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## Cotton Cultivation of the Gash Lands of Kassala Province, Soudan

**Editor's Note.**—The following article is reprinted from "The Socialist Review," (London), January, 1924. We present it here as indicative of the interests governing British policy in the Soudan. Major General Stack has been assassinated since the article was written.

**I**N the Report on the Finances, Administration and Condition of the Soudan in 1921," which was issued as a White Paper to the public about a month ago, we learn that an event calling for "exceptional notice" and likewise "the most important" was "the discovery" that the funds provided under the authority of the Soudan Guaranteed Loan Act, 1919, by which Act the British Government guaranteed an amount of £6,000,000 for the construction of the Makwar dam on the Blue Nile and the canalisation of the tract of land known as the Gezira had proved insufficient for this purpose.

Accordingly, Major-General Stack, Governor-General of the Soudan, and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, along with three members of his Council, proceeded to London in July, 1921.

Owing to certain very obvious facts which the British Treasury could not possibly ignore, and "after considerable discussion," the Soudan authorities were asked for further guarantee from British public funds.

In the predicament in which Major-General Stack and his Council found themselves of being refused a further guarantee, with seventy-five per cent of the original loan of £6,000,000 in the hands of the underwriters, and unable to raise funds privately, they decided, with what funds still remained—which by certain manipulation were increased to £1,000,000—to protest what construction work had been completed and to close down the works to a minimum.

Makwar at that time possessed an attractive and almost suburban appearance, and was a well-laid-out town with pleasant villa residences occupied by the chief employees of the Construction Company and certain Egyptian and Soudan Government officials. The work of construction that had been attempted on the dam was negligible.

In the meantime, and with the idea of impressing the British Government with the scheme, Mr. Hopkinson, of Messrs. Pearson's, was invited by the Soudan authorities to visit Makwar to make "an examination of the methods and cost of finally completing the work."

Mr. Hopkinson had difficulty at first, even with the authority of the Soudan Government, in obtaining access to the books of the Construction Company, the head of which concern was a Greek, of Alexandria, Egypt, who had been offered and had accepted from the Soudan Government to undertake the work of constructing and completing a dam over the Blue Nile at Makwar on a ten per cent. basis of cost.

Mr. Hopkinson, after a month or two, returned to Khartoum from Makwar early in 1922, and rendered his report. He felt it necessary to condemn the method under which the work had been carried out; in fact he went so far as to state that he could not find "a single redeeming feature" anywhere.

There had been no care exercised by the Soudan Government and practically no supervision. An inspector of the newly-formed Audit Department had, it is true, spent an occasional few months at Makwar, but his reports had raised no comment—certainly no adverse comment—and the Construction Company appeared to enjoy the explicit trust of the Soudan Government, who left them to disburse the £6,000,000 in whatever manner suited them and as speedily.

It therefore came as a discovery, we are informed, when less than two years had elapsed since the project had begun, to find that funds placed at the disposal of the Soudan Government by the British Government guarantee had evaporated, and the Blue Nile dam and canalisation scheme, which was originally estimated at £2,000,000, had absorbed three times that amount with nothing tangible to show for it.

Mr. Hopkinson recommended that the works should be closed down to terminate the existing contract; that the works should be re-opened at a subsequent date and continued afresh to obviate as far as possible the effect of the past waste, and that the construction works should be given to a reliable firm of British contractors.

The Construction Company raised objections to this proposal, and intimated to the Soudan Government that they had been offered and accepted the work of constructing and finishing the Makwar dam. Terms were therefore agreed to between the Construction Company and the Soudan Government which were evidently satisfactory to the Construction Company. Publicity that would have resulted from legal appeal by the Construction Company to the Cairo Courts—the results of such proceedings could hardly have passed unnoticed in Great Britain—was thus obviated. The Soudan Government to put up a defence would have presented the anomalous position of condemning for graxe neglect what their own lax policy and own neglect had in great part occasioned. The contract with the Construction Company was cancelled early in 1922, and the Soudan Government faced with the necessity of having the project closed indefinitely or of finding additional funds to continue the work.

In March, 1922, therefore, Major-General Stark again proceeded to London accompanied by three other officials.

The British Treasury were again approached, and, after careful investigation and enquiry, felt themselves unable to alter their former decision and recommend a further guarantee of British public funds. Furthermore, they reminded Major-General Stark that the Soudan Government had not paid the interest on the original loan of £6,000,000 which was much overdue.

The Soudan Plantations Syndicate, who have been interested in the cotton-growing industry in the Soudan, saw their opportunity.

Major-General Stark and his Council were placed in the position of either accepting an offer made to them, and on terms made to them, or of having a derelict proposition on hand with a grave scandal of waste and neglect attached to it.

In due course a deputation of prominent politicians and interested members of the Soudan Planta-

tions Syndicate waited on the Lords of the Treasury and pressed for recognition the claim of the Soudan Government for a further guarantee to complete the dam on the Blue Nile, and they also added a matter of even far greater significance, namely, a guarantee of an additional amount for the construction of a railway through Kassala Province to tap valuable land suitable for the growing of cotton.

The result of the powerful influence brought to bear by this deputation was the guarantee by the British Government of a further loan of £3,500,000 for the completion of the Makwar dam scheme, and a loan of £1,500,000 for the construction of a railway through the valuable cotton lands of Kassala Province, of which the most valuable are known as the Gash lands.

A company known as the Kassal Cotton Company, consisting of a directorate of those interested in the Soudan Plantations Syndicate, have been granted by Major-General Stack and his Council a concession for cotton growing in this vast and most valuable area in Kassala Province, and there is an understanding with the Soudan Government whereby the Soudan Plantations Syndicate or any affiliated company controlled by them shall have the monopoly of the cotton industry of the Soudan—which is the one staple and profitable industry in the Soudan.

The Gash lands are watered by the Gash river which rises in the mountains of Asmara in Eritrea, and enters Soudan territory about sixteen miles south of Kassala, the chief town of Kassala Province in North-Eastern Soudan. On occasion of flood a khor, known by the name of Kwenti, some six miles south of the town, carries the overflow water which spreads out over a fertile region of large extent. A few miles north of the town the river widens, and here issue the streams known as the Eastern and Western Gash. The Eastern Gash has a flow in a normal year of about fifty miles, which may be increased in a normal year of high flood to one hundred miles. Its channel for the first twenty miles is very deep in places, at which spot two branch streams known as Tokar and Filik issue forth to spread themselves over a further area, while the Eastern Gash continues to spread out increasingly until a point is reached when the flow is directed northward in one broad stream that widens considerably until it is two miles in extent in places. The Western Gash has an average flow of forty miles, and its waters lend themselves easily and simply to the system of irrigation practised by the native cultivators.

The native cultivators irrigate their lands by constructing "shioles" or artificial irrigation channels cut off at angles from the streams, and are already privately occupied—and have been so for many years—of the lands in this region where extensive developments planned by the Kassal Cotton Company will eventually take place.

The Soudan Government will in all probability follow their usual practice of land seizure whenever it suits their purpose, and by enforced ordinances compel the native cultivators of the Gash lands to forgo their holdings and all their hereditary rights thereto, either by exchange, by direct seizure, or forfeiture. The policy of the Soudan Government as

(Continued on page 8.)

# The Task of the Hour

OUR good "C" wishes to point out, (Jan. 2), "we are as socialists . . . Marxists . . . because we make use of his dialectic conception." By the same token we might be Hegelians (but we're not.) And "C" is a Marxist—"except the preconception of socialism." It's a funny kind of Marxism! In fact it is just a travesty.

