

# "No Annexation Amendment"

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of the people are anxious and hopeful about Stockholm. If France and Britain renounce annexations and Germany insists on them we shall have a revolution in the land.

The German people want peace. About that there can be no doubt, but they interpret our Note to mean a Note of annexation and conquest, which makes them believe that peace is impossible. If only they knew that their own rulers were keeping on the war and that our rulers were offering them a possible peace and were ready to repudiate alike the intention the conquest and annexation, if only they knew that those were really the designs of the Allies, then, in the words of Herr Scheidemann, "there would be a revolution in the land."

Here you have from the spokesman of 5,000,000 German workmen the announcement that if they only knew that we were not out for annexation and conquest, there would be revolution in the land. Take that to be as exaggerated as you please. It means that there would be discontent with the German Government, so deep that the Junker power would not last very long. I believe that the time has come for bolder diplomacy.

## The Military Deadlock.

For another reason I believe that even in this country, although it is not so expressed in the newspapers, the time is fast coming when the faith in arms alone will break away. I know that there are a great many of our people, perhaps most of them, who still cling to the idea of a complete victory. I may say this quite boldly, because never for the last eighteen months have I been silent about my view. I have said that I thought the war was a deadlock, and so would remain. I have said so for eighteen months, and it is now where it was eighteen months ago, and I believe that eighteen months hence from the military point of view, it will be where it is now. For this reason, that at this stage of the war I do not believe that there is a great nation in Europe that has enough elasticity to win a great victory, though it may have organization and patriotism to stave off a serious defeat.

And, after all, we must all be beginning to have our suspicions. Time after time the prophets are always wrong. Every time there is a push, every time there is a great offensive, we are going to break through, and yet it is always the same. Hundreds of thousands of men are dying, and the war is no nearer its end. I watch the inauguration of the great offensive with the certainty that scores of thousands will die during the summer, and that the essential military position will not be altered. But even suppose I am wrong, why should we not declare our whole policy, repudiate the things that we ought never to hint at, and declare that we are out for annexation and conquest?

## Mr. Ponsonby.

The debate was wound up by Mr. Ponsonby, who asked why our terms should vary with the degree of victory that we gain.

## "A Sliding Scale."

Should not our terms be the best possible terms for the future peace of the world irrespective of victory? Whether or not we reach that victory surely we ought not to have a sliding scale of terms which varies with the degree of our victory. If we have that it is admitted that the greater the victory the more aggressive may be the terms which we desire to reach, and that, I think, is not in conformity with the professions which have been made

by His Majesty's Government.

Showing as Mr. MacDonald did that war as such could settle none of the difficult problems, he said that the world was waiting while the Governments are looking for some formula which will allow them an escape from this "tragic dilemma into which they have drifted. We are waiting for some Minister to find a form of words which will satisfy his Allies and his enemies so that negotiations shall be started. I must say I am very much disappointed in the part up till now which our country has taken in regard to negotiation. We have never had really any inspiring declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

## "Unfortunate Phrases."

True, we have had phrases that have been repeated, such as the "knock-out blow," "never sheathing the sword" and a phrase that fell from the Noble Lord to-day—perhaps the most unfortunate phrase of all—when the Noble Lord, making a quotation said, "Let the murderers begin." Such a pronouncement—a serious pronouncement—from this Government, from the British Empire of Europe at a moment of this sort is, in my opinion, most unfortunate.

## A Misleading Vote.

Most of us have been very much disappointed with the Noble Lord's speech. (Hon. Members: "No!") Instead of making a pronouncement of a high ideal and lofty purpose which this country should follow, and to which this country should aim in the future, he just grudgingly acknowledged that we were not out for Imperialistic conquest and aggrandizement. In the absence of a clear declaration and a stronger and more affirmative declaration than the one we have had, I should certainly be inclined to divide against the credit. But what we must consider also is the effect that a vote of this sort will have in Russia.

## Let Britain Speak.

It would be very unfortunate for it to go to Russia that His Majesty's Government were unsympathetic to the ideals which they have set forth in their pronouncement. Other opportunities will arise when the Government may be able to make a more emphatic pronouncement than they can make to-day. I admit that the German Chancellor's speech does not give any hope, but let us not wait on the German Chancellor. Let us brush him aside, and let us make a pronouncement on our own account. After all, in the speech that he made that is reported to-day this sentence occurs—even though he said that he was unable to make any direct pronouncement—

We are not fighting now against the whole world in order to make conquests, but only to secure our existence and firmly to establish the future of the nation.

