

THE TRYING TIMES OF PEACE

We Face a New World; What Are We Going To Do?

(By Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L.)

The United States of America is the greatest democracy in the world. It is a vast, far-flung country composed of many races, many creeds, many opinions, many beliefs. It is a country that prides itself on the independence of thought and action of the individual. And because of that pride, and glory in individual liberty, it is a country freedom to argument, to struggle, to conflict.

This is not to be deplored. Quite the contrary. It is to be extolled. It is the very life-giving, of course, that has made the United States what it is today. It is the very life-giving, of course, that has made the United States what it is today.

I am not of those who hold contentment to be the end of desire. Contentment, to my way of thinking means stagnation. While a healthy discontent is a good thing, and a healthy discontent is a good thing, and a healthy discontent is a good thing.

One of our greatest faults is that too many are extremists. Along the road we follow, many are prone to go too far. Like our gallant boys in France, we are sometimes not content to stop at our objectives. We dash on ahead and are caught in our own barrage.

This is understandable. It is in a way forgivable. It is because we are a young nation, full of enthusiasm and strength and courage. But it is dangerous, and costly. And even before the war this fault had led us into grave trouble.

Business, organization, from reasonable limits, had grown too great and menacing. Trusts, combinations and corporations; they had gone beyond the legitimate field of development into the illegitimate field of manipulation, stock jobbery, and domination of our political and judicial life. The whole wealth of the land was being taken from the hands of the many and placed within the grip of the few. We were in danger of becoming, like the Mexico of a decade ago, a country of two classes; the vastly rich and the pitifully poor.

That such a condition is both wrong and fatal is beyond argument. There is neither justice nor common sense in a condition that allows one man to have a hundred million dollars and a hundred million men to have nothing at all. A condition where the few possess much and the many possess little is not democracy. It is an oligarchy. Its further development could not and would not, have been tolerated.

This condition was brought about by another extremism; the over-ownership of a single god of all races that a democracy must serve. We had come to spend too much time before our favored fetish, individualism.

Every man, each woman, had come to think too much of, and work too much for, himself and himself. We had forgotten that not individualism alone, but individualistic mutualism, means progress. It is not enough that each man becomes strong, each woman fine. It is the relation of each man and woman to all other men and women that makes a nation great. No matter how fine our soldiers were, they never could have defeated the Germans at Chateau-Thierry had they gone in one at a time.

This condition, in turn, had made for lack of interest in citizenry and in the country. When each citizen is thinking only of himself, their mutual affairs suffer. Their Government goes to ineffectiveness, or worse. It is like a business with efficient clerks, but inefficient management. Such a business cannot flourish if it is continued in such a way.

In all the affairs of our republic there was no element or group which expressed and manifested and secured a larger thought and action for mutualism as well as individualism than the much-misunderstood

and oft-misrepresented organized labor movement—the American Federation of Labor.

That the war contributed much toward changing the whole phase of our individualism, none can truthfully gainsay. Of a sudden, one day we found a thing had happened to make us forget all others. And it was then that democracy arose in all its magnificent might. All internal differences vanished in the face of an external danger. A national conflict was subordinated to the exigency of an international one. Almost as if by magic, the

mutualism and as such members of, and partners in, a true democracy. And during our 16 months of war we remained true to democracy. Labor, capital, business, society, worked hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder for victory. Never had the democracy of the United States of America risen to such an exalted height. It was the final test of our national ability and the last justification of our form of government.

We had shown what a democracy could do, and how it could do it. And now what? We are once more at peace. Shall we prove ourselves to be less able, less noble, less courageous, less firm in time of peace than in time of war? Did we have to have a direct and dire menace hanging over our heads to make us do what we should do just and sensible? Shall we, once that menace is removed, flop surlily back to confusion, injustice, selfishness and the hyper-individualism that was once our bane?

I know the American people. And I know they will not be at once so lax and so misguided. But they must make no mistake. The fight before them lies long and bitter. There is the immigration question. There are the trusts, the corporations, the railroads. There is the problem of demobilization and the returned soldier. There is the reorganization of industry. Business must be relieved and encouraged.

There is an understanding to be gained between the employers and the workers. There is the feeding and financing of the world, in which we must help to do our share. There is justice as well as unwarranted unrest, the first of which must be met intelligently and sympathetically; the second must be contested at every step.

