

# THE INDICATOR

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FIVE CENTS

## EVOLUTION

(From "The Freethinker.")

II.

### Evolution and Change.

THE permanent and universal fact in Nature is change. The most general—the law—of this aspect of Nature is that which meets us in the law of evolution. And so far as the world of living things is concerned, the basic fact is adaptation. But adaptation is a relative fact. What constitutes adaptation must be determined by the environment in determining what qualities or functions shall have a survival value that we arrive at the importance—social, ethical and religious—of environmental influences. For the fact of change, perhaps its possibility depends upon the environment, whatever be its character, undergoing alteration. The change may be of that slow secular character such as meets us in geological or astronomical phenomena. Or it may be a failure of the food supply which gives to certain animals the advantage derived from possessing variations, but which would have been without value had the food supply not been interrupted. Or, what amounts to the same thing, increase of numbers changes the organic environment of every member of the species. And the one quality brought out in all this is persistence. There is no necessary moral significance, and there is no end involved, as is implied in such terms as "higher" or "progress." These are conceptions introduced by us—useful enough in their way, but having no objective value. Ideally, one quality may be higher than another; but if it does not establish a greater degree of adaptation, it brings no advantage to its possessor, and may bring a positive disadvantage. In a thieves' kitchen the honest man is handicapped. In the existing political world a perfectly truthful man would be a parliamentary failure. In the pulpit a preacher who knew the truth about religion, and told it, would soon be out of the Church. Adaptation is not, as such, a question of moral goodness or badness; it is simply adaptation.

### Environment.

There is embedded in the theological use made of the doctrine of evolution, as also in its handling by a certain school of sociologists, the notion that the fact of adaptation leading to what we recognize as progress, affords ground for the belief that evolution supplies us with what Huxley very foolishly called a "wider teleology," which will escape the gross illogicalities of the older Paleyan form. This is wholly fallacious. So far as evolution makes for morality, it is only as adaptation is fundamentally and substantially identical with the persistence of certain struc-

tures, whether these structures be that of an organism or of a social group. As we have often pointed out, moral laws are to the social group what physiological laws are to the individual. They are expressions of the conditions that make group life possible, and the reasoning which sees in the existence of morality proof of a "divine plan," or divine guidance, is of the same order that sees design in the fact of death coming at the end of life instead of in the middle of it. What we are dealing with here is again the simple fact of adaptation, although in the case of the human group, the traditions and customs and ideals of the group form a very important part of the environment to which adaptation must be made, and which, therefore, have a distinct survival value. And it is in the creation of this peculiarly human environment that one has to look for the real influence of religion in moulding the life of the race. In that direction the case against religion is indeed black.

### Man and Evolution.

Excluding pathological cases, there is no real difference between the fundamental qualities possessed by men. There are differences as to the strength of these qualities, and also as to their relative values in contrasted individuals, and there are differences in the form in which the same qualities express themselves; but that is all. Civilization does not change the man; it only gives a new direction to existing qualities. In a bad social environment qualities are expressed harmfully, in a better environment they are expressed beneficially. The fundamental evil of war in the modern State is that it expends human energies in a relatively injurious manner. The love of contest and of competition, without which human nature would be a poor thing, is expended in the way of destruction instead of in the socially beneficial channels of adventure and healthy intellectual contest. Sympathies are narrowed instead of widened, and hatred of the outsider, a manifestation of which most civilized persons are ashamed during times of peace, becomes a belauded virtue in time of war. In other words, we create an environment—fortunately for only the time being—which gives a certain survival value to such expressions of human capacity as indicate a reversion to a lower type of culture. And this principle allows of a very wide application. It is one that is indicated by the whole course of social evolution. More and more it is being realized that what the individual is to become, the direction in which his energies are to be expended is, so to speak, a function of the environment. Man is not a creature of his environment in the sense

in which the expression was once used, but he is in the sense that the form of the reaction of his nature is determined by environmental influences.

### Man and His Environment.

It is this that makes of so great consequence the power of education and the influence of religion. The human brain is the most plastic organ known to science. It is educable to an enormous degree. That, indeed, is the one great distinction between the human and the animal baby. The compensation for being born with fewer instincts than other animals is the greater educability of the human brain. But that, of necessity, throws into greater prominence the educative influence of the environment. And the predominantly operative environment here is the human one as expressed in teachings, ideas, and ideals. We can not alter the nature of the qualities with which an individual is born, but we can by placing a social emphasis on certain aspects of their activity largely determine whether they shall be expressed in a socially injurious manner or not. The love of adventure, for example, may be exploited in the interests of some form of piratical enterprise, or it may be guided into channels of exploration, research, or other forms of social effort. Social approval is in itself a very powerful influence, and can be made to operate with all the intensity of personal gain. That it does operate with many is plain, that it might operate with more is a conclusion that fits in with all our knowledge of human nature. It lies with society itself to see that the environment is such as to exercise a selective influence with regard to those qualities that really make for real culture and civilization.

### The Power of Man.

To sum up. It is not the fact that evolution means a "levelling up." Neither does it necessarily mean progress, as we understand the term. Evolution is no more than a formula that expresses the way in which a moving balance of forces is brought about by purely mechanical means. So far as animal life is concerned, this balance is expressed in the term adaptation to environment. And in human society the environment is in a growing measure made up of the ideas, customs, traditions and ideals with which each finds himself surrounded. The game is thus very largely in our own hands. If we create an environment in which it is costly or dangerous to be honest and fearless in the expression of opinion, we shall be doing our best to develop mental cowardice and hypocrisy. If we bring up the young with the successful soldier or money-maker before them as our ideal figure, while we continue to treat the scientist and

## WORKERS' LIBERTY BOND CAMPAIGN

Many Contributions Received This Week.

MANY of the outlying points in B. C. have been heard from during the past week, and repeat orders sent in. This indicates that there is a considerable amount of enthusiasm amongst the workers, and that they are doing their bit for the defence of the workers arrested as a result of the Winnipeg strike. Hedley miners sent along \$70, although they only got their bonds the day before the mine closed down. Prince Rupert has sent for more bonds, and the committee there reports good progress being made. Victoria has sent several repeat orders, in spite of the large number of men out of work in that city, and from all parts of the province the reports received are good. The Loggers, being the largest organization, has contributed the most to date, the amount so far subscribed being well over the \$5000 mark. This does not include donations to the defense fund, but for Liberty Bonds alone. While the campaign is supposed to close in B. C. on December the 15th, it will take some little time longer than the few days left before that date to ascertain just how much has been realized, as some of the outlying camps, where large numbers of men are employed, have not had their bonds for more than a week, and in some cases, where postal facilities are none too good, they will not have more than received them. The defense committee of B. C. is confident that the \$20,000, the figure set for this province, will be over-subscribed. Every effort should, however, be made in the next few days, as with the trials hanging out as they are doing, the money suggested as being needed may not cover the expenses of the trials. Everybody get in and boost for liberty of speech and press, for this is what the fight is being waged for.—Defence Committee.

the idealist as more or less harmless cranks, we shall be continuing the policy of forcing an expression of human capacity upon lower levels than would otherwise be the case. If we encourage the dominance of a religion which beyond a profession of loftiness irradiates a narrow egotism that teaches the inutility of conduct without the prospect of a future life, we are doing our best to perpetuate an environment which emphasizes the value of the poorer aspects of human motive. In short, the cards are in our hands if we will only learn to play them wisely. Evolution does not, as we have said, necessarily involve "progress," but it does indicate that human wisdom and foresight may so control the social forces as to turn that ceaseless change which is indicated by the law of evolution into channels that make for human happiness and prosperity.

CHAPMAN COHEN.

# The Proletariat

## Wages.

**W**AGES can never rise so high as to make it impossible for the capitalist to carry on his business and to live from the profits of it; under such circumstances it would be more profitable for the capitalist to give up his business. Consequently, the wages of the working-man can never rise high enough to equal the value of his product. They must always be below that, so as to leave a surplus; it is only the prospect of a surplus that moves the capitalist to purchase labor power. It is therefore evident that under the capitalist system the wages of the workmen can never rise high enough to put an end to the exploitation of labor.

The surplus which the capitalist class appropriates is larger than is usually imagined. It covers not only the profits of the manufacturer, but many other items that are usually credited to the cost of production and exchange. It covers, for instance, rent, interest on loans, salaries, merchant's profits, taxes, etc. All these have to be subtracted from the surplus, that is, the excess of the value of the product over the wages of the working-man. It is evident that this surplus must be a considerable one if a concern is to "pay." It is clear that the wages of the working-man can not rise high enough to be even approximately equal to the value of his profit. The capitalist system means under all circumstances the exploitation of the wage-workers. It is impossible to abolish this exploitation without abolishing the system itself. And the exploitation must be great even where wages are high.

