

# THE INDICATOR

History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

Vol. 1 No. 3

VANCOUVER, B. C., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

FIVE CENTS

## The Making of a Socialist

SOMEONE has said that fools learn from experience, and wise men from observation and reflection. If this be correct, it is to be feared that the dictum of Carlyle as to most people on these islands being found in the former category has a good deal of truth in it. Certainly, with regard to political and economic phenomena, the great majority of working-class men and women—even those who have a tendency towards independent thinking—seem to require something obvious and hammer-like to be forced on them in a quite personal way before they are able to visualize and focus the true political and economic situation and their place relative to it.

For instance, the loss of a dearly-loved relation or friend in war will be necessary before they can bring themselves to attempt fathom the cause and object of war; the disaster of unemployment must overtake them before they can understand the part unemployment plays in the present social system; the continuous scraping to make ends meet must be brought forcibly home to them before they can realize that the amount of the meagre wage they receive is based upon their cost of subsistence; the superciliousness or brutality to them personally by someone "drest in a little brief authority" must touch their self-esteem before the fact of their degradation as members of the "lower" class, as social slaves, can germinate in their brains.

In some way or other their self-interest must suffer before they can realize that politics is anything but a game played by followers of different schools of thought for their own amusement, or that economics is anything but a dry and pedantic subject, fit only for professional pedagogues and a few fanatics.

It is, of course, not surprising that such an attitude of mind should predominate. The early training of working-class men and women, both in the school and the home, the noxious doctrines inculcated later on from the pulpit, platform, and Press, all do their part in forming the working class into what the capitalists desire that they should become, that is, in the sphere of politics, adherents to, and supporters of, one or other of the orthodox political parties, and in the sphere of economics, hard-working, docile and respectable wage-slaves.

So complete and successful is the slave-morality engendered by the agents of the capitalists, and accepted without question by most of the contemporary generation of working-class men and women, that the younger and growing generation finds it almost impossible, without some particularly violent reaction, to fight against the stream of capitalist ethics, and become instead op-

ponents of capitalism; to become, indeed—at least in theory—what is, from the capitalist standpoint, immoral, irreligious, and unethical.

Even when this negative attitude of direct and bitter opposition to the capitalist system has been attained, it is practically useless insofar as it remains purely negative. A consciousness of the further development of society must be born; the knowledge that, following the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system—based as that system is on the production of wealth for profit—must come, in the ordinary course of evolution, a system based on production for use—the system known as Socialism—such knowledge must grow and fructify, otherwise the negative attitude of antagonism to capitalism is injurious to the individual, either soon ending in sterility, or developing into an "idee fixe," with the unfortunate results of anarchy and chaos of intellect which such "fixed ideas" usually generate.

There is another fact to be taken into consideration. The mental process by which the opponent of capitalism becomes a Socialist is often retarded by his wandering after fallacious ideals. He is sometimes caught in the toils of the reformist parties, is mentally fleeced and plundered by one or other of the pseudo-Socialist organizations, and it is only after many false starts and much perturbation and disillusionment that by means of a process of deduction he eventually arrives at what the force of circumstances and the logical sequence of events urge and finally compel him to become, that is a class-conscious proletarian, with a historical sense of his place in nature and society, and a definite philosophical standpoint from which all phenomena can be judged and commended or condemned as the case may be—in short, a Socialist.

We have now arrived at the point where the Socialist, having evaded, or escaped from, the quicksands of pseudo-Socialism, has clearly realized the fact of his new theory of life, and has begun to take his part in the work of propaganda, which is so vital to the early and successful inauguration of the Socialist Commonwealth. There still remains, however, the need for unrelaxing vigilance in all that he thinks, or says, or does. While capitalism lasts the Socialist, who must of necessity live and work under the present system, is obliged, however much it goes against the grain, to accept, for all practical purposes, the morality of a system with which he finds himself totally at variance. Hence the paradox, that the Socialist, even while he is doing his utmost to overthrow a system which he hates, must at the same time act, to a very great extent, at any rate, in accordance with,

and adhere to, the conventions of that system.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is always a necessity for alertness, for a steadfastness of purpose, in the cause of Socialism, to militate against any possible undermining of the Socialist's principles. The Socialist, like any other member of the working class, has to live and work under capitalist conditions and has to conform, in the main, to the conventional morality of capitalism. But he must, at the same time, use every effort and take every opportunity to hasten the downfall of what has, in effect, become an obsolete social system, and to help inaugurate the next stage in the development of society.

One of the reasons of deflection from the principles of Socialism is to be found in the inability of certain superficial minds to build up, as it were, brick by brick, a philosophical structure, from whose topmost tower every hill and undulation of the workings of modern society can be surveyed. Unless the Socialist possesses a definite and unassailable point of view, it is really a misnomer to speak of him as a Socialist at all. He is simply one of those mental ineffectives who are always to be found attaching themselves to any unpopular cause and who, having no rock-bottomed principles, are easily swayed by any stronger personality with whom they happen to come in contact. If that stronger personality should be a direct or indirect agent of the capitalists, the result, of course, is the deviation from the Socialist cause to any passing craze, such as Woman's Suffrage, or Nationalization or something of that description. To such people capitalist environment is too strong to enable the somewhat vague and nebulous ideas they possess relating to Socialism to stand any chance of developing on right lines.

To the Socialist, to the man, that is, who has realized his position in nature and society, and who has built up for himself a philosophy of life in accordance with that realization, the questions that would have vexed and distracted him in the non-Socialist days have become simplified to an enormous degree. Whether it be in the ordinary routine of every-day affairs, or in the realms of literature, art, or science, his whole activities will be examined in the light of their value to Socialism; the facts appertaining to the present social system will be arraigned and judged at the bar of the Socialist philosophy, and the results used in the most effective way in criticising capitalism and advocating the establishment of the new order of society.

It is hoped that the foregoing will give some idea as to the making of Socialists, which, of course, is one of the main objects of the Socialist

### LABOR DISPUTE IN SPAIN

MADRID, Oct. 27.—In retaliation for the lockout policy of the factory proprietors, the workmen in many of the factories refused to work today for more than six hours. This they are allowed to do under the law, which provided that when a lockout order is issued, the men may work shorter hours in order to give them time to find new positions.

### EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

On another column, we publish the educational programme of the Comrades in Ontario. We would also like to hear from other points on progress. Prince Rupert has started a class known as the "Political Economy Club," commencing with twenty members. Vancouver classes are getting into their stride in good style.

### INTERNATIONAL IN DEED

The Scandinavian unions have decided to lend German workingmen \$2,680,000, four-fifths from Sweden, three-tenths from Denmark and Norway each, to buy victuals in Scandinavian countries without loss from the rate of German money.

### SAVAGES AND BARBARIANS

The theory of human degradation to explain the existence of savages and of barbarians, is no longer tenable. It came in as a corollary from the Mosaic cosmogeny, and was acquiesced in from a supposed necessity which no longer exists. As a theory, it is not only incapable of explaining the existence of savages, but it is without support in the facts of human experience.—Lewis H. Morgan, in his work, "Ancient Society."

### THE STATE

With the rise of private property, and the right of inheritance connected with it, class distinctions and class antagonisms came into existence. In the course of time, the propertied members made common cause against the propertyless ones. The State came into existence as a necessary product of the new social order, based on conflicting interests.—Bebel.

Newsagents handling "The Indicator" in Vancouver, W. Love, next to Royal Theatre. Columbia News Agency, Columbia and Hastings, John Green, Carrall St., General Post Office News Agency, Granville St.

Party. The road to Socialism is a hard road, and perhaps this account of what is largely a personal experience may lend some assistance to those younger future comrades who are now groping more or less blindly toward the beacon—seen only by them at present as a faint and far-off glimmer—of the Socialist Commonwealth.—F. J. Webb, in Socialist Standard, London.

