

THE INDICATOR

10 History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

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FIVE CENTS

Capitalist Press Sabotaging Winnipeg Defence--Reports of Evidence Are Suppressed

WE are indebted to the B. C. Federationist, a labor paper with a comparatively limited circulation for the following report of evidence submitted for the defence of R. B. Russell in the labor trial in Winnipeg. The capitalist press, true to form of course, now that the defence is putting its case forward, is sabotaging it by a conspiracy of silence when anything derogatory to the prosecution is brought to light.

(Special to The Federationist)

Winnipeg, Man.,
December 16, 1919

At the start of the Tuesday morning session, Mr. Bird notified the court that he had asked Mr. Andrews for the crown to produce in court a man by the name of H. Daskaluk, a secret service man of the R. N. W. M., who gave evidence in the preliminary trial and whose name was on the back of the indictment. Andrews stated that the crown did not call this man as they did not consider his evidence was relevant to the case and furthermore, they could not rely on him.

Demands Witness Be Produced.

Mr. Bird thereupon stated that this was the very reason why this man should be called; just as the crown stated, he could not be relied upon, and as he was a secret service man of the R. N. W. M. P., it would show that the whole evidence of the R. N. W. M. P. given at this trial was in the same category, and that he would move for an adjournment of the case until this man was produced. He then proceeded to state that he had letters to show that this man had been offered \$500 to give evidence, which he had refused to do. Just at this time the judge stopped Mr. Bird from going any further until he had ordered the jury to retire from the court.

Jury Retires.

When the jury had retired, Mr. Bird proceeded to state his case, and the judge asked Mr. Bird if it was his contention that the law compelled the crown to produce a witness. Mr. Cassidy then pointed out that it was, and cited from a law book, whereupon Mr. Bird moved that the crown be forced to produce this witness, as he had proof that he was in the city last week, that he had a letter from him stating that he had given false evidence, and refused to do it again; that he had been put in jail in Vancouver for refusing to come here and repeat his previous evidence; that he had been promised \$500 for his evidence; that he had letters from re-

putable civic officers at Vancouver and Winnipeg, that showed that this man had been offered money, that Col. Sterns of the R. N. W. M. P. was involved, and after a further discussion the judge ruled that Mr. Bird must bring in a prepared motion on this question, so that the court could deal with it, which was agreed to by the defense lawyers.

Startling Letters Are Produced

A bench warrant to bring Daskaluk into court was applied for and issued by Judge Metcalfe. The following are copies of letters filed in court by Mr. J. E. Bird:

"530 Cambie Street,
Vancouver, B. C.,
Nov. 4, 1919.

"G. B. Clarke, Esq.,
Secretary Social Service Committee,
Winnipeg, Man.

"Dear Sir,—

Re Daskaluk, 688 Linden Avenue,
Winnipeg, Man.

"This man, his wife and infant child three weeks old, Ukrainians, are destitute and a public charge in this city. He states that he was sent here by your provincial government, as his life was in danger in Winnipeg on account of evidence which he gave against Almazoff in the recent trials at Winnipeg. Formerly he had been a special agent of the R. N. W. M. P.

"I have wired Col. Sterns, O. C., R. N. W. M. P., who is said to have paid his transportation to this city. A former promise of \$500 and transportation to his own country was not carried out for the alleged pretext that Ukraina was now at war and this man could not enter his country. He states that he has only received \$150 of the \$500 promised him. I have read the evidence as contained in the newspapers which he gave, and there is absolutely nothing in any of his statements that would endanger his personal safety. I expect the R. N. W. M. P. to provide transportation through their local commanding officer for this man and his wife to return to your city, if his statements are correct.

"Will you be good enough to investigate his statements, especially with Col. Sterns, with Mr. Andrews, the prosecutor for the province, and his brother, who lives at 256 Austin Street?

"Thanking you in anticipation,

"Yours sincerely,

"(Sgd.) GEO. D. IRELAND,
"Relief Officer."

Was Promised \$500.

"November 13, 1919.

"George D. Ireland, Esq.,
530 Cambie Street,
Vancouver, B. C.

"Dear Sir,—

Re H. Daskaluk, 608 Linden Avenue

"Your letter of the 4th instant to hand, and owing to the writer being sick, reply was delayed.

"I called on Col. Sterns of the Royal North West Mounted Police, who told me that this man gave evidence for the crown and was promised \$500, and he states that as soon as the case is finished they will give him the balance. As your letter states, he has received \$150 and his transportation to Vancouver. Col. Sterns told me that he wired to the officer commanding the Royal North West Mounted Police in Vancouver to advance Mr. Daskaluk \$100. I also called to see Mr. Daskaluk's brother at 256 Austin Street, but was not able to see him as he was working on the railroad, and comes in but once a week, and owing to the big storm we have had in Manitoba all the trains are held up. We do not know when he will be in.

"I further found that Mr. H. Daskaluk was never a resident of the city, but of East Kildonan, Man.

"Trusting this will be satisfactory, I am, Yours truly,

"(Sgd.) B. ZEGLINSKI,
"Agent."

Behind the Bars.

"Vancouver, B. C.,
November 1.

"My Dearest Friend,—Am writing this to let you know that at 10 p.m. I will be behind the bars for not obeying the order of 'Rapett,' as you know all about the journey to Winnipeg, so I flatly refused to go, as I told them it's against my nature and my people. I also sent my wife to them, but they won't listen to her either. I was behind the bars all night last night until 8 a.m. today and I am supposed to go back to the cell at 10 p.m. so before I go there I thought to leave this message with the hotel clerk and if you come back to Vancouver please come over to 691 Cambie and you will hear more. Today at the court room I was told that they will deport me if I will not go to Winnipeg. I said all right. You know they only gave me one cup of tea without sugar in 24 hours. Rotten system and barbaric treatment they use for me. But, my brother, I have promised to myself to stay where I am. Even if they starve me to death. I once done wrong being forced, but not again.

"Yours for Socialism and better rights,

"(Sgd.) HARRY DASKALUK."

FOILED!!!

Our luck is out again. The end of the world did not come off. The "story" was only another creation of the "stunt" press.

Liberty Bond Campaign Time Extended to January 15

On Tuesday, word was received by the local defense committee from the Winnipeg committee, to the effect that the Liberty Bond campaign had been extended to January 15, owing to the difficulties in reaching outlying points, and in getting the returns in. The local committee has fallen in line, and the campaign will be carried on in B. C. until the 15th of January, 1920. So far there has been collected since the campaign started in B. C., the sum of \$14,000, and as there are \$20,000 worth of bonds still out there will be no difficulty in raising the full quota of \$20,000 in this province. In addition to the sums that have been received by the local committee, there has been a considerable amount of money sent direct to Winnipeg. This is due to the fact that circular letters were sent to some points in B. C. by the Winnipeg committee, and the total contributed by B. C. will be considerably augmented by these sums. In all the amount collected by the local committee from B. C. points, including the sale of bonds, and contributions before the bond campaign was start-

ed, will amount to over \$23,000. This is a creditable showing, but more will be needed before the trials are over, so there should be no let up in the campaign until the date for the closing of it. Everybody get in and boost. This is a workers' fight, and the least we can do is to pay for it. Do not forget that it costs money to unearth and expose the foul work of procurers and stool-pigeons who are being used for political purposes against the working class movement.

—Defense Committee.

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,

Latest reports are that Judge Metcalfe has ruled against admittance of Daskaluk's testimony.

The Function of Science---With Some Conclusions

WITH regard to Science, let it first of all be said, in order to avoid confusion, that it does not furnish us with an explanation of natural phenomena; that is, not in the accepted sense. It supplies us only with a distinct method, a certain way of looking at, and describing, the processes it sets out to study; and those generalizations of science known as natural laws, so far from being fiats or decrees similar to acts of parliament or the ten commandments, on the contrary, are merely statements in brief of the totality of conditions under which given events occur. Failing these conditions, the phenomena in question do not appear.

But, if science does not explain anything, what, then, is its purpose? What does it do? Well . . . but, before answering that question, let us point out that we have not yet said that science does not explain anything, only that it does not provide us with an explanation in the accepted sense. In another sense, as we may have occasion to show in a short time, the description "how" given by Science may be taken as an adequate substitute for the reason "why" demanded by philosophy.

And now—to come back to the question as to what the purpose of science was, or is—let us say that the business of science is simply to describe the universe. Nothing more. Simply to describe the universe. A design, nevertheless, not without a certain ambitious grandeur. For this describing the universe is a tall order. It means, to begin with, ascertaining the facts. No simple matter, because the facts are rarely what they seem to be on the surface. For instance, the sun, as I write, is going down; but nowadays everyone is perfectly aware that the sun goes down in appearance only; the reality as we all know, is something quite different. So that getting at the facts is not quite such an easy matter as one would think.