But wages rarely reach the highest point which even these circumstances would permit; more often they are found to be nearer to the lowest possible point. This point is reached when the wages do not supply the workman with even the barest necessities. When the workman not only starves, but starves rapidly, all work is at an end.

The wages swing between these two extremes. The less the necessities of the workman, the larger the supply of labor on the market, and the slighter the capacity of the working-man for resistance, the lower wages sink.

In general, wages must be high enough to keep the working-man in a condition to work, or, to speak more accurately, they must be high enough to secure to the capitalist the measure of labor-power which he needs. In other words, wages must be high enough, not only to keep the working-men in a condition to work, but also in a condition to produce children to replace them.

Now industrial development exhibits a tendency, most pleasing to the capitalist, to lower the necessities of the working-man and to decrease his wages in proportion.

There was a time when skill and strength were requisites for a working-man. The period of apprenticeship was long, the cost of training considerable. Now, however, the progress made in the division of labor and the introduction of machinery render skill and strength in production more and more superfluous; they

make it possible to substitute unskilled and cheap workmen for skilled ones; and, consequently, to put weak women and even children in the place of men. In the early stages of manufacturing this tendency is already perceptible; but not until machinery is introduced into production do we find the wholesale exploitation of women and children—the most helpless among the helpless.

Originally, the wage-earner had to earn wages high enough to defray, not only his own expenses, but also those of his family, in order to enable him to propagate himself and to bequeath his labor power to others. Without this process the heirs of the capitalists would find no proletarians ready made for exploitation.

When, however, the wife and young children of the working-man are able to take care of themselves, the wages of the male worker can safely be reduced to the level of his own personal needs without the risk of stopping the fresh supply of labor-power.

The labor of women and children, moreover, affords the additional advantage that these are less capable of resistance than men; and their introduction into the ranks of the workers increases tremendously the quantity of labor that is offered for sale in the market.

Accordingly, the labor of women and children not only lowers the necessities of the working-man, it also diminishes his capacity for resistance in that it overstocks the market; owing to both these circumstances it lowers the wages of the working-man.

## Dissolution of the Proletarian Family.

The participation of women in industrial pursuits means the total destruction of the family life of the working-man without substituting for it a higher form of the family relation. The capitalist system of production does not in most cases destroy the single household of the working-man, but robs it of all but its unpleasant features. The activity of woman today in industrial pursuits does not mean to her freedom from household duties; it means an increase of her former burdens by a new one. But one can not serve two masters. The household of the working-man suffers whenever his wife must help to earn the daily bread. Present society offers, in the place of the individual household which it destroys, only miserable substitutes; soup-houses and day-nurseries, where crumbs of the physical and mental sustenance of the rich are cast to the lower classes.

Socialists are charged with an intent to abolish the family. We do know that every system of production has had a special form of household to which corresponds a special system of family relationship. We do not consider the existing form of the family the highest possible, and we do expect that a new and improved social system will develop a new and higher form of family relationship, them right under our eyes—are not. But to hold this view is a very different thing from trying to dissolve all family bonds. Those who do destroy the family bonds—who not only mean to, but actually do destroy the Socialists, but the capitalists.

Many a slave-holder has in former times torn husband from wife and parents from children, but the capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery; they tear the infant from the breast of its mother and compel her to entrust it to strangers' hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are a daily occurrence, a society whose upper classes promote "benevolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babies, such a society has the effrontery to accuse the Socialists of trying to abolish the family, because they, basing their opinion on the fact that the family has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production, foresee that further changes in that system must also result in a more perfect family relationship.

## Prostitution.

Hand in hand with the accusation on the subject of family bonds goes the charge that Socialists aim at a community of wives. This charge is as false as the other. Socialists, on the contrary, maintain that ideal love, just the reverse of a community of wives and of all sexual oppression and license, will be the foundation of matrimonial connections in a Socialist Commonwealth, and that pure love can prevail only in such a social system. What, on the other hand, do we see today?

Helpless women, forced to earn their living in factories, shop and mines, fall a prey to capitalist cupidity. The capitalist takes advantage of their inexperience, offers them wages too slight for their support, and hints at, or even brazenly suggests, prostitution as a means of supplementing their income. Everywhere the increase of female labor in industry is accompanied by an increase in prostitution. In the modern state where Christianity is so devoutly preached, many a thriving branch of industry is found where working-women are paid so poorly that they would be compelled to starve did they not prostitute themselves. And the capitalists declare that the ability to compete, the prosperity of their industry, depend upon these low wages. Higher wages would ruin them.

Prostitution is as old as the contrast between rich and poor. At one time, however, prostitutes were a middle class between beggars and thieves; they were then an article of luxury in which society indulged but the loss of which would in no way have endangered its existence. Today, however, it is no longer the females of the slums, alone, but working-women, who are compelled to sell their bodies for money. This latter sale is no longer simply a matter of luxury; it has become one of the foundations upon which production is carried on. Under the capitalist system prostitution becomes a pillar of society. What the defenders of this social system falsely charge Socialists with is the very thing they are guilty of themselves. Community of wives is a feature of capitalism. Indeed, such a deep root has this system of community of wives taken in modern society that its representatives agree in declaring prostitution to be a necessary thing. They can not understand that the abolition of the proletariat implies the abolition of prostitution. So deep are they sunk in intellectual

# IN THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA

VICTORIA, Dec. 8.—Holding that unless wooden shipbuilding is resumed in Victoria in the immediate future, serious trouble may result in an outgrowth of the unemployment situation, a hurriedly summoned conference in the City Hall on Saturday authorized Mayor Porter to wire Sir Robert Borden explaining conditions.

Following is the text of the mayor's message:

"Unemployment situation very critical. Work required at once or trouble likely to occur. High cost of living making situation worse, wooden shipbuilding only thing that will relieve situation. Cost of building would likely be less than cost of preserving order would be. Sir Henry Drayton, when here, led us to believe that government would let contracts for five steamers and three schooners. Any announcement yet as to when preliminary work on drydock will commence?"

(Signed) R. J. PORTER,  
Mayor.

The following by Kautsky is quoted here to point the moral to the above, not in any flaunting spirit, but to convey necessary understanding:

Technical development moves on at a constantly increasing pace and steadily extends its field of operations.

To the capitalist this reserve army is invaluable. It places in his hands a powerful weapon with which to curb the army of the employed. After excessive work on the part of some has produced lack of work for others, then the idleness of these is used as a means to keep up, and even increase, the excessive work of the former. And yet there are people who will contend that matters are today arranged in the best possible way!

Although the size of the industrial reserve army rises and falls with the ups and downs of business, nevertheless, on the whole it shows a steady tendency to increase. This is inevitable. The technical development moves on at a constantly increasing pace and steadily extends its field of operations, while, on the other hand, the extension of the markets is hemmed in by natural limits.

What, then, is the full significance of lack of work? It signifies not only want and misery to the unemployed, not only intensified servitude and exploitation to the employed; it signifies also uncertainty of livelihood for the whole working class. Whatever hardships former modes of exploitation inflicted upon the exploited, one boon was left them: the certainty of a livelihood. The sustenance of the serf and the slave was assured at least during the life of the master himself. Only when the master perished was the life of his dependents in peril. Whatever

(Continued On Page Three.)

stagnation that they can not conceive a social system without community of wives.

Community of wives is an invention of the upper classes of society, never of the proletariat. The community of wives is one of the modes of exploiting the proletariat; it is not Socialism, it is the exact opposite of Socialism.

## ON THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA

(Continued From Page Two.)

amount of misery and want afflicted the people under former systems of production, it never resulted from production itself; it was the result of a disturbance of production, brought on by failure of crops, drouths, floods, invasions of hostile armies, etc.

Today the existence of the exploiter is not bound up in that of the exploited. At any moment the workman, with his wife and children, can be thrown upon the street and given over to starvation without the exploiter, whom he has made rich, being the worse for it.

The misery of enforced idleness is today rarely the result of a disturbance in production caused by outside influences; it is the necessary result of the development of the present system of production. Just the reverse happens of what occurred under the former systems of production; disturbances of production often improve the opportunities for work rather than lessening them; remember the results of the war of 1870 upon the industrial life of Germany and France in the years immediately following.

Under our former system of production on a small scale the income of the worker was in proportion to his industry. Laziness ruined him and finally threw him out of work. Today, on the contrary, unemployment becomes greater the harder and the longer the workman toils; he brings enforced idleness upon himself through his own labor. Among the many maxims from the world of small production which capitalist large production has reversed is: "A man's industry is his fortune."