Marx's socialism was the direct inevitability of Marx's dialectic, of Marx's concept and analysis of capitalist society. It rested on his materialism, as squarely as a bridge on its piers. We may repudiate Marx's premises. But we may not accept his premises, and reject his conclusions. The law of surplus value, steadily developed and degraded capitalist society. That law was the result of capitalist organization. It could not be obviated, within capital. It banded an increasing proletariat against a decreasing oligarchy. The appropriation of capital itself was the ultimate result of the prior expropriation of labor. The immanent laws of the system fettered the relations of its organization, until continued social existence became intolerable and incompatible with social necessity. Those laws, developing social contradictions, evoked and nursed, the spirit of revolt. They compelled ever more purposeful working class unity. They developed, and clarified the class struggle. They fostered the conditions of capital dissolution; generated both the means and the ideas of political supremacy. And they inspired the awakened intelligence, the social genius of progress, the aroused will, the clear concept of necessity, and its rational application in the Socialist Commonwealth. The whole Marxian philosophy integrates itself from negation to negation. And we believe Marxian postulates, fundamentally, to be unchallenged. The social conditions of today,—socialized production, an enslaved and seething proletariat, and the unmistakable gathering of class war constitute proof of his synthesis. That the proletariat does not see clearly its servitude is no indication that it cannot see. Tomorrow the quickening touch of a new crisis—an invention, a process, a threat—may sound the final knell of the expropriators: "spring the whole of society in the air," because it has melted the mists of social misunderstanding. Hence we think Socialism is inevitable. Not because it inheres in the "process" of nature. But because it inheres in the condition of capitalist evolution. Nor because there is a watchman in the vaulted silences of space. But because there is an ideal, genetic, reflex, garnered in the heart of man.

Neither do we accept "C's" Darwinian evolution. It may be evolution. But it is not Darwinian. There is no need "to consider the possibility of change in any direction." Because there is no such possibility. It is perfectly true that "infinite variability is the characteristic of the evolutionary process." But it is also true that specific variability is the characteristic of specific process. From Nebulae to Man is a tremendous epic of sequential change. But the sum total of its variability is the inherent variability of the particular. In all mighty pageant of the aeons, every individual thing, or cause, or combination, moves to the mead of must; varies only in the ordered necessity of law-bound beings. Nothing moves in "any direction." Everything moves in the terms of its cyclic law; in the fixed direction—although infinite variety—of constituted living. And according as the terms of cyclic being are generated, and threaded on the moving processions of interaction, so inevitably, being expresses itself specifically, amidst the myriad-hued garmentry of existence. Expresses itself exactly in and through and to the inhering processes of its cycle.

"C's" "Defeat of civilisation once more" is a product of "borrower psychology." Civilisation is the expression of social man, and only with man can it perish. Its form changes. But its core persists; its service immediate to its conditions. It is never "defeated." Always it advances its frontiers. Always it progresses to higher levels in the potentialities

of its static essentials. From primitive man to theocratic antiquity, to autocracies of the Mediterranean, to Roman-Teutonic Feudalism, from the lordship of land to the oligarchy of capital, the prelude to the "aristocracy" of Socialism. A nexus of sequential change, of antecedent and subsequent. But each individual phase, sequent in itself, dominant through and determined by its time condition, fundamentally unalterable in its static setting, its sequence inevitable to the fundament of necessity.

"C" considers "the possibility of a political and social development, towards an institutional life impregnated with the principles of an industrial feudal order of graded . . . status." Whatever gem is contained in that glittering casket of words is like the planet Venus—completely hidden in a canopy of vapor. There is as little possibility of imperialist capital degenerating into feudalistic mongeries, as of a canary becoming a pterodactyl, or man a lemur. If the spirit of feudalism "perhaps resurgent in these days" augurs a return to the principles of the fief, why not the mental reflexes of a still greater antiquity herald the return to Gentilism? Because it cannot, in either case. The fact is, C's tactics are simply word juggling. "The spirit of feudalism lives on into today." And apparently, because of the caste-formularies of that spirit, we are liable to return to its principles. Yet "C's" very next sentence denies the proposition, and derives that spirit (correctly) from political society: "History (C) is the scene of struggle of underlying peoples for political and social freedoms, to retain partial freedoms gained, or recover freedoms lost." A long way of stating a partial truth. History is the record of class struggles, of social masses always enslaved, against their ruling classes, always dominant. At all times, subjection is the essence of political society, dominance the prerequisite of its stability. And within the duration of any society the dominance of its ruling class is practically complete. Hence, "economic freedoms, partial freedoms or lost freedoms," are as pathetic as Omar's "empty glass." "Absolutism" is but another name for slavery, dignified with a tall A. And always, everywhere, slavery holds man, society, to the subjection of its will, not, primarily, because of its power, visible, but according to the experience of that power, in the empirical terms of time condition. The burnings, the brandings, the blindings, the headed pikes of the middle ages are gone. The barricades of "the revolution" are no more. We are not crucified by 1,000's in the city streets, as in Rome and Greece. Nor skinned alive and left writhing at the city gates, like "ancient glory." But the blood of the proletariat, of the enslaved, flows as copiously today on the smoking altars of capital as ever it did in the most imperial days of Absolutism. The death, the degradation may be less exquisitely agonizing, but the sordidness of slavish dominion is an ample as ever. And the changed form is due, neither to the loftier humanity of the ruling classes, nor to the greater intelligence of the slaves, but wholly to the august mandates of technical progress, which governs the issues of humanity.

Neither is it quite true to say, with "C," "Political Liberalism and economic socialism are but successive phases in the struggle," (against Absolutism) "in modern times." Or "mark phases of a trend away from Absolutism." Liberalism and Socialism are both political, both economic, and mutually antagonistic. Liberalism, instead of a "trend away from absolutism," is, on the contrary, the effort of capitalist industry to recreate the world in the image of its own absolutism. Its temporary association with labor was but the expedient means for the creation of its own unquestioned dominion. Thus to couple Liberalism and Socialism is to cloud the fact and delay perception. Nor is Socialism "a trend away from absolutism." It is the vesting of the means of life in social ownership, for social use. Therefore the abolition of all absolutism. Hence

Socialism is not only revolution. But only Socialism is revolution. Socialism is thus economic freedom, i.e., social organization of its material conditions wholly for social benefice. That is democracy. Consequently, the principle of absolutism and the principle of democracy not the "principles of democratic self-government of peoples"—another confusion—are antithesis. And with the coming of economic freedom "complete democracy will be in practice achieved." Not at all a bloodless ideal "to inspire to the attainment of partial freedom."

(Continued in next issue.)

## SURPLUS LABOR

MUCH of the labor now done is unnecessary; which means that it is surplus labor. And because so much labor, such as advertising, running cheap sales, etc., is strictly speaking a sheer waste of unproductive effort; the work of the really necessary laborers is longer than it need be.

From wealth-production figures, we get some insight into the question of surplus labor, and how it may be avoided. In the United States, for example, statistics from 1860 to 1919 show that the workers get seventeen per cent. out of the wealth they produce. That is, they receive seventeen cents out of every dollar's worth of wealth created.

Of course, the seventeen cents is the worker's wage for making a dollar's worth of wealth. Another way of looking at it proves that, in a ten hours' working day, the worker earns his keep in two hours and twelve minutes. The other seven hours and forty-eight minutes go to his employers who, however, cannot keep all of this surplus; but must part with some of it to the municipality, the State, the banker, and, often, the landlord, etc.

It may appear that this arrangement is an injustice to the workers, and that it is here mentioned for the purpose of making them very discontented and rebellious. But even Karl Marx himself—the greatest of scientific Socialists—does not think it unjust. As Marx points out, the worker cannot with reason complain; inasmuch as his wages are generally the full value from the sale of a special thing the worker possesses. Apart from that, however, the fact that the worker receives, under Capitalism, only 17c out of every \$1, makes it impossible for him to purchase back the surplus 83c wealth produced; even with the assistance of capitalist-class buyers. This also is another constant cause of capitalistic industrial crises.

