroaching on the household; it is converting one household duty after another into a special industry, and steadily diminishing household work. Weaving, sewing, knitting, baking, and many other occupations that at one time filled up the round of household duties, have been either wholly

or partially withdrawn from the sphere of housekeeping. As a result of all this, marriage in which the wife is to be the housekeeper only, is becoming more and more a matter of luxury. But it so happens that the small property holder and producer is at the same time sinking steadily, and steadily becoming poorer; more and more he loses the means to indulge in luxury. In consequence of this the number of unmarried women increases, and ever larger is the number of those families in which mother and daughter must become wage-earners. Accordingly the number of women wage-earners increases, not only in large and small production and commerce, but in government offices, in the telegraph and telephone service, in railroads and banks, in the arts and sciences. However loudly personal interests and prejudices may rebel against it, the labor of women presses itself forward more and more into the various professional pursuits. It is not vanity, nor forwardness nor arrogance, but the force of economic development that drives women to labor in these as well as in other fields of human activity. If men have succeeded in preventing the competition of women in certain branches of intellectual labor which are still organized on craft lines, women workers tend to crowd all the more into the pursuits not so organized, for example, authorship, painting, music.

The result of this whole development is that the number of educated people has increased enormously. Nevertheless, the beneficent results which the idealists expected from an increase of education have not followed. So long as education is a merchandise, its extension is equivalent to an increase in the quantity of that merchandise, consequently to the falling in its price and the decline in the condition of those who possess it. The number of educated people has grown to such an extent that it more than suffices for the wants of the capitalists and the capitalist state. The labor market of educated labor is today as overstocked as the market of manual labor. It is no longer the manual workers alone who have their reserve army of the unemployed and are afflicted with lack of work; the educated workers also have their reserve army of idle, and among them also lack of work has taken up its permanent quarters. The seekers for public office find that avenue of employment crowded. Those who seek openings elsewhere experience the extremes of idleness and excessive work just as do the manual workers, and like them are the victims of wage-slavery.

The condition of the educated workers deteriorates visibly; formerly people spoke of the "aristocracy of intellect," today we speak of the "intellectual" or "educated" proletariat.

The time is near when the bulk of these proletarians will be distinguished from the others only by their pretensions. Most of them still imagine that they are something better than proletarians. They fancy they belong to the bourgeoisie, just as the lackey identifies himself with the class of his master. They have ceased to be the leaders of the capitalist class and have become rather their defenders. Place-hunting takes more and more of their energies. Their first care is, not the development of their in-

tellect, but the sale of it. The prostitution of their individuality has become their chief means of advancement. Like the small producers, they are dazzled by the few brilliant prizes in the lottery of life; they shut their eyes to the numberless blanks in the wheel and barter away soul and body for the merest chance of drawing such a prize. The barter and sale of one's convictions and the marriage for money are, in the eyes of most of our educated proletarians, two means, as natural as they are necessary, to "make one's fortune."

Still, the supply of this class grows so rapidly that there is little to be made out of education, even though one throws his individuality into the bargain. The decline of the mass of educated people into the class of the proletariat can no longer be checked.

Whether this development will result in a movement of the educated people to join the battling proletariat in mass and not, as hitherto, singly, is still uncertain. This however, is certain: The fact that the educated people are being forced into the proletariat has closed to the proletarians the only gate through which its members could, by dint of their own unaided efforts, escape into the class above.

The possibility of the wage-earner becoming a capitalist is, in the ordinary run of events, out of the question. Sensible people do not consider the chance of winning a prize in a lottery or of falling heir to the wealth of some unknown relative when they deal with the condition of the working-class. Under certain particularly favorable conditions it has sometimes happened that a workman succeeded, through great privations, in saving up enough to start a little retail shop, or to give his son a chance to study and become something "better" than his father. But it was always ridiculous to hold out such possibilities to the workman as a means of improving his condition. In the ordinary course of events the working-man may thank his stars if he is at all able, even during good times, to lay by enough not to remain empty-handed when work becomes slack. Today, however, to hold out such hopes to working-men is more ridiculous than ever. The economic development makes saving not only more difficult, but it renders it impossible for a working-man, even if he succeeds in saving something, to pull himself and his children out of the class of the proletariat. To invest his little savings in some small independent industry were for him to fall from the frying pan into the fire; ten to one he will be thrown back to his previous condition, with the bitter experience that the small producer can no longer keep his head above water—an experience which he will have purchased with the loss of his hard-earned savings.

Today, whichever way the proletarian may turn, he finds awaiting him the same proletarian conditions of life. These conditions pervade society more and more. In all countries the mass of the population has sunk to the level of the proletariat. To the individual proletarian the prospect has vanished of ever being able, by his own efforts to pull himself out of the quagmire into which the present system of production has

(Continued On Page Three.)



# The State and Feudalism

From the Short History of Politics.  
By Prof. Jenks.

[The last issue contained Prof. Jenks account of the character of the early state. It was territorial, and the human elements were bound together by military allegiance, differing thus from the previous patriarchal and tribal societies in which the bond was kinship. A new type of religion was evolved, the exclusive tribal systems of ancestor worship giving place to such monotheistic religions as Christianity and Mahomedanism. The new political organism, the State, no longer regarded custom as its guiding star. By its very nature militarism is competitive and the old nobility of birth give way before the royal nobility appointed by the sovereign. This paved the way for further change. It marked the triumph of the State over the older patriarchal society.]

**Feudalism.** And, finally, the State was individual, not communal. Again we must be careful not to misunderstand terms. The dream of the despot, who would like to govern every man in his dominions by the immediate action of his caprice, is, happily, never realized. But the tendency of the State, from its very inception, was to break down all intermediate barriers between itself and its individual subjects. Every wise ruler is, however, aware that this can only be done by degrees. The warriors who founded successful States, whether they were alien adventurers, or enterprising war-leaders of neighboring tribes, found various degrees of authority in existence among their subjects, exercised by men who had been accustomed to deference, if not actually to obedience. These men were rarely dispossessed by the conqueror, unless they persisted in refusing all overtures. The conqueror merely insisted that they should acknowledge their authority to be derived from him. This seemed to be such a purely theoretical matter, that the transaction was usually attended with little difficulty. Even where the demand of fealty or faithfulness was accompanied by a demand for tribute there was little practical difficulty; the conquered chief reckoned with shrewd accuracy on getting the money out of his followers, the humbler members of his tribe or clan. If the conqueror chose to regard the land occupied by his tribe or clan as a gift or trust for the conqueror himself, it did not seem to matter much; the important point was that the tribe or the clan still kept its land. Where the native chief was irreconcilable, or had been killed in the struggle, the conqueror put one of his own "companions," his "comes" or "thane," into his place; and thus, of course, obtained a really stronger hold on the conquered territory. Quite naturally, the conqueror's immediate vassals (as we may now begin to call them) found it convenient to repeat the same process with their inferiors. We have seen, in fact, that there were the germs of such a relationship in the practice of cattle lending practised by patriarchal society. But then the adoption of agriculture made land the important factor in society; and so loans of land became the sign of subordination.