## Idle Thoughts on Lying

(Jerome K. Jerome, in "Common Sense")

**L**IE was once described by an observant schoolboy as an abomination in the face of the Lord, but a very pleasant help in time of trouble. I take it that most of us occasionally tell a lie. I am not prepared to make oath that I myself have never told a lie. It may have been. One seeks to forget these lapses. The temptation is strong. The trouble is pressing. The way out so easy. One trusts the Lord will not be fussy. Next time we will make it up to him by telling the truth. That even our beloved and trusted statesmen, bursting with pious platitudes, reeking of noble sentiments, should—the circumstances seeming to demand it—occasionally lie to us need not unduly shock us. But that premeditated, intentional, and deliberate lying has come to be regarded throughout the civilized world as an obvious and unobjectionable instrument of statesmanship; that it should be defended and upheld as a proper "part of the game," affords unpleasant reflection. A Mr. Bullitt, "a young American," accuses English statesmen of deceiving the public, and seems to have proved his case. The Daily News, standing for the Non-conformist conscience, welcomes the truth, but regrets that Mr. Bullitt should have been so "dishonorable" as to blurt it out. The game (this "game" that is played with lives and happiness of hundreds of millions of helpless men, women, and children) demands that lying shall be recognized as a legitimate means of making tricks. Young, inexperienced gentlemen who sit down to the table with elderly card-sharps must conform to the shady "etiquette" of the Diplomatic Saloon. The Truth (the Truth that might save the world from a decade of agony) was marked "Private and Confidential," not intended for publication to the common people. The Old World raises up its hands in horror: What is to become of it if the young players refuse to accept its code?

The Westminster Gazette is still more shocked. Says the Westminster Gazette: "There were two things that Mr. Bullitt did not understand. First, that according to the rules of the game" ("of Public Service," the Westminster Gazette prefers to call it) "an unofficial emissary is liable to be disavowed if his plans miscarry. Secondly, that a man engaged upon a public mission is not permitted to reveal the confidential communications that took place between him and his chiefs." The truth is not to be revealed. Young gentlemen, thinking to play a hand with our elderly statesmen, must understand the rules of this "game." The truth is always to be marked "Private and Confidential," to be locked up in the secret safe. History may find the key one day when our elderly statesmen have been gathered to their fathers, have passed away honored and revered with the nation's gratitude inscribed upon their expensive tombs. Meanwhile, if the people are really wanting to know, are demanding information, they shall not be sent empty

away. It is only the truth that must not be revealed to them.

Continues the Westminster Gazette, still reproving the sin of Mr. Bullitt: "The disclosure by an official of his private dealings with his superiors after he has resigned makes frank dealing impossible." (Somewhat quaint that phrase "frank dealing." May not "frank" be a misprint for "shady?") "If it were a general practice official life would be rendered intolerable." Such a nice young man. They thought he could be trusted with the secrets of the game. He might have become quite a useful confederate. Life is full of disappointments, even for the elderly cardsharper. Does it not occur to the Westminster Gazette and other leaders of the public conscience that there is something to be said for the making of unofficial lives tolerable—for the saving of millions of men, women and children from the tortures of war and famine, even at the supreme cost of making the lives of a few cunning old statesmen not tolerable? "Mr. Bullitt makes no allowance," points out the Westminster Gazette, more in sorrow than in anger, "for the network of traditions, conventions, and conflicting obligations in which for centuries European statesmanship has been involved." But those traditions, conventions and obligations of our rulers have made Europe for centuries the hell of common people! There is the tradition that the lives and fortunes of the common people are things to be squandered and debased, used as mere raw material for the building up of the interests of the few; the convention that no common man or woman has a right to spoil the "game" which a handful of useless old men play from century to century with the lives and the fortunes of the millions; there are those conflicting obligations between truth and lying, between honor and dishonor, between honesty and chicanery that so often end in our statesmen coming down on the Devil's side. "We are all aware," concludes the Westminster Gazette, "of what is amiss in Europe. We beg our American friends to lend us a hand in putting it straight." What is amiss in Europe, and not only in Europe, is that we have taken for our God the Father of Lies. Let Europe, and not only Europe, cleanse itself of the habit of lying. That new world you talk of, Mr. Lloyd George, will not be built upon lies. The spirit of lying spreads. It threatens to consume the earth. The dark ages of the world's beginning were filled with savagery and cruelty. But at least there was hope. The liar was outcast and shamed. Today he is leader of the people. Five hundred years ago the printing press was hailed as the chariot of Truth. It has been captured for the service of Lies. It starts each morning its daily round packed with falsehood, suppression and misrepresentation. For a wage, men of brains devote their lives to the dissemination of lies. Our press and our politics have become a byword for humbug and hypocrisy, and the people have grown so used to being lied to, that they are only amused. In our trade and commerce the gentle art of ly-

ing is taught and cultivated as an art. Our advertisement hoardings scream lies to us from every seething corner. Our pulpits are chiefly busy misrepresenting Christ, twisting His words and falsifying His teaching. An ambassador has been described as a man sent abroad to lie for his country. The definition has been accepted, and we speed his departure with laughter. A diplomatist has put it on record that when he wished to deceive he always told the truth. No one, of course believed him. President Wilson smilingly tells the American Senate that he plunged the American nation into war without knowing of the secret treaties her Allies had entered into for division of the spoil. What America was going out to fight for did not sufficiently interest him. But did not Mr. Balfour assure us that he informed President Wilson fully of all these secret treaties? No one is surprised or shocked. Some leader of the people has lied. Well, what if he did!

The Big Four solemnly pledge themselves to have done with secret

diplomacy. Open covenants. The first thing they do when they get to Versailles is to set about their work behind locked doors. The world is not even disappointed. We knew they would, we explain to one another. Did not they deliberately promise that they wouldn't? Our statesmen rise in Parliament and deliberately deceive us.

The whole world is rotten with lies. An American speaker at a public meeting, not so long ago, accounted for the tolerant attitude of American opinion towards graft by explaining that no man could be sure when the chance might come his way. The explanation was received with cheers and laughter. If there had been six honorable men in the room, it would have been resented as an insult. "Week by week, for the health of its soul, the world is called upon to hold its nose and inspect at close range the fetid and septic processes of diplomacy," writes the New York Nation. The world has no need to hold its nose. It has come to like the smell.

## Ten Minutes' Talk With the Workers

(From the "Socialist," Glasgow.) \* value of "putting a little bit away for a rainy day."

### The Subject Matter of Economics

**A** favorite method of introducing the subject of economics, or political economy, is to begin by putting the query, "Why is it necessary that any work should be done in the world?" No doubt at first sight the question seems absurd, particularly to such as you and I who have never known or seen anything else but toil in front of us. Nevertheless, if you think for a moment you will find there is more in the query than appears on the surface.

You know, for instance, how big a part habit plays in our lives, and how a great many things that we do are only done because we have been in the habit of doing them for a long time. Indeed, in this direction, I would urge you just to watch your various actions and thoughts. You will find it a useful and interesting study in the art of self-discipline.

### Habit in Relation to Work.

Suppose we consider, then, the question of work in relation to habit. Our actions and conduct in the main being largely the result of imitation, and if we agree upon that, then we might get some information on the question by observing what children or primitive people do. (We may take children and primitive people together, since their ways and habits are similar in many directions.)

These, then, seldom display that hustle and bustle or apparent anxiety for work which is the hall-mark of our present-day society. Primitive man, nearly all scientists tell us, only hunts, fishes, or works for the satisfaction of his immediate wants. Once he has gorged himself he is satisfied. He laughs in his simplicity at the suggestion of working beyond the needs of the moment, or what is strictly necessary. And while we may look back with sympathy and compassion on his crudeness of mind, we must remember that it has taken tens of thousands of years to see the

### The Desire for Gain.

Perhaps we might name slavery and the desire for gain by property owners as the two principal causes leading to this conception. In addition to changed methods of production, with the lash of the whip or the fear of death, you can imagine how our forefathers would be compelled to work beyond what was necessary to satisfy their moderate needs. Even now, despite all our boasted civilization, the position is much the same, though in a different form. You will agree, I think, that it is not love of work in itself that compels you to get out of your nice comfortable bed—if you have one—to hurry off to the shop, yard or mine, there to spend the best part of the day, often doing something you detest, and fretting for the "buzzer" to signal stopping time. Why, then, do you stick it? Is it not because, like the slave of ancient times, you are compelled? And the analogy, is it not complete in the circumstance that you do it to satisfy the desire of gain by a minority? Thus it is seen that necessity is largely the mother of habit. That is why you often hear some people say "they can't do without working." Indeed, it is quite true in such cases that there is a certain uneasiness when unemployed, but putting necessity aside such a disposition merely emphasizes the tremendous influence of habit.

It is well you should have this relation of habit to work in your mind, as many writers on economics, who are interested argue that work is something innate, i.e., a natural endowment, with the obvious intention of convincing you and I not to entertain thoughts of refusing to work, especially for others.