Very well, we'll grant the difficulty, and allow, further, that the facts have been amassed—what then?

Well, then, to proceed, the ascertained facts have to be arranged in order, and studied, and the relations between them noted, their sequence recognized, and finally, the full conditions of their existence or occurrence described as concisely, but also as completely, as possible. It is this complete description, summed up in a general formula, that we know as a natural law, as when we say that development from the simple to the complex is the law of progress.

A law is a uniformity. A human law describes the way things should happen; a natural law, how they do happen.

"Thou shalt not steal" is an example of the first; of the second, we have a good example in the law of biogenesis, which is that "every organism in its individual development repeats the life history of the race to which it belongs."

The law of gravitation is that "all objects attract each other with a strength directly proportional to the amount of their mass, and inversely proportional to the square of their distance."

It is as though the scientist after his labors should sit back and say to himself: Now, what is the conclusion we are to draw from all that? He summarizes the results of his study and gives to his summary an axiomatic expression; and that expression states the law.

The nature of the study is immaterial. What matters is that it should admit the application of the scientific method. All that is knowable is the province of science, all experience its happy hunting ground. That is to say that everything becomes a scientific study provided only that it can be treated in the scientific manner.

Speaking of art—or, as we would now say, of science—Aristotle says it "begins when, from a great number of experiences, one general conception is formed which will embrace all similar cases." Exactly. And Aristotle's "general conception" answers to the underlying law, or uniformity, of which we have already spoken. Beneath the scientist's group of facts, this uniformity is observable, and it is the aim of the scientist to disclose it.

Science, then, is "the complete and consistent description of the facts of experience in the simplest possible terms."

At first sight this sounds disappointing. Science, of which we have believed so much, and hoped so much, and thought was accomplishing so much—to be reduced to a mere barren description! But not so fast. We are disappointed before there is any need to be. Let us consider the definition well.

First, it must be complete—that is, it must leave nothing out. Next, it must be consistent—that is, consistent with itself, with the rest of the science of which it forms a part, with science as a whole, and also with experience in general. After that, it must publish its results in the simplest possible terms. The simplest possible terms—that is difficult; difficult to reduce our accumulated and complex knowledge, together with the conclusions drawn from it, to a clear succinct statement incapable of being misunderstood—ininitely more difficult than at first sight it would be thought.

But, if that is all, then we have to give up the idea we have been harboring that science offers us a solution of the riddle of the universe, for it leaves matters just as much unexplained as before.

Oh no. That would be jumping to a conclusion too quickly—without thinking. Let us see. Certainly, science does not attempt to refer the facts of experience to any ultimate reality, but what of that? That is the function of philosophy—not of science; and a thankless function it is at best. There remains a sense, however, in which science does explain things, as we shall discover. Science reduces occurrences to simple terms, lays bare the conditions of their existence, or procedure, and discloses their history. When we say that science has accounted for the tides we are saying something that is quite permissible, and mean that we have been given a more intelligible conception of what takes

place in the case of that particular phenomenon. Now, this increased intelligibility, depends, in a very great measure indeed, on the discovery and exhibition of causes—only these causes are not causes in the final sense. In the natural sciences the term "cause" refers only to secondary causes—causes which are themselves the result of antecedent, or preceding, causes. The question of ultimate causes is never raised. That, as we said before, is not the business of science—which deals with the knowable only. A scientific cause is an efficient cause, not a final cause. It gives no answer to the question "why;" so that we never get further than the ideal description previously set forth.

Now, all knowledge is based upon the information we obtain through our senses. Other means of learning anything there is none. This brings us to a most important question—the question is this: How can we be sure that the information gleaned through the medium of our senses is authentic, not false? How can we know that our senses supply us with representations of the objects they perceive which are correct, reliable, true? Is it not possible for these perceptions easily to be in error? To which we must answer that, of course, it is quite possible to make mistakes, and they are frequently made. It is the recognition of this propensity to error that leads many a thinker to declare that when he speaks of objects, or the qualities of which he can not know anything for certain, but what he means is the impression, or impressions, such objects have produced on his senses; that and only that. The objects themselves can not be known.

Against this line of argument we have nothing to say. It is plausible, but it has no reality. In an old and very homely saying, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Our lives, and all our actions, are based irrevocably on our sense perceptions—on the very information, that is, which is now called in question. And the doubts of philosophers notwithstanding, it remains a fact that the race for countless centuries has trusted its existence to just these perceptions; so far without serious hurt. Not only that, but when we begin to turn to our own use the objects around us, using them according to the attributes we perceive in them, we put the accuracy or inaccuracy of our perceptions of them, at that very moment to an unflinching test. This test is infallible because, if our perceptions are wrong, then our estimate of the uses to which the objects we are dealing with can be put must be wrong also, and our efforts to use them will ignominiously fail. Whereas, on the other hand, if we succeed in our purpose, and do actually turn these objects to the uses our perception of their qualities led us to imagine possible, then the objects themselves necessarily agree with our ideas of them, which is sufficient proof that the impressions gained through the senses tally with the reality outside of ourselves.

But even suppose that we fail in our aim, and the qualities we supposed an object to have turn out to

be something other than we thought so that our intentions in connection with that particular object fail to materialize—what then? What are we to conclude? That our impressions are unreliable? No. We conclude that the perceptions upon which we acted in this case were either incomplete or superficial, or else were combined with the results of other perceptions in a way not warranted by them—and we are generally not very long in making out the cause of our failure. We correct the fault into which we had fallen—which, after all, was but a matter of defective reasoning—and try again; this time with success. Or, if we do not succeed at once, we still achieve success ultimately, and our perceptions are once more fully justified.

So long as we take care to train and use our senses properly, and to keep our actions within the limits prescribed by our perceptions, so long shall we find that the result of our actions proves the conformity of our perceptions with the objective nature of the things perceived. "Not in one single instance so far," wrote a great scientist, "have we been led to the conclusion that our sense perceptions, scientifically controlled, induce in our minds ideas respecting the outer world that are at variance with reality, or that there is an inherent incompatibility between the outer world and our sense perception of it."

Having established so much, some latter-day philosopher is bound to pop up, and exclaim: All right, all right—we'll grant all that; but it does not overcome the difficulty at all. It may be quite true that we can perceive the qualities of a thing correctly, yet we can not by any sensible or mental process grasp the thing in itself. This thing in itself is unknowable—beyond our ken.

To which Hegel, long since, has replied: If you know all the qualities of a thing, you know the thing in itself already. Nothing remains but the fact that the said thing exists without us, and when your senses have taught you that fact you have grasped the last remnant of the thing in itself, Kant's celebrated unknowable "ding an sich."

But then, in Kant's time, our knowledge of natural objects was, indeed, so fragmentary, that Kant might well be pardoned for thinking that behind the little we knew of things there must still be a strange, mysterious, forever-unknowable personality—the thing in itself. But the world has advanced, and one after another of these ungraspable things have been grasped, have been analysed—and, what is more—reproduced; by such gigantic strides has science victoriously advanced—and what we can produce and reproduce we certainly can not be said not to know.

To the chemistry of the early nineteenth century organic substances were still mysterious objects, behind which might be hidden some secret, unknowable, self. But now, we can build them up—these organic substances—one after the other—from their chemical elements, without the aid of organic processes whatever; and modern chemists claim that as

(Continued On Page Three.)

The State and Feudalism

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

II.

["The origin of the State or Political Society," said Professor Jenks in the beginning of the Excerpt in last issue, "is to be found in the development of the art of warfare." He then proceeded to give reasons in proof of his statement.]

CHARACTER of the State. The new type of community formed by these events differed fundamentally from that which preceded it. In the first place, it was essentially territorial in character. Though its rulers for some time continued to call themselves by tribal names ("Kings of the English," "Kings of the French," and so on,) in reality the limits of their authority were the limits of their territories. Whosoever lived, nay, whosoever happened to be, within their dominions, was their subject, their subditus, or subdued man, bound to obey their commands, and, especially bound to obey their call to arms. The life of the

THE FUNCTION OF SCIENCE, WITH SOME CONCLUSIONS

(Continued From Page Two.)

soon as the chemical constitution of no matter what body is ascertained, that body can be quite readily built up out of the elements of which it is composed.