Sometimes the transaction was genuine; as where one man loaned to another land which he was really entitled to keep for himself. Very often, however, it was merely fictitious; as when the inferior yielded up his own land to his superior, and received it back again from him as a loan. This practice, known technically as "commendation," was very common in Continental Europe in the Dark Ages, and was primarily due to the fact that, in times of disturbance, the best chance for the weak man is to acknowledge himself the vassal of a strong man, who will protect him. But the tendency spread beyond cattle and land. The customs of a gild, or a number of gilds, their cherished rights of controlling their own members, and excluding strangers from the town, came to be held as privileges granted by a ruler; and so town life was brought within the same idea. Finally, even such a thing as spiritual office (with the emoluments attaching thereto) was held as a gift or loan from a superior and so indeed the technical name for such a gift or loan, a **benefice**, came to be specially associated with spiritual office. Thus the whole social organism gradually assumed what we call a **feudal** aspect, in some respects, resembling the old patriarchal organization of groups within groups, but differing from it in the important principle, that the rights of the individual were no longer acquired by birthright, by membership of a social group, but were at least deemed to be the grant of a superior, in return for promised service. In the higher ranks, of course, that service was military; and in this the new system showed its connection with the newer type of society. But, in the lower ranks, money and labor service were more common. The peasant rendered labor or paid rent to his lord, in return for his land; the craftsmen of a town paid an annual sum to the king or earl for the charter of their privileges. Even the benefited clerk owed to his patron the duty of saying prayers for the good of his soul.

**Evidence.** We shall see more, as we go on, of the nature and consequences of feudalism. Here it is sufficient to notice its place in the History of Politics. It is the connecting link between purely patriarchal and purely political society. The brilliant historical labors of M. Longnon have, to all intents and purposes, established the geographical identity of the great fiefs of the West Frankish Empire, with the tribal settlements of early Gaul. Mr. Skene has been equally successful in showing that the Scottish earldoms and thanages of the eleventh century were really the old tribal and clan chiefships in a feudal dress. Could we but get sufficient evidence, we should, no doubt, find that the same was the case in England and other countries. Feudal society has often been reproached with vagueness and inconsistency. These are precisely the qualities which we should expect in a phase of development which is not in itself essential or universal, but which is an easy and convenient means of softening a change. In the popular form of entertainment known as "dissolving views," one picture is

## The Coat's Millions

(From "Labor Leader," London.)

GLASGOW has once again proved its power of, shall it be called "Dramatic Propaganda?" The working of the capitalist system and the proposals of the Socialists were set in sharp contrast at St. Andrew's Hall, on the morning of November 20.

The occasion was a special meeting of the shareholders of the Coats' Thread combine called to sanction a scheme, whereby the capital is to be increased from £10,000,000 to £20,250,000. Of the increase, £7,300,000 is a free gift to the shareholders from the reserve fund; consequently, only £2,950,000 of the augmented stock is in any sense new capital.

This free gift of £7,300,000 was made possible by war profiteering at the expense of Labor, and that the poorest and weakest sections of society, as is clearly shown by the fact that the price of the spool or reel of thread used by sempstresses and working women everywhere, had been raised from 2½d. in 1914 to 7½d. in 1919!

The evil, exploiting influence is also felt in the countries whence the raw flax is obtained, as Soviet Russia will testify.

### A TABLE OF WAR PROFITS

A year ago a London writer stated the profits taken by the Combine would cause a Revolution if they were not restrained. This year the concern has finished with greater profits than ever. In 1918 the net profit was £3,171,796, which gave a 30 per cent. dividend to the ordinary shareholders; in 1919, the net profit is £3,995,149, and a 40 per cent. dividend is given to the ordinary shareholders! The capital of the company in 1914 was £10,000,000, and since then the profits have run up as follows:

Year	Profit (£)
1914	2,634,388
1915	2,592,966
1916	3,387,395
1917	3,360,950
1918	3,171,796
1919	3,995,149
	£19,140,644

The profits given above are net; that is, they are exclusive of all sums paid to reserves, insurance, excess profits, tax and so on.

But the exactions of the firm do not end here. As we have recorded, the reserves had swollen to bursting point with War Profits and a curious financial operation was performed, which enabled the shareholders to obtain a free gift of £7,300,000 in new shares, plus the option of acquiring further shares to the value of £2,950,000 at par!

By this change the capital is increased from £10,000,000 to £20,250,000, on which Labor will be asked to pile up the dividends.

In future, the dividend will be, for a time at least, 15 per cent. instead of 30 per cent. and the combine will

not suddenly replaced by another; but the old picture gradually melts into the new by a nebulous and misty process, rather fascinating to watch, but not conveying any very clear ideas. In the panorama of History, feudalism represents the blurred outlines and motley colors of the "dissolving view."

not then be so obviously guilty of profiteering. The public have short memories; but Socialists must keep them renewed.

### Capital for Housing and Coats' War Profits.

There are 30,000 people who own the £10,000,000 invested in the concern before the war. During the war they have received over £19,000,000 in profits, to which is now added a gift of £7,300,000 in shares, making the total plunder £26,440,644.

Lord Glentanar, a director of the firm and a member of the Coats' family, died recently and left £4½ millions. This property, added to what the shareholders have received, makes a capital value of £30,690,644, which would suffice to provide Glasgow with 50,000 cottage homes.

The city is short of 57,000 houses and can not get the capital for their construction from the Treasury. No wonder the women of the city who want houses turned out to demonstrate! Their action has waked tens of thousands of unthinking people to realize the need for a levy on the profits of monopolists as a preliminary to Housing Reform, and to an understanding of what is meant by Nationalization.

Glasgow Municipal Tramways have also worked to show how Public Capital for the Public Needs can be found.

The women of Glasgow have given a strong lead to the women of the whole country as to how to organize an educative campaign for social ownership and control, not only of Monopolies like that of Coats' Combine, but of Coal and Cotton and Land, and all that is needed for the community's life.

### THE PROLETARIAT

(Continued From Page Two.)

pushed him. The individual proletarian can accomplish his own redemption only with the redemption of his whole class.

\*Note.—In America the conditions under which a proletarian is able to rise into the bourgeois class have been prolonged by the abundance of our natural resources and the existence of an open frontier. But if the author's statements in regard to this matter are not strictly applicable to our society, they tend more and more to become so.—Translator.

### COMPROMISE

Nothing can cure the hypocrisy of the British press. A newspaper notes that M. Clemenceau when visiting Strassburg went to the cathedral. It adds that his opinions on religion are well known. That leaves the British public to assume anything. It would never have done to say outright that M. Clemenceau was an Atheist. The land that gave birth to Christian Socialism for Socialists who lacked courage, and Agnosticism for Atheists who feared the respectabilities and a thousand and one other compromises, remains true to itself.

A Moscow wireless states that a special Soviet train named "The Red East" has left for Turkestan to organize Soviet institutions there.—Vancouver "Province," Dec. 19.

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## The Indicator

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### The Russell Case

**G**UILTY on all seven counts is the verdict of the jury in the case against R. B. Russell in Winnipeg. The first count was "seditious conspiracy," the next five were for "committing overt acts," and the seventh was for committing a "common nuisance." The case arose out of the Winnipeg strike last summer.

The workers have been following with a curious interest the extraordinary course of this trial, and any comment of ours could scarcely place more clearly before them the distinctive character of bourgeois justice, than the daily reports of the trial in the press. The summing of Judge Metcalfe in his final instructions to the jury was a fitting close up to the proceedings. We publish his address, as reported in the press, without further comment at present.