Labor-power is no more a shield against want and misery than is property. As the specter of bankruptcy hovers always over the small farmer and the craftsman, so the specter of unemployment hovers always over the wage-earner. Of all the ills which attend the present system of production the most trying, that which harrows men's souls deepest and pulls up by the roots every instinct of conservatism, is the permanent uncertainty of a livelihood. This constant uncertainty as to one's own condition undermines one's belief in the permanence of the existing order and one's interest in its preservation. Whoever is kept in eternal fear by the existing order loses all fear of a new one.

Excessive work, lack of work, the destruction of the family—these are the gifts that the capitalist system of production brings to the proletariat, and at the same time it forces more and more of the population into proletarian conditions of living.

## BRITISH TRADES CONGRESS

LONDON, Dec. 3.—The final agenda of the special trades union congress to be held in London next week, shows labor's intention is to defer definite strike action on the question of the government's refusal to nationalize the mines, until yet another special Congress assembles in February. The interval will be used to conduct a campaign in the country to obtain public support for the miners' demands.

## Evolutionary Scheme.

It is probable this delay in throw-

From the History of Politics, by Prof. Jenks.

THE origin of the State, or Political Society, is to be found in the development of the art of warfare. It may be very sad that this should be so; but it is unquestionably true. Historically speaking, there is not the slightest difficulty in proving that all political communities of the modern type owe their existence to successful warfare. As a natural consequence, they are forced to be organized on military principles, tempered, doubtless, by a survival of older (patriarchal) ideas.

**Development of Warfare.** The question may naturally be asked at this stage—How came military principles to receive such a startling development after society had, apparently, succeeded in organizing itself on more peaceful lines? Fighting there had always been, of course; wars between tribe and tribe, clan and clan, even between village and village, town and town. But this was more in the nature of a feud, a sort of standing quarrel which broke out again and again, and then slumbered for a while; it was nothing like the organized and determined warfare which resulted in the formation of States. It may be described as amateur rather than professional fighting.

**Increase of Population.** Although we can not speak with certainty as to the causes of this development, it is not difficult to suggest one or two facts which may have led to it. First and foremost comes the increase of population, with its consequent pressure on the means of subsistence. This increase is always, under normal circumstances, steadily going on; and it is dealt with in various ways. Sometimes, pestilence breaks out; and the super-abundant population, enfeebled by short allowance of food, is swept away by disease. Sometimes, whole-

ing down the gauntlet is due to the unsettled state of labor administration, consequent on the proposed early abolition of the Parliamentary committee of the trades union congress and its substitution by a general council which will assure all duties of the original body and undertake co-ordination under one control of all branches of trade unionism, together with the co-operative movement.

Details of the evolutionary scheme of labor administration will be discussed and sanctioned during the next week's proceedings.

**Profiteering Resolution.**

With the nationalization question and direct action temporarily shelved, the congress will devote its attention to profiteering and one resolution calls on the government to assume effective control of raw materials required for house building, production of food, clothing and other essentials. A resolution also reaffirms the decision of the previous congresses calling for national ownership of land, mines, minerals and railways as the only effective method of adequately protecting the community against monopolies and profiteering interests.

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

# The State and Feudalism

sale migrations take place to less thickly populated districts; this may be regarded as a real remedy, though perhaps only a temporary one, for the trouble. Sometimes, again, a great new invention enables a largely increased food supply to be produced: the changes from hunting life to pastoral life, and again from pastoral life to agriculture, are examples. Finally, war may break out on a large scale; and the weaker peoples may be either exterminated or (more probably) reduced to subjection by the stronger.

**Increase of Wealth.** Another cause may have been, the great increase of realized wealth attendant upon successful agriculture, and, still more, industry. Pastoral wealth has this advantage, that it can be moved about with tolerable ease. A weak tribe can fold up its tents, and drive its cattle and sheep out of harm's way. But the wealth of the husbandman can not be so disposed of. His wealth is in his fields, which he has patiently cultivated, and in his barns and presses which he has filled with corn and wine. He has built himself a permanent house, and he will not leave it while a chance of safety, or even of existence, remains. He is a very tempting bait to the military adventurer. Still more is the craftsman, with his rich store of wealth, a tempting object of plunder. The sack of an industrial town, with its shops and its stores of goods, is the dream of the freebooter. *Wass fur Plunder!* was Blucher's exclamation, when he was shown London from the dome of St. Paul's. It was the old instinct of the professional soldier.

**Improvement in Weapons.** Once more, it is natural to suppose, that the improvement in the art of working in metals did much to stimulate the military spirit. The superiority of iron, still more of steel weapons and armor, over the old wooden bows and arrows and leather shield and corselet, would give a natural impetus to warfare. Above all, with the tendency towards specialization which, as we have seen, is one of the master principles of developments, this improvement in the means of warfare would tend to produce a special military class, the professional warrior of the modern world. In primitive times, every man was a soldier; as civilization progressed, the bulk of people became interested in other things, and fighting became the work of specialists. This fact is directly connected with the origin of the State.

**The German War-bands.** In the interesting account given by Tacitus of our Teutonic forefathers in their ancestral homes, we notice one very significant feature. Not only does the historian distinguish between the princeps, or tribal chief, who was chosen for his noble birth, and the dux, or war leader, who was chosen for his valor; he shows us the latter surrounded by a band of adventurous companions, who took no part in the ordinary pastoral life of the tribe, but were constantly engaged in warfare, either in defence of their own tribe, or in plundering expeditions against strange tribes. These "companions," as they are called, were fed at the leader's table, were

furnished with food and garments by the women of his household, and shared the booty of their leader's expeditions. The devoted loyalty which they displayed towards their leader is described in a spirited and well-known passage. They counted it a disgrace to leave the field alive, if he was dead; their dead bodies were found thickly piled around his in the disastrous day of defeat. It is probable that at first, this band of companions was composed mainly of the kinsmen of the leader, his *gesiths*, as the Saxons called them; but ultimately, they became simply volunteers who joined the band from love of adventure and a military life. They were the *thanes* (or servants) of the *heretoch* (or host-leader.)

**Foundation of States.** A State is founded when one of these host-leaders with his band of warriors gets permanent control of a definite territory of a considerable size. And, practically speaking, this always occurs in one of two ways.

**Consolidation.** The host-leader, after firmly establishing his position as ruler of his own tribe, extends his authority over neighboring tribes, until he becomes ruler of a large territory. This is what seems to have happened in the England of the ninth century, when the so-called "tribal kingdoms" of the Heptarchy, after fluctuating for many years between the Bretwaldship of the various tribal chiefs, became more or less consolidated by conquest in the time of Egbert. The same movement showed itself also in the neighboring country of Scandinavia, where, also in the ninth century, the innumerable tribes became gradually consolidated, as the result of hard fighting, into the three historic kingdoms of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, under Harold Fairhair, Gorm the Old, and Eric of Upsala, who, as the *Heimskringla* strikingly puts it, subdued all rival chiefs "with scatt (taxes) and duties and lordships." Much the same appears also to have been done in the gradual consolidation of the Celtic tribes of Scotland under the line of Malcolm Canmore, and of the tribes of Wales under the hereditary Princes who were found to be ruling the country at the Norman Conquest. In Ireland, the trouble was, that no successful warrior succeeded in making permanent a powerful dynasty. And, in central Europe, the too ambitious efforts of the Frankish warriors, Clovis and his successors, though brilliantly successful at first, resulted finally in a similar period of anarchy, which is known by the expressive name of the "Dark Ages." In fact, the State formed by consolidation is always rather liable to break up into its former elements.

**Migration.** Or a State is founded by the successful migration and conquest by a band of warriors to and of a strange country. This was the history, in very early times, of the foundation of the kingdom of Lombardy (a Teutonic conquest of a Latin land;) likewise of the Visigothic kingdom of Spain. Somewhat later it was the brilliant history of the Normans or Northmen; who, in the ninth century, became the ruling power in Russia; in the tenth founded the practically independent Duchy of Normandy; in the eleventh the new kingdom of England; in the twelfth the kingdom of the Sicilies, and the short-lived kingdom of Jerusalem.

## The Indicator

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### Liberalism and Socialism

**W**HERE is Liberalism today? How does it stand in the march of events? Of course, no one associates Liberalism as a body of political thought, and as a movement, with any political clique which, in the base sense of parliamentary politics in Canada, may be masquerading under the name of Liberal. The representative journals of liberal thought today can not be said to be party journals in any sense of the word. Nor are they to be confused with the fake "independents," many of which are the most contemptible and indefatigable sycophants of them all, and of which we have a plentiful crop in Canada. Indeed, we do not know of one journal in Canada which can not be observed to be plying itself in behalf of some special interest, while using the stock phrases of liberalism to blind its public. The outstanding expressions of Liberalism in the journalistic world which are above suspicion of ulterior motives, are such as the Manchester "Guardian," the London "Nation," and "Common Sense," in Great Britain; and the New York "Nation," the "New Republic," and, in spite of socialist tendencies, the New York "Dial."