### Essentials of Mankind.

Putting aside, however, all considerations of class interests, there (Continued on Page Three)

## TEN MINUTES TALK WITH THE WORKERS

(Continued from Page Two)

are a number of material things, essential for human subsistence, without which society is impossible. Everybody, for instance, needs food of some kind, while most people require clothes or shelter in some shape or other from the sun, rain, or wind. These, of course, are but the simplest wants. There are others, such as newspapers, cycles, pianos, etc., which may be classed as wants, or needs, just as much as food or clothes. Thanks to our civilization, bad and all as it is, man does not live by bread alone, and so we find that to procure those several material necessities, work of some kind, and in various forms, is absolutely necessary for human welfare.

Whenever men work to obtain those means of subsistence, they are said to be engaged in Production. It should be noted, however, that the manner in which those things are produced depends very much on the degree of social development in society—differing in different systems. You are familiar, for instance, with the prejudice many people have against modern machine-made commodities in comparison with hand-made goods. Taking domestic handicraft then as a type and comparing it with our modern machine-factory system, you can readily see what a tremendous contrast in social life such differences in methods of production are bound to make.

So with Distribution, i.e., the manner in which the products of labor or work are divided among the populace. Where the producer owns his own tools, as did the early handicraftsmen, he was bound to exercise a greater influence on the distribution of the product than the modern worker who only toils for wages.

Accordingly, the method of production prevailing at any time, and the manner in which the product is distributed, determines very largely what economists call Consumption.

That in consuming a product we may be really producing something, or that an act of production may be, at the same time, a mode of consumption; or, further, that the act of consuming or producing may be closely related to distribution—all such abstractions need not worry you for the moment. Suffice to say that the manner in which these three divisions in our lives are carried on may be systematized into what we call laws, the sum of such laws being denoted by the term political economy.

What I hope you will now bear in mind is the fact that those things we have just discoursed upon form the subject matter of political economy. Armed with an acquaintance of such a science, your ability to understand what is going on around you, especially on matters concerning what is known as labor affairs, will be much enhanced. That is why you should get linked up with Marxian classes this winter. T. B.

## DO YOU WISH FOR AN AUDIENCE

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

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

## Capitalism and Counter-Revolution

## A Series of Six Articles.

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

## EXPLANATORY FOREWORD.

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

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

## III.

IN concluding my last article I argued that our task as Socialists was not to endeavor to end the war, but to prepare for Revolution. Now, as the Revolution will not come as the result of our agitation, or even of our organization, but because of certain circumstances that make it impossible for the present political and economic system to satisfy the requirements of society, it is of the utmost importance that we should thoroughly understand the conditions within our own country. If the conditions are ripe for revolution, then they will very soon precipitate matters, however much the executive and sub-committees of the propertied classes may endeavor to postpone the historic necessity. If they are not ripe then we may as well dispose ourselves to study still more carefully the laws that govern their maturity, and the correct methods of gathering in the crop when it actually comes to fruition. It will be more tedious than to amuse ourselves with projects of action; but it will be incalculably more profitable. Whatever may be the prospects of Revolution the anticipation of which is as pleasant to us as it is detestable to our opponents, we can only estimate these by examining into the political and economic development of Britain and those other countries with which its fortunes are intimately connected.

It is wearisome in the extreme to hear people for ever lamenting the dull, unresponsive character of the British working class; and it must be appalling to have such people's hopeless outlook upon the future, whether ultimate or immediate. At meetings up and down the country the enthusiast who denounces the strikes for their sordid purpose and for the petty nature of the grievances that provoke them, is a phenomenon productive of violent aggravation of this writer's human instincts. Sometimes, when an idealist, whose fervor for pacifism has been vastly stimulated by the operation of the Military Service Acts, feels called

## PROPAGANDA MEETINGS, VANCOUVER

Every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, in the Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings Street.

Doors open 7:30. Come early.

upon to testify to the selfishness of the craftsman stimulated to strike by reason of dilution, a Quaker upbringing does not prevent me seeing, if not red, at any rate, pink.

The Socialist movement in this country would not suffer by being very frank with itself about its pater-nity. It is not the result of a great idealist "urge," to use an Americanism. It has been the product of material development and very closely parallels in its growth the movement in the United States. Of course, these similarities can not be pressed too far because of the differences in political and economic evolution across the ocean; but they are near enough to be instructive.

This country has the good or ill-fortune to have been the classic land of Capitalism, the home of the classic form of Capitalism. Here industrial and commercial development took place, on a great scale, at an earlier time than elsewhere, because of our insular immunity from the ravages and unsettlement of war, as well as from our geographical position. There sprung up a very considerable middle class small masters—according to present standards—shopkeepers, merchants. Britain became pre-eminently the land of commodity production, of competitive manufacture and trading. Landed conditions rooted in feudalism promoted this, and the small proprietor, like the would-be gentleman he was, went into the respectable business of trade, i.e., handling the products of some one else's toil.

The political settlement of the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689 was followed by a gigantic appropriation of common lands and the persistent encouragement by the State of capitalist agriculture. This caused the yeoman to turn to trade and manufacture and the cottar and small cultivator to flock to industry as a "free" worker. But these "free" workers, as well as those whose labor they diluted, acquired, or retained, a certain craftsmanship, whilst the machinery and requisites of their toil called into being new trades and fresh aptitudes. These industrial workers were in fairly close relations of inter-course with their employers and were deeply touched with Methodism and Baptism in England and Wales. They became of the same mind as their employers, individualistic and always striving to elevate themselves to a higher class. The craftsman and the working tradesman of classic capitalist production belonged spiritually to the middle-class. Very slowly and tentatively did they, or their employers, realize the trend that events were taking.

The enormous expansion of British commerce after 1848, into the causes of which we can not here enter, absorbed not only the displaced hand-workers into industry at home or sent them forth as colonists, but brought plenty of work and good wages to the tens of thousands of Irish who were drawn to this country in the first half of the nineteenth century. This, and Free Trade in corn, shattered Chartism—the political expression of the chagrin of the displaced and diluted textile hand-workers. In its place arose trades unionism of the quiet, sluggish type, born, not of the English temperament, but of contemporary prosperity

and the mitigation of the class struggle.

British industrialism was maturing, German industrialism was being born, and with it German Socialism was enjoying a vigorous and stormy youth. The cause of this was the discontent of the German craftsmen and peasant occupiers with the loss of independence which absorption in factory work entailed. They were too late to share the industrial strivings of their British comrades, who had passed on to the quietude that afterwards overcame the German workers and made them respectable and decent fellows, according to capitalist ideas. Hence, the British and the German workers failed to understand each other.

When German capitalism got into its stride and American capitalism began to show the mettle of its pasture, British industry experienced the humiliating fact of competition. Britain, the workshop of the world, discovered that others had dared to challenge her long-continued monopoly. The "eighties" were sad years of bad times, the modification of private enterprise and keen foreign competition. Numbers of workers and middle-class men and women became aware of a change in the political and economic status and attitude of sections of the capitalist class. Some deserted Liberalism for Liberal Unionism. Others went over from Radicalism to political Socialism. They became either Fabians or S. D. F.'ers. At the same time in America, the robbery of the public domain by the big land thieves caused the middle-class to listen eagerly to Henry George, whose gospel received a welcome from the Radicals of this country, deserted by their leaders, who had now become not only big capitalists but land-owners.

This was the first flowering of Socialism in Britain. Then the capitalist class called to their service their executive committee, and with Chamberlain, Rhodes and Milner set out to extend and improve the imperial market for home products. By naval programmes and other means, they helped the newly developing associations and syndicates to regain lost ground and to expand. After two minor defeats, more apparent than real, the "trust" magnates of America got thoroughly ensconced in the saddle, and set about to organize the small men of the United States.

From 1903 to 1909, Socialism had another vigorous period of growth in Britain and the United States. The same conditions of industrial concentration, the same tendency to imperialism, drove the lower middle class and sections of the working class to the Socialist ranks. Then, from 1910 to the outbreak of war, Lloyd George, and the far more useful, because more cultured and apparently more disinterested, Woodrow Wilson, delayed and divided—as they were put up to do—the Socialist forces.

When the war came the Radical middle class looked sorrowfully after their leaders, and, with halting steps, came to Socialism via the U. D. C. and the I.L.P. In America similar developments have had similar consequences. But, in both countries, the mass of the workers has remained content with its national leaders.

## The Indicator

A Journal of History, Economics,  
Philosophy and Current Events

Published every Week By the  
Socialist Party of Canada.