Winnipeg, Dec. 24.—In his address to the jury, Mr. Justice Metcalfe asserted that sympathetic strikes were illegal. "Those who take part in an unlawful general sympathetic strike can hardly hope to take benefit from clauses in the code which exempt honest strikers, honestly striking, in an honest strike from punishment," he said. Among other things his lordship cited as illegal was agitation that spread dissension throughout the country, and intimidation.

Mr. Justice Metcalfe concluded his charge to the jury by directing them to return a verdict on each count separately. He said that he had decided to allow a reserved case for the consideration of points of law to go to the Court of Appeals.

His lordship quoted definitions of seditious conspiracy, stated that the accused should receive the benefit if the jury found that Russell's intentions were bona fide, that he had no malicious motives and no guilty mind.

It would have to be shown in the evidence that there was a common design, he said, otherwise there was not a conspiracy. The act of a conspirator prior to the time he and the accused met was evidence against the accused. If they found the accused and others banded together for an illegal purpose, then any act by one of the party with reference to the common object was evidence against any of the others engaged.

Dealing with letters written by Russell or received by him, his lordship said there was evidence that Russell assisted in getting control of the Trades and Labor Council. It was hard to forget Russell's letters, with their nice, short, well-expressed sentences, such as, for instance "knock hell out of the Labor party," he said.

Russell was connected with the Socialist party, which was responsible for distribution of Socialist literature. Referring to this propaganda, the judge said:

"I have seen altogether too much

of it."

Dealing with Wm. Ivens, another of the accused strike leaders, his lordship said that he was the editor of the Western Labor News and possibly the jury might find that sufficient to show that the propaganda was seditious.

"Speaking to you as a judge," he said, "if I were on a jury there is much in that matter that I would find no difficulty in concluding was seditious."

Armstrong, one of the accused, the judge stated was, according to the evidence, a soap-box orator and a red, who, with Russell and others gained control of the Trades and Labor Council. Queen also was responsible for propaganda distribution at a theatre meeting and had aided and abetted the strike. W. A. Pritchard had been called one of the most active speakers and workers in the Socialist cause and had issued propaganda for the One Big Union. He stated that Johns, another of the reds who had gained control of the Trades and Labor Council, was a delegate to the Calgary convention.

"As for Robinson," went on the judge, "like rancid butter in the mouth which leaves a bad taste is the evidence of Robinson, secretary of the strike committee. Robinson had tried to disclaim responsibility for everything and swore that he did his duty as an alderman by the city at large. Somehow it did not sound very well from him. Robinson did his duty to the strike committee. R. E. Bray, said the judge, was not serving two masters. He led returned soldiers who were strike sympathizers.

Mr. Justice Metcalfe declared that it was illegal for men to conspire to commit acts that will endanger the general citizens, that intimidation during a strike was illegal and that picketing, under Canadian law, was illegal.

Regarding the Soviet form of government of which one has heard so much in connection with the strike and the trial, his lordship also expressed an opinion. There was no objection, he said, to a man thinking that the Soviet Government of Russia was a good one, so long as he did not intend to convey to others the desirability of the institution of such a government for Canada. When he commenced to attack the Canadian form of government and put before "the plugs" the desirability of a Russian system in Canada, the jury, exercising their common sense, might infer that he was trying to introduce that system in Canada.

"It was up to the jury," his lordship stated. "Would they like it? Would they resist it? Would it be liable to cause a breach of the peace? If it would, in a public sense, would it be seditious?"

The judge commenced his summing up at 8:15 o'clock and did not conclude his charge until midnight.

Nine members of the jury which convicted Russell are farmers, two are rural merchants and one is a city man, residing in Norwood, a suburb. The names and addresses of the twelve are: Harold Woodhead, Morris; W. McClimont, Hazelridge; A. A. Anderson, East Selkirk; Roy Totton, Otterburne; Edward Heney, Sanford; T. W. Smith, Emerson; Joseph Freehette, St. Pierre; D. S. Pritchard, Carman; Theo Nugent, Sanford; Wm. Heale, Teulon and C. T. Fisher, Norwood.

## Reasons Why Defense Rested Its Case

The defense called upon the Hon. A. T. J. Johnson, attorney-general for the Province of Manitoba, to testify in regard as to who was responsible and who was paying for the prosecution. Mr. Murray's first question as to the witnesses' status in the Province, was naturally allowed and answered. The second question was, "Did the Provincial government, as representing the crown, refuse to prosecute the accused?" Immediately A. J. Andrews jumped to his feet, objecting to such a question being asked or being answered. As this had been the fate of all such important questions, no answer was given. The next question asked of the attorney-general was, "Who is paying for the prosecution?" That naturally touched a vital spot, particularly for the crown counsel. The judge again upheld the crown's contention, and the question as to who is paying for the prosecution will be a dark secret until the next session of the Provincial legislature or the Dominion parliament.

### Most Dramatic Incident

Then happened what might be described as one of the most dramatic incidents in the annals of the Canadian bar. Witness after witness for the defense had been turned down by the rulings of the court, and this last one was as much as Mr. Cassidy, K.C., could endure. Jumping to his feet, he strongly protested against the judge's ruling, saying that it seemed a "vigilance committee" was prosecuting, meaning the "citizens' committee," and not the crown. Turning to the attorney-general he thanked him for his attendance, and bade him good-bye, then turning to the judge, he said in view of his attitude, he could not see what use it was calling any more evidence, and he was going to close the case for the defense immediately, and start addressing the jury on behalf of the accused. It was then 12:30 o'clock, and the judge asked Mr. Cassidy if he did not wish for time to consider his address. Mr. Cassidy answered by saying that he was prepared to start right away, and give the jury a chance of getting home by Christmas.

### STOP PRESS NEWS

Dec. 27—Judge Metcalfe sentenced R. B. Russell this morning to two years imprisonment.

### SOVIET-ESTHONIA PEACE IN SIGHT

NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—A despatch to the Jewish Daily Forward from its Copenhagen correspondent says the establishment of peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia was certain. An exchange of communications between the two governments already had been effected, the correspondent stated.

### ECONOMIC CLASS

Word reaches us from a correspondent in Tacoma, Wash., that Comrade Jim Fisher is conducting a large and enthusiastic class in Marxian Economics, under the auspices of the Central Local of the Tacoma Socialist Party.

### SOME NOTES ON THE TRIAL

The legal status of trades unions were gone into. The counsel for the defense showed by the various enactments that labor had a full right to call either a general or sympathetic strike, and all efforts being made by the crown at this juncture to challenge that right, was nothing else but an effort to cripple the usefulness of those organizations.

As evidence of the furious efforts of the Dominion government to stamp out freedom of thought and speech, the counsel for the defense read a statement showing that there were more prosecutions for sedition in Alberta during two recent years than there had been in England during one hundred years. The population of Alberta is about half a million, that of England forty-five million.

Referring to the literature issued by the Socialist Party of Canada, the crown prosecution likened it to certain works in a doctor's library which might be classed indecent, so, therefore, such books as the "Communist Manifesto," "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," "Value, Price and Profit," are indecent and unfit for working men to read.

Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, sat with the crown counsel, discussed matters with them and took quite a number of notes of the proceedings.

Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, after the adjournment, interviewed the judge in his private rooms.

R. B. Russell, a wage earner, has been tried for political offences and found guilty by a jury, not of his own station in life, but composed entirely of farmers and business men. Although the wage earners are a huge majority of the population of Canada, not one of them sat on the jury.