We are still a long way from knowing, so far as the writer is aware, the constitution of the highest organic substances—the albuminous bodies—but there is absolutely no reason why we should not arrive at that knowledge, and armed with it proceed to produce artificial albumen. There is no reason in the world why we should not do this—even if only after centuries; it is the possibility of the thing with which we are concerned—not with the length of time it might take. But if ever we do arrive at that point, we shall at the same time have produced organic life, for life from its lowest manifestation to its highest is but the mode of existence of albumen.

So we conclude, after having touched on matters we had no intention of touching at the outset. Science is a method of research and interpretation. With final causes it does not deal. But it is still a question as to whether the whole notion of final causes is, or is not, simply the offspring of human ingenuity having little or no relation to reality. At all events, it has ever been a fruitless quest—and still is. And since the scientific method of study supplies us with reliable information about the world we live in, and the qualities of the various objects it contains and as we have seen that a knowledge of these qualities amounts to a knowledge of the things themselves, we can rest satisfied that the explanation of the universe afforded by science, whether it be the only one or not, is still the only one humanly possible.

If we shall have helped anyone to a clearer idea of what science is and what it seeks to do, we will be pleased to have contributed, even though so little, towards that end.

WM. A. LEWIN.

new community was military allegiance, that faithful obedience to the orders of a commander which had enabled the conqueror, with the aid of his devoted followers, to place his foot on the necks of the conquered tribes. Race feeling, no doubt, long counted for much; no prudent ruler could afford to neglect it. But it was no longer the essential bond of unity. To begin with, the ruler and his chief followers were probably of different blood, perhaps even of different religion and speech, from the mass of the subject population. Apart from this fact, the successful warrior, knowing the value of numbers, was always trying to import new followers, about whose race he cared little, provided only that they could be relied on to do good service, either with the sword or the pen. Finally, being generally a man of superior enlightenment, the new ruler was often anxious to throw open the country to foreign adventurers, whether merchants, ecclesiastics, or teachers, believing that his fame and wealth would thereby be increased. This policy was, as is well known, the cause of much trouble in the early days of the State; but the new spirit ultimately got its way.

New Type of Religion. Again, the exclusiveness of the old tribal systems was rudely broken down. It had rested mainly, as we have seen, towards the end of its history, on the system of ancestor worship. But the establishment of the western State was curiously coincident with the triumph of a new type of religion, the chief characteristic of which was universality. It may sound, at first hearing, ridiculous to associate the meek religion of Christ with the aggressive military institution of the State. Yet it is quite certain that Christianity had a great deal to do with breaking down tribal prejudice, and with the establishment of great political communities. To take the first and most glaring example which presents itself. The conversion of Clovis to Christianity was intimately connected with the formation of the brilliant, if short-lived, Frankish empire. The heathen Burgundians and Saxons were overcome by the Christian Franks. In the name of Christianity, Charles the Great rolled back the tide of Saracen invasion from the Pyrenees, and established the frontiers of Christendom. Though Christianity, in its earliest days, had been a mission to the poor and lowly, its great conquests in Northern and Western Europe were due to the conversion of kings and princes. The conversion of Aethelbirt of Kent was the signal for the conversion of England. Christianity passed from court to court of the Heptarchic kingdoms. And Christianity well repaid the favor of princes. Under the cry of "one church and one king," the older tribal divisions were ultimately wiped out, and England became one nation; with Church and State in intimate alliance. Even more obviously had Mahomedanism the result of breaking down tribal divisions, and establishing mighty kingdoms, like the kingdom of Akbar in India, the kingdom of Ismail in Persia, and the kingdom of Mahomet at Constantinople.

The New Nobility. Once more, the

THE STATE OF JAPAN

"When the Devil Was Sick—"

TOKIO, Dec. 16.—"The present moment is seeing great changes in Japan that will mean much for the future peace of the world in the Far East. Within the three weeks that I have been studying conditions in Japan the commercial and pro-peace sections of the government have given the military the most finished wallop the old dominating power ever had."

So writes Frazier Hunt, a well-

known newspaper correspondent, now in Japan. In his despatch, he makes the prediction, which later advices confirm, that no more Japanese troops will be sent to Siberia. He waxes very enthusiastic over the "finished wallop" given to the militarists by the moderates. Too enthusiastic he is by half. Is he being used to distribute his optimistic verbal chloroform by gamblers in a big game, or is he just ignorant of the nature of the beast capitalism, and its own offspring, militarism? We know these syndicate correspondents of the capitalist press. We recognize their propaganda on sight.

"It was a real show down between the pro-peace party and the military party over the sending of more troops to Siberia and the civil section won," so he says! "It means the dawn of new day in Japan. The refusal to support the military demands for more troops in Siberia means the recognition of the fact that there are things in the world that bayonets can not fight. It means," he continues, "that Japan is afraid to face this situation, since England, France and Italy withdrew from Siberia."

If Japan has changed its policy, and when we say Japan, we mean the ruling class of Japan, there is small credit due to them. Capitalism is the same old unregenerate leopard in Japan as elsewhere. If capitalistic Japan has changed her policies, it has been perforce under pressure of new conditions and revolutionary forces within her own borders as well as in the countries subject to her sway. This the correspondent almost admits when he says, "Japan is frightened at the possibility of wild Bolshevism within her own borders and is considering great internal reforms such as universal suffrage and the betterment of labor conditions in the hope of checking the radicalism. One year ago, the rice riots gave a big scare, and now the march of the Bolsheviks eastward from the Ural mountains, coupled with the discontent at the high cost of living in Japan, brings grave uneasiness. The masses today are in an uncertain mood, which might flare up into riots at any moment."

Surely it is an unconscious tribute to the Bolsheviks, that, on their approach, the rulers and oppressors grow afraid and the masses of the oppressed take hope.

"Japan," he further says, "has repented of her treatment of China and Korea." Presto, a lightning change! Almost it seems a death-bed repentance.

"She has just begun to catch a vision of the coming democracy—humanity and justice."

"China, Korea and Siberia are teaching her great lessons. The old military party that has been the real source of the ruling power in Japan is still strongly entrenched, but constantly losing ground before the wonderful democratic movement. Democracy is spreading like wildfire here. Real freedom and democracy will not be denied, and it is going to win Japan just as it will eventually succeed everywhere in the world."

Which is all very fine word-mongery, but, we stress the point, if it comes, it is coming not a particle from above, but from below, forcing its way up from among the masses of the economically enslaved, against the will of capitalist forces.

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SATURDAY.....DECEMBER 20, 1919

Industry and Humanity

THE visit to Vancouver of Lord Leverhulme, of Sunlight Soap, and six hours a day fame, has been the occasion of an editorial in the Vancouver "Province," which enters into a consideration of the industrial reforms of shortening the working day and of profit sharing, and of the conditions necessary to make the reforms feasible. On reading the editorial it is very evident that the writer is not optimistic as to the realization of such ideals.

As regards the six-hour day, both the writer of the editorial and Lord Leverhulme are "doubtful whether even the eight-hour day, not to speak of the six-hour, can be inaugurated at the present rate of production."

What is meant by the present rate of production, is that we are not producing fast enough per man. They are not thinking of mere quantity or volume, as such, of products. There are hundreds of thousands in Canada alone who are unemployed and would be only too glad to work, and if it were only a question of volume, a question of quantities of goods to be produced for use, the solution would be easy. But it is otherwise. It is a question of producing commodities for sale on a competitive market, so the capitalist must produce as cheap or cheaper than his competitor to be successful. The rate of production means, output per man, per unit of time. The capitalist who fails to produce within the margins of the necessary social rate goes out of business. Within the necessary social rate there are many degrees of efficiency and each and all must regulate their output according to the purchasing capacity of the market and with a view towards the highest possible profits.

That is one of contributing causes of the irremediable anarchy in capitalist production. Modern socialized methods of production are no longer compatible with the capitalist forms in which they are compelled to move. The development of modern machinery, the concentration of huge capitals into plants and production enterprises on the modern large scale plan, makes impossible the smooth harmonious working of these tremendous social powers, so long as they are owned by a class and controlled by them for the sole business like purpose of producing profits. The anarchy on the world's market itself determines that much of the time, this machinery and plant shall stand idle, or operate under capacity. Every individual owner or corporation, must pursue their own ends for profits without regard to social service. Hence, we see exist immense duplications and incalculable competitive waste in working at cross purposes; and in addition, erratic and

intermittant activity in production. It is stated on good authority that the productive efficiency of capitalist industry in the States is only equal to some 25 per cent. of its capacity.

