

British Elections Show Increase Labor's Strength

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Continued from last week.

The first essential, then, to holding good settlers on the land is a right policy of land settlement and the main lines of this I have tried to indicate. The second essential is the reconstruction of rural life around various forms of co-operative enterprise. Co-operation on its economic side—I have no concern with its political side—means better business, better farming and a better country life. It means better business for experience shows that all alike in the old world and in the new the most efficient unit for production is the comparatively small farm—especially in mixed farming and the production of fruit and market garden produce, both of them increasingly important departments of agriculture. But if the unit of production is to remain small these units must be combined for purchase and sale; for thus only can the small man obtain the marketing economies which a large scale industrial plant realizes. It also means better farming: agricultural education and state assistance lose half their value if there is not between the state and the individual a smaller unit to rally the local spirit de corps and improve the local farming practice. The test of true co-operation is its local intensity. A single large co-operative organization which is mainly concerned with price control is in spirit a conglomeration of co-operatives in form. Finally, it means a better country life. Denmark after the war of 1862 was rebuilt as a co-operation. The peasants of S. W. Germany could only call their souls their own when the foundation of the co-operative credit banks rescued them from subjection to the cattle dealer and money lender; and in all the countries of Europe co-operation has played in these last fifty years a profound re-creative role.

The same process is at work in the States and Canada. The example of the California Fruit Growers is being followed in Canada now by the growers of the Niagara Peninsula; and a recent development in California is worth quoting because it throws light on the connection between Land Settlement and co-operation. California stood at the parting of the economic ways in 1920. The suitability of its land for dairy cattle and fruit were well known, as also the value of co-operative fruit selling. But how was the unit of farming destined to develop? Was it to be in the direction of large cattle farms, operated by the aid, at seeding time and harvest of itinerant labor gangs domiciled in bank houses with myriads of fens, and of large fruit farms dependent on town labor for the fruit picking? Was a class of mena white destined to emerge to support for a short time an unequal contest with imported workers from Mexico and China and Japan, who, starting as farm workers, would remain to farm for themselves and their lower standard of life create a vicious gap between the landless American and the rich established American farmer. To meet this danger the State of California made an interesting experiment which Mr. J. W. MacMillan has described in four articles in the Farmers' Sun of February, 1922, under the title of "The New Rush to California: A Story of Land Settlement." The inspiration apparently comes from Australia; and it was this: a scheme of home settlement, with the aid of an appropriation from the State of California. A start was made with a property of 6,000 acres which was cut up into small farms ranging from 10 to 160 acres varying, that is, from an allotment occupied by a man whose main income comes from working for other farmers to the small self-sufficient farmer. In the planning of the house and garden the settler's wife had a say along with the farm engineer. On the business side the settlers are organized co-operatively from the storage and sale of their milk, and eggs and fruit.

On the social side there is a community centre (a grove of 25 acres) containing a recreation grounds and a club house. Those of you who know something of the terrible loneliness often felt by the settler and still more the settler's wife, and the disastrous results to her body and mind, will appreciate Mr. MacMillan's closing comment on this scheme. "It seems to me that this is the sort of thing which will guard and encourage an immigrant in his first helplessness on a Canadian farm. The immigrant of the past twenty years is a tragic tale from the farm standpoint. Perhaps

most who came from across the Atlantic came from farms, knew nothing but farming, came and intended to farm. Yet a perverse fate dumped them in the cities. Some of them tried to farm and gave it up. They had been used to village life for the most part and the loneliness appalled them. They were left unfriended and they failed."

To this I would add—Do not be impatient if the work of transplanting requires "careful tending" and, the growth at first is slow. Sow the seed well, tend it carefully at the start, and a rich harvest of natural growth will one day be reaped.

Finally, some may protest, "After all this you have not told us whether we ought to discourage foreign immigrants in general or to discourage certain types and encourage others—the Galicians, the Scandinavians, and so on." To attempt such a task would be an impertinence on my part. Canada, as I think, should give the preference to those who from the Canadian standpoint are most desirable as citizens and workers. The problem is how to get this best. Regulation will go some way by providing a minimum standard; and the stiffer the minimum the better it will be for Great Britain—by way of healthy reaction. But to operate above the minimum we need positive machinery and a positive plan. It is unreasonable to suggest to Canada that before encouraging a general immigration from Europe she should carefully study the changes produced by the European War in health and economic capacity of the peoples from which desirable immigrants were formerly obtained and that she should strenuously put the long view of their possible absorption into the life of the country before the short view of a boom in immigration traffic and land values; and further, that her positive machinery and her main financial aid should be directed towards the establishment and retention of her own people on the land, and that all this machinery and some financial aid should be extended to settlers from the Old Country, provided that the Old Country meets her half way.

Under the pressure of war we achieved by our schemes of training results which were astonishing even to those who helped to bring them about. Under the pressure of war we achieved by our machinery of liaison a unity of effort and healthy rivalry just where our military and political wisemen assured us we should break down. I plead that only those same methods should be tried out to the full with patience and faith in the arts of peace: If we succeed we shall forge a link in the British Commonwealth, stronger even than that forged by the war; and in addition we shall create a fund of experience which can be pooled for the service of the world.

She gives her own experience.