It is by buying this special thing at, on an average, its full value, and then making a skilful use of it, that nearly all Capitalists' profits are made. If a dealer sells a man a set of tools worth \$15.00 and the buyer afterwards by constantly using those tools, makes \$10.00 out of them, the seller has "no kick coming," because he got from the buyer the full value of the goods he sold him. When a person sells something and gets, in exchange, its full money value, he has no right (as a general rule) to interfere with the use the buyers put his purchase to.

Now, what the worker sells is his Power to Labor, or labor-power. This is part of his body, and he needs a certain amount of food, clothing, shelter, etc., to produce the power in himself, and to reproduce it in his children to take his place when, like machinery, he shall have become old and worn out. The cost of these necessities and a few luxuries fixes the amount (his wages) he must sell his labor-power to his employer—the money owner. This necessary "cost of production," be it noted, is different from those artificial expenses, often called "overhead," that determine the "price of production."

# The Labor Theory of Value

By F. J. McNEY.

Marx states that if the worker only requires to labor half a day to earn his keep, that doesn't prevent him from continuing to work another half a day for the man who bought his power to labor at its full value, and adds,—"Capital," chap. vii.—that such an arrangement "is no means an injury to the seller." Indeed, the worker has a vague idea that if the buyer got no advantage out of the bargain, the seller (the worker) couldn't "make a sale" and, therefore, wouldn't get any employment.

Should the workers begin to wonder if they could not stop this leakage and manage to get back a larger share of the wealth they produce, as well as to escape the evils of competition, poverty, long hours, total or partial unemployment, etc., they would learn that the only way out of the difficulty is by employing themselves—becoming their own masters. But, that is the same as saying, by establishing Socialism in place of Capitalism; when they would both possess, and have the fruits of the use of their own labor-power.

The point, however, we would emphasize is, that RIGHT NOW, the workers in the best organized Capitalist country, merely get on an average 17c. out of every \$1.00 they produce; and, therefore, earn their keep in less than 2½ hours a day.

So, with still completer organization and under a Socialist system, the estimate is well within the mark that four hours daily labor and longer holidays, would be sufficient to support workers very much better than at present; and allow of pensioning off every worker, if they so desired, at the age of 42, as veterans (to use the late Daniel de Leon's words) in the "War Against Want,"—the only kind of "war" that would then be necessary!

For either the workers, as the sellers of labor-power; or the employers, as the buyers and users of, and profit-gainers from labor-power to wilfully allow themselves to remain ignorant on this important question is a serious injury to themselves, and a hindrance to the progress of Civilization.

This may be easily avoided at a small cost, by sending 25c. to the office of "The Western Clarion," Vancouver, B.C., for the following explanatory works by Karl Marx: "WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL," and "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT."

"PROGRESS."

## PARTY TACTICS.

AS I am not a member I have no right to interfere in Party matters, but this long-winded discussion can and should, I think, be brought to a head.

The S. P. of C. should take its place alongside the "Plebs League," and become the "Labor College of Canada," and I am sure it would then be more free to carry on the educational work which is its proper function, and I think the advantage would be very great.

As a Parliamentary Party it butts into paradox after paradox.

The Locals would be Clubs and the members should make it their duty to take some active part in Labor Affairs. Of course they do so now more or less.

The segregation of the Left Wingers in one Party must be very comforting to the Capitalist Politicians.

I would suggest the following resolutions for the next Party Convention.

That the name of the organization be changed to "Labor College of Canada."

That it shall not name any Parliamentary Candidates.

That the Platform be dropped.

That the Manifesto be altered, etc.

H. J. B. H.

IT has been asserted, insinuated or hinted by various persons, at various times and in various places, that Karl Marx accepted the labor theory of value merely because it happened to fit in with his communistic theories. In other words, we are informed that he did not accept it because he was convinced that it was the only logical and scientific method of explaining value, but simply because he was a revolutionist and wished to make all the trouble he could for the poor innocent capitalists. If this is the only reason why Marx accepted the labor theory it would be interesting to know why the classical economists before him not only accepted it but originated it as well. Was it because they also were communists?

As far as I can see there are just two reasons why the labor theory of value is not accepted by every person of any intelligence who considers the question of value at all. In the first place, it is not in the interests of those who do no labor themselves, but who live as parasites on the wealth produced by others, that it should be accepted. In the second place, it is difficult to convince those who do labor that labor is value, or "that the amount of necessary labor crystallized in a commodity constitutes its value," when they can see that those who do no labor whatever own most of the wealth of the world, while those who produce all the wealth of the world own very little.

Let us examine this question of labor as value in its simplest form. In modern society the process of wealth production and distribution is so complicated that it is difficult to find a simple practical demonstration of the labor theory of value, and those who attempt to refute the theory take full advantage of this complicated process. However, it is possible even today to find something that will illustrate the point. To begin with, why is it that when a person has something useful that he does not need himself he is willing to let somebody else have it, provided he gets something in exchange for it, and not otherwise? And why is it that in the great majority of cases both articles exchanged are either products of labor themselves or represent the value of a quantity of labor performed? The point involved here is not that the two articles exchanged must represent equal quantities of labor, but that each must represent a quantity of labor. It is easy to imagine a person who has something useful that he does not need himself exchanging it for something else that he does need, although it may not represent more than half the quantity of labor, but it is almost impossible to imagine anybody exchanging a product of labor for something that represents no labor whatever, or cannot be made valuable by the application of labor. Of course a person may give an article of value away, but that is not an exchange and does not help to explain value. And right here I anticipate a couple of objections. One is our old friend the gag about the man who finds some unique or antique object, and if it is old enough, or rare enough, although it may represent little or no labor, he can sell it for an enormous amount of money. The other involves the question of property rights. When I get around to it I aim to examine a few of the objections to the labor theory of value, so we will let them rest for the present. What I am trying to make clear now is that the natural resources of the earth have no value and very few of them are of

any use until labor has been applied. We cannot make use of even the most simple gifts of nature, with the exception of air, no matter how abundant they may be, without expending a certain amount of labor. Even wild fruit that is free to any person who may wish to gather it, is useless until it is gathered. But suppose a person goes out to some swamp where wild berries are abundant, gathers a few gallons and packs them into town. He will have no difficulty selling them, provided his price is not too high. Nobody will expect him to give them away. Now, why should people be willing to pay good money for berries after they are gathered and brought into town that they may gather themselves for nothing? Why is it that the berries have exchange value in town and none on the bushes? Is it a question of scarcity or utility? It is true that the berries are more useful in town than they are on the bushes, but what has made them more useful? The only difference is that a certain amount of labor has been expended to get the berries into town and, therefore, we are justified in assuming that it is the labor that gives them exchange value.

Let us take another instance. It is possible for a man to make use of a natural cave as a dwelling place, but the chances are that he would have to apply a certain amount of labor before it would be a very comfortable habitation, and it is a cinch that he could not peddle it to anybody else for a mansion unless he had improved it a little in some way.

No doubt it will be pointed out that we can make use of water and air without the application of labor. It is true that to a limited extent we can make use of water without the application of much labor, and where this is possible water has no exchange value whatever, but as soon as we apply labor for the purpose of conveying water into a city it becomes a commodity and possesses exchange value. Would it be possible to find a better illustration of the correctness of the labor theory of value than this?