This operation of industry under capacity is in large part deliberate, though of necessity. It is a sabotage on society by the business interests for business purposes. We are past the stage of periodical industrial crises due to over-production. We are now in one long state of chronic over-production. Never again will absorbing capacity of the market keep pace with the world's capacity for production. Over-production, or a glutted market today does not necessarily mean that warehouses are bursting with goods and that commodities are selling at ruinous prices, but it does mean, now that the means for estimating and keeping in touch with the demands of the market have been scientifically organized, that we have reached the stage of larger numbers of the permanently unemployed than ever before, and of the deliberate operating of the means of production under capacity.

All this vast waste of social powers and the dissatisfaction and miseries involved, are the product of capitalist production for profit. In the world there are millions deprived of even the common necessities of life, not to speak of other things the twentieth century should have afforded them and there are millions who are without work. The same cry goes up from all the lands, "we are refused work, and yet we are wanting the products of labor!"

The editorial in the "Province" says, that Lord Leverhulme's "support of the six-hour day is contingent on circumstances which disarm opposition." How nice! Sure! The contingency is, that the profits of the capitalists shall not be injuriously affected.

Both the editorial writer and Lord Leverhulme have the inverted, anti-social brains of capitalists. In spite of their fine sentiments for public consumption, it is the needs of capital that they think of first and of human needs as but incidentals which must wait on the former. Though the workers are hailed as brothers, "it is for the 'duration' when death is being shared out, but they are aliens and outcasts when it comes to the distribution of life."

Miners in Great Britain

THE coal miners in Great Britain are carrying out their program of educating the British public, whatever that is, on the nationalization of the mines. This mushy, multi-headed snobocracy, the public, pap-fed by the capitalist press, has been indifferent to the welfare of generations of miners, who were burning and dying, rearing families, boarding lodgers in one-room hovels without sanitary conveniences or privacies. But now, before the miners may bring better conditions of life from society, they must appeal to this public. Nevertheless, their campaign may awaken the rest of the sleeping mass of the proletariat, and themselves also, to some degree of class consciousness.

There are rumors that the present British Government may unite the anti-nationalization forces under its banner, against the labor forces, and submit the question to the electorate

at an early date. However, the matter may turn out, one good thing is sure to result and that is a quickened political life. The validity of certain exclusive "rights," divine and otherwise, to coal beds laid down by nature's processes millions of years ago, will be up for consideration before a growing number of people who "wish to be shown." My Lord, Duke of Northumberland, speaking for himself and his heirs for ever, will have to show "cause" to a materialistic machine-bred proletariat which is beginning to look upon the whole social organization in terms of output, in human satisfactions and welfare, and is finding it wanting in that respect.

The advanced section of this proletariat have no illusions about this nationalization business either. They regard it as merely part of the struggle to maintain an existence under capitalism, and realize that it proffers no solution to the problem of working class exploitation and economic slavery.

The miners have a tremendous task to lift the old country out of the deep rut of ancient "use and wont." Also, the resources of the privileged class are immense in wealth and in the means of propaganda. The whole capitalist press will be against the miners. And it constitutes the most powerful and unscrupulous weapon that any ruling class ever possessed.

The following extract from an article by William Stewart, in the Glasgow "Forward," shows that there are many who have no illusions about the scrupulousness of the miners opponents:

The miners have been very patient, with the patience of men who have an unassailable case. They could have produced a national crisis months ago. They could have produced a national crisis months ago. They could wreck the present Government now. They preferred, on the advice of their leaders, to prove their case to the full satisfaction of the British public. But, having done so, they do not intend to wait much longer. That is my reading of Mr. Hodges's statement, and it is confirmed by intimate personal intercourse with the rank and file of the miners in Scotland.

The Government probably plumes itself on its clever tactics in dealing with the miners. It makes a mistake. It has only made exposure of itself as a collection of cunning tricksters, congenitally incapable of honest dealing, and operating in the interests of coal profiteers and against the interests, not of the miners only, but of the general community. The ordinary coal-consuming citizens, during the course of this long-drawn-out controversy between the miners and the Government, have seen the Government eat its own words, deny its own promises, reject the verdict of its own Commission, and evade the fulfillment even of its own alternative proposals. They have seen the Government increase the price of coal by six shillings a ton, and try to blame the miners for the robbery. They have seen it demonstrated that the increase was unnecessary, and they have seen this group of shifty Shylocks still hold on to two-thirds of the admitted plunder. They have seen the promise to limit profits to 1s 2d a ton unredeemed during all these months, and they have seen the coal dividends go up and ever upward. They have seen the coalowners selling stones instead of coals. And in

all this evidence of trickery, fraud and rapacity they find clear proof of the miners' contention that the mines of this country can not any longer be left in the hands of private owners. If there was any doubt of the need—even apart from the justice—for the nationalization of mines, the events of the last six months have finally dispelled that doubt. The miners are fighting the battle of the whole community, not for this generation only, but for all generations to come. In what manner the crisis may develop I can not pretend to foretell. We know the slippery, crafty people with whom we shall have to deal. We know that all manner of means will be used to confuse the issues, and to side-track the purpose of the workers, to divide and disintegrate their organizations, and to set one section against the other. These efforts will fail. Even if they were partially to succeed, the miners themselves have power to achieve their purpose, and the miners, if necessary, will use that power. But the miners should not be left to fight the people's battle alone. The whole industrial power of labor should be concentrated on this issue, and with the settlement of this issue many other economic problems will be made easy of solution.

The railwaymen, it seems, have made their peace with the Railway Companies and the Government, and the railways of the country as still to remain private property. Other people than the railwaymen will have something to say to that before long. But if the Government calculates that the railwaymen will be merely spectators in a national mining dispute, they show gross ignorance of the economic interdependence of industry and misread the new spirit of labor. And so also with the other sections. The miners may go forward to the fight assured that their fellow-workers of all crafts and trades and industries are coming along with them. If the Government chooses to precipitate even a bigger issue than mines nationalization, that is the Government's lookout.

Variation in Relative Wages

LAST Sunday's Economic Class of Local Vancouver No. 1, found a difficulty in understanding the paragraph on page 31 of "Wage-labor and Capital." The paragraph in question is part of a discussion on relative wages, i.e., wages relative to the profit of the capitalist. Much of the difficulty in the paragraph no doubt was due, in part, to abstruseness of phraseology and incompleteness of the statement of the proposition, rather too much being taken for granted as understood. The difficulty involved in the proposition, however, was not a question of economic theory, but of mathematics or of logic. Really a question of relativity.

The preceding paragraph to the one referred to, had stated that the price which a commodity sells at, is, for the capitalist, divided into three parts.

(1) To make up for raw materials wear and tear of tools, machinery and other instruments of labor advanced by him.

(2) To make up for the wages advanced by him.

(3) The excess over and above the first and second parts, constitutes the profit of the capitalist. (This he may

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Capitalists Everywhere Accept Marxism

By JOHN MACLEAN

(From "The Worker," Glasgow.)

NOW that thousands of working class students are settling down to study Marxian Economics, or rather economic laws from the standpoint taken up by Marx, I may be pardoned obtruding this subject on your readers. However, it is an historic dictum that those only succeed who are impelled by a consuming conviction, a conviction that is based on a true interpretation of historic facts and historic tendencies.

The working class is developing into the conviction that it is robbed of by far the major portion of the wealth it plays the essential part in producing and distributing. That conviction takes deep root on a deep, broad and solid foundation once the worker settles down to study Economics as expounded by Marx, the kernel of whose teaching is the labor-time theory of value. That theory accepted, we can apply it to what the worker sells on the market—his labor-power—and find out that the worker is not and never will be paid "by results;" that is to say, by the total wealth or value-equivalent of what he produces. His wage is paid on "the cost of living," and his cost of living is far less than the wealth or the value he contributes to the world's stock.

Marx, then, and the working-class real conviction stand or fall with the labor-time theory of value. Is it true to fact, is it true to life? Young university prigs—and the majority are prigs—will in superior style assure you Marx was killed a generation ago; the professor said so!

Certainly the professors have tried to kill him by every cunning sophistical device at their command. They

VARIATION IN RELATIVE WAGES

(Continued From Preceding Page)

have to divide with the landlord and the bank, etc.)

The first part replaces values which had a previous existence.

Both the second part which goes to replace wages, and the third, as profit, come out of new values produced in the productive process by the workman. In this sense, we may regard both wages and profits, for the sake of comparison, as the respective shares of labor and capital in the new values produced by the workman.

The paragraph in which the difficulty presented itself, assumes a variation in the quantitative proportions of these shares towards each other. In the pamphlet this proposition was assumed merely to illustrate what is meant by relative wages. However, in the discussion which followed in the class, it was clearly brought out that the diagram, in reality, describes the actual historical movement of both wage-labor and capital during the capitalist era.