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

Editor.....C. Stephenson

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

SATURDAY.....NOVEMBER 1, 1919

### "The White Terror"

THE Toronto "Statesman" of Oct. 25, contains an article headed, "The White Terror." The Toronto "Statesman" is not a Socialist organ, it is of the Liberal persuasion and often contains attacks on Socialism. It is of the type of weekly journals termed "responsible." Consequently, when we find a journal of this character protesting, belatedly we must say, against the underhand secret terrorism holding sway in this country, unsuspected by the people in general, we may be sure that the burden of it has reached proportions which are fast becoming intolerable. The Socialist and Labor movements are to an especial degree its victims, and it has been our function for years to try and awaken the people to the strangling grip on free criticism and educational discussion of social affairs, exercised by this ever-growing irresponsible secret tyranny.

All thinking men must admit the seriousness of our social problems today. It is recognized that we get deeper and deeper in the mire as the problems assume more dangerous proportions, because those in power fail to solve them and more than that, they add to the problem by their own autoeratic ineptitudes.

It is becoming evident daily to more and more of the people that the situation is becoming more dangerous because the powers that be are primarily interested in preserving their own interests in opposition to the welfare of the masses of the people. To do this, to suppress criticism and discussion, they have built up this secret police organization which is spying, intimidating and hounding people into jail and to deportation. Many people have been undergoing trials, in many cases "in Camera," all over the country, of whose proceedings the press has been giving out garbled, one-sided reports calculated to prejudice the public against the indicted individuals and at the same time serve the purpose of covering up the real nature of the activities of the secret service.

This month, at the Assizes in Winnipeg, a number of men active in the labor movement during the time of the Winnipeg strike are to be tried for seditious conspiracy. Two parsons, some Socialists and Labor men compose the group. On the face of it, they are an unlikely combination to have conspired to overthrow by force the established power of government in Canada. Yet, by some means, the secret service has managed to put these men on trial for this offence. We submit, taking into consideration the nature of the personnel of those who control the powers of government, in this country, that nothing

can save these men from jail except the masses of the people take an interest in their welfare and demand that the press publish no garbled reports of the trials and that it cease its lying propaganda.

The following are excerpts from the article in the "Statesman" showing the methods of the "White Terror."

"In Canada we have a government of sleuth hounds bent upon depriving the citizen of freedom of speech and freedom of action. The chief sleuth hound is Hon. Arthur Meighen, the author of the War-time Elections Act, the manipulator of the soldiers' vote, and the modern Torquemada who drags citizens from their homes in the dead of night, and who makes war on labor leaders who presume to criticize his unconstitutional acts of tyranny.

Mr. Ivens, the Winnipeg labor leader, may be wholly wrong in his ideas regarding industrial reform. But in seeking to prevent Mr. Ivens from addressing public meetings in the City of Toronto, the legal sleuth of the Borden Administration is setting a bad example to the workers which may lead to serious consequences. The Government itself can not be unaware of the reports of the Industrial Commission and the Industrial Conference, in which labor unrest is attributed in part to repressive administration that denies liberty of speech. Yet the Hon. Arthur Meighen continues his dark-lantern methods as the champion of the Big Interests and lets loose his sleuth hounds to dog Mr. Ivens from town to town in order to prevent him from stating his case to the public. Abraham Lincoln said that the man who refused to hear both sides of a question was a dishonest man. Mr. Meighen goes further and employs the forces of the Government to prevent the public knowing the case for the workers as presented by Mr. Ivens.

Canada has been copying some of the despotic methods resorted to across the border, in the effort to prevent Democracy coming into its own. Two Montreal ladies were dragged out of their beds in the dead of night by the minions of Hon. Arthur Meighen, and refused permission to dress, while secret police, operating under a blanket warrant, rifled their rooms of all papers. Labor leaders have been treated in the same high-handed manner—all in the interests of a war that was to make Canada a safer place for Democracy! Mr. Meighen has adopted the plans of the Czarists and stamped his heel on the neck of Freedom.

The lengths to which a Government may go, that is drunk with power and controlled by the Big Interests, is revealed in the United States, where riots are planned and organized by the secret powers behind the Government, and the reputation of honest working men besmirched by the conspiracies of agents provocateurs. A New York weekly, edited by Protestant Episcopal clergymen—The Social Preparation—reveals how the game is played in the United States. We quote their article in full, as a warning to Mr. Meighen that there are thousands of men in Canada who will go to jail rather than forego their right to freedom of speech:—

"Red Riots in Boston," "Twenty Socialists Arrested," "Socialist Meeting Turns to Riot in Cleveland,"

"Reds in New York Use Violence."

We all read terrible headlines like these in our papers on May second. If we took the trouble to read the story, we were told of the arrest, in a number of cities, of horrible Bolsheviks and Socialists for starting riots. And we thought: "These Socialists may know what is wrong with the world, but who wants to have anything to do with them when they do such things." Which is precisely what the headlines and the stories were supposed to make us think. In regard to these May Day riots, a little affair which took place in New Haven on that day may shed some light. The story was told us by a young Yale man who was using it as an example "of the harmless fun we must expect of college students to indulge in." He was in the Sheffield School on May first when a student entered the class room to ask if the class might be dismissed "for there is a gentleman at one of the fraternity houses who wishes to speak to the boys on a very important matter." The instructor complied with the request, and the young fellow who told us this story went with the group to hear what the gentleman had to say.

It amounted to this: "The Socialists are to hold a May Day Meeting on the Green tonight. We do not want this meeting to take place. It will be bad for that democracy which our boys have been fighting for. I am in the Government service and of course have power to prohibit it, but it will be more effective if the meeting is broken up by a popular demonstration. I can always count on the loyalty of college men to do this. I know the stuff you Yale men are made of. So you fellows all be at this meeting tonight. Wait until you get the signal from me. Then smash up this meeting."

The students, seeing a chance for a lark, agreed to do so. In order to do a good job, each student came into the laboratory in the afternoon and armed himself with a piece of lead pipe, cut into a convenient length. They intended to make a good job of it. Unfortunately for the scheme, there was one student in the group who did not believe in fighting for democracy that way. Probably a "sissy pacifist." Anyway someone gave the whole plan away by telling the Socialists, who called off their meeting, and deprived the students of all their fun. And, incidentally, deprived the New Haven papers of the chance to print extra, with big headlines, "Socialists Start a Big Riot on the Green," followed by the story of the arrest of a group of Socialists for trying to overthrow the government by force. There were riots in other cities; and in every case Socialists were arrested and given long sentences. We wonder, in the light of this story, if the right people were punished?

We wonder if these plans to destroy Liberty and Democracy in Canada have a place in the long catalogue of crimes committed in the name of Freedom during the past four years?

#### THE HIGH COST OF PRINTING

Last issue the printer raised his price, and we were already producing at a loss. Up to now we have been able to continue publication owing to revenue from due stamps and

profits on literature, but it has always been close shaving. What is to be done?

We see one clear way to overcome this new handicap, and that is for our readers to take a hand in the business. We are painfully aware that "The Indicator" is not as good as it might be, but do our readers, allowing for shortcomings, still think it worth while to keep it in existence. They can do this by increasing its circulation. What with wholesale rates for newsagents and bundles, and unsold copies, mailing costs, etc., we are producing at a loss. But every additional 1000 over our present number can be supplied to us at a reduced rate. Thus the raising of the circulation will put us on clear street again. Will our readers make this their business.

There are too few journals devoted to working class education in this country already and it would be a crying shame for one of that description to cease publication for lack of support. It should be borne in mind that Socialist organs all over the world depend on their readers in large part for increasing their circulation. That is part of the propaganda work devolving on Socialists. Paid subscription agents are for the Capitalist press. And pandering to sensationalism and passing gusts of popular feeling for boosting a circulation can not be resorted to by us. More often, in fact all the time, as truth will have it, we are unorthodox, therefore unpopular.

Now then, obstacles are made to be overcome. Let us raise the circulation 1000 in a month for a start. For all Socialists, it will be a matter of honor that the only Socialist paper published in Canada be made a success. Take extra copies and introduce "The Indicator" to your friends. Get them to buy it. Do not pauperize them. If we all do our best, that 1000 is a sure thing.

Eighteen State Parliaments in Germany have women members; only seven have not. It is significant that of Germany's women legislators the largest number, sixty-four, are Social Democrats, thirty-seven belong to the Democratic party, nineteen to the Catholic centre, thirteen are Independent Socialists, nine are reactionary Conservatives, five are National Liberals and two are Communists.

#### EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

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

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

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

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR "THE INDICATOR"

IN order to obtain mailing privileges, we need between two and three hundred subscriptions from points outside our home mailing district, in order to fulfill the specifications in the Post Office regulations. All obligations are guaranteed or money refunded. The mailing privilege will reduce our mailing expenses very considerably.