Query: Who are the most successful exponents of the class struggle theory, the Reds or the Whites?

## Labor Defence Fund

### 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.

### MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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

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



## Why Study?

**WHY STUDY?** Why be poring over some dry book and burning the midnight oil and racking your brains in an endeavor to understand some complex problems about society that no one really understands anyway, when you might as well be enjoying yourself at the movies, or the dance, and so be getting something out of life. What good do you get out of all this book-stuff anyway? I have seen,—etc., etc.

The above, while not a verbatim report of a retort given to the writer in course of a discussion with a know-it-all trade unionist is, nevertheless, a true report of the essence of the retort.

Why study? Why should the members of the working class begin to "dig-in" and spend some time in trying to understand the laws of value and of surplus-value, and the Materialist Conception of History, instead of laughing at the antics of Fatty Arbuckle, or admiring the suave femininity of Norma Talmadge, as displayed on the screen? The question is a very pertinent one in as much as the future condition of the working-class depends altogether on the answer it gives to it. So far as this class is concerned it is really the question of the hour, since we are living at a time when capitalism is actually slipping on its old foundation. In truth, Historical development has reached a transition period—not at all unlike the transition period Europe went through during the epoch centering around the Renaissance. The Renaissance was the intellectual expression of the transition that was going on in the economic relations between the feudal and rising bourgeois classes. This transition was initiated in England and France, at least, after it had been proven in the Battle of Crecy, that an army of infantry equipped with bows and arrows was mightier in battle than an army of armor-clad knights. This defeat shattered the military prowess of the feudal nobility, and it, moreover, broke the spell this class exercised over the minds of men. Up to this time, it was believed that the existence of the feudal nobility was absolutely necessary in order to give military protection to the people. But when this class was disastrously defeated by an army of ordinary men, this belief, and the spell it exercised, was exploded. From this time on for about four centuries, the history of England and France is a record of a series of conflicts between the rising bourgeoisie and the feudal nobility. The bourgeoisie finally won out, but it took a long time. The transition period was a long one. However, what the writer wishes especially to point out is that this period was begun after the defeat of the nobility proved that they were not necessary as a class to social well-being, and that as soon as this fact was proven the spell which they formerly exercised was broken.

Now by a little comparison it is easy to see that the most advanced nations today are, relatively speaking, in the same position as Western Europe, especially France and England, was in the latter part of the Fourteenth century. The Great War

has proven that it is no longer necessary to support a capitalist class in order to have our industries properly managed. This was the popular belief before the war, and because of this, the capitalist class exercised an almost unbreakable spell over the minds of the working-class. But the war, on the contrary, showed that this class is an absolute hindrance to united social effort, and during its duration, management of the most important industries by private capitalists had to be dispensed with. This broke the spell. Now it is only the most stupid working men that will claim that capitalists are necessary as managers of industry. This new attitude is already taking shape in the form of shop committees whose function is to take part in the management of individual plants.

The working-class has then taken its first step in securing control and management of industry, and the transition from capitalism to communism has, accordingly, actually begun. The capitalists, on the other hand, have taken two steps to prevent further inroads on their control—politically, the League of Nations, and commercially, the International Chamber of Commerce. In domestic politics, capitalist governments are also centralizing authority in order to retain greater control of domestic policies. Historically ruling classes have always centralized authority when nearing the end of their days.—The absolute monarchies of Europe are an instance.

What the ushering in of the transition period, the people of modern nations are confronted with one alternative—either to allow the capitalist system to fasten itself more grimly and securely on society, or else to shake it from its bearings and replace it by a new and higher social system. The choice of either alternative rests with the working-class. It is the deciding factors in this case. The choice of the latter alternative will of course involve a struggle. This may be long or it may be short. It may be bloody and violent or it may be comparatively peaceful. This really all depends on the wisdom, the prudence, and the tact of the workers, and the knowledge which they have of the laws which govern the action of the class with which they are contending.

Now the building up of a new society, while it depends on the skill and energy of the revolutionary element, is, nevertheless, conditioned by the disintegration of the old society. The new society can be formed only in the measure that room is given for its development by the breaking down of the old. Thus there is a sort of a double action, a double reversible action going on. The Forward Revolutionary Action may proceed, under which circumstances the new society is built up as the old disintegrates, or the reverse may take place. To keep the forward action going requires considerable knowledge of the conditions under which the old social relations disintegrate, if this action is to reach its completion in the quickest time possible and with the least amount of bungling. The forward action is at all times

somewhat complicated by the fact that each stage in the process is more or less in the nature of an experiment, whose result can not be positively foretold. Because of this uncertainty knowledge of the forces concerned is all the more necessary. For, just as a chemist who knows how and under what conditions a certain class of substances usually combine or dissociate is more liable to make a new experiment with them successfully than a man who knows nothing about chemical actions and reactions, so a class which has a wide knowledge about the economic laws of society is more liable to bring social experiments to a successful conclusion than a class which knows nothing about economics and social laws.

The revolution will not accomplish itself automatically, and without direction. The future can be fashioned to serve the needs and the purposes of the working classes only in proportion as they know how to manipulate social forces. The knowing how is gained first of all by study. So study! Study Marx, Engels, Labriola—all the classics on the social sciences. Marx' works, to retain the above simile, is a treasure house of laws which tell us under what conditions the elements which compose the framework of capitalist society combine and dissociate. To study now is to take time by the forelock. It may reduce the transition period down to a few years.

C. M. C.

### BRITISH PRISONERS IN BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA Mr. Goode's Report.

The following note on the position of British prisoners in Bolsheviki hands has been sent to us by Mr. W. T. Goode:—

(From "Manchester Guardian")

So many letters have come to me from the relatives of British officers who are prisoners of war in Moscow asking for news of them that it will be best to make the state of things known. There are a considerable number of privates and officers there who are housed in two different establishments. They are entirely free as regards movement, a sentry at the gate merely preventing the outside public from entering freely. Their wants are provided for by the Russian Red Cross Society. I saw the privates, except a number who were walking about in the town. Their condition is good, their living as complete as conditions allow.

The officers I did not see. The reason is as follows. At the end of August, the Soviet Government received information that the Russian prisoners held by the British in the North of Russia were not well treated. A radio was sent out asking the British Government to appoint delegates to meet Soviet delegates in a neutral country for the purpose of controlling the treatment of prisoners of war and making arrangements for exchanges. No notice was taken of this. It was repeated. Still no response. A radio was then sent out fixing a date for some reply to be received, failing which all privileges of officers would be stopped. The

### REGARDING PROFITS

In Vol. 1, -Capitalist Production, Carl Marx states:

The source of all profit is to be found in the difference between the cost of the production of labor-power and the value of the commodities which that labor-power produces when it is expended in production in the workshop.

A shoe worker is hired for ten hours, his wages are two dollars; during the first five hours he makes one pair of shoes; this pair of shoes is worth three dollars.

Their cost to the capitalist is as follows: Wages two dollars, wear and tear of machinery, twenty cents; raw material, leather, nails, etc., eighty cents; total, three dollars.

So far there is no profit for the capitalist, and if our laborer under these circumstances stopped work at noon, he would fail to illustrate the capitalist mode of production. But he goes on in the afternoon and makes another pair of shoes, value three dollars.