The assertion sought to be proved is that real wages, i.e., the quantity of commodities which the money-wages will buy, may remain the same, or they may even rise, and the relative wages, i.e., the share of the product obtained by the wage-worker in relation to the share of the capitalist, may none the less have fallen.

The following diagrams are intended to illustrate the above. It is to be understood that this is a ques-

(Continued on Page Eight)

had to do it; they were paid to; and they are the types who are eager to come down to teach Economics to the working class. The discussion with these gents was so useless and wasteful of time that many Socialists, including the leaders of the I. L. P. and B. S. P.'ers such as Fairchild, pretty well avoided insistence on the study of Economics, and depended mainly on capitalist-supplied statistics or sentiment based on the wrongs and injuries suffered by the mass of the people.

But although the professors are satisfied they buried Marx long ago, some of us all along have maintained that Marx buried the professors. During the war, the big capitalists realized that the professors were wrong and Marx was right, and so we find that their whole attitude is now Marxian, and that all their experiments are wrought out from the Marxian basis.

The Yankees, having no fear of Marxism in America, long ago adopted the Marxian point of view, and hence it is by no accident that Taylorism or Scientific Management sprang up across the Atlantic. The war compelled Britain to accept and adapt the first fruits of Taylorism with the necessary result of a revolution in economic outlook and thinking.

The new view was typically expressed by that up-to-date capitalist, Lord Weir, who, in an address to the business men of Glasgow, insisted that the main factor in production is Man-time. Man-time is just the Marxian expression Labor-time, so therefore Labor-time is the main factor in production—the mighty fact refuted for a generation by university dons, but now preached by Scotland's engineering capitalist topnotcher! Not only preached but practiced as well, for at Weir's, Cathcart, in September "The Weir Bulletin" was issued for the first time to the workers to explain the function of the new Planning Department. This function will be "the gradual revision of all shop processes and methods to ensure genuinely efficient methods of production." "The (Shop) Stewards felt that better output would be obtained if the employees fully grasped the fact that the directors desired the men to make high earnings, and that high earnings would not result in any breaking of allowances." New schemes of increased output will go from the Planning Department to the Tool Drawing Offices, then to the Tool Room, and ultimately to the Demonstration section to test the tools and jigs and to fix a satisfactory time allowance or piecework rate.

In settling the time in the Demonstration Department, there shall be present, if desired, a representative of the Planning Department, Rate Fixing Department, an operative and his appropriate Shop Steward. The time analyses will be abstracted in the following divisions:—Actual machinery time; actual manipulative time; tool allowance, 5 per cent. of machinery time; fatigue allowance, 20 per cent. of manipulative time; contingency time allowance, 40 per

cent. of total machinery time plus manipulative time; allowance for 33 1-3 per cent. bonus.

This practical application of the Labor-time Theory of Value knocks the learned nonsense of the professors into smithereens—and the W. E. A., too.

Every engineer and every student of Economics ought occasionally at least to read "Engineering Industrial Management," the new name for "Cassier's Magazine." Every issue teems with proof that up-to-date capitalists accept and apply the Man-time Theory. The issue of Oct. 16, 1919, is especially fruitful. In an article entitled "Eliminating the Stop-Watch from Industry," we learn that the greatest part of industrial inefficiency is due to shortcomings of management. (That knocks on the head Mallock, who insisted that capitalists had special directive ability, entitling them to call part of their earnings Rent of Ability.) Better than the stop-watch is proper organization, reliable records, production properly controlled and good working conditions.

The importance of the Labor Hour as the unit in measuring Values is brought out more sharply than ever I have heard of or read before, and two economic terms are used as a necessary evolution of applied Marxism—Equivalency and Equivalent.

Equivalency is "determining a fair hour's work for different operations in industry that men and equipment can turn out without injury to health or well-being or detriment to the equipment."

"This is an Economic Fundamental, for if we can secure increased hourly production we need not concern ourselves so much about the matter of wages or the hours of labor. It is altogether a matter of securing production by utilizing every facility that can be invented and every method that can be devised towards getting out a maximum or quantity production. The greater the hourly production the less the cost. The less the cost the greater the demand, and the greater the demand the more business there will be. The more business there is the more demand there will be for labor."

The settling the Equivalent—the output per hour in a particular case—must be a matter of "give and take" between the employer and the workers involved. "In determining hourly equivalents the idea is to arrange for an average performance by an average man over an average period of time." That is almost precisely what Lord Weir intends to do in his Demonstration Department. This reiteration of the word "average" reminds us of what Marx says on page 6 of "Capital:"—"The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time." The definition of the "equivalent" is obviously a deduction from Marx's definition of the "labor-time socially necessary."

"The use to which these hourly equivalents are put is in planning

and routing work through the plant so that in despatching shop operations, like despatching trains, we may know the length of time between points and arrange accordingly." A workshop time diary or schedule is quite the thing as scientific management.

Let every Shop Stewards' Committee buy this magazine and use it to teach the rank and file. I think in every workshop there ought to be a "breather" during every spell of work when one or other of the Shop Stewards ought to give a little address of ten minutes on some phase of "Workshop Economics." This ought to be part of the technical training of every workman and as ideas and methods are always evolving, every man ought every day to be an apprentice, or rather a student. The clerking Department ought to provide a typed summary of every address. To accomplish this efficiently the scope of the Scottish Labor College will have to be extended, so that the leaders in the workshop obtain an appropriate grounding in the broader and deeper issues involved in Social Evolution and Revolution, to adequately fit them to guide their comrades along the most accurate lines. This is necessary to balance the contents of the magazines issued by the employers.

To revert again to "Cassier's." We are told that Dr. Vernon in his report issued by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board concludes that several experiments the hourly output during an eight-hour shift. If the equivalent is of more importance than hours or wages to the capitalists, it looks as if it were time for the workers to make a bid for a Six Hour Day.

Frank Graham in an article, "A Means of Harmonizing Capital and Labor," states that he learns from Lord Leverhulme, the pioneer of Welfare Work at Port Sunlight, amongst other things, that the object of profit-sharing must be increased efficiency of the undertaking, implying an increase in the Equivalent, a goal more vital to the capitalist than increased wages to the worker; and that in any profit-sharing scheme the control must remain with those who find the cash capital. Capitalist tyranny, forsooth!

Major E. A. Pells in an article, "The Basis of Comparison for all Kinds of Work," shows the importance of the Equivalent in comparing the value of commodities by admitting that "the usual basis to consider the labor method upon, is that of the output per worker hour." That is Lord Weir's man-time converted into Man-hour and Marx's Labor-hour.

An article urges the need for a National Institute of Psychology and Physiology applied to Industry and Commerce. The object is, of course, to so care for the body and mind of the worker under scientific conditions that the highest Equivalent possible may be attained.

With the marvellous growth of trusts and the brilliant detail work evolving inside the best plant only an arrant knave would deny the truth of Marx's teachings in Economics, and would stand in the way of the mighty work of the Scottish Labor College.

The Evolution of Man

By PROF. WILLIAM BOLSCHE

Serial No. V.

No. 3 of this series dealt with the skeleton structure of Man and compared it with skeleton remains of a kind of animal, now extinct, but which lived during the Tertiary Period and seems to have occupied a position in the animal kingdom between man and his relation today, the Gibbon monkey.

No. 4 of this series, in last issue, related the discovery of a blood relationship between the higher forms of the anthropoid ape and man. It was found upon experimentation that to inoculate an animal of one group with the living blood of another always ended fatally. This often happens with animals relatively close to one another. The blood of a cat kills a rabbit and vice versa, but closely related animals may mix their blood without danger, as for instance, the dog and the wolf, or the horse and the donkey. By means of this blood test was established one more link connecting man and the rest of the animal world, by way of the anthropoid apes.

The installment in this issue endeavors to show, according to the evidence of the biogenetic principle, that man is a product of organic evolution from lower forms of life.

HOWEVER, let us take a closer look at the anthropoid apes. We have four species. These four species differ considerably from one another, some of them show even extreme differences. Do they possibly represent four different primitive stages of man? But every attempt to reconstruct them from a continuously ascending line towards man is a complete failure. It is true that each species has a number of its own peculiar resemblances to man. But, it rather seems that these resemblances are distributed among them in a rather indiscriminate way, so that they all supplement one another in a fundamental outline of man, but nevertheless do not form an ascending chain of evidence.