## Consideration of the Term "Capital"

### II.

WE have already seen that, for the economists of the nineteenth century, Capital consisted of the means of wealth production—factories, rolling stock, machinery, raw materials and maintenance for the laborers—stated, of course, in terms of money. We have also seen that, for Marx, capital manifested itself as a social relationship existing between men in capitalistic society; a relationship, however, resting upon and conditioned by the possession by a class of the means of wealth production before mentioned.

This class-ownership rests upon the right of private-property. This, in the view of the classical writers, was a natural right and would be defended on the ground that the owner of the objects in question had produced them by his own labor, or had inherited them from someone who had, or that he used and operated them in such a manner as to constitute a public service.

Meanwhile there has been an enormous development of the banking and credit system and the substitution of corporate for individual ownership. This has resulted in the divorce of the capitalist from active participation in production, which is now carried on by the working forces—laborers, technical experts and salaried managers. The property right of the capitalist now consists merely in the possession of certain credit documents—stocks, shares, bonds and debentures, which bring him an annual income.

Now, then, it may be said, for all practical purposes, that the world's wealth is produced—and consumed—annually. And in saying this I do not forget what is known as fixed capital which, year by year, has to be maintained and replaced. The world's wealth, thus annually produced is the result of the efforts of the working classes and forms a

stream of products which, reckoned in terms of money, is distributed, by virtue of the economic laws operating in capitalist society, as wages, rent, interest and profits. The first category, wages, accrues to the working class and the rest, consisting of surplus value, forms the fund out of which are drawn the incomes accruing to the holders of the various evidences of ownership.

This style is too diffuse and flatulent.

Let's make a fresh start.

From the purely material point of view, we may define Capital as being the material equipment used in industry, plus the fund expended for the maintenance of the laborer, that is, in wages. It may be further divided into:

(1) **Constant Capital**, so-called because its value passes over unchanged into the product. This again is subdivided into:

(a) **Liquid**, or circulating **constant capital**, the value of which passes over completely into the product, for example raw materials and accessories to the process.

(b) **Fixed constant capital**, which is consumed piece-meal and of which the wear-and-tear only reappears in the value of the product. For example, machinery, tools, buildings and rolling stock, etc.

(2) **Variable Capital**, which is the fund expended in wages and is so-called because it is that part of capital which gives rise to a surplus in the labor process. This surplus manifests itself in the enhanced value of the product over the aggregate value of its components. All the objects thus functioning are exchange-values. Capital is therefore, as Marx expresses it, a "sum of exchange values." They can be, and are, expressed in terms of money—**Money Capital**.

The objective which the capitalist has in view in the industrial process is the production of profit. That he produces a commodity is merely incidental. A necessary incident, unfortunately. This profit arises from the surplus value created in the labor process. It will bear a certain proportion to the variable capital expended, that is, to the wages paid. This is called the **rate of surplus value**. It will also bear a certain proportion to the total capital invested. This ratio is called the **rate of profit**.

There is, however, a vast difference between the amount of surplus value produced in any industry and the **net profit** realized by the industrial capitalist. The **gross profit** is subject to deductions for rent, interest, merchant's profits, insurance, legal and other expenses. These go to other sections of the capitalist class by virtue of the laws governing the distribution of wealth under capitalism. In any case, the total surplus value will equal the total profits realized by the capitalist class as a whole. By the law of the average rate of profit, the total profits are distributed pro rata among the capitals employed in such a way as to result in an **average rate of profit**. This rate is that expected by the average investor and governs the market values of the various securities traded in. This is where I ring in a quotation from Veblen's "Theory of Business Enterprise:"—

"As a business proposition, "Capital" means a fund of money values; and since the credit economy and corporation finance have come to be the ruling factors in industrial business, this fund of money values [taken as an aggregate] bears but a remote and fluctuating relation to the industrial equipment and the other items which may [perhaps

properly] be included under the old-fashioned concept of industrial capital. . . . But in so far as business procedure and business conceptions have been shaped in the image of the modern corporation [or limited liability company,] the basis of capitalization has been gradually shifted, until the basis is now no longer given by the cost of the material equipment owned, but by the earning-capacity of the corporation as a going concern.

"Capital" may be therefore defined as **capitalized putative earning-capacity.**"

How this comes about may be explained in this way. As we have seen the investing capitalist expects, and generally receives a certain rate of profit which constitutes his annual income. Now, read this from Herman Cahn's "Capital Today:"

"If it is the "natural" quality of money to bring an income, so, vice versa, any regular income may be regarded as the fruit of a certain capital. An annual income of \$600, supposing the prevailing interest rate to be six per cent., represents a capital of \$10,000, and lo presto! this capital springs forth into existence where a minute before there was a vacuum, "just as the world was created out of nothing under the hand of God."

Of such a nature are all the stocks, bonds, shares, debentures, mortgages, title deeds, and other documentary evidences of ownership. The sole guarantee for the validity of these things is the power of the State, which in its turn rests upon the common consent of an ignorant and deluded slave-class.

Finally, we should not be far wrong if we defined "Capital" as being the capitalized capacity for exploitation of the modern industrial system, resting upon a social relationship—a relationship of masters and slaves.

GEORDIE.

## The Farmer Question

A Reply to H. S. F.

THE farmer is again in the limelight, H. S. F. contributing in "The Indicator of Oct. 18," to the popular view held by farmers for years, namely, that farm produce unlike any other commodity is constantly selling below its exchange value. In other words, the farmer alone is robbed at the point of consumption. In other words, chronic over-production constantly prevails in this industry. I might say in passing that, this view seems chronic too.

Personally, I do not wish to take up valuable space on this subject, since I gave my views on same some years ago in a small pamphlet, ("Wage-worker and Farmer." Out of print.—Editor,) and though I have sought them, have been unable since to find any facts to materially change my conclusions therein crudely expressed.

Were it not for the fact that some statements I made at that time are considered by H. S. F. as misleading, I would not be writing this, and all I ask is that weighty evidence be submitted instead of mere assertions to

support such statements as our comrade makes when he says that Farm Tractors, etc., are producing little or no effect on the average farmer.

My opinions, or that of others, counts for little if not supported by facts obtained from a study of the forces at work, either in plain view or veiled.

My contention was, and is, that the average farmer, the modern farmer shall we say, is farmed by the Capitalist class, is merely a tenant selling his produce at a price that fluctuates above and below value, but tends to rest at value or pivot there so to speak. Further, that values extracted above cost of labor-power are turned over in the form of interest to banks and mortgage companies, etc., etc. Proof, not readily obtainable, of this kind of information, is not considered by the holders, to their interest to disclose yet it is in their possession.

The reason why the present average farmer is no more than a mere tenant is because he was compelled to buy, buy, buy, improved machinery and more land to keep in the

game with those few that our correspondent tells us are a negligible factor, the tractor, truck and car owners. Proof that these tractors are a factor and a great one may more readily be obtained from the many flourishing concerns manufacturing them by applying to the sales department.

To the great majority of students of the Marxian School, this is the only means possible, as a tour of observation through a sufficient farming area to obtain the same results is somewhat beyond what our purse will stand. I frankly admit that I am unable to publish figures to prove my contention in full, not having applied for them even, but I am quite willing to let those who disagree with me obtain the figures and accept them as correct.

I have had figures, however, given me confidentially by class conscious employees in certain Loan Companies, re the loans received by farmers in the surrounding country and they almost were beyond belief.

The above concerns the average farmer who keeps grace with the times. Those in the rear are without doubt incorporating in their commodities, socially unnecessary labor, therefore receiving no payment for same.

In conclusion let me say that the present farmer may have no fear of that new species, named by your correspondent as "the farmer's economic enemy," the wage-worker, competing with him any longer, for I understand (perhaps its just hot-air) that all he has left after the master class is through with him would hardly buy a modern farm, and if he is privileged as a renter, then an existence in return for 16 hours labor a day will undoubtedly be allowed him by a benevolent landlord. So don't get excited Mr. Farmer, for you will receive the same.

J. PILKINGTON.

The Department of Statistics in India states:

"In the middle of June, 1919, the wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India increased by 100 per cent., as compared with the average of the prices which prevailed at the corresponding date in the last three years. The price of rice rose by 62 to 110 per cent. Wheat prices advanced by 70 per cent. The price of barley showed a rise of 96 per cent. The average prices of Jawar and Bajra rose by about 127 per cent. Grain prices showed a rise of 110 per cent.

## OUT OF BARBARISM INTO FEUDALISM

(Two Excerpts)

[There is some disagreement among the authorities on the subject as to the name of the barbaric political organizations which, coming after the downfall of Roman civilization, preceded feudalism. The "Mark" and the "Manor" successively in time are the names used by some to designate the social economic and political units of that intervening period. Lafargue calls it "village collectivism" and others may have other names. However, we are primarily concerned with the order and manner of social progression and its determining causes.—Edit.]