Now, a few words about air will be in order. It is rather amusing that about every economist who makes an attempt to refute the labor theory of value, or to defend any other theory, feels called upon sooner or later to make a little song about air, regardless of the fact that air requires no labor, either for production or distribution, and, consequently, has no exchange value. The reason why air has no exchange value, generally speaking, is not because of its abundance, but because it is equally distributed all over the world and requires no transformation to make it useful, and is therefore accessible to all people at all times without the need of labor. There are, however, places into which it is necessary to pump air and in such cases it costs money. But in general use air is not subject to the process of production and distribution at all, and consequently it is not a commodity, it is not wealth, and cannot be used to explain value. And for this reason it is excluded from the science of economics altogether as I will explain further on.

This article, it will be noticed, deals only with the rudiments of the subject, something too often ignored in the study of economics. It is quite correct to start from the premise that the only thing common to all commodities is labor, and therefore it must be on the basis of labor that all commodities exchange. But it requires more logic to understand such a proposition than is generally supposed, and furthermore, it leaves a loophole for those who don't want to understand. If we wish to get anywhere in the study of any subject we must first get down to bed-rock and prove that our theories correspond with facts.

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### PARADISE LOST.

**F**ORTUNATELY, the imp of perversity did not urge us toward the church where Mrs. Snowden broadcasted her full dress prejudices against those tyrannical Russians the other night. We read the tenour of her very respectable plaint in the columns of the press and we are to congratulate ourselves at times that our receiving set has not yet materialized.

We gather from the press that Mrs. Snowden, outwardly, is pleasantly voiced and handsome, and that inwardly she has a plexus of prejudice against any state of affairs which is not attuned to her liking, however progressive, constructive, or well ordered it may be. In some respects she is, by desire, patterned in the intellectual groove along which travels the mind of her husband, Philip Snowden. He, however, has it to his credit that he is somewhat of a matter of fact man, and if his prejudices are strong he strives to support them by matter of fact methods. Witness his uncounted speeches on the British Budget—from the days when he was a volunteer apprentice Chancellor to the day of his adolescence when he stepped into office. He has always been a disciple of security and, concerning relations with Russia it was always evident that with him security—at any rate officially patterned, however real—came first, and the broad human touch second. Mrs. Snowden, in telling her years' old tale about her trip to Russia has had her feelings ruffled by the things she saw and did not understand. A much better drawing-room viewpoint of Russian affairs than that given by Mrs. Snowden has been given by Prof. Sarolea of Edinburgh University. He specializes in languages and literature, consequently surface appearances in conduct and culture attract more attention from him than the tedious work of investigating the undercurrents in social life,—exports, imports, factors in production, housing, comparative prices, reconstruction or breakdown, from whatever cause, in any industrial avenue. The appearance of distress is enough with such people, whose culture is but skin deep, to condemn any administration and the code of its operations with which they are unfamiliar, at first glance. It is manifest that neither Professor Sarolea nor Mrs. Snowden go very deeply into the whys and wherefores of the awful sordidness of their own British social groupings, and if they are not very comprehensive in that field their impressions abroad are of very little value.

Irrespective of Mrs. Snowden's old wives' tale about Russia we understand the British Trade Union delegation, recently returned from that country, tables a very favorable report of work done in reconstruction, and that is not at all surprising. Not even Mussolini could maintain the iron heel over a period of years without some appar-

ent degree of satisfaction among the people or an outcropping of revolt tendencies of magnitude. It seems silly to have to insist that no dictatorship is indefinitely absolute, and that the security of any such administration lies, in the long run, in its wisdom in anticipating and greeting the popular will.

Russia, no doubt, is a far cry from Paradise. But don't say a word about England.

### UNEMPLOYMENT.

**I**T is perhaps because the area of their administrative operations is so restricted that municipal councils betray a very narrow viewpoint when dealing with the persistent question of unemployment. Because seasonal factors increase or diminish the magnitude of employment, at this season when the unemployed are more in evidence than at other times and when they camp on the doorsteps of the civic fathers, the quality of aldermanic wisdom and the width of its outlook is brought forth in startling bareness. Locally, while hungry men are now and then grudgingly given a crust or an impossible pile of rock to uselessly break by hand labor, this meagre charity is dispensed in the proper and hungry spirit, and virtuously and condescendingly. The men are always called drifters, and the City always, although it likes to have on hand some surplus labor, refuses to recognize that surplus labor is necessary to the system as we have it.

Looking over some reports on unemployment published by the International Federation of Trade Unions, we find that in their month of December returns there have been shown increases of unemployment. This, of course, affecting certain trades, is "seasonal," but the volume of unemployment is always large these days anyway. We publish these figures in another column, and would call attention to the fact that they refer principally to members of trade unions. There is a vast unemployed army outside of the organized trades at all times. Our village pump aldermen would say they were all drifters.

We suspect, however, that these days even city aldermen are aware of the fact that unemployment is an essential feature of the system of wage labor employment as we have it today. The problem before the armies of unemployed here, there and everywhere else is at which door to grumble loudest and from which department, Federal, Provincial or Municipal they are to seek recognition for the immediate relief any such situation compels them to demand.

### ALBERTA NOTES.

#### Calgary.

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### LESTOR ON THE PRAIRIE.

Comrade Lestor is again on a propaganda tour, at present in Alberta. All comrades there will, we hope, give him every assistance in the furtherance of the work of propaganda.

### HERE AND NOW.

Our totals, Here and Now, are not very pretentious. The record will be doubled-up with those of next issue.

### UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

**T**HE unemployment figures for the past month show that there has been an almost universal increase of unemployment. As, however, trade has not changed for the worse, it may be assumed that this is due to the usual seasonal rise of unemployment in winter. Even in Germany, where the economic crisis due to the currency stabilization reached its height in August last, after which the autumn months showed a considerable decrease in unemployment, November again showed a slight increase. Hungary and Roumania are going through bad times on account of the deflation policy of their governments, so that there is a good deal of unemployment in both. The following survey shows the respective degrees of unemployment in different countries during the closing months of 1924:—

**Australia.**—According to the reports of 412 trade unions, with a total membership of 403,960, at the end of September, 38,482, or 9.5 per cent. of their members were unemployed. The corresponding figures for the end of June, 1924, were 32,708 and 8.3 per cent., and for the end of September, 1923, 28,122 and 7.4 per cent.

**Austria.**—The number of unemployed in receipt of benefit rose during the first half of December from 115,000 to 130,000. On November 25th, 88,237 persons were in receipt of unemployment benefit, and at the end of November, 1925, 77,550.

**Belgium.**—According to the reports of 1,492 recognized Unemployment Fund Centres, with a total membership of 612,230, 18,444 members were either wholly unemployed or doing part-time work at the end of October, against 19,488 in the previous month and 12,691 at the end of October, 1923.

**Canada.**—According to information received from trade unions with a membership of about 155,000, at the end of October 6.8 per cent. of the members were unemployed, against 5.9 per cent. in the previous month, and 5.2 per cent. at the end of October, 1923.

**Czechoslovakia.**—According to the official statistics the total number of unemployed at the end of September was 73,006, against 78,774 in the previous month. The number of persons in receipt of unemployment benefit directly from the State was 7,418, against 8,491 in August, while those receiving benefit through the concerns numbered 15,590, against 17,714 in August.

**Denmark.**—According to the statistics of the trade unions which sent in reports, 84,347, or 9.6 per cent. of unemployed at the end of November was 8.6 against 6.5 in the previous month and 11.4 at the end of November, 1923. In the middle of December there were 27,518 applicants for work in the whole country, against 25,892 in the previous week, and 32,000 in the middle of December, 1923.

**Finland.**—According to the statistics of the Labour Exchanges of the larger towns, the number of unemployed registered at the Labour Exchanges on the 8th November was 1,803, against 1,289 in October, and 779 at the end of November, 1923.

**France.**—The number of persons registered at the Labor Exchanges on Nov. 29, 11,863 (7,750 men and 4,113 women) against 10,483 at the end of Oct., and 9,703 at the end of November, 1923. The number of unemployed in receipt of benefit on December 4th was 479, against 415 at the end of November, 1923.