We now remember that strange creature of Trinil, and our attention turns especially to the gibbon. Is it possible that he could be a genuine archetype, and that the orang-outang, the chimpanzee and the gorilla could be merely unprogressive branches? One thing can not be denied: this gibbon possesses indeed very strange and portentous characteristics. It seems that this ape actually brings us closer to the secret of our descent. He is not a bestial gorilla, but a much more gentle and soulful creature. He can sing the music of the scale—a very strange case in a mammal, which involuntarily reminds us that it is precisely in man that language and song have developed. Furthermore, if the gibbon descends from a tree to the ground which, by the way, he does not like to do, he walks habitually on two legs and balances himself at the same time by stretching out his arms sideways, or folding them above his head, and these arms of the present-day gibbon are again a new clue in our research. Compared to the trunk and the legs these arms are excessively long. Any comparison with man seems impossible in view of these arms. No other mammal has arms of such length. However, if we study the habits of gibbon life, we easily recognize their purpose. The gibbon is the cleverest climber among the anthropoid apes. He is an unexcelled acrobat, thanks to these arms. They represent an extreme but very adequate adaptation to his special needs. But when it comes to comparing him with modern man, these arms of the gibbon certainly point away from us. The question arises whether the primitive man for whom we are looking could ever have had such spiderlike arms. The gorilla, chimpanzee and orang-outang also have pretty long arms, but they are not nearly so long, and in that respect these apes seem to be much closer to man. Even a majority of the lower apes, such as Macacus, and even the baboons, have a much closer resemblance to man in this one point.

There seems to be only one way out of these strange contradictions. We must conclude that the living anthropoid apes are closely related to the archetype of man for which we are looking, but they do not represent its thorough-bred type. Each one of them has developed along his own line from this thorough-bred type simultaneously with man as we know him today. They did not change very much, but still they went far enough to acquire each his own peculiarities. All of them retain strong resemblances to the archetype, but one has preserved more of some characteristics and lost others, while the reverse is true of

another species. Very likely the gibbon still resembles that archetype most closely, but even he has later acquired those enormous arms.

It is highly interesting to know that we may mention a direct reason for our general assumption of probability, so that it becomes almost a certainty. Among living beings there is a very curious law, or at least a near approach to one. Young animals very frequently resemble the ancestors of their whole race more nearly than the adult animals. A frog in the tadpole stage still resembles a fish which breathes in the water through gills. A great number of higher animals assume again in the egg, or in the mother's womb, certain forms which we meet on a much lower and more ancient plane. A bird in the egg shows for a while a great mass of vertebrate, in its tail which once characterized the extinct bird-lizard (Archaeopteryx,) a transition form between lizard and bird, existing millions of years ago. Haeckel has called this peculiar fact, which recurs in innumerable cases and truly indicates a general and lawful connection, the "biogenetic principle," and the term has become fairly popular today.

Well, then, the very first observers noticed that the gorilla, the chimpanzee, the orang-outang, resemble man more in proportion as they are younger. The giant gorilla, which is the most ferocious and bestial of all anthropoid apes in old age, resembles in its baby stage the human being so closely that even the layman, who has never thought about these things is surprised. In view of the biogenetic law, this would indicate that these anthropoid apes are descended from an ancestor who was still more manlike than they are today. And the point is finally clinched by some facts which the scientist, Emil Selenka, has recently discovered in regard to the gibbon. An unborn gibbon in its mother's womb at first has well proportioned arms just as if it were to become a human being. And it is only by gradual stages that the arms of the little ape develop into those enormous acrobatic limbs. If the biogenetic law is correct, then we would have in this case an exact proof that the ancestors of the present-day gibbon did not possess those long arms and were, therefore, considerably more manlike.

Thousands of indications thus point to the fact which occurred even to Darwin when he discussed these things tentatively for the first time, some thirty years ago. A species of mammal has once existed on this globe which contained the germs, not alone of man, but also of the gorilla, the chimpanzee, the orang-outang and the gibbon. All of them have later developed from that type—unlike sons of the same father. No doubt this creature was, in some respects, a closer copy of the present anthropoid apes than of modern man, and it must have been closest to the gibbon of today. However, it was distinguished from this gibbon, as we know him in his adult form by certain more manlike marks. And if we were to call that primitive being "man," because genuine man is descended from him and because he has such strong resemblances to human beings, then we might say of the present-day anthropoid apes that they are descended from man, instead of man being descended from the orang-outang, or the gorilla, as some laymen frequently claim. That would be a much more correct statement, and would conform to the idea of Darwin, who gave rise to these discussions.

That primitive type is no longer living on this globe. Unless an unexpected discovery is made in the partly unexplored forest regions of the interior of Africa, we may close the books in this matter. At this point then, our steps must be directed exclusively towards the primitive world. But, what can be said in regard to those primitive bones and the possibility of fitting them into the picture which we have just drawn?

Here we remember once more that famous Pithecanthropus of Trinil, who is half gibbon, half man. Is it possible that he could be the very type for which we are looking? There is one thing which gives rise to doubts, and that is the time to which he belongs. We have seen that it is almost a certainty that genuine man lived in the second third of the Tertiary period, that is to say, in those tropical forests of middle Europe. Recently, flintstone tools have been found in France in the strata of that period, which the scientist called the "Miocene Period." These tools are almost identical with certain stone tools of the crudest kind which every expert attributes to human hands. But the great forests of this

Miocene period were inhabited by man-like apes. In Austria, Switzerland and France, there lived a genuine gibbon (Pliopithecus) and another species lived in France, closely resembling the chimpanzee, but yet standing by itself without being any closer to man (Dryopithecus.) A little later we also find genuine chimpanzees and orang-outangs. So much we can tell by well preserved bones. It is evident that the unlike sons of that mysterious archetype had already branched off at that period, and the types had become so plain that they could be separated into anthropoid apes and men.

It seems, however, that the bones of Pithecanthropus, which we know belonged to the extreme end of the Tertiary period, are apparently many thousand years younger than those bones of the Miocene period. If that creature of Trinil still contained in the germ a common thorough-bred type, then it follows that this type must have lived simultaneously with its unlike sons on the island of Java, even after the lapse of so many thousand years.

Of course, such a thing would not be impossible. Only we might ask whether that thorough-bred type could have been preserved in its original form during this entire period. We might be inclined to suspect at least some of the least typical characteristics and assume that this type might have developed a little further and adapted itself to the new conditions, while nevertheless it might still give us a far better idea of the actual course of development than the present anthropoid apes.

It is also logical to ask whether Pithecanthropus was not a long surviving "last Mohican" of a transition form from a genuine thorough-bred type to the genuine man. It all depends upon the weight which we lay upon the specifically genuine human marks. If any one is more attracted by the resemblance of that form to the present gibbon, he might argue that Pithecanthropus was a transition form from the archetype of past genuine man to the genuine gibbon. This last theory might be seriously considered from the moment that we could get a glimpse of the arms of that archetype, which we do not know as yet, provided they were to show a tendency toward the grotesque elongation of the genuine gibbon arm. Let us hope that the excavations in Java will be diligently pursued and that we may then be able to solve some of these more intricate problems.

So much at least is certain, that the genuine common ancestor in question, who must have had at least a very close resemblance to Pithecanthropus in the structure of his skull and legs, existed before the Miocene period, that is to say, in the first third of the Tertiary period. He represented the "Man" of that time—a creature which contained the possibilities of development into a gibbon, chimpanzee, gorilla and orang-outang. Doubtless the greater part of his body was covered with strong hair, such as the present anthropoid apes have inherited from him. He is a real, genuine, living "Esau." The fact that the smooth "Jacob," man of today, has only a very slight indication of this hairy covering on most parts of his body, is not a proof to the contrary. For we find the instructive law on the resemblances of the youthful forms to their ancestors gives us a very satisfactory clue to our original ancestor: the body of the human being in the mother's womb is also, in its first stages, covered with thick woolly hair. Even the face is covered just as we see it today in the case of the adult gibbon, and only the inner surfaces of the hands and feet are left free. Evidently these free places were uncovered, even in the ancestor which this human embryo copies for a short time. This Esau-like covering of the human being does not disappear until immediately before birth, and in a few exceptional cases, this covering has even been retained during life. This is the origin of the renowned men with dog faces.

Next issue will contain a discussion of the ancestors of that Archetype.

After More Than 100 Years of Alien Rule.

A contributor to the Manchester Guardian, in appealing to Manchester businessmen for justice to India has in part the following to say: Do Manchester men realize that out of the 315 millions of India at the 1911 census nearly 295 millions were illiterate? Will they credit the statement that taking India as a whole 90 per cent. of the males and 99% of females are illiterate?