### Ranks Within the Tribe.

"It must not be supposed that, even among the full tribesmen, equality of rank was the rule. True it is that every free tribesman was entitled to his share of the grazing land, to his hunting in the waste, to his oath of kindred (i.e., to the protection of his immediate relatives,) and to his armor. But it is probable, that from the very first, the chief wealth of the tribe, viz., its cattle and sheep, its camels and goats, were looked upon as individual property; and the tribesmen who were not fortunate enough to inherit or to capture a stock of these was in a somewhat unenviable position. As Ancient Irish Laws put it, he was only a **Fer Midba**, or "inferior man," not a **Boaire**, or "lord of cattle." In fact he was very much in the position of the modern "free" workman, who often finds that his boasted freedom means freedom to starve." Prof. Jenks, "Short History of Politics."

"The village built in the best strategical positions became a centre, in the event of invasion the inhabitants of adjacent villages flocked to it for refuge, and in return for the protection afforded them in the hour of danger, they were called on to contribute towards the cost of repairing the fortifications and maintaining the men at arms. The authority of these village chiefs extended to the surrounding country.

"In this natural manner were generated in the collectivist villages, all of whose members were equal in rights and duties, the first elements of feudalism; they would have remained stable during centuries, as in India, but for the impulse of external events which disturbed them and infused them with new life. Wars and conquests developed these embryonic germs, and by agglomerating and combining them, built up the vast feudal system diffused during the Middle Ages, over Western Europe.

"The medieval conquerors confirmed the local chiefs in their possession of those posts in the villages which were too unimportant to be bestowed as benefices on their liegemen, and in return, made them responsible for the levying of the taxes and the conduct of their dependents, thereby according them an authority they had not previously possessed in the village collectivities. But in every strategical place they installed one of their own warriors, it was a military post which they confided to him; the length of tenure of such posts,

WHEN we analyze the written history of society, we find that we can divide it into three great periods, Chattel Slavery, Feudalism and Capitalism. History is after all merely a record of the struggles of the classes in these periods. All the records that have been preserved covering the events and conditions of life of past ages have been highly colored by historians. The lowest class, whether it be chattel, feudal or wage-slave, has been treated with scorn by those scribes. The historians or chroniclers of antiquity did not consider it worth while, or at least dignified to pay but little more attention to the slaves in their records than they would to beasts of burden. A few stray passages here and there, something from hieroglyphics and slabs unearthed and translated in more recent times, give about all the knowledge we have about the conflicts of the classes. Even today with improved methods of communication, we know very little of what really occurs in the outside world, due to the fact that those in control of the means of information are not desirous of furnishing us with the truth.

The accounts of the uprisings of the under classes of the past are almost unknown to us. That there were uprisings is a certainty. The spirit of revolt never entirely dies out in man no matter to what depths of misery

called benefices, was subject to variation; at first, they were revoked at pleasure, afterwards granted for life, and ultimately became hereditary. The beneficiary tenants took advantage of circumstances to turn their hereditary possessions into alodial property, i.e., into land exempt from all obligations. In France, the early kings were repeatedly obliged to make ordinances against this kind of usurpation. 'Let not him who holds a benefice of the emperor or the church convert any of it into his patrimony,' says Charlemagne in a capitulary of the year 803. But such ordinances were powerless to prevent the conversion of military chiefs into feudal barons. It may be said, therefore, that the feudal system had a dual origin; on the one hand it grew out of conditions under which the village collectivities evolved, and in the other it sprang from conquest. "The feudal barons whether village-chiefs, transmogrified by the march of events, or military chieftains installed by the conquerors, were bound to reside in the country which it was their duty to administer and defend. The territory they possessed and the dues they received in the shape of labor and tithes, were the recompense of services rendered by them to the cultivators under their jurisdiction. The barons and their men-at-arms formed a permanent army, nourished and maintained by the inhabitants whom they directly protected. "In the Romance languages (which include the French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Wallachian,) the original name of the feudal lord, the term baron, signified the strong man, a doughty warrior, which well indicates the essentially military character of feudalism. Vassal similarly bore the sense of brave, valiant."—Paul Lafargue.

he sinks. There always remains a spark of revolt in him. Biologically speaking it is another case of self-preservation. The yellowest cur that ever walked on four feet will bite back when cornered. When a man is on the edge of a precipice and when he knows one push will send him to a certain death, the instinct of self-preservation manifests itself and he tries hard to save himself.

The following description of the life of the slaves in ancient Rome furnishes us with some idea of the sufferings the working class of that period had to undergo. "The labor was arduous; men and women, some of whom had been guilty of some criminal act, were sent into the subterranean caverns, stripped entirely of their clothing, their bodies painted, their legs loaded with chains and thus set at work breaking the rocks and carrying it to the mouth of the shaft." Such conditions could not be continued without protest and protest meant battle.

The revolt of Spartacus, the Roman gladiator is one of the most glorious chapters in Roman history. The spirit of revolt apparently was not destroyed by the arduous labor imposed on them by their masters. They withstood Rome's best legions for many years until they were weakened by internal dissensions.

The civilization that was built on the backs of chattel slaves collapsed by its own contradictions. A new society took its place. A new form of slavery came into existence, feudalism. The conditions of the working class during that period was hardly better than its predecessors in the chattel slave period.

To live in his dilapidated hut like a hare in his hollow, with his ear always on the alert, to cultivate out of season, and against his will barren soil; to take refuge at the sound of danger in his master's castle; to encamp there in want and fear, hardly sheltered and poorly fed, a prey to epidemic diseases; later to go out starved and trembling to find his hovel burnt to the ground and his crops destroyed, to repair the damage and begin again with the prospect of another similar catastrophe; such was the life of the serf under the feudal system.

Again the instinct of self-preservation asserts itself. The serf revolts blindly. One of the greatest and most significant revolts of that period was the Peasant's revolt of 1381 in England. The following statement, significant of the social doctrines preached, is attributed to John Ball, one of the revolutionists of that period. It is remarkable for its startling likeness to the statements made at the present time.

"Good people, things will never be well in England so long as there be villeins (Serfs) and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call Lords, greater than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, and the wind and rain in the fields. And yet it is of us and out of our toil that these men hold their estate."

And when the serfs in collusion with the handicraft workers of the

cities had practically overrun England, they lost the fruits of their victory by listening to the honeyed words of their king who promised amelioration of their sufferings and the destruction of serfdom. Seeing that the serfs had demobilized their forces, the king is reported to have said: "Villeins you were and villeins you are. In bondage shall you abide, and that not your old bondage but a worse."

The opening of the new world spelled the death of feudalism. Capitalism makes its appearance on the world's stage. Although the serf expected that the new system would put an end to his sufferings, he was doomed to disappointment. The rapid growth of industry upon the basis of capitalism brought poverty and misery among the toiling masses to a degree unparalleled in the history of human society.

The tales of the sufferings of the working class in England may be read in the Blue Books and reports of the various commissions which investigated the state of industrial life in the factories, mines and workshops between 1833 and to date or it may be read in the burning pages of Engels' State of the Working Classes in England in 1844. We hear of little children and young people in factories overworked and beaten as if they were slaves; of diseases and distortions only found in manufacturing districts; of filthy, wretched homes where people huddle together like wild beasts; we hear of girls and women working underground in the dark recesses of the coal mines, dragging loads of coal in cars in places where no horses could go, and harnessed and crawling along the subterranean pathways like beasts of burden. Everywhere we find cruelty and oppression and in many cases the workmen were but slaves bound to fulfil their masters' commands under fear of dismissal and starvation. Freedom they had in name; freedom to starve and die; but not freedom to speak, still less to act as citizens of a free state.

What is true of England, is true of the rest of the world. The conditions of the working class of all civilized countries are such that they in many cases baffle description. Although the earth is fruitful and labor productive enough to satisfy in abundance the needs of every one of its inhabitants, millions continually die of starvation. Christ is said to have been crucified eight hours. There are millions of toilers who are crucified 365 days a year. The spectre of unemployment with its attendants, starvation and misery, stares the worker in the face wherever he goes.

The instinct of self-preservation again asserts itself. All throughout the world the spirit of revolt is flaring up. Capitalism no longer can function and is slowly disintegrating. It is only a question of time when conditions in this country will be so intolerable that the workers will no longer heed the honeyed words of the apologists of capitalism.

Will the working class revolt blindly only to fall into a worse condition of economic slavery? Will that degradation be their lot always?