**Germany.**—The number of unemployed in receipt of benefit was on December 1st, 436,449, against 426,723 on November 15th, that is to say, there has been an increase of 2.3 per cent. Reports from 42 trade unions with a total membership of 3,430,000 showed that on December 1st 8.4 per cent. of the members were unemployed, and 12.2 per cent. were on short time work.

**Great Britain.**—Of the 979,734 members of the trade unions which sent in reports, 84,347, or 8.6 per cent. were unemployed at the end of November, against 84,659 or 8.7 per cent. in the previous month, and 110,743 or 9.9 per cent. at the end of November, 1923. Of about 11,500,000 persons insured, against

(Continued on page 5)

# Working Class Parties

By J. A. McDONALD

NOTHING better illustrates the political immaturity of the workers than the gullibility they display in the face of social and economic issues. Only that which triumphs, even for the moment, is considered worthy of serious attention. Many thousands flocked to the standard of Bolshevism solely because of the fact that it attained the status of a ruling entity. As a social-economic theory, it could claim some adherents among students, but the masses could not be attracted until the Soviet State was organized as a going concern.

Similarly in the case of the British Labor Party. During the many years this group remained in the shades of the opposition its programme and officialdom met with nothing resembling universal acclaim. Very few, in the ranks of the Colonial workers, gave thought to its platform and aspirations. It was regarded as merely an opposition party which could not enlist attention until it reached the threshold of power or, at least, of office.

No sooner, however, had McDonald and his cohorts kissed the hand of the king and settled down to the position of administering social affairs than the applause of the multitude resounded throughout the earth. In the opinion of many the millennium had arrived for British workers. The poverty-stricken outcasts, who were formerly submerged socially and economically, were now to be placed on a basis of equality with the social élite.

The sloppy, reform Socialist and labor groups in all countries looked upon the inception of the British Labor Government as the logical stepping stone to progressive dominance in all lands. Capitalist society had reached the stage of dissolution in Britain and could no longer be counted upon to register a comeback, and have one of its political mouthpieces in charge of national legislation.

The Labor Government came, stayed for ten months, and departed, without even knocking a splinter off the social base. Capitalism was never challenged in its whole tenure of office. On the contrary, the labor leaders soon proved themselves to be adroit champions of the very system they were supposed to rout or, at least, modify. They stepped into the front benches with the idea of maintaining and extending British Imperialism uppermost in their minds. Even many members of the nobility and aristocracy were agreeably surprised at the conservative attitude taken by the heads of the new administration.

There was no necessity for any alarm from the very start. Even the "theory men" among them soon forgot their past indiscreet references to the class struggle, in the few instances where such were made, and now found it incumbent upon them to explain away all class distinctions and show to the masses that no one section of society could be catered to at the expense of the rest.

Sydney Webb, one of the intellectuals, and a member of the new government, states: "During the last few years this party (Labor Party) has enrolled bishops, peers, landowners, bankers, and not a few manufacturers and other employers of labor." Where could room be found for a class struggle in the midst of this motley crew? A party of all the talents was surely the result. Capitalism need not suffer any fainting spells while this conglomeration presided over its destiny.

Philip Snowden, another of the social innovators and theoreticians, who was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, had this to say at the banquet given annually by the Lord Mayor of London to himself, the merchants and the Bank of England: "Although I belong to a political party which is supposed neither to know nor to care anything about the national credit, I can assure you that there never has been in office a Chancellor of the Exchequer who appreciated more highly than I that a Chancellor's first duty is to do nothing which will in the slightest degree result in a loss of confidence in the national credit."

Doesn't that sound progressive? Even revolutionary eh? No, no, these folk are not our rivals. They are simply our associates, working along slightly different lines to reach the same goal—the social ownership and control of the means of production. What a gullible lot of mortals we must be to swallow such a potion.

MacDonald, the Prime Minister, justified his attitude in supporting the bill to provide more dreadnoughts and cruisers for the British navy by asserting that such a programme would mean more jobs for the British workers. This, of course, would apply not only to the process of construction but also to the operation of these battleships after they are built. There is nothing equal to a good war in the matter of curtailing unemployment.

At the last Labor Party Conference, MacDonald referred to the fact that many called his Government Socialist instead of Labor. He deprecated the designation and pointed out that the term Socialist left a sort of a revolutionary taste in the mouth that was not conducive to harmonious social relations.

Now, what attitude should a Socialist Party take toward this gang of "Bourgeois Democrats"? In fact what other stand could we take but one of relentless opposition? No words of mine can more accurately describe the Socialist position toward such a clique than those of the present Editor of the "Clarion" in his secretarial notes in "Clapion" No. 819 (May 16th, 1920). Here they are:

"Some surprise has been occasioned the Dominion Labor Party by the refusal of Whimper Labor of the S. P. of C. to co-operate with them in the Manitoba Provincial Elections to be conducted this summer. The D. L. P. evidently does not yet understand that we do not stand for the reform of any institution under capitalism—not even the criminal code. Our activities have always been directed towards the complete overthrow of capitalism, and to that end we have concentrated our attention upon the education of our fellow men who are engaged in wealth production, and who are exploited in the process. Our educational policy is based entirely upon an explanation of the historical process of man's development, and of the situation in which he finds himself today, so that he may understand the events with which he is immediately connected, and the underlying causes of their being. No party or organization which devotes itself to what it considers to be the proper readjustment of the tailends of capitalist entanglements can have alliance with us. Sometimes it is very hard to distinguish the difference between the right wing of labor and the left wing of the bourgeoisie. The Dominion Labor Party occupies what is to us an unlivable house."

That is, indeed, the only possible position for us to take. As Socialists our function must be to teach Socialism; to organize our class for the abolition of capitalism and the introduction of a new social system where those who produce shall also own. To accomplish this end we can countenance no open compromises or clandestine arrangements with those groups representing, either consciously or unconsciously, the ruling class. We must oppose and expose them. We must clear the social atmosphere instead of obscuring it. We must maintain our revolutionary programme in the face of all odds and conditions.

As we have seen the appellation—labor—does not signify that the party is carrying on propaganda on behalf of the working class in opposition to those who own and rule. It is merely a fascinating title made use of by political adventurers to secure the continued enslavement of the workers and consequently maintain intact the present mode of exploitation.

There is no necessity for the Socialist to misrepresent labor parties or picture them as being anything else but what they are. An explanation of fact is all that is required. We place them on the dissecting table and diagnose the cure in the light of science. It will be seen that they have all the symptoms of capitalist tools. Let us treat them as such, and do away with the need of continuing a policy of obscurity, evasion, and circumlocution.

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

(Continued from page 4)

unemployment, 11 per cent. were unemployed at the end of November against 11.1 per cent. in the previous month, and 11.5 per cent. at the end of November, 1923. The number of registered unemployed was on December 15th, 1,158,000.

**Holland.**—Labour Exchanges of municipalities with over 5000 inhabitants had on their books on November 29th 36,740 skilled workers applying for vacancies, and 29,000 unskilled. It should, however, be noted that not all of the persons registered as applicants for vacancies are unemployed, and that some of the unskilled workers are doing part-time work. Of the 252,077 members of the Unemployment Fund Centres which receive State grants, 16,499 or 6.5 per cent. were wholly unemployed, and 5,161, or 2.1 per cent. were doing part time work, against 3.8 or 2 per cent. in the previous month, and 10.3 and 2.4 per cent. at the end of October, 1923.

**Hungary.**—At the end of October, 13.5 per cent. of the trade union members were unemployed, against 26,020 or 13.5 per cent. at the end of September, and 28,801 or 15 per cent., at the end of August.

