

accepts private property, free enterprise, and business competition. It is concerned with improving wages, hours of labor, and working conditions, and with securing labor legislation, protection against industrial accidents, and similar gains, by steady pressure within the existing social order. The I.W.W., on the other hand, and the Syndicalists in general, are looking far beyond this to a social revolution which shall take away from the capitalists the ownership of the factory or the mine, and which shall leave the workers with entire control of industry.

The Syndicalists look upon the Socialist parties as conservatives and reactionaries. While there are various differences between the Socialists and the Syndicalists, the following two are perhaps most important: (1) The Socialists generally look forward to a unified social order in which all industries shall be controlled and organized and co-ordinated by the larger social whole, virtually Government ownership and control of all industries. The Syndicalists, on the other hand, propose that the workers in each industry shall be autonomous; subject to no outside control. When the question is raised as to how chaos is to be prevented how we shall avoid having too many workers in one line and too few in another, how we shall co-ordinate consumption and production, they give no clear answer, but they are no more willing to submit to control by a Government than to control by a capi-

talist. (2) While the Socialists are generally content to fight things out in the political field, to accomplish their purposes through winning elections and getting parliamentary majorities, the Syndicalists are disgusted with what they call the slippery ways of politics. They contend that whenever a labor leader rises high in politics, he becomes debauched, turns "respectable," and loses his interest in the working people. They propose, therefore, what they call "direct action," namely, strikes and sabotage. Sabotage consists in loafing on the job, in putting sand into the oil, putting sticks and pieces of metal into delicate machinery, misdirecting shipments of goods, annoying and irritating employers in countless secret ways.

Finally, the Syndicalist looks forward to his great dream, "The General Strike," the time when all labor in all industries shall simultaneously fold its arms and show capital how helpless it is. The Syndicalist then expects control of industry to drop from the nerveless hands of the irritated, beaten and baffled capitalists, and labor to take control. Many of the Syndicalist leaders recognize that this general strike is a myth. The employer has reserves, but the laborer lives from hand to mouth. In the total cessation of all industry, labor would starve first.

It is not easy to classify the Bolsheviki. At the root of much of their theorizing stands Karl Marx. They have borrowed ideas from the Syndicalists. They have also some of the ideas of the philosophical anarchists of Russia like Peter Kropotkin, a high minded, learned and saintly man, who believed so strongly in the goodness of human nature that he taught that authoritative Government control is unnecessary. Practically, however, as we increasingly recognize, Bolshevism grows out of hunger and despair, and the surest answer to it is a prompt resumption of the processes of production.

There are yet other forms of radicalism. The variety is infinite. One interesting development is the so-called Guild Socialist movement in England, coming from men who are apprehensive of the deadening effect of State-wide control of industry, and who wish to retain a large element of flexibility and independence for smaller organizations within the larger whole. But the limits of space do not permit more details.

What answer can we make to these various radicals? How shall we defend our present social order against their criticisms? Or shall we be driven to admit that, after all, they are right, and our present social order is bankrupt? First, it may be said that to a considerable extent they answer one another, and that the one great thing on which they all seem to be agreed is that something is wrong and that something ought to be done about it. And second, with respect to this one great thing on which they are all agreed, we may agree with them. Many things are wrong, and much ought to be done about it. Social radicals are performing a most valuable service, whipping our consciences, and pointing out evils which we must correct.

Third, it must be said that, however true may be their indictment of the condition under which the masses of mankind live, they are all exceedingly weak in constructive proposals. The radical transformations of economic life which they propose would bring us more evils than they would rid us of. After all, the root causes of poverty lie deeper than the laws and institutions of society. The root causes of poverty are two. The first is that there are too many people in the world for the resources of nature in the existing state of the arts to provide for adequately. Population grows at a rapid pace. While during the past century and a quarter the exploitation of new natural resources and the development of new technical arts have gone faster than population, none the less, for much of the world, population is actually pressing on the minimum of subsistence, and, for the greater part of the world, population is too great for comfort. In the United States, the richest country of all the world, there is still not enough to go around. We have felt this increasingly during the war, but it was true before the war. The 92,000,000 people of the United States, exclusive of outlying possessions, received an income in 1910 of \$30,500,000,000. This includes all wages, interest, profit and rents. Two billion six hundred million of this was taken for the support of Federal, State and local Governments. Another \$4,000,000,000 at least was taken for additions to the productive equipment, or capital of the country. This leaves not over \$23,900,000,000 for current consumption during the year, or \$260 apiece. This would be \$1,300 for a family of five. This is, of course, much more than the poorest families received in 1910, but it is far from being enough, at 1910 prices, for a rich, full life. The richest country in the whole world is very poor.

The second great cause of poverty is the fact that substantial elements of our population are born with inferior heredity and inferior mental powers. Leaving aside the millions of our negroes, there are in the white population substantial elements which no amount of education or opportunity could bring up to normal efficiency or normal wholesome human life. No doubt, very much of degeneracy and inefficiency is due to lack of opportunity, lack of education, inadequate food in childhood, inadequate training, and the like, which must and can be remedied, but an important part of it is due to inferiority in the stock itself, which is hopeless.

A wise social policy in the future, aimed at the abolition of poverty, will seek both to restrict the numbers of the population, and to prevent the further breeding of those elements of the

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