Liberalism, led by these able exponents of its philosophy, has found itself at war with the inevitable drift of the capitalist world towards militaristic imperialism, but it has pitted its idealistic phrases against the economic necessities of expanding capitalism in vain. That is, in vain, insofar as in bringing capitalist forces back to the comparatively rational and peaceful paths of former days, because its war against imperialistic policies, insofar as Liberalism assisted in their partial defeat, in regards to Soviet Russia, for example, has not saved capitalism for rational and peaceful ways, but has weakened it before the forces which are finally destined to overthrow it.

What then is this Liberalism of the Manchester "Guardian" and the New York "Nation" et al.? "The freedom of the individual is the basic principle," we are told. But Socialism also aims at the freedom of the individual, and we assert that there is a fundamental difference between Liberalism and Socialism. What do Liberals then understand by their freedom of the individual? The answer is, that they mean by individual liberty, first and foremost, the liberty of private property as such. What is cared for is not so much liberty of the individual as the liberty of private property. The ideals of the past weigh upon them: a past of small production gone forever.

Economic development has placed the machinery of production into the ownership of a few and divorced the multitude from possession of the

means of existence. Progress has turned a corner, and security and tenure in private property are no longer synonymous with individual liberty, but just the opposite for the millions of propertyless proletarians who are in reality economic slaves of the capitalist property owners. Their economic liberty can never be recovered by a partition of the means of production or by going back to small production. Liberty for them can only come as a result of social ownership of the means of wealth production.

Liberals still cling to the fetish of private property in spite of all the calamitous consequences entailed in that institution which we see today. They are the real impracticable idealists.

Socialists oppose the liberal idea of formal political liberty, with the demand for economic liberty through the social ownership of the means and instruments necessary for the production and distribution of wealth.

### THE TRIAL IN WINNIPEG

The following taken from the report of court proceedings in the Western Labor News of Dec. 5, will show the line of attack adopted by the crown prosecutor.

As to the meeting on December 22, Mr. Andrews is reported to have said: "He intended to show that this was a seditious meeting for the avowed purposes of having all orders-in-council repealed; the release of all political prisoners; of having no further reinforcements sent to Russia, and the immediate return of all troops in Russia."

As to the Calgary convention and the public character of its proceedings, Mr. Andrews is again reported as saying:

"It might be necessary to keep some seditious conspiracies secret but for others it is necessary to have the widest publicity if they are to be carried out."

Mr. Andrews is further quoted as saying, "The Crown will claim that every general strike is illegal and those who took part in it and carried it out are guilty." This referred to the general nuisance count in the indictment.

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### ADVISED TO CREATE INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

**T**HE "Bache Review," issued by the firm of J. S. Bache & Co., members of the New York Stock Exchange, is a collection of data of interest to the heads of financial and industrial organizations. It also contains a general review of business and social conditions for the information and guidance of its clients. The "Review" is not for public consumption, but is supplied to its exclusive list of subscribers as a confidential document, and is thus exceptionally frank in dealing with matters affecting the welfare of its clientele.

The B. C. Federationist of this week contains an extract from the Review, which advocates the drastic step of creating a country-wide serious industrial depression, by a voluntary closing down of industry in order to suppress the struggle of the working class against the forces which encroach on their welfare. It is calmly suggested that the lives of millions of people be placed in peril from starvation in order that capitalist interests be preserved. This calls to mind the alleged milk incident during the strike in Winnipeg, which has been made so much of and which has been admitted as evidence in the conspiracy charge. The business interests who are conspiring to stop the economic life of a country are however not on trial. No! That is, they are not on trial before a legal tribunal. How should they be? The industries are owned by the business interests. But, Messieurs les Profiteurs, there is another tribunal whose verdict overrides all others eventually!

Discussing measures to deal with labor, the "Review" publishes, with approbation for its views, a letter to the editors, of which the following is an extract:

"Then many large employers of Labor ought to promptly close down their plants. As long as Labor continues to win its demands, it will be as insatiable as the grave and the womb. Millions of involuntarily idle men and women would have a quickly sobering effect on Labor as a whole; infinitely more so than all the moral precepts that have been uttered since the earliest times in ancient India.

"The best interests of all may soon demand a serious industrial depression. Courage and decision in the application of a desperate remedy are fast becoming imperative. Such a course may alone conserve or restore the proper interests of millions of investors. Of course, every person who owns a home, has a savings bank account, holds a life insurance policy, or a share in a building and loan association, is an investor; there are 113,384 investors in Pennsylvania railroad stock holdings alone! And many million investors in Liberty Bonds. The 'Reds' shall not prevail against them."

Note how the worker's small investments in Liberty Bonds, etc., are used against them as a weapon in their struggle against oppressive conditions.

If the State was a neutral body, standing between capital and labor, there would be a swarm of representatives of capitalist interests in the prisoner's dock for seditious conspiracy. But,—who do you see there, always?

### THE WINNIPEG ELECTIONS

**W**RITING to us from Winnipeg, a correspondent says, "You no doubt by this time have heard the results of the Municipal Elections. It was as fine an exhibition of class conflict as you could desire, and that in the face of the determination of the Labor candidates to resist any attempt of the bourgeoisie to force a class issue. But the bourgeoisie had their way and forced the class issue, with the result that the largest vote ever polled in the city found the masses going to the baton class lines. The platform of the Labor Party was ignored by the workers in the fight and Farmer, who has constantly denied the class struggle, got a class vote of 12,000, with only about one-third of the workers entitled to vote, against a vote of 15,000 for Gray, who had votes from almost every province in Canada as well as from Michigan, Minnesota, California and England. Very striking was the interest aroused among the workers as soon as the class cleavage developed, a veritable slap in the face to those who would compromise their mother-in-law to get votes. However, it is doubtful if they have brains enough to see that it was the class issue that brought out the workers to vote as they never did before, thanks to our historic enemy and their blunders. It is to be hoped they (the enemy) will keep up the good work. In one ward, North Winnipeg, where many Germans and Swedes live, a returned soldier was elected by a big majority, while in ward One, (South Winnipeg,) where the patriotic bourgeois reside, a returned soldier was snowed under."

### THE STEEL STRIKE

(From "The New Republic.")

**S**OME impartial commission ought to conduct an inquiry into the effectiveness of the Steel Corporation's plan of fighting a strike by keeping news of it out of the papers. Has the morale of the strikers suffered from the application of the rule of silence? Or have the strikers persisted in their way, unperturbed by the knowledge that most of the public supposes that the strike never amounted to anything? In the Pittsburgh district, according to the World, the losses in wages have been more than \$29,000,000, and the tonnage losses amount to \$250,000,000. These are "conservative estimates." They seem to imply a greater dislocation than has ever been admitted by the steel companies.

"Steel officials say the problem of insufficient labor is being met in various ways. Many negroes, Greeks and Mexicans have been brought in since the strike began." This too we quote from the World, November 24. It might have been supposed that after recent experience with the "unassimilated alien," the steel officials might have become suspicious of such an easy solution of their labor problem as the importation of the classes indicated, which are not likely to mix well with the working population on the ground. The Steel Corporation might have tried to enlist "one hundred per cent. Americans," from the industrial region itself. That, however, would have involved the payment of wages affording a one-hundred per cent. American standard of living and of liberty.

## Reply to Le B. P. Miles on Prices

**A**N article appeared in "The Indicator" two issues ago, entitled, "By What Means Is the Price of a Community Determined," the author of which, Le. P. B. Miles, in an introductory letter, took exception to the Marxian explanation of price phenomena and offered in its place some explanations of his own. Before attempting a rebuttal, I may say that I am aware, that, whatever merits may be in Miles' theories, he could not do justice to them in the space at his command. Nevertheless, sufficient argument was presented by him to show in the opinion of the writer of this criticism of his article, that he starts out fundamentally from a false basis and so the rest of his structure contains inconsistencies and assertions not in accordance with facts.