**Italy.**—The number of persons registered as wholly unemployed was at the end of October, 117,051, and those doing part-time work 17,668, against 115,590 and 21,176 in the previous month, and 199,694 and 75,810 respectively in October, 1923.

**Latvia.**—The official statistics for the five largest towns of Latvia show that the number of registered unemployed on the 1st December, 1924, was 2,477, against 1,316 on September 1st last. In reality, however, the number of unemployed is much larger than represented by the official statistics.

**Norway.**—On December 10th, the number of unemployed was 20,500, against 16,300 in the previous month, and 18,500 on the 10th December, 1923. These figures do not include the persons employed on relief work, the number of whom is estimated at about 6,000, against about 9,000 in November, 1923.

**Poland.**—At the end of September, there were 155,245 unemployed against 159,820 in the previous month, and 52,420 at the end of September, 1923.

**Roumania.**—As there is no State unemployment insurance or unemployment benefit in Roumania, there are no statistics of the unemployed. All the towns, however, report unanimously that the number of unemployed has increased very alarmingly.

**Russia.**—According to official statistics, the number of registered unemployed for all the various states which form part of the Union of Soviet Republics, had in June, 1924, increased to 1,300,000.

**Sweden.**—Of the 205,605 members of those trade unions which send in reports on unemployment, there were on October 31st 17,344 unemployed, or 8.4 per cent. against 7 per cent. in the previous month, and 8.2 per cent. in October, 1923. The total number of unemployed in the whole country is estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000.

**Switzerland.**—The number of registered applicants for work was at the end of October, 9,451, against 8,718 in the previous month. In October, 1923, when state benefit was still being paid to unemployed, 24,012 persons were on the register.

**U. S. A.**—According to a report published by the Department of Labor, on the basis of 8,768 concerns in 52 industries, employing 2,616,622 persons, the number of employed workers in October has increased by 1.7 per cent. 34 out of the 52 industries show an increase in the number of workers employed. In general, however, the number of employed workers has declined by 10.8 per cent. in comparison with the month of October, 1923.—(I. F. T. U.)

## MANIFESTO

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# The Aristocracy of Democracy

By F. W. MOORE.

THE word "aristocracy," as most people know, is derived from two Greek roots—*aristos*, the best, and *kratos*, power. The term "democracy" differs from this inasmuch as the first part of the word comes from *demos*, the people.

We may take it for granted that government by an aristocracy means, and has meant for the period of almost six thousand years which we will now discuss, a government by those people who are best calculated to be willing to contribute to an effort to bring about an endless duration to the current organization of society—an organization, that at least financially, has been developed compatibly with their own interests.

We venture to say that this ideal of a governing body could only obtain in a metaphorical society of the blind, where the one-eyed were appointed kings; but, where it does prevail, and it prevails almost universally, it is responsible for much hardship, since an attempt to prolong the life of any organization in whose constitution there have developed signs of decrepitude, must, in the long run prove a sure means of hastening its death.

It is only when the current organizations become sufficiently plastic to enable them to undergo a kaleidoscopic transformation compatible with the ever-changing needs of society that we shall know that the moulding of them is in the hands of such an enlightened democracy.

Such a democracy could give free rein to that industrial evolution that operates in the interests of society whenever society allows it to do so; but, it stands to reason that a misinformed society, drunk with the metaphorical wine of propaganda, must get rid of its delusions before it can be sufficiently sane to grant its permission.

In order to show why society has not allowed it to do so for scores of centuries we shall take a glance down the long vista of the ages where we shall behold countless generations of thoughtless men under the leadership of those who ought to have known better, masked in the tinselled costumes of warrior moths, and brainlessly flying century after century into the destructive flames of greed and glory. Such, indeed, were the activities of the Mesopotamian peoples, who for forty centuries B.C. were wont to deluge the land with one another's blood. In reference to this Mr. Wells, in his "Outline of History" at page 141, has the following to say: "After four thousand years the warriors and conquerors were still going to and fro over this growing thing that they did not understand."—(Civilization.)

If we analyze the rule of the "best," as it materialized during those four thousand years, we shall find that participation in acts of bloodshed, rapine and plunder was the characteristic function of the bandit war-lords of those days, even as it is of the hireling variety of to-day. Thus they spent their time century after century promoting mental stagnation, undoing what had been done, and doing many things that should never have been done in their successful attempts to take from other people wealth, the equivalent of which they could have produced themselves with less energy than was expended on their campaigns; and so they kept the world poor, and prevented the race taking the next step in a higher development.

At the end of each campaign, if we judge by the campaigns of the last few centuries, the aristocrats had wealth, the plebian had the poverty, the distress, and the burden of grief and bereavement for which the only emollient known to man was "that one touch of nature that made the whole world kin."

Thus was the apparently eternal tragedy enacted in many countries. During the latter part of the period, when the inhabitants of Mesopotamia were playing such havoc with each other, the Romans had successfully emerged from the long night of comparative freedom known as savagery. The old tribal organizations were still in vogue when the city was founded in 753 B.C., and for a couple of hundred years, approximately, the affairs of men were regulated in accordance with the ideals of two divergent systems; in one case the individual as a member of a tribe owed loyalty to a chief; in the other as a citizen in possession of certain lands he naturally came under the jurisdiction of the magistrate, so that for a couple of centuries at least we see a tribal, overlapping an embryo political system. (See the chapter on the subject in "Morgan's Ancient Society") and as the tribal system gave way it could not fail to leave a deep impression on the newer organization. Its democratic chiefs who could be deposed, under certain conditions, by the will of the people, now took on the character of kings—a character in which for a long time they retained their reputation for democracy, and to this fact we may attribute the following statement on page 432 in Osborne Ward's "Ancient Lowly." He is referring to the long political struggle between the plebs and the consuls—the two officers who were installed in the republic instead of the old-time kings after the overthrow of the monarchy in 510 B.C.

"It had been the kings that upheld the labor unions. The consuls from the very first had endeavored to suppress them. These magnates were the natural enemies of the working class; the kings their natural friends."

We might add that he probably refers to the Latin kings. "At first there were Latin kings in Rome, then it would seem the city fell into the hands of the Etruscan rulers, whose tyrannous conduct led at last to their expulsion, and Rome became a Latin-speaking republic." "Outline of History," page 383.

Not only did it become a republic, but it developed in short order all the usual vices and shortcomings of a republic. Its achievements in the way of chicanery were amazing. "The Roman voters, at the time to which we refer, were organized to an extent that makes the Tammany machine of New York seem artless and honest." They were organized in clubs, "and the rising politician working his way to office went first to the usurers and then with the borrowed money to these clubs. If the outside voters were moved enough by any question to swarm into the city, it was always possible to put off the voting by declaring the omens unfavorable. If they came in unarmed they could be intimidated; if they brought in arms, then the cry was raised that there was a plot to overthrow the republic, and a massacre would be organized. . . . The senate and the rich equestrians were vulgar and greedy spirits hostile and contemptuous towards the poor mob, and the populace was ignorant, unstaple, and at least greedy. . . . they do but demonstrate how clever and cunning men may be, how subtle in contention, how brilliant in pretence, and how utterly wanting in wisdom and grace of spirit. 'A shambling, hairy brutish, but probably very cunning creature with a big brain behind; so someone described Homo Neanderthalensis.'"

"To this day we must use similar terms to describe the soul of the politician. The statesman has still to oust the politician from his lairs and weapon heaps. History has still to become a record of human dignity."—Wells' Outline of History, pages 426 and 427.