It will be the work of all of us, and for years. There have been those, perhaps there still are some few, who have fondly and foolishly deemed that, at the signing of the peace, we could return at once to the soft and selfish days of before the war. They are far behind us in fact, as the Middle Ages. They are gone. And they will never return.

We face a new world today, with a new set of problems; problems so involved, so complicated, so far-reaching, as to be today for the most part even unimaginable. The future lies in the lap of the gods; and into that lap not even the wisest men of earth have been able to look.

What will become of Russia? Who can tell? Into what country's breast will another year find the gaunt wolf of Bolshevism sinking its shining teeth and bloody claws? No one knows. No one can know. We can only know that the one weapon that has been found to fight it is food. No matter what the ideas and aspirations of a country may be, it cannot get freedom, nor practice freedom, on an empty stomach. The hungry may tear down, but he cannot rebuild. Hungry stomachs can never make reasoning brains. The discontent of hungry people leads nowhere except to confusion, chaos and reaction. Truly any Lenin may call their government what they will; but it is in point of fact as bloody a tyranny as the world has ever known.

And in its first hunger that we must fight. And we must fight the cause of hunger. These are first economic



PRESIDENT GOMPERS.

must be based on mutual understanding, mutual faith, mutual endeavor, mutual patience and mutual trust. To that task no body of men will give more potential service than the organized labor movement of America.

A Period Of Drift.

By F. M. Draper, in Ottawa Labor Day Annual.

Sir John McLaren, president of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, remarked recently that "We seem to have drifted on a period of industrial drift," meaning thereby that now the war being over, the industry, standing alone in extravagance every kind, regardless of

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Ontario Referendum Committee JOHN MACDONALD Chairman D. A. DUNLAP Treasurer ANDREW S. GRANT Vice Chairman and Secretary (1001 Excelsior Life Bldg., Toronto)

Independent Labor Party Candidates For Hamilton

Walter R. Rollo West Hamilton

Controller Geo. G. Halcrow East Hamilton

Committee Headquarters have been opened at 31 York street and 143 1/2 East King street.

All friends of Labor representation in the Provincial Legislature are urged to get behind the candidates.

Get in the fight and work hard for Rollo's and Halcrow's election.

strike constitute a part of that third party—the public. Not only is the temporary inactivity of the labor representatives in the Trade Union Congress, but the other labor representatives include Arthur Henderson, John Rob-

It has been the study and the aim of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to guide the tendencies of Labor, during these difficult and abnormal times, that the assertion and insistence on the rights of the wage-earner would not be directed into those dangerous channels, but would rather be so directed as to make a very real and all its consequence.

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Actual Experience The Ontario Temperance Act is Emptying Ontario's Jails

Table showing Jail Commitments Before and After Passage of the Act. Columns: ALL CRIMES, DRUNKENNESS. Rows: 1915-20,337, 1918-13,242, 1915-6,235, 1918-2,595.

ONTARIO'S experience with prohibition under the Ontario Temperance Act since September 16, 1916, has been all the argument any fair-minded man or woman wants, to prove that the Act should neither be repealed nor weakened by Amendments.

Jail Commitments for crimes and offences of all kinds have decreased more than one-third since 1915. Jail Commitments for drunkenness alone decreased from 6,235 in 1915, the year preceding the Act, to 2,595 in 1918.

Jail Commitments for drunkenness decreased despite the fact that the Act makes drunkenness in public places a "prima facie" offence, punishable by fine or imprisonment, whether accompanied by "disorderliness" or not. A drunken man on the street has become a rare sight.

The number of commitments for drunkenness in Ontario in 1918 was the lowest in seventeen years, although the population of the Province increased by over 500,000. Some jails received no drunkards in 1918 at all. Others show well nigh unbelievable decreases, notably in the cities and larger towns.

Do you want to see the taste for alcoholic beverages revived, and the population of Ontario's prisons, jails and lock-ups restored? If you are convinced that drunkenness is undesirable in this Province mark X in the "No" column after each question.

"No!"—Four Times—"No!"

Each and every one of the four questions on the ballot paper in this Referendum must be answered or your ballot is "spoiled." And unless you mark X after each question in the "No" column, the Ontario Temperance Act will be spoiled, and years of Temperance progress lost.

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Every Day in the Week

Table showing train schedules for Toronto-Vancouver (Both Ways) with columns for Sun, Mon, Tue, Wed, Thu, Fri, Sat and days 1-14.

Toronto-Vancouver (Both Ways)

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