He is on a false basis, because consciously, or unconsciously, he reasons from the point of view that postulates a "free will." He attributes a freedom to the capitalists which they do not possess. "Cost, plus a percentage is the usual way of arriving at the price of manufactured commodities," he says, in opening up his article. A "determinist would have avoided the false premise, for he would know that the manufacturers neither determine the percentage nor the cost. Economic forces are the determining factors, men the instruments. He also appears to lack system as is manifested by certain inconsistencies in his article. All work of investigation must be reduced to a system if we are to avoid inconsistencies and if the same ground is not to be gone over and over again. That is why we endeavor to discover the "law of being" of phenomena, particular or general. An economic law is a statement of economic tendencies. Although these tendencies as stated in the law, may be influenced or diverted from their "purity" by the intervention of counteracting or disturbing factors, nevertheless, these factors will not obviate the law if it is a true statement of a tendency. Even the disturbing factors may be discovered and their influence gauged by the extent of the departure of a particular phenomenon from the statement or "purity" of its law. Thus an apparent exception to the law will be found illusory and in reality will be found to support its truth.

To return to our friend Miles, and to what appears to us, his inconsistency. In one place, he states the law of commodity production correctly in principle in these words, "all commodity production is competitive for cash." By "cash," I take it he means "sale." Also in other places he again asserts this law, in different words, but to the same effect.

Elsewhere in his article, however, he denies the law of competition operates; as for example, when he says, "Supply and Demand only govern in first instances, and when trade is established under competitive conditions, then other factors as strong and in many cases stronger interfere and absolutely govern prices." If he refers to trust monopolies, I think it is sufficient to point to the well-known fact, that all the trusts, steel, beef, oil, etc., maintain elaborate and extensive organizations for keeping in touch and estimating the capacity of the market. "What

the market will stand" has a distinct relation to the competitive quality of the market. A monopolized commodity will be put upon the market at such terms, based upon a calculation, as will bring the largest net revenue. The monopolist will try to adjust supply, but the conditions of demand are beyond his control. When once the supply is settled and put on the market, the price at which it will sell depends upon the play of the demand. In that respect the monopolized commodity is no different to the "free" commodity. Again, he says, "Labor-power as a commodity is not governed in price by the law of supply and demand, but by its (Labor's) ability to establish a power sufficient to force buyers to pay more than the cost of a laborer and his maintenance as a laborer." That is an assertion which the facts will not support. The very limited nature of the demands of organized labor, of which he appears to be thinking, are themselves a tribute to the competitive principle running through all the modern mechanism of production and exchange. The limit is set to the wages employers can pay, due to their competitors in particular, and to the amount of value in the products in general. But the specific contention of friend Miles is that supply and demand for labor-power does not govern its price, but the respective power of the buyers and sellers. From whence do they derive this power? I leave out of consideration unorganized labor, though they compose the very great majority of the sellers of labor-power and are more responsive to market conditions, and am assuming he refers to organized labor when he speaks of labor's "ability to establish a power sufficient to force buyers to pay more than the cost of maintenance of the laborer." Labor then derives a bargaining strength from its organization which makes it independent of the law of supply and demand, or, in other words, independent of competition. We are not so Utopian as to think that labor's organizations are built up for the sole purpose of discussing grievances and electing committees to plead and reason with the employers for remedies. This is the wicked world. All these organizations of labor, or of capital, rest their power as a last resort in the strike or lock-out, potential or actual. Whenever the use of these methods for "settling" disputes are discussed, it will be found that the State of the labor market is the chief factor considered. Is there plenty of labor-power, or is there a scarcity of it on the market. The answer will influence the policy adopted and the success or otherwise of the contenders should they try their final test of strength. In the case of strike or lock-out, the contenders, the buyers and sellers of labor-power, may be said to have temporarily withdrawn from the market, but continue to watch it with an exceedingly anxious eye. Both sides in the dispute belong to a society in which all exist by realizing the sale of either goods or labor-power. The spur to competition, the desire to live, begins to press in upon them, driving them back into the maelstrom of market prices and competition again.

The article I am criticizing contains a few other assertions which

must be replied to briefly as I am at too great length already.

The article in question asserts (1) the "manufacturer's power to stimulate demand by advertising, etc." Reply: During a definite period there is a definite purchasing capacity. The result of stimulating this market by a manufacturer is to divert or redistribute the purchasing capacity of the consumers from one commodity to another.

(2) "That finding a market costs money." Reply: There has always been a need for the producer to make himself known to the consumer and with the extension of machine or quantity production the need becomes greater for more distant markets in which to dispose of the greater volume of commodities. The proof that quantity production is after all cheaper than small production is that it has beat the latter out of the market in most lines of goods.

(3) "When there is over-production there is greater competition, hence a greater cost." Reply: So far as prices are concerned, greater competition from whatever cause results in a cutting of prices.

(4) That "consumer gets no benefit from goods being dumped on the market because of control by the mergers." Reply: That is a contradiction in terms. To dump goods is to lose control. Control is conditioned by power to withhold supply. And when goods are dumped, price is conditioned on demand.

(5) "Wheat producers during the war were given something over the cost to keep them quiet." Reply: The price of wheat was fixed to encourage production. The grain fields of Russia were cut off and the outlying parts of the world from Europe, such as Australia, South Africa, etc., were also in part cut off by the scarcity of ships. In addition large quantities of grain were being sent to the bottom of the sea by submarines.

(6) "The capitalist gambles in raw materials and natural resources, the consumer pays the losses and the consumer pockets the winnings." Reply: The profits of the capitalist class can not be explained that way. The capitalist is a consumer himself, of the largest kind. He buys as much as he sells. After every sale, he goes back into the market again to replenish his stock either of finished commodities, or, of raw materials, machinery, labor-power, etc., and also commodities and services for private consumption or use. What the capitalists would gain as sellers they would lose as buyers. Considering individual capitalists, however, a gain of one may be at the expense of another, through better judgment, or a cheaper method of production, etc., and the loss can not be passed on to the consumer. The consumers, as salary or wage-workers, will, over a period of time, get the value of their labor-power in those things necessary to maintain themselves and reproduce their kind. If prices go up, wages and salary must follow them if the supply of labor-power is to be kept up to the needs of the capitalist system of production.

Prices have risen for other reasons than those stated by Le. P. B. Miles. Let us lay the basis for a brief explanation. I assume for the present that supply and demand are equal and that price exactly coincides with value. Value is social relation be-

tween commodities. The latter have all the one common property of being products of social labor. It is as such, that they exchange with each other on the market. A definite quantity of one commodity, say wheat, will relate itself, or, in other words, express its value in a definite quantity of another commodity, as 10 bushels of wheat equals X cloth or Y iron, or Z gold. These definite quantities of cloth, or iron, or gold, are the prices of 10 bushels of wheat. As gold has become the universal equivalent, i.e., the measure of value and standard of price, the prices of commodities are expressed in gold prices. Thus we say the price of 10 bushels of wheat is, Z gold, or 1 oz. of gold, or 5 gold dollars. But the price of wheat may go up or down from many causes or a combination of causes.

As the question under discussion is the rise of prices we will only deal with that. We will now consider that supply and demand are operating and that accordingly prices register the fluctuations of the market. In this case, prices may go up or may go down, because of shortage of supply leading to the demand or vice versa, but the fluctuations of the market tend to compensate each other, and over a period of time, commodities will sell at value. The price of wheat had fluctuated daily, say for 10 years, but the average price during that time for 10 bushels, was 5 dollars. Thus briefly, and because briefly, in adequately, I have stated the basis from which we may rise to the consideration of other phases of the price problem.

According to the above example, prices, taken over a period of time, have not risen. But we have to show cause why prices in reality have continually risen for some twenty years, and latterly at an accelerated rate.

(1) Prices may rise from an increase in the value of all commodities except gold, because of an increase of the labor time entailed in their production. However, we know that generally there has been continually improved methods and machinery introduced into the process of producing practically all commodities, thus reducing the labor time and consequently the value. Therefore No. 1 is out of consideration for commodities in general.

(2) From a fall in the value of gold in relation to other commodities. In that case more gold must be given for other commodities i.e., their prices, expressed as they are in gold prices, will rise. This was the principle cause of the gradual rise of prices for a long number of years before the war. The methods of producing gold by labor saving processes, such as the cyanide process, etc., had developed at a greater rate than with other commodities.

(3) From a depreciation of paper money from its face value as expressed in terms of gold. The accelerated increase of prices during the war and since, appears to be universally attributed to the over issue of paper functioning as currency, thus causing a depreciation of its purchasing capacity.

(4) Also prices may rise temporarily from a shortage of supply.

The present high prices are probably chiefly due to the three latter factors.

# The Evolution of Man

By PROF. WILLIAM BOLSCHÉ

Serial No. IV.

[The installment in last issue contained an account of the finding of skeletons of human beings of very primitive times, the skulls of which showed a marked divergence from the skull of man during later times. The account closed with a description of the remains of the so-called Pithecanthropus or monkey-man, discovered among ancient volcanic deposit of the Tertiary period at a place known as Trinil in the island of Java.]