Gradually, one by one, the nations are showing, under the pressure of the people behind them, that they do not desire aggrandizement and conquest. I cannot help feeling that this great pressure of the people is growing. (Laughter.) Hon. Members may laugh at it as much as they like. Thank goodness, the pressure of the people in democratic countries ultimately counts, and in the long run the world will find that a peace will be made over the heads of the Governments and Ministers by the people themselves."

## The Debate Closed.

Mr. Outhwaite rose at 10 minutes to 11 o'clock to continue the debate and Lord R. Cecil moved that the question be now put. A division having been challenged by the supporters of the

motion, the House divided, when the closure was carried by 238 votes to 32, a majority of 206. The amendment was then put and negatived, apparently without a vote being taken.

Paragot.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

### An Alliance of Laborers Is a Sure Sign of the Coming Industrial Democracy.

A triple alliance of workers, comprising The Miners' Federation, National Union of Railwaymen, and a National Transport Workers' Federation, representing 128,600 organized workers, has been formed in Britain. The alliance will sit on the defensive for the duration of the war, and it is confidently anticipated that a "strike threat" will be sufficient to make the bosses toe the line when circumstances call for action.

The alliance bids fair to become a powerful (politico-economic) factor in the interest of the workers thus organized. They have adopted a motion demanding the conscription of all wealth and property in the means of wealth production. The power of the union cannot be questioned, as their action last fall compelled the "British Government" to abandon the colored labor proposition which has been called into effect in France.

Other amalgamations are on the board. The railwaymen and railway clerks are likely to fall in line. (This coincides with our view of "Industrial Democracy.") They are demanding a share in the management of the industries coming under their influence.

How would this suit the miners of Northern Ontario and British Columbia? We would advise them to take a lesson from their comrades in Britain. We assure them of our whole-hearted support anent the proposition.

### Trade Union Leader Suggests That Ballots Were Faked to Prevent McDonald and Jowett Going to Russia.

Mr. Alexander Gossip, general secretary of Furnishing Trades Association, makes the astonishing statement, "that not 1,000,000 trade unionists voted against the McDonald-Jowett trip to Russia, but, at the most, 300,000 votes were the total cast." Mr. Gossip claims that the space of time in which the vote was taken was far too short to get such gross returns, and cites instances from previous experience to prove his contentions. He also claims that the soldier trade-unionist vote was not carried into effect and suggests that Mr. Wilson of the Seamen's Union has just taken membership totals and lumped them together without taking a vote. If Mr. Gossip has got on the right end of the line, Mr. Wilson has something coming.

### FRANCES E. WILLARDS VIEWS ON SOCIALISM

Frances E. Willard is recognized as one of the greatest women this country has produced. Her entire lifetime was spent in the advocacy of reforms, particularly temperance. The State of New York has honored her memory by putting a statue of her in Statuary Hall at the United States capitol in Washington, D. C. Miss Willard's statue is the only statue of a woman found in that famous hall. This is what Frances E. Willard thought about Socialism. It is from her address at the National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union at Buffalo, in 1897:

Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of

labor's hands. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a super-abundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured?

The reason why I am a Socialist comes in just here.

I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practical, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trust, whose single object is to abolish competition, has proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product, they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! it is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

### What Socialism Will Do

Socialism proposes that the machinery of production and distribution that is socially used shall be owned by all the people and that industry and politics shall both be managed democratically. The idea of such ownership and control is to make it so all may be masters of their lives and their jobs. It is to make possible private property for all. The owners of a business control it; they automatically find employment in it; they receive the benefit of it, so that profit from the owners is impossible. The profit system will, therefore, end under Socialism and each worker will receive the full social value of his labor.

### TRUTH CANNOT DIE.

(Count Leo Tolstoy.)

A truthful, fruitful idea cannot be destroyed. However you may try to smother it, it will still live; it will be more alive than all the vague, empty, pedantic ideas and words with which people are trying to smother it, and sooner or later the truth will burn through the veil that is covering it and it will shine forth before the whole world.

### A WORD TO THE WISE.

Petrograd, June 11.—Unless Russians returning to live under the new democracy in America bear passports vised by some American Socialist organization, they will be sent immediately to the front, the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council advised to-day.