The cost to the capitalist of this second pair of shoes is: raw material, eighty cents; depreciation of machinery, twenty cents; total, one dollar; nothing to pay for labor; profit for the day, two dollars.

It is from this "unpaid labor" that capitalists derive their profits. As capital is accumulated out of profits, capital itself is "unpaid labor."

The labor which the laborer performs early in the day to cover his own wages, Marx calls "necessary labor," i.e., necessary to reproduce wages. The labor performed afterwards, he calls "surplus labor," labor over and above what the capitalist pays for.

The "necessary labor" produces "necessary product;" the surplus labor produces surplus product. The "necessary product" realizes itself in "necessary value." The "surplus product" manifests itself in "surplus value."

It is from "surplus value" created without recompense that the wealth of the wealthy has its origin; and it is here that Marx lays bare that process of exploitation which is the prolific fountain from which there springs the misery and degradation of the toilers of the world.

A. P. McCABE

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

British Government took no notice at all, and two days before my visit to the prisoners these privileges of the officers only, were cut off. Up to that time the freedom of all had been absolute.

Two things must be added. Volunteers for service in the North who were prisoners were kept separate from the mobilized men—at the request of these last. Also, I promised to bring news to the families of the prisoners, to write to them, and I made myself their postman. This, owing to my forcible detention in the Baltic, I have not yet been able to recover my papers, among which are all these letters, (the relatives of the prisoners, English and French, officers and privates) will understand why, to my intense regret, I have been unable to communicate with them.



# The Evolution of Man

By PROF. WILLIAM BOLSCHE

Serial No. VI.

[In number IV. of this series, it was shown, by the evidence of the blood test, that the gibbon monkey, a member of the group of anthropoid apes, was the nearest in blood relationship to man, in that no ill-effects resulted from the inoculation of the gibbon with the blood of the former.

In No. V. last issue, other evidence was advanced to supplement the above appearance of close relationship between man and the apes, and more especially the gibbon. This animal has the common faculties with man of being able to sing the music of the scale, and, when on the ground of walking habitually upright on his two legs. In other respects, however, other members of the anthropoid apes bear a closer resemblance to man than the gibbon, so that it seems feasible to conclude that they are all, including man, closely related to the archetype for which we are looking, though none of them representing the thorough-bred type. The probability of this relationship is reduced to almost a certainty by a consideration of the biogenetic law. This law is, that young animals frequently resemble the ancestors of their whole race more nearly than the adult animals. A great number of higher animals assume again in the egg, or in the mother's womb, certain forms which we meet on a much lower and more ancient plane. Thus the arms of the gibbon are immensely long in the adult, but in its mother's womb they are of the same proportions as those of the young of the human being. This, if the law is correct, would show that the ancestors of the gibbon, millions of years ago, did not possess its present long spider-like arms. It was also pointed out that the child of the human, when in the first stages in the womb, is completely covered with thick woolly hair, much as the monkey tribe is today.

Professor Bolsche continues the discussion this issue on the archetype of the anthropoids and man, who must have had, at least, a very close resemblance to the Pithecanthropus or monkey-man of Trilil, in the structure of his skull and legs.]

Now we come to a new question. What is the ancestor of that archetype? In what other disguise can we trace him further back? In the system, the four anthropoid apes are followed by the rest of the monkeys. This class again consists of at least three great groups which differ from one another. Some of them are the long-tailed monkeys of Asia and Africa, such as *Macacus*, baboons, etc., which make up the majority of the popular monkeys in our zoological gardens. The second group lives exclusively in America, and the bright Capuchin monkey may be mentioned as a type. The third, also restricted to America, comprises a small number of little monkeys, having claws instead of nails on most of their fingers and toes and resembling much more a squirrel than a genuine monkey. The marmoset is one of them. These three groups can no more be used in the construction of a consecutive line of development than the four anthropoid apes. But a purely anatomical comparison leaves the impression that somewhere near them the next lower stage of man must be found.

Even the very first experts who described the gibbon noticed that this same gibbon, aside from his strong resemblance to the other anthropoid apes and to man himself, also had certain other resemblances very plainly developed, and these pointed towards the *Macacus*-like long-tailed monkeys. These characters could be inherited only from the archetype, and this type again could only have inherited them from some still older type, which had a general and much greater resemblance to the majority of the other monkeys. That there was once upon a time a certain ancestor who had an externally visible long tail is still evidenced by man himself. Not only is man in the tailed stage to this day, though the tail vertebrae are no longer externally visible, but these are certainly still better developed in man than in the anthropoid apes. Furthermore, the human embryo in the mother's womb once more reveals the persistency of that mysterious biogenetic law. It has a plainly, visible external tail. In exceptional cases this "embryo tail" is also preserved in adults, and in some cases we have those abnormal "tail men," whose existence has often been doubted, but who nevertheless exist. There is no reason why we should not assume that certain *Macacus*-like types, preceding the human type, carried a genuine tail for a con-

stant characteristic. So far as we can judge, from fossil remains of bones, genuine long-tailed monkeys, similar to those in present Asia, were already in existence in the middle of the Tertiary period, in which both man and anthropoid apes were found. One species, *Mesopithecus*, lived in great numbers in Greece, where many bones of them have been found. This Grecian monkey had a very long tail. At the same time the form of its nose and the position of its eyes gave it a greater resemblance to the human being than any of the present long-tailed monkeys have. On the other hand, the light-hearted crowd of long-tailed monkeys has developed many characteristics which tend toward a direction leading away from man. There are, so to say, one-sidedly bestialized forms, an extreme exaggeration of which is the baboon family, for instance, the grotesque mandril. The conclusion is inevitable that once again, at this point, a line of descent originally close to man has gradually deviated into a bypath and produced many varieties of monkeys now living in Asia and Africa. Therefore we should once more have to assume the existence of an archetype out of which developed, on the one hand, the original ancestor of man and of the anthropoid apes, and, on the other, that Grecian *Mesopithecus* and the many side lines of African and Asian long-tailed monkeys. Of course, this archetype would have to be still a great deal more ancient than the preceding one. It might have existed as early as the first third of the Tertiary period. By its external characteristics, we should certainly have classed it among the genuine monkeys, and only a few slight anatomical marks would have betrayed to the expert that he was not dealing with a monkey of later descent, but with one in which, so to say, the third generation of coming man was still concealed.

Now, it is peculiar that we have actually found remains of monkey-like animals in the first third of the Tertiary period. They were discovered by the Spanish explorer Ameghino in Patagonia, the extreme end of South America, and were concealed in a layer of rock which must have been developed toward the end of that first third of the Tertiary period. We call this first third the "Eocene" period, or in English, the dawn of the more recent period. When Ameghino first analyzed one of these Patagonian monkey skulls, it conjured up to his imagination the ghost of a very small man, so that he called it "Homunculus," but it seems that after all this resemblance to man is not much greater than that of the American monkeys of the Capuchin type, and that group of Eocene monkeys evidently belonged to that class. It can not be denied that the present Capuchin monkey is in many respects, physically and mentally, man-like. It also has secret relations with the gibbon, and thus to the archetype of the Pithecanthropus kind. Thus, many things favor the more recent assumption that possibly these bright, gentle and highly intelligent American Capuchin monkeys are the closest of any of the present monkey forms to that genuine monkey type of man which belongs to the Eocene period.

On the other hand, the small and squirrel-like marmosets must be eliminated from our line of descent and regarded as a side line. Most likely they are a one-sided adaptation to special conditions in South America.