IT was in 1735 that Linnaeus, a great scientist, performed a monumental work. He then gave us the first comprehensive system of nature's forms. He arranged these forms in three great kingdoms, minerals, plants, animals. And within these kingdoms he arranged the various forms in systematic succession. In this way, he furnished us with a system of plants, and of animals, which, in spite of its defects, gave us the first foundation for a comparative view and logical sequence by which we could hope to discover the natural connections of these forms in their main outlines.

In performing this necessary work of genius, Linnaeus naturally had to solve the question: Where am I to place man? He did not hesitate for one moment. He placed man in the animal kingdom on account of his physical structure, which showed that he belonged to the mammals, and more definitely in the group of monkeys. Indeed, if we wish to build up any system even in our day, that is the only logical conclusion at which we can arrive. Man is not a simple mineral, he is a living being. Unless he is fed, he dies; that is to say, his form of existence is that of living beings who are compelled on pain of death to assimilate food. If we pinch his arm, he cries out, in other words, he feels, and he has that peculiar faculty which we are accustomed to associate with the word "life," the faculty of subjective feeling. Furthermore his food is of a definite kind. He can not feed on pure mineral substances, he requires either vegetable or animal matter, he needs bread instead of stones, and of the elements of the air he can utilize only oxygen. This classes him with the other members of the animal kingdom in distinction from plants which feed on the soil.

Again, in the animal kingdom there are two main groups. It is true that Linnaeus himself was not familiar with this distinction, but we have learned it since then. The individual body of the animal in one of these groups consists of only one so-called cell. It is one solitary little lump of animated substance. The individual body in the other group of animals is composed of many such cells, which form a sort of co-operative association with division of labor. Well then, the body of man is built up with billions of such cells in the most wonderful manner. It consists of living building material, the cells, which make up its muscles, its blood, its skin and even its bones. In other words, man belongs to the group of animals that contain many cells. He does not belong to the uni-cellular low archetypes, he is not a microscopically small infusorium.

This higher group of animals is again divided into a number of groups, among which we must make our choice. There are the sponges, the polypi, the jelly-fish, the worms, the starfish, the echinoderms, the crustaceans, the insects, the snails, the shells, and, finally, a group which is distinguished by a spinal cord located above the digestive tract and protected by a more or less solid structure which serves at the same time for the support of the body, a backbone. We call this last group the vertebrates. No other group has this characteristic structure, and it is plain, at the first glance, that man can belong only to this group, because he has a spinal cord and a backbone. Within this group of vertebrates we distinguish the fish, which breathe in the water with gills instead of lungs; man breathes through lungs, therefore he is not a fish. Then follow the amphibians, that is to say, the newts and frogs that breathe alternately through gills and lungs. A frog, for instance, breathes through gills, when a tadpole, and acquires his lungs later on. Human beings do not have this double method of breathing. Furthermore, the reptiles, that is to say, lizards, crocodiles, turtles and related animals have blood which changes its temperature from warm to cold and vice versa. Their blood is cold when the air which they breathe is cold, but it is warm when the sun shines upon them. These animals

do not yet possess their own heating apparatus within them. The human body heats itself, it is always warm, hence man is not a reptile. The two last groups of vertebrates are always warm. These groups consist of birds and mammals. Since we have to choose between these two, we must investigate further. No bird suckles its young, but the human mother does that, and all mammals do, therefore we belong on the side of the mammals. Now these mammals are again divided into two great sections. Those of one section lay eggs, the Australian duckbills. The mammals of the other section have done away with that; the child when born is far more mature. Every human mother testifies to the fact that human beings are not duckbills, but belong to a higher class. And now we come to a final choice. We look at the hands and teeth of man. Man is not a whale, the hands of which have turned into fins. He is not a carnivorous animal which has one-sidedly developed its eye-teeth and incisors. He is not an animal with hoofs which has laid special stress upon its molar teeth. He is not a rodent, the best trumps of which are the incisors; he is not a sloth, the teeth of which have entirely degenerated, nor is he a bat, the hands of which are made into wings. There is only one single group of mammals, the teeth and hands of which resemble those of man, and that group is composed of monkeys.

Mark well: when Linnaeus placed man side by side with the monkeys in his system, he was not thinking of anything else but just an orderly arrangement, a systematic grouping of animals at a greater or smaller distance, just as a boy will stick his beetles into his collection, some closer, others farther apart. But since the days of Linnaeus a good many deep thinkers and clear heads have asked the question whether this "system" might not have a deeper meaning and relation to nature?

Now, when we remember that we arrived at a certain station in our research which we named monkey-man, the probability of a deeper meaning of that system grows apace. We were looking for some primitive disguise by which man might have concealed his identity far back in the days of the primitive world, and we must certainly say, when we think of this system, that of all the creatures of this globe, none is better fitted for such a disguise than is the monkey, that is to say, that animal which in spite of all the differences of its bony structure is still far more like us than all the other living beings of the earth together.

Remember also that we were not speaking of monkeys in a general way; but indicated a certain species, the gibbon. Systematic zoology very early accomplished the separation of some species of monkeys from others, the so-called anthropoid apes. This word indicates that these apes are still closer to man in the system than any others. No other group in the system is so close to us. We now distinguish four species of these anthropoid apes. Two of them are living in Africa, the gorilla and the chimpanzee, and two in Asia, the orang-outang and the gibbon. These four apes strangely resemble human beings, even externally. The layman is specially astonished to notice that they, like man, have not an externally visible tail. But scientists know that this occurs occasionally even among lower monkeys and so it is not considered a very convincing mark. But there is a very wonderful relation which should convince the most inveterate skeptic, and that is the following.

Whoever has looked at a drop of blood through a very strong microscope knows that this peculiar fluid is a mixture of two things, first, the so-called serum, and then the blood corpuscles floating round in it. Now when we compare the drops of blood of various animal species, we find that the red blood corpuscles have many different forms. Some of them are long, some are round, some are large and some small; in brief, they are different in fish, or newt, or bird, or mammal. This is no ground for surprise, for all these animals are very different in many other ways.

The peculiar significance of this difference is that the attempt to inoculate an animal of one group with the living blood of another group always ends fatally. It is just as if these two kinds of blood carried on a war with one another. The serum of one group destroys the blood corpuscles of another group. If an animal is inoculated with the blood of another group, it quickly feels the fatal effects of this struggle

in its veins. It falls into convulsions and finally collapses entirely, just as a conflagration consumes a city in whose streets a violent civil war is raging. And this happens often in the case of animals which are relatively close to one another, for instance, many mammals. The blood of a cat kills a rabbit which is inoculated with it, and vice versa. But finally there is a certain limit. The blood of a cat naturally does not kill another cat. Indeed, peace is guaranteed often among more distant relatives. Closely related animals may mix their blood without danger. A dog is so close to a wolf that the living blood of the one may mix with that of the other without harm. It is the same with a horse and a donkey. Now a short time ago a certain scientist, Friedenthal in Berlin, mixed human blood and monkey blood. At first one blood acted as a poison for the other; that is to say, as long as the objects of the experiment were man and a lower monkey. But when human blood came to the blood of the chimpanzee, peace was suddenly established. The boundary of antagonisms had been crossed. The blood of man and that of the anthropoid ape were so nearly akin that they agreed without difficulty. How could this be? Here it was not a question of comparing bone with bone. An answer came directly from the living. The secret of life, the most minute chemistry of the blood, testified to the most intimate relationship, a consanguinity in the most daring sense of the word.

With this fact we have made another step ahead. The probability grows that man may have been concealed once upon a time in one of these creatures which we see represented by the anthropoid apes of today. Indeed, the experiment with blood makes it almost evident that all four anthropoid apes now living are directly connected with this mysterious primeval fact. The question is only, what is this relation?

We first of all feel tempted to ask whether these anthropoid apes themselves might not represent that primitive stage for which we are looking. Are not these apes veritable primitive men that have not yet been transformed into genuine men to this day?

One thinks involuntarily of the ludicrous tales of the negroes who say that the gorilla and the chimpanzee are really men, only they are too lazy to work, and for this reason pretend that they are monkeys. And perhaps there is sufficient truth in this theory to justify the belief that these apes actually represent a type of primitive man who was arrested in his development against his will, and who went so far in his conservatism that he still illustrates the "monkey stage" of man.

Again one might ask at this point, how it is that a few of our crude and monkey-like great-grandfathers are still living in the form of isolated men of the woods, as a fixed primitive type, at a time when present-day genuine man has long arrived at his perfect form. But we meet with the same phenomenon within genuine humanity itself. Why does the native Australian with his Stone Age civilization still live in the bush, while over here civilized man has already risen to the full height of his evolution? And we have an illustration still closer at hand. In the plains where the modern metropolis steams and roars, progress walks with seven-leagued boots, while yonder in the remote mountain village ancient customs and institutions are still in full bloom. So, this would not be a very pertinent objection.