JOHN TYLER.

## MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

President Wilson in his "making the world safe for democracy," has coined one of the most illusory catch-phrases on record. It is world wide in its application, hypnotic in suggestion, implies so much and means so little. Unfortunately for society, the masses, always intent on the spectacular, have taken this phrase, as they have taken so much else of the sensational at its face value. And this in spite of the plainest of evidence of the many and significant class reservations on that utterance. What does this phrase mean, that flows so glibly from the tongues of those, whom we have every reason to suspect?

There is but one method of unravelling a problem with a great estimate of the value and a clear understanding of the meaning of the symbols employed. Without that understanding words are but mere shadowy spectres in the mist-vaile of speculation. In the above quotation the word democracy demands our attention. What is democracy? What does it signify?

According to public sentiment and in the last resort that sentiment is the final appeal, irrevocable if the public have all the facts, Democracy is a system of society where the control of affairs is vested in the people. This definition itself involves some further definition in the matter of terms. What is society? Society taken in its entirety, is an aggregation of the people of a country, held together by a common general interest or aim. What does it mean to vest control of anything in anyone? To invest control in a body is to endow that body with powers, approved by society and delegated from society, the fountain of all such powers, for the control of the object for which society has united. A society ordered on such terms, plainly must derive the advantages flowing from that organization. What now is this common general object of organized society—this general communion applicable to all of society? Precisely the same thing as the common general object of each unit within that society, i.e., obtaining the wherewithal to support life. That is the object, around which society is aggregated and held together. Now let us return to democracy. Democracy, as already pointed out, is a system of society, whose control of affairs is vested in the people, democracy therefore signifies that the society of the people through its appointed institutions, controls the means of obtaining the necessities of life, since the method of obtaining those means, constitutes the affairs of society, constitutes the major portion of all social activity.

Without quibbling on the matter, society in this sense, means the whole body of the people and again without quibbling, to control any subject matter, is to possess supreme rights over that subject matter, since without such rights no control is possible. The western nations are all regarded as and proclaim themselves to be democracies, their institutions and their constitutions, indeed their entire organization ranked as democratic, their people a democratic people, nurtured into beauty and bravery

under the balmy skies of freedom. Let us bring those democracies into the limelight and see if this is so.

The means of life signify the resources of a country, the raw material of production, the land and all it produces and contains, the machinery for converting the raw material into products for consumption and for distribution. It is notoriously untrue, therefore to say that the control of the means of life in those democracies is vested in the people. Manifestly such control resides in one particular section of the people, to the exclusion of all the rest, who can have access to the one necessary means, only on the condition imposed by the necessity of that class. Democracy, therefore, as it is popularly understood and accepted, the necessity of producing at a profit, is evidently not of that type symbolized by crosses and eagles.

What then do the politicians of those nations mean by making the world safe for democracy? Obviously it can only mean, making the world safe for the particular brand of democracy which obtains in those countries, i.e., capitalist democracy. But capitalist democracy is a contradiction in terms and for that reason it is either an absurdity or a travesty.

Democracy, as we have seen, implies social ownership and control of the means of life, or words are merely the paraphernalia of jugglery and therefore it is a travesty of fact to say that modern democracies are democratic. President Wilson's ideal is on analysis, nothing more than the common and sordid and visionless ideal of human slavery, the ideal of capitalist "property right" in life essentials of society. And the people who have followed that watchword heroically in the enthusiasm of an idea—and a mighty idea—but also, blindly in the credulity of simplicity, have struggled and bled and died, merely to perpetuate their own appalling subjugation.

There is one way only of making democracy a certainty, viz., the social ownership and control of those things common and essential to all existence. Capitalist war cannot bring this consummation, nor will it arise out of capitalist war, since capital will not imperil its own interest. Nor can capital be reformed out of existence, or idealistically persuaded to loosen its grip on its "property right." It must be put away. But to put it away we must understand class society, our enslaved position therein, the manner of our exploitation. Knowing that we can oppose our wisdom to capitalist cunning, our knowledge to capitalist coercion, our dialectic to be presumed right and the necessity arising out of the economic of social production devolving upon the producing class, on penalty of starvation will not only give us the weapons to fight with, but it will indicate the method as well. In this historic condition it will be no petty class rule, interest, no shifting class idealism, neither the subterfuge of illusion, nor the flattery of tinsel "honors" that will check or deviate or impede, the deliberate, but irresistible march of the coming revolution.

When capital has been abolished, when we have organized a system of social distribution in conformity with social production and profit gives place to use; when administration of our social affairs, vested in ourselves and therefore for our need

## Reflections on the Strike

(William Stewart, in "Forward")

HERE is, and will be, much discussion about the events which led up to the railway strike, and many attempts to apportion responsibility and blame.

The one important fact is that the strike has taken place. The responsibility for it rests with the Capitalist system. The Capitalist system is day by day proving itself to be unworkable. That fact was demonstrated on the most stupendous scale in 1914, when war broke out in Europe, and during the succeeding five years, when the Capitalist system had either to be suspended or modified in all countries engaged in the war. The attempts being made to set the Capitalist system on its legs again are the cause of the industrial unrest. The railway strike is only one of the manifestations of the impossibility of Capitalism. The ironfounders' strike is another. The steelworkers' strike in America is another. All these strikes will pass. The strikers in each case may even be apparently defeated, but that will not rehabilitate Capitalism.

Lloyd George talks grandiloquently of a new world, but when the miners and the railwaymen submit their contributions towards the architecture of the new world, he meets their proposals with "all the forces of the Crown." He preaches cantingly about "Brotherhood," but when the conditions under which brotherhood can prevail are submitted he calls out the military; and he doesn't realize that though he may evade and dodge the claim of the miners, though he may defeat the railwaymen, he will then have done—nothing. The problem will remain. The problem of making a system workable which is unworkable. Lloyd George can not do it: his Government can not do it. No Government that the future may give us will be able to do it. The railway strike, whatever its immediate results, is not a finality. It is only a symptom, a temporary phase. So was the miners' threatened strike early in the year, and the Coal Commission which followed. So are all the other Labor disputes.

The real danger lies in the attitude of the present governing classes towards these signs of the times. It is the attitude of people who are either stupid or ignorant, or wicked. Perhaps all three. The war-time talk about the common interests of all classes has stopped. The worker claiming a human standard of life is no longer a "patriot." He is no longer the "backbone of the nation." Rich and poor are no longer hand-

and use and well-being, is established in the place of usurping government; then with the abolition of class ownership, class distinctions will disappear; with the abolition of wages, poverty will vanish; with the abolition of capitalist private property, conflict will be eliminated and on the new foundation of that economic freedom, a new society will arise, whose base will be the whole wide world; its power, the pinnacle of human achievement; its interest, the sanctity of human life and whose ethic in truth and in fact will make the world safe for democracy. R.

and-glove. Of course, they never were, but they were assumed to be—for a time. All that pretence has dropped. It has served its purpose, and now there is open and undisguised hostility towards the claims of Labor. The miners and their leaders are Bolsheviks. The railwaymen are Anarchists. All of them except those who lie silent in France and Flanders—though even from their graves these may yet speak terrifyingly to Capitalism. When Bonar Law in an unguarded moment threatened the miners with force, the Capitalist House of Commons cheered joyously. He disavowed the threat, but he couldn't recall those revealing cheers. When Lloyd George prepares for the railway strike as for an armed campaign the Capitalist Press cheers him also. These are the ominous indications of the spirit of the governing class, now fully aware that its right to govern is being challenged by other methods than those of the ballot box.

The present writer has nothing to say concerning these methods. The workers will choose their methods for achieving their ends according to varying circumstances, which may sometimes be determined for them by their enemies. There is reason to believe that this has been the case in this railway dispute, and that the Government believe they can deal with the railwaymen more effectively now than at the end of the year. The immovable, almost challenging, attitude of Lloyd George and Geddes in last week's negotiations gives ground for that belief. And in that connection there arises the other question: Why was it necessary for the railwaymen to negotiate with Lloyd George last week? Why not with William Adamson, or Arthur Henderson, or Ramsay MacDonald? The reason is plain. The railwaymen, with the miners and other workers, elected Lloyd George last December to the position of supreme authority in this country. They elected him and his class in preference to the men of their own class. Now, when they seek to bring about, not a revolution, but merely a reasonable standard of life for themselves, it is with Lloyd George they have to negotiate. And it is with his ultimatum they have to deal. They elected him. Having rejected the political weapon last December, they now take up the industrial weapon. I have nothing to say about that. They have a right to choose the weapon they think most useful. But I can not help thinking that the industrial method would have been more effective at this moment if they had made use of the political method last December. Perhaps the strike would have been rendered unnecessary. That is the belief of those of us who urge the workers to use their votes for the acquirement of political power. If the votes are given for Capitalists then it is the Capitalists who possess the political power. They are now using it to the detriment of the railwaymen and all the workers and for the prolongation of the system whereby they live. That system is doomed, but it looks as if in its death-struggle there will be much suffering for humanity. Yet it need not be. I wish the workers would get sense more quickly.