That was government by the Roman aristocracy. Would not government by the Roman-anthropoid be a more appropriate expression? Can we wonder that so monstrous a political abortion had within it the seeds of self destruction? "Under such condi-

tions," says Wells in his Outline on page 447, "there was no choice between chaos and a return to royalty, to the acceptance of some chosen individual as the one unifying will in the state;" and thus, beginning about 27 B.C. and for eighteen centuries thereafter the accepted rulers of the world, of whom so much was expected, were, according to the light thrown on their character by history, on the whole of an ornamental rather than of a useful type. Was it any wonder then that men in the eighteenth century after Christ grew tired of the imperfections of royal government, and once more commenced a series of experiments, the continuation of which, economic conditions will obviously demand of future decades—experiments of which the first were improved reconstructions of the ancient republic. They were born equal. Notwithstanding this, it is said that their supreme and other high courts of justice are so superior to the circumstances that gave them birth, that they keep in stock, in their metaphorical warehouses graded brands of pseudo-justice which they dispense to suit the exigencies of particular cases. There is, for instance, a special concoction to be administered in cases of emergency to each of the following classes: labour unions, manufacturers associations, wealthy men, paupers, common or garden assassins and thrill-killers.

It is, however, not to be understood that because of this result of republican genius we are disposed to blame that portion of the world that has not yet thrown off its monarchical swaddling clothes for cultivating its aesthetic taste; but we do find fault with it for filling the annals of European activities with biographies of these people, worthy though some of them have been, and then presenting the results to our schools and colleges as histories of the several nations. Nothing could be more conducive to ignorance as to the meaning of history than this, since the real regulator of the actions of men is embodied in the economic necessity to do, in the main, what is profitable.

It is to the economic and industrial experience of the past that we must turn for guidance if we would consciously aid in the development of better conditions in the future.

Our salvation lies not in the abstruse knowledge of our would-be advisors, but in the sound common sense of the average man—a common sense founded on a knowledge of the economic foundations of society. When the average man understands the meaning of that he will also know the cause and cure of nearly all his troubles, including that of war. He will know how to organize a government sufficiently plastic to enable it to undergo a kaleidoscopic transformation compatible with the ever-changing needs of society.

Nobody can deny that nations of such men would be the very best specimens of the race to direct the affairs of humanity; and being the very best the appropriate nature of the term aristocracy in describing them will be recognized. They would also be "the people," and therefore a democracy; or in other words they would be the aristocracy of democracy. Quod erat demonstrandum.

## ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

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# What Is a Race?

By FRANZ BOAS.

**Editor's Note.**—In presenting this article, "The Nation" (N.Y.), announces that it is the first of a series on the Nordic Myth, to be followed by others in discussion of race relations and race superiority. Franz Boas, the author of the present article, was a co-worker with the late J. A. Telt of the S. P. of C., a research worker and accomplished ethnologist whose field lay especially among the various tribes of B. C. Indians.

**T**HE intensity of race consciousness in our country is not entirely due to the presence in large numbers of various non-European races, for even a hasty review of the attitude of many European nations reveals a phenomenal growth of the feeling of racial antagonisms. The belief in organic difference between the European and the Negro or the European and the Chinese has come to appear as so fundamental that social and political relations are determined by it. We no longer demand any careful examination of the reasons for the feeling of difference, but accept it as an instinctive, unavoidable effect of the contact of different races.

The theory that mental traits are determined by race is old. In earlier times it was not clearly differentiated from the assumption of an immediate influence of environment upon body and mind. In the eighteenth century we hear of the belief that the type represented by the nobility is organically superior to the type represented by the commoners. In the nineteenth century the theory of the racial determination of mental traits made rapid headway. It was a convenient prop for supporting slavery and was, therefore, used as the strongest argument against the aims of the Abolitionists. But aside from this students of the history of civilization became impressed with the evident differences of mental behavior in large divisions of mankind. Gustav Klemm in his "Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit" discusses at length the aptitudes of different racial types. Carus tried to explain the history of nations on the basis of their organic character, but the whole problem received its principal impetus by the publication of Comte de Gobineau's "L'Inegalite des Races Humaines." In the course of time the arguments by which he tried to prove the superiority of the blond North European type over all other European groups made a deep impression, and since that time the conviction has grown apace that fundamental, organically determined psychical differences exist between human races and even between closely allied groups. It is only necessary to mention books like Stewart Houston Chamberlain's "Foundations of Nineteenth Century Civilization," or those of Woltmann, Lapouge, or Hans Gunther, and in our own country the much-read propaganda by Madison Grant, "The Passing of the Great Race," to indicate the general character of the growth of this movement.

On the other hand an equally voluminous literature has developed, intended to maintain the irrelevancy of racial affiliation in cultural and mental life. Much of this literature is due to an effort to combat the anti-Semitic drift of our times.

Quite aside from this discussion certain ethnologists have based their work on the assumption of an essential sameness of the mental life of all races. Inquiries into the development of civilization like those of Theodor Waitz, E. B. Tylor, Herbert Spencer, or Adolf Bastian were conducted without any regard to racial affiliations, but dealt with mankind as a whole and emphasize the unity of mental behavior of man.

Whatever the outcome of scientific discussion may be the existence of racial antagonisms among ourselves cannot be denied. The inquiry should be directed toward an investigation of the conditions under which they have grown up and of the soundness of the arguments supporting racial discrimination.

It is generally assumed that race consciousness

and race antagonism are instinctive, that is to say, organically determined. It is fairly obvious that for individuals this rule does not hold good. The numerous cases of racial mixture between whites and all other races show clearly that there is no fundamental racial antipathy that would prevent the closest and most intimate relations between individuals of the most diverse races. Furthermore it is important to note that race antagonism is not by any means a universal trait of mankind. While it is very pronounced among Anglo-Saxons, it is weak among most of the people of Romance tongue. The present French policy of treating the African Negroes as Frenchmen has for its basis a theoretical denial of essential racial differences and is possible only on account of the lack of a strong, widespread feeling of race antagonism. The weakness of race consciousness among people speaking Romance languages is shown also by the social conditions in many South American countries.

Still more striking is the attitude of Mohammedans, among whom racial affiliations count very little as against religious unity. A convincing proof of this attitude in early times is the description of inter-racial relations in Arabian literature. A study of the behavior of children shows also that while a consciousness of race difference may be present, it does not include necessarily any feeling of racial antagonism. As the child grows up the dividing line between the races is impressed upon it, and in this way the race consciousness develops until it becomes a purely automatic reaction which evokes the same intensity of feeling as the so-called instinctive reactions. Nevertheless the two are fundamentally distinct. If racial antagonism were instinctive it would appear among all members of mankind, not necessarily in earliest youth, but certainly at the time of adolescence. If on the other hand, it is a behavior that is developed as a social pattern it will be present only where this pattern prevails and will become more automatic and therefore emotionally stronger the more pronounced the social pattern. It is also instructive to see that in the castes of India the same kind of antagonism and feeling of repugnance develops without being everywhere founded on racial differences.

Numerous attempts have been made to give a scientific status to the feeling of racial difference and particularly to the claim of Nordic superiority. In these attempts use is made of historical data, of descriptions of national character and of psychological tests to which individuals of different races have been subjected. In none of these discussions, however, do we find a concise and definite answer to the question of what constitutes a race.

Unfortunately the concept of race is not at all clear. The terminology adopted by our immigration authorities has added greatly to the confusion because they designate people speaking different languages and of different political association as races without any regard to their biological characteristics.