The Farmers in Politics

TAKEING it as a whole, the success at the polls of the farmers of Ontario has succeeded in causing quite a stir in the arena of capitalist politics. There are strange surmises abroad as to what these farmers will do. Some people are of the opinion that radical changes will be made in the administration of both governmental and industrial affairs. Philosophical editors must spend hours in coining well-balanced sentences which set forth their none-too-optimistic views as to the probable course of events. While these political prophets disagree somewhat in detail as to the succession of events, they do agree on drawing a dark outline picture of the disastrous state of affairs that will exist after the next Dominion election at which it is forebodingly prophesied that a large number of farmer candidates will be elected. The old-line politicians also bewail the sad state into which Ontario has fallen, and into which, in all probabilities, the whole of Canada will fall with the success of more farmer candidates. It is easy to understand the bereavement of the old-party politicians at being beaten out of a job by a new set of office-holders. Most every person hates to lose a fat job.

As for the staid and sober business element, it is not certain what its particular thoughts or fears about the matter are except as it is given by the voice of its minion, the press. This voice is no doubt a faithful echo of its master's voice, and it cries incessantly in a foreboding monotone—class legislation. In this cry it is abetted by that brand of political idealists which nourishes the notion that governments exist solely to do the "people's will." The purport of all these lamentations is that class legislation is a kind of legislation that has never before been known in democratic countries.

To those who know little about our government machinery and who have formerly been lulled to sleep by such lulling melodies as "the greatest good to the greatest number," the shrieking sounds of "class legislation" produces harsh and discordant notes. The farmers themselves are disturbed by its sound, and they spare no pains to impress on the public that they have no intention of using the government machinery for the benefit of one class. On the contrary, they aim, like their predecessors, to do "the greatest good to the greatest number." Premier Drury declares he would consider his government a failure if it constrained its efforts to benefit one class, and did not try to increase the well-being of all classes. The executive of the farmer's party in Alberta has recently seen fit to disclaim officially against class legislation.

So, in reality, there is no wide contrast between the policy and political ideals of the ordinary capitalist politician and those of the farmers except in words. All politicians strive, in words, to do as the "voice of the people wills," to realize social justice and right, to bring about more harmony between the classes and to give every producer and consumer a "square deal," and that is all the farmer's party, as master of the gov-

ernment, intends to do. Really the farmers are thinking nothing or intending nothing that has not been thought and intended many times before.

So we would say to our capitalist brethren that they do not need to get into a panic because of the recent political successes of the organized farmers. They are not going to do anything, except they do it accidentally, that will seriously affect business profits and financial capital's interest. They will very likely try to keep the ball of nationalization of industry rolling, but that is not going to hurt business at all. On the contrary, owing to the complexity of international relations this will rather be a boon to industry.

Besides the farmers, due to their ignorance of capitalism and the laws which govern it, to their inability to grasp the very essence of the capitalist system—the irreconcilable conflict between the classes—cannot, in their present state of consciousness, even if they would, prove a dangerous menace to the continuation of the present system, inasmuch as they have not only rejected, but actually repudiated, the only weapon that could make them such, that is the weapon of class-power. Moreover, they are not class-conscious except in a vague and desultory fashion and their minds are still chained to the metaphysical abstractions of the petty bourgeoisie. This limits them in their governmental activity to dabbling in useless and cumbersome reforms, and absolutely unfits them from playing the heroic role of revolutionists.

The only party or class which the capitalist class need fear at all is that which is knowingly class-conscious, which has cast all metaphysical abstractions on the dust-heap, and which consciously sets out to place itself in control of social functions.

C.M.C.

PERJURY TRIALS IN VANCOUVER

The trial of the two Dominion Secret Service agents, Doursoff and Roth, for perjury in the case of Russians who were tried by the immigration tribunal on deportation charges, is still proceeding though with intervals of unaccountable postponement. A short session was held on Wednesday afternoon, which adjourned abruptly again until the afternoon of Monday, Dec. 29. Large crowds are interestedly watching the proceedings. The police are searching all who are admitted for concealed weapons, thus giving the necessary cinema screen effect.

PALEY ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn; and if (instead of each picking where, and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap; reserving nothing for themselves, but the chaff and refuse; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest perhaps and worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round, and looking on, all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it; and if a pigeon more hardy and hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day

Industrial Reserve Army

WE have seen that the introduction of female and child-labor in industry is one of the most powerful means whereby the capitalists reduce the wages of working-men. There is, however, another means which, periodically, is just as powerful. This is the introduction of working-men from regions that are backward and whose population has slight wants, but whose labor-power has not yet been sapped by the factory system. The development of machinery makes possible, not only the employment of such untrained working-men in the place of trained ones, but also their cheap and prompt transportation to the place where they are wanted. Hand in hand with the development of production goes the system of transportation; colossal production corresponds to colossal transportation, not only of merchandise, but also of persons. Steamships and railroads, these much-vaunted pillars of civilization, not only carry guns, liquor and syphilis to barbarians, they also bring the barbarians and their barbarism to us. The flow of agricultural laborers into the cities is becoming constantly stronger; and from ever farther regions are the swarms of those drawing near who have fewer wants, are more patient and offer less resistance. There is a constant stream of emigration from one country of Europe to another, from Europe to America and even from the Orient to western lands. These foreign workers are partly expropriated people, small farmers and producers, whom the capitalist system of production has ruined, driven on the street and deprived not only of a home, but also of a country. Look at these numberless emigrants and ask whether it is Socialism which robs them of their country.

Through the expropriation of the small producers, through the importation from distant lands of large

practiced and established among men. Among men you see the ninety and nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one; getting nothing for themselves all the while but a little of the coarsest of the provision, which their own labor produces; and this one, too, oftentimes the feeblest and worst of the whole set, a child, a madman, or a fool; looking quietly on, while they see the fruits of all their labor spent or spoiled; and if one of them take or touch a particle of it, the others join against him, and hang him for the theft.

A NEW INTERPRETATION

Winnipeg, Dec. 18.—Under certain circumstances a general strike is a crime. This was a statement made by Mr. Justice Metcalfe at the trial of H. B. Russell, who is charged with seditious conspiracy. It was made in reply to a protest by Robert Cassidy, K.C., counsel for the accused, and his lordship intimated that he was going to charge the jury to this effect. In his opinion, his lordship explained, the constant reference to the striker as a superman, made the statement he had decided to make to the jury, necessary.

masses of labor, through the use of the labor of women and children, through the shortening of the time necessary to acquire a trade—through all these means the capitalist system of production is able to increase stupendously the quantity of labor forces at its disposal. And side by side with this goes a steady increase in the productivity of human labor as a result of the uninterrupted progress in the technical arts.

Simultaneously with these tendencies the machine tends steadily to displace workmen and render them superfluous. Every machine saves labor-power; unless it did that, it would be useless. In every branch of industry the transition from hand to machine labor is accompanied by the greatest suffering to the working-men who are affected by it. Whether they are factory workers or independent craftsmen, they are made superfluous by the machine and thrown out upon the streets. It was this effect of machinery that the working-men felt first. Many riots during the first year of the nineteenth century attest the suffering which the transition from hand to machine labor, or the introduction of new machinery, inflicts upon the working-class and the despair to which they are driven thereby. The introduction of machinery, as well as its subsequent improvement, is always harmful to certain divisions of labor. True enough, under some conditions other working-men, for instance, those who make the machines, may profit by it. But it may be doubted whether a consciousness of this fact affords much comfort to those who are striving.

Every new machine causes as much to be produced as before by fewer workmen, or larger production with no increase in the number of workmen. From this it follows that, if the number of workmen employed in a country does not decrease with the development of the system of machinery, the market must be extended in proportion to the increased productivity of these workers. But since the economic development increases the quantity of disposable labor, it follows that, in order to prevent enforced idleness among workmen, the market must be extended at a much more rapid pace than that at which the productivity of labor is increased by the machine. Such a rapid extension of the market has, however, rarely occurred under the rule of capitalist production. Therefore, enforced idleness is a permanent phenomenon under the capitalist system of production, and is inseparable from it. Even in the best times when the market suddenly undergoes a considerable extension and business is brisk, production is not able to furnish work for all the unemployed. During bad times, however, when business is at a standstill, their number reaches enormous proportions. They constitute, with the workers of superfluous small concerns, a great army, "the industrial reserve army," as Marx called it, an army of labor forces that stands ever ready at the disposal of the capitalist, an army out of which he can draw his reserves whenever the industrial campaign grows hot.