## Clippings From the Press

### GRENADENES FOR POLICE

(From "Herald," London, Sept. 23.)

On inquiry at the Royal Irish Constabulary headquarters at Dublin Castle, the accuracy of the report concerning the supply of hand grenades to the constabulary was confirmed, but it was pointed out the grenades would explode in somewhat more than four seconds, and that they can be thrown 80 yards, not feet.

An official stated that they were intended for use by men on patrol in disturbed localities or in defence of their stations. "No man," he added, "will be permitted to handle one of these weapons until he has received adequate instruction in their use."

No such step has yet been taken in the case of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

### SECRET POLICE MAN ARRESTED

(From the Vancouver "Province.")

Within an hour after the warrant for his arrest had been issued, Barney Roth, secret police operative, who has been engaged for several months in the work of unearthing and prosecuting members of the Russian Workers' Union, was apprehended by Detective Dening on a charge of perjury.

He appeared before Magistrate Shaw and was remanded for one week, being allowed out on his own recognizances.

A warrant was also issued for Alex Dourasoff, but up to the present he has not been located by the police.

The alleged perjury, according to the informant, G. Neskidoff, is said to have been committed by the two accused in the course of their evidence at the trials of George Chekoff and Boris Zukoff.

### SHAW ASSAILS BRITISH PRESS FOR UNFAIRNESS TO RAILWAY STRIKERS

LONDON, Oct. 5.—British newspapers are lambasted by George Bernard Shaw in a statement in which he deals with their attitude of unfairness toward the striking railway workers. The Shaw statement says:

"If the community rises at the call of the government and its newspapers and smashes free contract by direct action there will be an end of 'laissez faire.' This 'appeal to the people' is no longer called an attempt to inflame the passions of the mob and to set class against class; it is the last resort of brainless kings and cabinets.

"Well, more power to the people; if they discover they can do without organized private labor they will also discover that they can do without organized private capital.

H. M. Hyndman (a noted British Socialist) used to say: 'What can these people (the capitalists) do for you that you can not do for yourself?'

"It is delightful to hear the Times using Hyndman's reasoning, now that 'these people' are trade unions. The Times does not know what it means, but feels it intolerable that any body

of men should have the power to blockade the country as if it were another Germany, merely because the 18 shillings a week will no longer support a family."

"The Times is quite right. It is intolerable that the railway workers should stop working for a month. It is also intolerable that railway shareholders should never begin working at all.

"And it is altogether intolerable that the Times should say what it likes about matters of vital public importance and manufacture public opinion as ordered by a 'junta of unknown and irresponsible men,' as the Times calls the strike leaders. The epithet would be much better suited to a board of railway directors."

### GERMANY DECLINES TO ASSIST IN BLOCKADE

(From Vancouver "Sun")

BERLIN, Oct. 26.—The Kreuze Zeitung learns from official sources that the foreign affairs committee of the assembly has concurred in the government's decision to decline to participate in the blockade against Rus-

sia. All the party committees have taken the standpoint unanimously.

The German answer to the entente consequently will go to Versailles on Monday. The note will declare that Germany refuses any intercourse with Soviet Russia, but is forced to refuse energetically to take part in any blockade, and that the German people, who have suffered terribly under the blockade, can not conscientiously commit "such terrible injustice" against any people.

Everything will be done, however, it is added, to prevent reinforcements and food reaching the West Russian formations, who refused to return.

### DENIKINE LOSES PORT

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.—Insurgent forces in the Kuban territory on the northwestern side of the Caucasian mountains, making common cause with the Kuban Cossacks, have taken from the forces of General Denikine, the anti-Bolshevik leader, the Black Sea port of Novorossysk and occupied the city of Stavropol, according to despatches received today by the Ukrainian mission.

## What Is Political Economy?

**P**OLITICAL Economy is the science which deals with the production and distribution of wealth. To determine the laws which regulate this is the principal problem of this science.

The terms **Political Economy** and **Economics** appear to mean the same and to be interchangeable in common use. Chamber's dictionary gives substantially the same definition of **political Economy** as above. Economics it defines as: Household management: Political Economy. Nevertheless, the writer has heard Economics characterized as a department of Political Economy, whose province was dealing with the anatomy or statics of the production and distribution of wealth. A consideration of the Marxian method of analysis would seem to justify that.

The bourgeois classical school of economists had looked upon the bourgeois society as based upon "natural" laws in contradistinction to Feudal Society, which they asserted was based on artificial man-made laws. They thus regarded their own system of society as "natural," that is to say: independent of historical development, so far as concerned its basic principles of "natural rights" of man to liberty, property and freedom of contract. Conceiving the bourgeois form of society as established on those principles, and thus, considering it as final and eternal, they analyzed only its parts to one another, whereas Marx, because of his own particular point of view, looked not only into the workings of its parts and their relations to each other, but also into the changes affected by the relations of the different parts to one another. Much as we may examine the separate parts of a machine at rest and then re-examine them with the machine in motion.

In the preface to the first volume

of Capital, Marx quotes, with something of approval, a critic of his as writing in a Russian journal, on Marx's method, to the following effect: "The one thing which is of moment to Marx is to find the law of the phenomena with whose investigation he is concerned; and not only is that law of moment to him, which governs these phenomena, in so far as they have a definite form and mutual connection within a given historical period. Of still greater moment to him is the law of their variation, of their development, i.e., of their transition from one form into another, from one series of connections into a different one. This law once discovered, he investigates in detail the effects in which it manifests itself in social life. Consequently Marx only troubles himself about one thing; to show by rigid scientific investigation, the necessity of successive determinate orders of social conditions, and to establish, as impartially as possible, the fact that serve him for fundamental starting points. For this it is quite enough, if he proves, at the same time, both the necessity of the present order of things, and the necessity of another order into which the present must inevitably pass over; and this all the same whether men believe or do not believe it, whether they are conscious or unconscious of it."

Thus to this present writer, without wishing anyone to attach much weight to his opinion, he thinks that Marx's method allows, if not determines that the science of Political Economy be divided into two departments of enquiry, one of the statics of the Capitalist system of production of which the first nine chapters of Capital are an example, and the other department of Political Economy proper, treating of the dynamics of the system in its movement, its inter-related parts reacting on each other, observed as a whole.

## Education Suppressed

**W**E regret to announce that our stock of Gibben's Industrial History of England is exhausted through unexpected large demand. However, we have sent for another lot, and we shall advertise their arrival in due course. Those who are impatient to get any, we advise them to order them from Methuen & Co., publishers, London, England. There are many scientific works dealing with sociological matters from an unorthodox or a critical point of view, which it is impossible to procure in Canada or import into it, because of the insensate prohibitions issued from Ottawa. All the literature published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, is still under the ban. They are the sole publishers of many works essential for the study of Social problems. Canada is in a class by itself. It is the only country in the world where Marx's "Capital," Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society," Lester F. Ward's "Ancient Lowly," and other works are not allowed to circulate. It is certainly time that the labor movement in Canada became alive to this sabotage on their education and let the mugwumps in Ottawa know that they resented it. It is essential for peaceful progress of the working class movement, that it be an educated movement. Everyone should realize that, and get busy on this matter. Both individuals and labor bodies should be sending in their demands to the Department of Justice, Ottawa, that the ban be taken off working class literature. Everyone with any inside to him ought to resent having his mental food spooned to him like a puling infant in arms. Get up on your hind legs and have those prohibitions lifted.

## Labor Defence Fund

A telegram received from Port Arthur states that the Attorney for the Finns arrested and charged with being possession of banned literature, etc., have lodged in court, an important objection against the prosecution's charges. The prosecution now appeals for a delay in proceedings, but the defence demands that the trial proceed forthwith. According to press reports of a few days ago, some of the prisoners have been convicted and sentenced to two years hard labor. However, J. Edward Bird, of the firm of Bird, Macdonald & Earle, of Vancouver, B. C., has arrived on the scene and put a different complexion on affairs.

The expenses for the defence of these men are defrayed out of the General Labor Defence Fund. Contributions are asked for.

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.