But now that we have gotten so far, there can be no doubt as to the next question. If man can be traced so far back in monkeydom, he can not but share all the vicissitudes of monkey life further back. Whatever may be the general descent of monkeys, that is at the same time the line of man's development. The prototype of monkeys is also that of man.

The conventional system of mammals proceeds along a great downward scale. First we have the prosimiae, bats, insectivora, such as the hedge-hog, then carnivora, rodents, the large and variegated group of ruminants, etc. But this scale is only apparently a historical one. Whoever were to imagine that man went through all these different stages in succession would not come to any definite result. For instance, if we compare the teeth of a rabbit with those of a monkey, we should have considerable difficulty in accepting the idea that the monkey could be descended from a rabbit.

It is the same when we compare two styles of architecture. The one is simple and noble and the other a sort of bizarre caricature of the

former. We do not take kindly to the idea that the simple style should have developed from the caricature. Just so, the rows of teeth of monkeys, including those of man, give the impression of a simple temple of noble style, in which everything is developed in conformity with a definite and uniform system. But the teeth of a rabbit, of a horse, and even those of a cat, appear to us like a caricatured variation of that simple style, going to excess here, falling short there.

Of course, the opposite idea that all these other groups of mammals should have developed from monkeys is equally improbable. The simplest historical premises oppose such an idea. Neither do the remains of bones of primitive animals teach us that there were at a certain period, first, let us say, ruminants, later on, perhaps rodents, then carnivora and finally monkeys. Nor do they show that there were at first no other higher mammals than monkeys, and then in successive periods ruminants, rodents, etc. We rather receive the impression that all of these groups appeared simultaneously at a certain period.

Now it is precisely the progress in our knowledge of extinct mammals which succeeded finally in leading us out of this labyrinth of contradictory assumptions.

All those groups of mammals still appeared in the first third of the Tertiary period, the so-called Eocene period, to which we have repeatedly referred. Monkeys, as we have seen, were among them. Hence, if we desire to learn more about the origin of these things, we must trace our steps further back, say to the beginning of this Eocene period.

Now we have found in two places far distant from one another—in France near Cernays in the vicinity of Reims, and in North America in New Mexico—the bones of certain extremely old mammals belonging to just this period, and these bones explain the mystery very fully. On the one hand, all of these bones have a very simple and fundamental structure. They show a remarkable row of teeth without extremes, or caricatured exaggerations, and the present monkey and human teeth are easily derived from them. Furthermore, these skeletons have four feet, or rather four hands, with five regular fingers, among them one very flexible thumb. This is another very good prototype of the monkey and human hand, which is so widely different from the claw of the lion, or from the shin and hoof of the horse. In place of nails, these five fingers had an indefinite sort of thing, half way between a claw and a hoof, which might easily have developed into anything, say, a horse's hoof, a carnivore's claw, or the nail of a Simian, or a human hand.

On the other side, these animals show the beginnings of certain divergences in the structure of their bones. Some of them have more of the rodent, others more of the carnivore, others of some dominating ruminant character. There is no doubt that these simultaneously represented a very ancient group of ancestors which was just then beginning to branch out into the various great side lines of mammals. And it is equally certain that one of these side lines was composed of monkeys. Of course, this original side line of monkeys must have resembled the original ancestor in the structure of teeth and hands and must have been a straight continuation of its evolution in the best sense of the word. This explains why man and monkey, who to this day possess the simple normal teeth and the primitive hand, give the impression, now that the ancient group of ancestors has long become extinct, that carnivore, ruminants, etc., are nothing but very extreme caricatures of the archetype.

Furthermore, the claim that the monkeys were really a side line of that very primitive ancestor, and the most direct side line at that, is substantiated by a study of those ancient bones of Cernays and New Mexico. Just as we still observe in those bones certain variations in the direction of carnivora, of rodents, of ruminants, so we also find a little group of animals which gradually, but very decidedly, move in the direction of our monkeys.

True, they are not yet genuine monkeys, but they certainly show an unmistakable resemblance to a certain group of mammals which have always followed in the system directly after the monkeys, and which were often considered as some peculiar variety of genuine monkeys, the so-called prosimiae.

(To Be Continued.)



# Economic Basis of Soviet Russia

(From "Christian Science Monitor," Dec. 10.)

## II

PARIS, France.—W. R. Humphries in a second article specially written for The Christian Science Monitor gives a further description of the system of government of Soviet Russia. As to the practical working of this system of government, he says, the report of W. T. Goode, staff correspondent of The Manchester Guardian, who was sent by his paper into the heart of Bolshevik Russia to study and report upon conditions there, is of considerable interest. He emerged some months ago, and on October 22 wrote: "The head and front of the whole organization is supplied by pure Socialists—Communists—who have a party organization of their own to which the leaders belong. Its discipline, self-imposed, is complete and unique and is rigidly observed."

### Department of State Improvement.

"For the supervision of the whole organization of government there has been set up a department of state control (responsible to the all-Russian congresses) which deserves a brief description. It is subdivided and covers the whole administration. Its powers extend to all departments, to the chief executive committee, even to the Council of People's Commissars. It is capable of compelling departments to improve their work, and can stop overlapping of departments and duplication work. It has suppressed departments as unnecessary. If an official does work that is unsatisfactory, it can recommend his removal, and it can and does prosecute incompetent or sinning officials.

"And not only does it control—it also instructs, and sends down officials to teach those in provincial towns or local soviets. One of the greatest difficulties experienced by the Bolsheviks has been in finding competent officials for soviets in the country. They found themselves up against the besetting sin of old bureaucracy, and they themselves trace many of their errors to the character of the men they employed at first. But they have set out to supply themselves with more reliable elements.

### School of Soviet Workers.

"In the palatial club of Moscow merchants they have established a school of soviet workers with 700 students drawn from all parts of Russia by the local soviets, whose expenses are paid for a course of four months, in matters relating to local government.

"A test has to be passed at the close of the course, and when it is remembered that these 700 can be turned out three times a year, the influence of such a move can be understood. In addition, in the same school, the Communist Party maintains a special course of 800 students, drawn from the provinces, mostly peasants, in the methods of propaganda applied to the middle-class peasants. Posters are found everywhere, and there are special shops for their display. Many are crude in conception and execution, but others are striking and effective, and all appeal strongly to the eye.

So much for the political machinery of Soviet Russia and upon this

organization devolved the task of defense of the revolution against counter-revolution, the management of foreign relationships, and internal economic reconstruction.

### Economic Organization Described.

Mr. Humphries then goes on to describe the internal economic organization of Russian trade and industry today which may be divided into three groups: (1) The private-owned. (2) the co-operative. (3) the nationalized.

**The Privately Owned.**—In point of number of establishments, the privately-owned form still the largest group, but they are the smaller concerns. The Bolsheviks consider it advantageous to have the three systems operating side by side. If anyone thinks that by his superior energy and initiative he can compete with the co-operative or nationalized industries, why not? It would be stimulating to the socialized industries. Obviously, in order to attract labor he would have to pay wages at least as high as those the workers could get in the socialized factories and would have to treat them as well. Foreign manufacturers perhaps will be allowed under certain regulations, to open up factories in Russia.

### Workers Own Many Factories.

So far as the co-operative industries are concerned, many medium-sized factories and business enterprises are now owned jointly by the workers engaged in them. This type of industry receives encouragement. Credits can be arranged through the State banking system.