A VARIATION IN RELATIVE WAGES

(Continued from Page Five)

tion of the division of new values, raw materials and machinery, etc., the product of previous labor, being left out of consideration. The value of the day's product is stated both in terms of money and in quantities of commodities, i.e., in loaves of bread. In the first diagram, the price of bread is 3 loaves for one dollar, in the second, prices have fallen to 5 loaves for the dollar.

It is to be remembered that an increase of productivity does not increase values, but only the quantity of material goods. The formula of the labor theory of value is, that, the value of commodities varies, directly as the quantity of socially necessary labor involved in their production, and inversely as the productivity of the labor employed. Thus if productivity increases, value falls, if productivity decreases, values rise.

The new values produced in one day of 8 hours are assumed to be equal to: \$8.00 or 24 loaves.
The wages are equal to: \$3.00 or 9 loaves.
The profits are thus equal to: \$5.00 or 15 loaves.

It is then assumed that prices have fallen by two-thirds (an increase in productivity is implied in the fall.) Because of the fall in the price of necessities of life for the worker, his money-wages fall, but not so much as prices. Money-wages are assumed to fall by one-third. This leaves the respective positions of wage-worker and capitalist as follows:

New values produced in one day of 8 hours are equal to: \$8.00 or 40 loaves.
Wages, fallen by one-third: \$2.00 or 10 loaves.
Profits have thus risen to: \$6.00 or 30 loaves.

Profits have thus risen both in terms of money and also by the greater purchasing capacity of money. The capitalist is better off and so also is the wage-worker for, though the laborer's money wages have fallen, yet his two dollars will purchase 10 loaves of bread, whereas, formerly, his three dollars only purchased 9 loaves. Nevertheless his wages have fallen relatively to the profits of the capitalist who has increased his profit by one more dollar, in addition to which, as stated he also gets the benefit following from the fall in prices.

The paragraph closes with the following comment, showing the social consequences of the new division of Social Wealth: "The share of capital is raised in proportion to the share of labor. The division of social wealth between capital and labor has become more disproportionate. The capitalist commands a larger amount of labor with the same amount of capital. The power of the capitalist class over the laboring class is increased; the social position is depressed another degree below that of the capitalist."

The general tendency of historical development has resulted in an im-

Political Basis of Soviet Russia

(From "Christian Science Monitor,"
Dec. 9, 1919.)

MR. W. R. HUMPHRIES, who spent 11 months in Soviet Russia as a war secretary for the Y. M. C. A., has written for the Christian Science Monitor a description of the system as he has seen it. Reaching Russia just after the Bolsheviks had overthrown Mr. Kerensky, when the army with which he was to have worked was hastily demobilizing, Mr. Humphries was employed in doing American publicity work, assisting in the smuggling into Austria and Germany of 1,000,000 copies of President Wilson's 14-points speech. Later, for the American Red Cross he was in charge of Serbian refugee colonization work in Russia. He travelled 20,000 miles in northern and central Russia and in Siberia, and had business relationships with over 100 local Soviets.

He met personally Mr. Lenine, Mr. Lunacharsky, Alexandra Kolantai, Mr. Tchitcherin, Mr. Petroff and other prominent leaders. He was present at the Constituent Assembly and at the third and fourth of the all-Russian congresses of workmen's and peasants' deputies. Mr. Humphries met leaders of the opposition parties, and attended meetings of the Menshevik left and right wing Social Revolutionaries, Constitutional Democrats and anarchists in his endeavor to understand the struggle.

When the Bolshevik revolution of November, 1917, finally broke up the old bureaucratic apparatus of government, it was decided, Mr. Humphries states, that the ground would have to be completely cleared. A new form of government was accordingly devised.

The Soviet system, he says, may be considered under two heads, (1) the political structure; (2) the economic.

The Political Organization.

Each town and city in Soviet Russia is governed by a Soviet. The word Soviet simply means council. This Soviet is a delegate body, the delegates coming from all the trade and professional unions in the city, from every group doing socially useful work whether manual or otherwise. Delegates are sent not only from the machinists', the plumbers' and the carpenters' unions, but also by the medical union, the teachers', the clerical workers, and even by the mothers' association. Both married and unmarried women have representation on exactly the same terms as men; that is, as they go to work and join the appropriate union.

The number of delegates from each union to the city Soviet is proportionate to its membership. The idea of continuous representation is recognized. Unions have the right to re-

provement of the standard of living of both the working class and the capitalist class over that of these respective classes of former times, but the ratio of improvement between the classes has been enormously in favor of the capitalist class. As owners of the means of production and distribution of society, the latter class are the chief beneficiaries resulting from the development of ages.

call or instruct their delegates at any time. It is impossible for a delegate long to act contrary to the wishes of those who elected him.

Organization of a City Soviet.

Obviously a council or Soviet on which is at least one delegate from every occupational group in the city is likely to be a large body. The number as far as Mr. Humphries observed, seemed to run from 50 in the smaller towns up to about 1200 in the case of Petrograd and Moscow. The whole body meets monthly or oftener. Subcommittees, usually of three, are appointed on housing, public safety, food distribution, public health, the people's education, social welfare, the people's courts, and so on. For a while there were also extraordinary commissions to combat counter-revolution. The chairmen of all these commissions or collegiums form the central executive committee of the city soviet. In making appointments to these collegiums the city soviet is not obliged to appoint from within its own ranks.

In the large cities there are district or ward soviets built up from the shop committees and house-block committees of the ward. They have executive but no legislative powers. They carry out the orders of the city central soviet and play a large part in the housing and food-distribution systems. Rents, by the way, are payable through the housing committees into the city soviet treasury. Money is thus available for the building of more houses, for education, public services, extension of industries, and so forth. These rents more than take the place of taxes.

Village Soviets.

The innumerable village soviets, made up of farmers, of course, send delegates to regional or provincial soviets, and thence to the all-Russian congresses of workmen's and peasants' deputies.

The peasants of Russia so far have had less representation in the all-Russian congresses than have the city workers, the latter having representatives at the rate of one per 5000, whereas the peasants had only one for every 25,000. This roughly equalizes the number of city and country workers in the congresses, since the peasants outnumber the city population probably five to one. The city workers explain this discrimination on two grounds: (1) that the revolution was made chiefly by the city workers, and (2) that the city workers have given the right of self-determination to the peasants in the matter that most concerns the peasant, the land question, giving it to them on their own terms. In turn they claim for themselves the right of self-determination in the matter of the socialization of industries, which more vitally affects the city workers. After the old industrial system shall have been destroyed and the establishments nationalized, then they will be willing to end this transition-time dictatorship, and allow the peasants to have the predominating voice in the national congresses to which their number entitles them.

All-Russian Congresses of Soviets

Periodically there are held great congresses of delegates from all the city and provincial soviets. According to the constitution they must be convened twice a year. Actually there have been six such congresses during these first two eventful years of the Soviet regime, so many have been the crises to be met. At several sessions of the third and the fourth all-Russian congresses, there were between 1000 and 1200 delegates from city and provincial soviets all over the country. Some came to Moscow instructed by their locals how to vote on the major questions to come before the congress but most seemed free to act on the basis of facts that might later come to light. The congresses are in session usually for from six to fifteen days.

On the last day before adjourning they appoint a central executive committee of 200 to be the repository of all power for the ensuing six months, receiving its mandate from the congress that elected it, reporting its acts to the next congress, and then resigning. Many of them are re-elected on the next central executive committee.

Under this system changes of government personnel can be made at frequent intervals, yet there is opportunity for continuity. Satisfactory representatives may remain in office indefinitely, though always removable.

The Proportional Representation System is used by the all-Russian congresses in appointing the central executive committee. Each political party within the congress—Communist, Menshevik, Social-Revolutionary, and so on—is entitled to appoint its exact proportion.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee, representative of the soviets, remains in the national capital of Moscow and meets almost daily. It has legislative as well as executive powers, except on the broad questions of policy which are passed upon by the congresses. This body, the central executive committee of 200, appoints and controls the 18 commissariats or committees the chairmen of which form the Council of People's Commissars or Cabinet.

The Council of People's Commissars appoints its own president, which so far has been Nikolai Lenine. There is no president of the republic. Mr. Lenine is only president of the Cabinet and may be recalled by the Cabinet any day, just as the Cabinet or any member of it may be recalled at any time by the all-Russian central executive committee.

Some of the 18 commissariats are: foreign affairs (Mr. Tchitcherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs); war (Leon Trotsky); people's education (Lunacharsky and Maxim Gorky); posts and telegraphs; ways and communications; social welfare (Alexandra Kolantai); finance; the people's justice.

Decrees passed by these commissariats must be approved by the Council of People's Commissars and by the all-Russian central executive committee, before they are promulgated.