(To Be Continued)

## NEW PUBLICATION BY HUEBSCH PUBLISHING HOUSE

B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York City, announces for immediate publication a contribution to an understanding of Russia and of the Allied policy toward that country: "THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA. Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of William C. Bullitt." It includes these important documents in full: Lenin's Peace Proposals, Bullitt's Report on Russia, Lincoln Steffens' Report on Russia, Capt. Pettit's Reports on Russia, Discussions of the Peace Conference on a Policy towards Russia. The book contains 160 pages and will be published in two editions: Paper covers, 50 cents; Cloth covers, \$1.00. Add postage 10 cents. Those desiring copies of the first edition are urged to order promptly. Mr. Bullitt's story is the logical sequel to Ransome's "Russia in 1919." (\$1.50), now in its third edition. Mention "The Indicator" when ordering. B. W. Huebsch, Publishers, 32 West 58th Street, New York City, N.Y.

# Enlightening the American Public

IN order to get some idea of the problems or questions that are of chief interest to the people living at a certain period of history resort must be had to the popular literature or medium of news at their disposal. A glance at the headlines and subject matter of the papers circulated in the United States or elsewhere for that matter reveals the chief items of interest are High Cost of Living, Strikes, Government Ownership, Anti-Bolshevism, Shortage of Food, League of Nations, etc. It will be noticed that these are all matters of a political or economic character, and the aesthetic or cultural aspects of life are thrown aside or receive but scant attention, being limited in the realms of music to commercially inspired adulation of artists. In spite of this somewhat dreary and discordant aspect of the world's chief interest being concentrated on such topics, it is a peculiar thing to some people to observe so fine a writer and observer as Anatole France being so serenely hopeful of the aroused intelligence of the toilers.

Some few years ago a certain London daily paper remarked that the rich had sucked America dry of reason in so far as politics was concerned. The reason for this remark was due to the fact that at a certain political meeting in New York, a candidate had threatened to punch Mr. Pulitzer's head, this gentleman having been a prominent American journalist, and had apparently put some question up to the speaker which he could not answer. At the present time this observation from the London paper seems to be even more pertinent when the popular sources of information have to resort to verbal methods of the same character.

The Saturday Evening Post, which is probably the most widely circulated weekly American publication, and also carries an extensive assortment of advertising, may serve as an example of how the people receive ideas and the aid they have in assimilating them. In an editorial of Nov. 29, 1919, headed "Joy-riding and Joy-walking," this publication essays to show the folly of Government Ownership and radical ideas. Its first attempt is to make clear to us the "theory" of American Government, which was supposed to encourage individualism, which it asserts "develops a breed of strong, self-reliant, progressive freemen." But it would appear from the facts that the present day development has brought into existence beings who seek to remedy industrial evils by a resort to governmental machinery, which it seems "makes weaklings dependents, grafters, bureaucrats and deficits." The growing degeneracy of the American evidently tends to Government Ownership. However, the native born American may be sliding downwards, there is an even worse element, that which is labelled "red" or, "extremely radical." Listen: "The demand for Socialism has grown in proportion as the number of unassimilated aliens has increased." Now, you see we have the attention of the "sympathetic public," which is naturally "American," and it's pet "alien question" may serve to warn all right thinking people to look

around the corner and get its information at first hand. It is hardly worth while to point out that "aliens" in America have been assimilated "industrially," i.e., they were made to function in the realms of industry in the way they were intended, viz., as "wage-workers." In another article in this same journal appears a statement credited to parties who are not theorists, but practical organizers, that the foreign elements have been so assimilated that the American born gets away from the factories if he can not secure foremen's positions, and engages in commercial or clerical pursuits. It is one of the peculiarities of those who wish to upset the theoretical ideas of the Socialists to accuse them of being wedded to a "theory" to explain away problems, instead of getting down to the facts. Now it is a fact that a greater proportion of the "alien" element in America have a clearer grasp of economic questions than the average American, but it is not simply a question of his being "unassimilated" that causes the demand for Socialism. The great majority of immigrants into the United States came to better their economic condition on the strength of information they had received at home as to the conditions prevailing across the Atlantic. It is questionable if any great number had any more than a vague notion of radical ideas; in fact this S. E. P. writer charges they brought over vague ideas of a "worship of government." At any rate, it is more a question of why the superior governmental theories of their new country could not solve the problem of "assimilating" them. As a matter of fact, not theory, we maintain they were "assimilated" and now they are suffering from "indigestion" as well as the native born.

Now, according to this editorial, the solution of these disturbing questions is not to be found in the disputes of the learned, but all the necessary information can be secured by anyone just running around the corner and getting information first-hand. The prohibition question is cited as an example. However,—"The hard-headed man, who has studied the literature of the 'red' movement, knows it is based on fallacious theories and clever misrepresentation"—so this article concludes.

In Europe when Socialism was being actively propagated, an anti-Socialists organization was formed to send speakers out to combat the arguments of their opponents. To say that misrepresentation on both sides was not often resorted to, would label the contending parties as more than human. At any rate, a critical public was developed and mere vilification failed to secure much of a hearing. It will be well, therefore, to resort to some facts, to show the method by which the public receives its "facts."

It is claimed by the Socialists that society is divided into "classes." Their critics deny this and, as a reference to the papers, will indicate, whether those who deny know what they are saying or not. How often do you see such headlines as these: "Middle Class to Organize," "The Rich Feel the Burden of New Taxes,"

"Employers Will Not Arbitrate," "Workers Refuse to Carry On." Even in the same issue of the Saturday Evening Post we find an article headed "Germany in Transition," and from this we quote: "Instead of converting the sword into a ploughshare, Europe has turned from a war of force to a battle of CLASS, more subtle and dangerous." The question is what class or classes can there be any battles between in any modern nation? Have you not also had canvassers for local papers come around and tell you their particular paper catered for the "masses" and not the "classes." Just exactly what they mean it is sometimes hard to tell. Anyhow, it is an indication that an idea of a class or classes exists. This idea does not come out of the sky or of necessity from some defuded brain. It is a reflection caused by a common observation from experience—an experience gained by just "running out around the corner" of whatever part of the modern world one happens to live in. The most casual observation brings into consciousness this verifiable conclusion—property divides the human race into varying strata of living conditions and it is not alone the amount of wealth which determines the layer of society to which an individual belongs but HOW he obtains it. It is for this reason that many divisions or subdivisions appear in the TWO great classes that now prevail in all the highly-developed industrial nations. Even among the workers the way in which certain workers (for example those engaged in brain-work) are compelled to earn their livelihood, determines for them a certain standard of living, a cultural or non-cultural environment as the case may be, and we know that the idea of a class or classes exists, and we find that the correctness of the idea is verified by a reference to actual facts. But when we come to assert that a class war exists—i.e., a struggle between opposing classes—it is charged that this is a fiction. We turn to our papers and what is their great slogan, when they observe the much-ridiculed idea of the solidarity of labor taking a definite and conscious shape? "Compromise!" What is there to compromise, if there is no struggle? Is there nothing to compromise? Most certainly there is now. A few years ago—not so very man years ago it was from the ranks of labor one heard the principle of compromise advocated,—the plaint of the weak to the strong. Today we find the organs of apologetic capitalism are being read sceptically by the citizens of the world. The property squabbles over the Peace Treaty and League of Nations has revealed somewhat the "idealism" of the "saviours of civilization" and the splendid energy released by Russia in a revolutionary impulse to better economic conditions has been scandalously libelled by the press agents of this Brotherhood of National Redeemers. What sort of information do our hard-headed citizens get from their forts of wisdom? Records of incidents of violence, premature reports of anti-Bolshevik setbacks—no word of the hidden intrigues of outside parties interested, not in the people of Russia, but in their economic wealth; no word

of the desertion and sabotage of the skilled or semi-skilled executive section against the interest of the majority of the people; no publicity given to the actual propaganda of this people striving to settle their problems. Even should the alleged atrocities perpetrated in Russia be correct—is any comparison of the lives lost over the great economic war just concluded by the capitalist governments any great matter for exultation by the champions of "law and order," especially when viewed besides the thrifty schemes for reconstruction of the workers now so much ventilated in this altruistic era. Why should a press that professes to be so interested in the people understanding "facts" not circulate them widely, so they can be common knowledge. They are quite willing to advertise anything "for sale," and the "wets" of all newspaper writers are for sale and the market determines what is bought, and sold. Certain "facts" can be sold if done up in the proper package and the presentation of certain "facts" can be labelled "seditious" and in the hands of some prove that the way a man makes his living determines his strata in society and the conditions under which he may be allowed to live.