The nationalized industries may be divided into three categories, (a) where the State provides the capital, (b) the industries that are monopolistic in character, such as the railroads, and (c) industries that are ex-

ploiting natural resources that belong to all the people of Russia. The Russians in their simple religious way say "God gave the land, with its forests and all its underlying mineral wealth, to all the people of Russia, and intended every child born into the country to have his birthright, but that in some way in the ages past it came to be in the hands of the few."

Nearly 3000 of the largest factories and mills in Russia have now been nationalized. Due largely to shortage of fuel and of certain raw materials, caused by the blockade, 900 of these factories are today not working. The productivity of the 2100 that are working was for a while very low, but recent reports show improvement, the curve of production going decidedly up, notwithstanding the handicaps of the blockade.

### Supreme Council of Public Economy.

To manage and correlate all the nationalized industries of Russia there is a Supreme Council of Public Economy, made up of 69 members. The chairman has a seat in the cabinet or Council of People's Commissars. The following diagram may serve to make clear the organization that has been evolved, that is still evolving. It was not conceived by any one man. Like Topsy, it "just grew up."

### FOCH RIDICULES THE LEAGUE

In the New York World a startling interview with Marshal Foch appears (cables Mr. P. W. Wilson to the Daily News.)

He ridicules the League of Nations, prophesies an indefinite feud with Germany, and bluntly demands an American guarantee, both political and financial, for permanent French militarism.

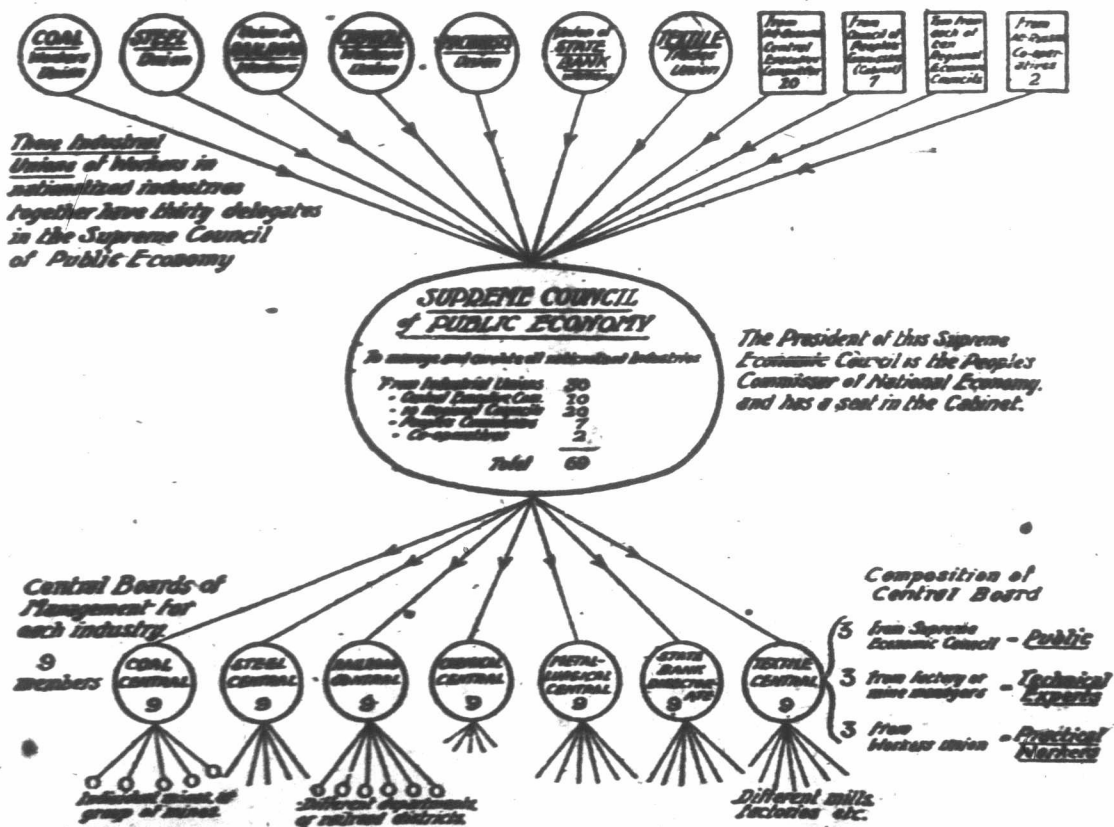
### RED RUSSIA

By F. W. Stella Brown,  
(From the London "Call.")  
Not with the radiant laughter of the rose,  
And sunlight spraying on the dappled earth;  
But in the wind that wails across the snows  
Two years ago, the world's hope came to birth—  
Not by the help of hands outstretched to save!—  
But in a ring of foes that starved and slew.  
Building the future by the instant grave  
Against the world, the world's hope lived and grew.  
They say that when the Scorpion rules the skies  
Heroes and portents visit earth and lo!  
The proof and promise to our aching eyes  
Of that proud banner, red against the snow.

### ANATOLE FRANCE ON THE WAR

The December number of Foreign Affairs contains, among other most valuable matter, an article by Anatole France on the question, "Will the Lesson of the Great War be Lost? Yes, he says, unless people do not merely suffer, but understand the cause of their suffering.

"If men had understood, they would know now that the universal slaughter was no accident, but the logical consequence of social conditions. It is a false view which sees in war the phenomenon of a humanity whose primitive instincts have been let loose, and which has not yet succeeded in triumphing over the brute in man. The evil is no longer to be sought in the essential nature of man, but in man's blindness."



At the top are indicated some of the big industrial unions that together appoint 30 members of the Supreme Economic Council. The Cabinet sends seven (commissars of finance, agriculture, ways and communications, posts and telegraphs, etc.) The 10 regional economic councils each appoint two members, and two come from the All-Russian co-operatives, which have now become the big distributing mediums for the

nationalized as well as for the co-operative establishments. The Supreme Economic Council is thus a body representative of all elements engaged in production. Hours and wages in the nationalized factories are determined by this body. It will be seen, however, by what follows that Soviet Russia is trying to avoid bureaucratic centralized control, just as she is avoiding going to the other extreme of anarchistic de-

centralization. They are far away now from the idea of having the workers in nationalized factories (who are operating with machinery and other capital provided not by themselves but by the public or the State) elect their own foremen and managers directly, and on the other hand they are getting as far away as possible from the tyranny, bureaucracy and inefficiency of "government ownership."



## Social Movements

**I**n order to secure certain results or conditions it is necessary for men to adopt some plan or policy by which they may attain the desired object. The object they set themselves to accomplish will be determined by their desires, which again will be conditioned on the surroundings or environment in which they find themselves. In order to satisfy certain desires they will find it necessary to enlist the assistance of others seeking to accomplish similar objects, and according to the objective being of a widespread or general desire on the part of a numerous body of individuals the attempt to secure the fulfillment of the demand will take on a social character and take the form of a social movement. If the securing of the conditions desired appear to interfere with the arrangements of the society in which the movement takes shape, it is at once apparent that a barrier exists, i.e., if the object in view is not generally accepted by all, it will necessarily develop a struggle between those who wish to attain the end in view and those who feel it will be a disaster to them if the contending party succeeds.