When we speak of innate characteristics of races we mean by the term race a group of people descended from a common ancestry and for this reason alike in anatomical form. Likeness does not mean identity. In no species or variety of animals or plants are all individuals strictly of the same form. Differences in size and form are ever present and variability within certain limits is one of the prime characteristics of organic nature. Individuals of the same variety are not identical and a variety derived from the same ancestry will always embrace many distinctive individual forms. A whole racial group can never be described by a few descriptive terms, because there will always be many individuals of deviating types. It is our impression that the Swedes in blond, blue eyed, tall, and longheaded; but many Swedes do not conform to this description. When these variations are sufficiently pronounced

we are very much inclined to consider the extreme variants as types of which the population is composed and to believe that the rather indifferent but frequent middle group originates from an intermixture of the two extreme types. When practical questions are involved this view is useful. The physician who distinguishes between the asthenic and eusthenic type or between other constitutional types is confronted by a practical problem. His classification of types does not imply that the individuals of different constitution are distinct types which intermingled and from which the middle type of indifferent constitution developed. In the same way the occurrence of long heads and short heads in Sweden does not prove by itself that we must have a mixture of two fundamental types. The extreme forms may as well be interpreted as variants of a single ancestral type.

On the other hand extensive migrations have occurred since very early times the world over and mixtures of distinct types have been common. The period of isolation in which the differentiation of local types developed must lie in a very remote time. The present conditions show gradual transitions between types inhabiting adjoining areas, due largely to intermixture. Local types exhibit everywhere similar degrees of variability, so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the characteristics of the earlier purer types that developed by isolation.

Unless the component races are fundamentally distinct, the attempt to isolate in an old stable population distinctive racial types determined by descriptive characteristics is, therefore, an almost insoluble task. We cannot assign one individual to one race, another to another, because we do not know the degree of variability found in the ancestral isolated race, and on account of the long-continued mixture the characteristics of the parental races will appear in varying combinations in each individual. All attempts to establish among members of the same social group correlations between mental character and bodily form have failed.

When we speak of racial heredity we mean certain characteristics in which all members of a race partake. The white skin-color of the European and the dark skin-color of the Negro are racial hereditary traits, because they belong to all the members of each race. On account of the great variability of forms fundamental differences between various races are not always found. Size and complexity of the brain, stature, head form, physiological functions and mental reactions vary enormously in each race, and many features that are found in one race are also found among individuals belong to other races. Thus it happens that to judge by the size of his brain or by his physiological or mental functions an individual may as well belong to one race as to another. In such cases it is obviously impossible to speak of hereditary racial characteristics because the traits characterizing any individual occur in a number of human races.

The importance of this observation becomes still clearer when we consider the individuals not only as members of a race as a whole but as descendants of a certain ancestral group. The racial type is what is called by biologists a phenotype, that is to say, an assembly of individuals that belong to quite distinctive line of descent. The phenotype, however may be subdivided into a number of genotypes, or groups of individuals having a common ancestry. In other words, we must consider the whole race as constituted of a large number of family lines. When we have a population that has been inbred for a very long time, such as certain village communities in Europe or small isolated tribes of primitive people, the whole community may represent, more or less strictly speaking, one genotype, because they are all descended from the same ancestral group and every

family line existing at the present time goes back to the same ancestry. We may note that even in these cases, so far as they have been investigated, the family lines are not by any means identical in type, but that considerable differences among them are found. Even long inbreeding does not product an identity of family lines. Purity of type would entail a great similarity between different family lines and at the same time a great similarity between the brothers and sisters belonging to each family. As a matter of fact, great uniformity in either respect does not exist among any known group. Similarity of family strains is characteristic of inbred populations of mixed origin such as are found in our modern cities or in countries with immigration drawn from a large area. Great similarity among brothers and sisters in each family is dependent upon the uniformity of the ancestry, but it is not necessarily connected with long-continued inbreeding. To give an example, the mulatto population of South Africa, descendants of Negroes and Dutch settlers, has developed largely by inbreeding. Therefore the family lines are alike, while the children of each family vary very much among themselves and exhibit a mixture of Negro and white traits.

A more detailed study of the constitution of a single race shows that its family lines vary considerably in anatomical and functional characteristics. The pigmentation of one family line may be quite distinct from that of another. Pathological traits appear in some strains of the population. Mental traits characteristic of certain family lines will not be shared by others.

When comparing different races it is found that the variability of the genotypes comprising each race is so great that a family line might find its proper place in several races. In other words, many hereditary characteristics are not racial in character, but must be assigned to geno-typical lines, to family strains.

If this is true, it is clear that any generalized characterization of a race must be misleading. It may be possible to characterize family lines, but the assumption of general racial characteristics, anatomical, physiological, or mental, excepting those that belong to the race as a whole, is arbitrarily made.

The actual problem, therefore, from an objective standpoint, resolves itself into the question whether any characteristics, aside from purely anatomical ones, can be found that differentiate races so that they are common characteristics by which the racial position of all individuals and all family lines may be determined.

There is no doubt that social groups show essential differences in their appearance and their behavior, but this does not imply that these characteristics are hereditarily determined. Individuals of quite distinctive anatomical build adopt the same functional habits with great ease. We find among people speaking the same language the most diverse forms of articulating organs; but the mode of pronunciation depends upon anatomical conditions only in extreme cases. It is determined by the social environment in which the individual grows up. The characteristic motor tendencies of large divisions of mankind are also not determined by the special form of the skeleton and of the muscular system, but by historically determined motor habits. An example of this is the distribution of different methods of the use of bow and arrow which is characteristic of enormously wide areas. Proof of the socially determined character of mental reactions is also found in the difference in the behavior of a people in different periods. The descent of the Elizabethan English and the modern English is practically the same. Nevertheless the early free and easygoing life contrasts strongly with the social restrictions and prudery of the middle of the past century. So far as I can see, no convincing proof has ever been

given of the hereditary character of complex functions that are found prevailing among a given people at the present time. We rather see that all racial strains, when subjected to the same social environment, develop the same functional tendencies. The plasticity of function is so great that it may overcome to a great extent the difference in organic form.

Nevertheless individual differences in function and family characteristics of function may very well exist and be recognized, but the variability of the family lines constituting each race will be found so great that in this case also we have no right to speak of racial hereditary traits.

The occurrence of hereditary mental traits that belong to a particular race has never been proved. The available evidence makes it much more likely that the same mental traits appear in varying distribution among the principal racial groups. The behavior of an individual is therefore not determined by his racial affiliation, but by the character of his ancestry and his cultural environment. We may judge of the mental characteristics of families and individuals, but not of races.

#### COTTON CULTIVATION OF THE GASH LANDS OF KASSALA PROVINCE, SOUDAN.

(Continued from page 1)

regards cotton growing will obviously be dictated by the Soudan Plantations Syndicate, who have only one object in the Soudan, namely, to grow cotton, and, if necessary to do so, enslave the natives to serve their purpose. The native cultivator of the Gash lands will be faced with either submitting to the demands made upon him for labour—and in the Soudan the Government carry out a policy of enforced labour whenever necessary—or being driven from the lands with no hope of support.

The Gash lands have from time immemorial been the watering-ground of herds of sheep and goats owned by the natives, and will become increasingly less available as the water is directed for irrigation purposes under the gigantic scheme of cotton cultivation of the Kassal Cotton Company. There are no watering-places to replace these that will ultimately become lost to the native. The total area of the Gash delta is well over 500,000 acres, and it is estimated

that within ten years of the completion of the Thann-Kassala railway the Kassala Cotton Company will have 100,000 acres under cotton.

There are two economic difficulties met with in the Soudan. The first is lack of transportation facilities, and the other lack of native labour. The Kassala Company have by a happy move to themselves overcome the first of these difficulties, and with the aid and very willing co-operation of the Soudan Government they may hope to overcome the other, and by what means need never be questioned. What can be said with safety is that the project has served its main purpose, namely, that of cotton cultivation in the Gash delta.

The method by which the Soudan is governed today by the Governor-General and his Council of four or five officials is the one surviving link of the worst possible type of autocratic government, and its censorial policy permits of the gravest abuse.

## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada affirm our allegiance to, and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

- 1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
- 2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.
- 3—The establishment, as quickly as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

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