All of which goes to show that theories should be resolved from an observation of facts and that it is the observation or experience of certain commonly experienced facts that urges men to act along certain lines and which is the only way to understand why the "demand for Socialism has grown," and why the middle class, with a certain amount of support from the misinformed section of the workers have got the confused notion that Government Ownership is Socialism. A little more analysis of the urge towards this particular solution will soon divorce the minds of the workers from this notion and in the not very distant future it will not come as a surprise to find the Saturday Evening Post, (just for an example) boosting this Governmental idea as very sound compared with the programme that the working-class will eventually be launched into.

—H. W.

## THE SECRET OF SUCCESS

Reports from Soviet Russia show that the industrial and agricultural population are working with might and main in the production of goods, realizing that the success of the new order and of the Red armies depend upon their efforts. Wherever the Red army captures new territory, the workers rush the work in factory and field, whereas, when under the counter-revolutionary generals they slacken their activities.

## MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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

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

## The Voice of Reason

[From the Nation, London, Oct. 25]

If any sort of truce were concluded tomorrow with Soviet Russia on the Bullitt-Lenin terms, the economic outlook of the whole of Central and Eastern Europe would be instantly transformed. It is clear from the careful reports of Professor Goode that Soviet Russia is far from being without resources. The grain harvest has been exceptionally good, and would be available for the starving Borderland peoples, if only the now well-organized railway system of Russia could obtain fuel, lubricants, and spare parts for the locomotives and river steamers, which should transport it. There is timber enough awaiting export to solve our housing problem, and flax enough accumulated to clothe us in fine linen. The universal need is so immense, and the possibilities of exchange so various and unlimited, that the mere lifting of the Russian blockade would probably in itself suffice within a few months ease the intolerable tension from Siberia to the Rhine. The peasant would bring out his hoarded grain; the eggs and butter of Siberia would find their way to towns which have not seen such luxuries for years, if only the insensate barriers of exchange were lifted. Even hopeless Vienna, which makes excellent locomotives, would begin to live again, if it could exchange spare parts against Russian wheat.

"But would you," it may be said, "allow the Germans to snatch from us the fruits of victory, by permitting them to 'dump' their tools and machines upon Russia?" Assuredly we would, even if it were certain that German competition could frustrate our own efforts to capture the Russian market. For even in that event the general prosperity will be served. Russia, thanks to the use of German machinery, will be the better able to send us cheap grain and flax and timber; and if she herself did not take our exports in exchange, they would go by some of the triangular processes of trade to some other good market. If Germany made her profits in Russia, she would spend some part of them in purchasing British goods.

The military events of the next two or three weeks will settle in all probability the question of whether the Soviet Republic can be overthrown by arms before the winter sets in. If Kolchak and his generals fail to achieve a decision now, it must be postponed until next summer at the earliest. The question of the blockade will then present itself anew in an acuter form than ever. Shall we continue it, with the certainty that its

### EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

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

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

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

continuance means not merely the death of millions of human beings, for want primarily of fuel, in Russia itself, but also the postponement for another winter of the economic recovery of Central and Eastern Allied Europe? The chain of interdependence between these countries links their fate inescapably. The textile mills of Poland, the locomotive works of Riga and Vienna, the electrical factories of Berlin, are all normally dependent on the closed Russian market. If they are workless, then either they cannot take our exports, or, what is rather worse, they take them on credit, which will mean, as things are going today, that we incur bad debts.

Blockades are always two-edged weapons. One cannot doom another nation to starvation without in the end suffering oneself.

### IRELAND

The problem of Ireland's independence is one of the insoluble problems of Imperialistic Capitalism. Only on a world economy based on production for use can self determination of nations be realized. Capitalism is perpetually at war commercially, and militarily also, even if not actually, then potentially.

In the meantime, before the forces of the new order gain control, the capitalist rulers have only one solution for Ireland's struggle for independence and that is to beat it into subjection to the needs of empire. But to do this in the face of the new forces of freedom daily gathering influence among the great mass of the awakening peoples is to tamper with the floodgates of the deluge. The order for the abolition of juries in Ireland had gone forth but was hastily withdrawn in panic fear. The following extracts from a Manifesto by T. P. O'Connor for the League of which he is president, will in part show why the order was withdrawn.

LONDON, Dec. 8.—T. P. O'Connor, president of the United Irish League of Great Britain, and member of the House of Commons for the Scotland division of Liverpool in a manifesto just issued says:

"The tragedy of Ireland deepens hourly; oppression grows cruel and more widespread and shameless. Civil law has ceased to exist in Ireland. Martial law, justified only in actual warfare, has taken its place. The government in Ireland is Prussian militarism and Orange in its policy, its methods and its instruments.

"I have come to the conclusion that we have nothing to expect from the present ministry; they have broken their pledges to Ireland almost in the same breath in which they were uttered. We are determined to make our organization an ally, independent, separate and self-governing, of the British Labor party.

"We can only give satisfaction to the resentment felt by our people in Great Britain against the present treatment of Ireland by striking a blow through our influences and vote in Great Britain against those responsible for Irish oppression."

### TO LIBERATE UKRAINE

(From "The Christian Science Monitor.")

LONDON, England, (Wednesday)—A Moscow wireless message states that a "green army" has had considerable success in the Caucasus and that Tnapse and Maikop are in its hands.

Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevist Minister of War, has issued to the Red troops on the Ukrainian front an order in which he directs them, "while inflicting merciless blows" on General Denikin, to treat the Ukrainian workers with proper consideration and love.

Mr. Trotsky adds that the task of the Bolsheviki is not the conquest of the Ukraine but its liberation, but he expresses his conviction that the Ukrainian workers will decide to enter into a close fraternal union with Soviet Russia. The order concludes, "Long live free and independent Soviet Ukraine."

Meantime Moscow wireless messages make it apparent that the Bolsheviki are in serious straits regarding fuel, and great activity in an effort to remedy this is reported from different parts of Russia. Incidentally one message states that the Red guards of Kazan have decided to mobilize the propertied classes of the population for the preparing of fuel.

### POLICE AGENTS ARE CHARGED WITH PERJURY

Vancouver, Dec. 5.—Sam Dekteroff made a somewhat sensational appearance in the police court Wednesday afternoon. He appeared to give evidence against Durasoff and Barney Roth, police operatives charged with perjury in connection with the deportation proceedings against Chekoff and Zukoff.

At the request of Mr. I. I. Rubino-witz, who is conducting the private prosecution, Magistrate Shaw issued a warning from the bench against any attempt being made by friends of the defence to tamper with the witness in the interval between the adjournment and the next sitting of the court.

At the previous sitting of the court it was alleged by witnesses that attempts had been made to influence their evidence, and in making the application to the magistrate to issue a warning, counsel did so, he intimated, to prevent any repetition of the occurrence which he alleged had taken place.

Dekteroff, who stated that he had left Vancouver ten days after the arrest of the Russians on July 19, had gone to Anyox where he has been working since. He claimed to have been a constant companion of Alexander Durasoff for three months prior to Durasoff disclosing his identity as a detective at the time the men were arrested.

He denied that Chekoff or Zukoff had disseminated revolutionary doctrines among Russians either at the home of John Deakoff or at Butaeff's poolroom, or had addressed meetings.

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

### Leave for Winnipeg

Jack Kavanagh and Jack Harrington have been called to Winnipeg to give evidence for the defense of the men now being held for seditious conspiracy. They will leave for the prairie metropolis this week end.

### You Can Get It Here

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.

### Sub. Hustlers Wanted

To increase the circulation of "The Indicator," Urgent. One dollar for 20 issues, money returned if unable to fulfill obligation. Do not delay. Help on the educational movement. "The Indicator," 20 issues \$1.00.

### Manifesto of Socialist Party of Canada

A statement of the theories and conclusions of Scientific Socialism.

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

### ITALIAN SOCIALISTS CHEER LENINE

ROME, Dec. 12.—Russia was to the fore again today in the chamber of deputies, when the Socialists branded England and the United States as most plutocratic of all states. Deputy Cicotti, Socialist, declared that an Anglo-United States combination existed to make Odessa, Danzig and Fiume centres from which to reach out and strangle continental Europe.

The Socialist deputy, Prof. Grasiadei, asserted that the war was suspended only temporarily.

## Workers' Liberty Bonds

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

### A DAY'S PAY FOR WINNIPEG

Liberty of Speech and Action Is Worth Paying and Fighting For

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

### Labor Defence Fund

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

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

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