Throughout history, which is the record of struggle between individuals and groups of individuals for securing positions of advantage in living conditions, we find people grouping themselves behind first this and then that movement, which appeared to them to be likely to bring them the best conditions of existence. On the face of it then, it must be apparent that these struggles must revolve around some thing or power which appears desirable in order to secure better conditions for maintaining the livelihood or enjoyment of life desired, and this power must be held by someone from whom it has to be wrested. The struggle between man and nature, of course, is necessarily a different struggle than that waged in society between different groups. It is not our purpose to show this difference in detail. As a result of these various struggles, certain ideas become prevalent amongst the contending parties. The succession of events show the truth or error of the ideas and policies or plans pursued on the strength of these ideas, and are either modified or supplanted by others according to how they are grasped by the parties involved in the struggle. This process of struggles we find running through every epoch of history right down to the present day, when an intense struggle becomes apparent to even the most casual observer. The papers refer to this question as one of industrial unrest, social unrest and such like, and the attacking parties in the struggle are condemned as destructive and extreme and all sorts of invective are hurled against the "agitators" who voice the imperative desires that are being insisted upon as necessary for the improved conditions of living that a numerous body of people consider as desirable. The denunciations are no novelty and only express the dis-

like of a section of the community who feel their position in jeopardy, whether rightly or wrongly does not affect the question at issue. The denunciations are met with affirmations that they deny and they even resort to the professors to disentangle them in the contentious questions they can not handle offhand. Out of all this clatter of charge and counter-charge, issues the often heard disputes of policies being either constructive or destructive. The party on the offensive is always charged with destructive tendencies. The question therefore of interest is to determine what is destructive and constructive policy.

The first thing any party must do to further its aims, i.e., for any social purpose, is to make its aims intelligible to those to whom it appeals for support. In other words, they must have a propaganda based on certain ideas. If the ideas are generally understood, but only need publicity, the probabilities of any charge of destructive tendencies is small. If, however, the ideas are of such a nature as to appear contrary to what is generally accepted, the opposition is likely to bring into play charges of destructive or revolutionary tendencies. As a matter of fact, all revolutionary ideas are destructive of certain old ideas, but that is no proof that in the actual process of the realization of such ideas that destruction is the lot of those advancing the charges, though it may and does often happen that those who cling to the outworn ideas are the victims in the struggle. This explains why the advocates of revolutionary ideas are charged with destructive tendencies, but that is not the fault of the revolutionists any more than is would be if a man got run down by a car on the street in spite of the continual warning of the driver not to get in the way.

The Socialist propaganda, and the policies resulting therefrom are, and must of necessity be of a revolutionary nature, and therefore liable to the charge of "destructive tendencies." We find this is borne out by the attitude adopted by all their opponents. The field for Socialist propaganda is amongst those who have to work either by hand or brain. The question then is, do the ideas of these workers only need publicity or a critical analysis? We find that if simple publicity were to be resorted to as a method of education, a very vague result would follow, and in fact, a survey of some organs that use such a method only reveals that a surface knowledge circulates which finds a voice in petitions for this, that, and the other thing. On the other hand, those agencies of the workers that adopt a critical attitude succeed in bringing to light certain causes and tendencies which, when presented to the workers themselves take on the appearance of revolutionary ideas, i.e., compared with their ideas or explanations of what goes on around them, they appear strange. One has only to listen to

some of the interminable arguments over the virtue of "capital," "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," and the "millenium" to discover how beclouded the workers' minds are even on their own pet questions. It can easily be seen therefore, that any ideas that may appear to destroy or overthrow some of these illusions must appear revolutionary to such thinkers, or at least talkers. That the hidden source of the wonderful power of capital should lie only in a simple collection of human activities, in which they are engaged, under the necessarily directed system now in effect, and have certain results under a certain succession of events, must seem strange to those who look upon all development as a sort of miracle. To explain away the mystery—that is destructive both in religious and political ideas. But to build, the ground must be cleared, and all sound revolutionary destructive criticism must show the clearing process necessary to construct the system in view. To this end the parties who have to function must know where they are and how to go ahead with the task. They must know the task and understand what they are doing. When, for instance, the ownership and control of the machinery of production by the people is advocated there must be some explanation of what is meant, and how this is to be obtained. To some people such an idea seems preposterous and absurd. If it should seem so to you who read this, try and analyse your thoughts or ideas as to why such should be the case. This is considered a destructive idea to those who are opposed to such a procedure. If you want to form a definite opinion on the question, read the arguments presented both by its champions and opponents. That is how you get to know where you stand and can find out what is "destructive" and "constructive" thinking. Ignorance amongst the workers strengthens the barrier that protects those against whom they struggle. To smooth over the facts, and fail to present the actual conditions that confront the workers, brings into existence the policy of compromise, which is only possible during that period in which the enlightenment of the rank and file is necessarily confused by all sorts of hopes and possibly fears. Once this confusion is dispelled by a critical insight, whether the destructive tendencies are in their own ranks or in those of their masters, will be concretely illustrated to them in the events that are already casting their shadows before.

H. W.

### LABOR IN BRITAIN

LONDON, Dec. 26.—Seven of the largest trade unions in Great Britain have inaugurated a movement aimed at the prevention of unauthorized strikes. It is declared the movement is sponsored by the National Union of General Workers, representing an enormous membership.

### NATIONALIZATION STRUGGLE IN BRITAIN

LONDON, Dec. 23.—Although the big topic today is Ireland, in a few days little else will be spoken of but nationalization. Opinion grows that the question will eventually be settled by the votes of the electorate, and into one month therefore will be concentrated the vigor of a political battle equalling that of the free trade and protection controversy of fourteen years ago. The campaign of the Miners' Federation has been in progress two weeks, and the anti-nationalizers are now about to take the field.

#### War To the Death.

Backed by a subscribed fund which is said to amount to a million pounds, the latter are prepared to carry the war against state ownership in every town and hamlet in the country.

The chief lesson of the railway strike was the value of street and newspaper advertisements, and these are to be utilized by both sides to an extent never experienced in propaganda work in Britain. No time is to be wasted preaching to the already converted.

The federation's heaviest oratorical guns, such as Smillie, Hodges and Chiozza Money, will seek their targets among business and professional men, while the best of the antis will be sent to working-class areas to warn workmen against the "dead hands of state."

#### Big Pros and Cons.

Miners will find their most telling points in the appalling coal wastage incidental to private ownership, and the certainty of increased output and cheaper coal when the miners realize they are no longer endangering their lives for personal profit of any class. The antis will concentrate on the paralyzing effect of bureaucracy, instancing the chaotic condition of the telephone service, while much will be made of the miners' syndicalistic intentions.

Smillie's utterance at Newcastle last Sunday: "We recognize that the nationalization of mines is only the first step, and we believe that all essentials to life of the people should be owned by the people," has already been seized upon as evidence of the tremendously serious character of the question at issue.

### ALIEN RULE IN EGYPT

CAIRO, Dec. 26.—Strong cavalry detachments are patrolling the streets in demonstration against the strike, which has already started among the railway workers at Alexandria and Heliopolis.

The Mohammedan University has followed its recent declaration with a more strongly couched document signed by 100 officials of religious establishments in Egypt, demanding British evacuation and complete independence.

The first declaration said "The Egyptian National unanimously adhere to its legitimate rights for complete independence. The measures that have arisen in the public mind resulted from the continuance of unrest from British interference in our public and private affairs."