"When I was a little child and worked fourteen hours a day in the sweatshops, and a man came and organized my shop, and our work day became twelve hours, it was very wonderful to have those two extra hours. I had long lost the habit of play. But it was wonderful to have the time to just go out into the street and stand watching other children play. From the age of twelve to seventeen I worked at making fine coats, clothing the world. But when I would pick up a printed page all I could do was to stare at it. Who can understand the pain, the humiliation of illiteracy? I felt like a dumb, blind beast. It was like a miracle, then, when again through the union my wages, which were \$2 a week for doing a woman's work, were raised to \$5 a week. My hours were reduced two hours more, and I was able to run to night school decently dressed and 'learns' even if it were a word or two at a time.

"The Union did this and more for me and for many thousand others.

"So, if unions are not perfect, I am hoping that some day they will be, when we ourselves are less selfish, more understanding, more just. If we break the union now, would we not have to put something else in its place? The time for single handed dealing is passed because we are so many! And, too, some are too weak. Here and there there is someone who can stand by himself, and does not like to belong to a group. He better leave it, then, and work for himself, as you advise. Would it be right for him to interfere with the group, become a strike-breaker? I believe that no really good and brave man does it, either because he does not understand, is ignorant of the principles, the soul behind, or else he is a fool, or deliberately vicious. For a truly fine, brave man, even if he does not believe, would go and do other work, would not find it in his heart to break down what other men are building with their flesh and blood.

"This, my dear sir, is my personal angle on trade unionism."

So there are two sides to this and to all questions, which is a statement that we often forget.

MEAT CONTROL BY 'BIG COMBINE'

Armour's Expect to Enlarge Scope of Operations.

J. Ogden Armour, head of the Chicago meat packing house of Armour and Company has presented to Attorney General Daugherty for governmental approval, a proposal for merging through purchase the physical assets of another of the "Big Five" national packing houses with Armour and Company. Which of the concerns the Armour organization proposes to absorb was not disclosed, although both Wilson and Company and Morris and Company, of the packing group have been mentioned in connection with the plan. Officials connected with the plan, however, expressed a preference for the name of Armour and Company.

Mr. Armour declined to make any statement, except that he intended to remain in Washington for a time. It was assumed that a desire to determine the legality of such a merger in advance of taking any steps to complete it, had led to the consultation with officials.

Having failed to obtain from France a reduction in reparations, or a loan from the international bankers, Germany announces that it will pay the indemnity instalment anyway, as it has the money. This ought to help a great many persons to understand Germany better.

WAGE DECLINE FOR FARM WORKERS

Average Male Worker Gets \$28 Per Month and Board.

The average rate of wages of male farm labor for the entire United States Oct. 1, was \$28.97 a month with board, according to the first of a regular series of crop reports from 1,200 to the department of agriculture. The average rate for the year 1921 was \$30.14. By the month without board the average, Oct. 1, was \$41.5, compared with \$43.32 the average for 1921.

Day wages with board Oct. 1, were \$1.57, compared with \$1.68 last year, and day wages without board was \$2.06, compared with \$2.18 in 1921.

Of the 1,200 reports 36 per cent. stated that the labor supply exceeded the demand at current wages, 33 per cent. stated that the demand exceeded the supply, and 31 per cent. reported an even balance.

LABOR UNIONS—THE OTHER SIDE

By DR. FRANK CRANE.

Some days ago I published a letter from a railway fireman in a western state. His attitude was somewhat critical of labor unions.

I have received a letter from Rose Gollup Cohen of New York, who gives her opinion on the other side of the case, which I am glad to set forth. She says:

"That we all have our good and bad impulses and should encourage the good and repress the bad. The fireman's impulse seems to her to be twisted a bit; for while he does not find it in his heart to help the striking railway men through whose organization he has profited, he is fired with generosity to help the strike breaker who is destroying the principles in which he, the fireman, believes as a union man.

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Our idea of dangerous occupations is the attempt of some newspapers to select the twelve greatest women in America.

The price of wheat is down but they are not saying it with flour.

ELECTORS GIVE LABOR 141 SEATS IN BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

London, Eng.—Owing doubtless to the difficulty of classifying certain of the successful candidates, summaries of the state of the parties differ somewhat, but one of the most reliable authorities gives the Conservatives 345, the National Liberals or Georgians 52, Independent-Liberals 57, Labor 141, and other groups 10, with ten results yet to be announced.

How the Vote Went in Various Ridings.

With only ten constituencies yet to report, the Conservative government under Premier Bonar Law, is in the saddle with a safe majority over all other groups. The latest figures issued tonight assign 345 seats to the Conservatives in a house of 615 members.

On a division this would give the Government a majority of 75, a much bigger margin than the most sanguine election experts even in the Unionist camp had predicted. It was generally assumed that Lloyd George, with all the prestige of his war record, would have made a better showing. He emerged from the fray with only fifty-two of his 138 candidates elected, a drop from 127 National Liberals in the last house. Nor have the Independent Liberals under former Premier Asquith, fulfilled expectations. Of the 338 Asquithians in the field, only 57 have been returned, though the few to report still may affect this total slightly. This is a gain of 22 seats over the Independent Liberal strength in the last house, but nevertheless, the result of yesterday's contest practically eliminates Liberalism as a factor in shaping events in parliament for the next 5 years.

Even in the event of the retirement of one of the Liberal leaders making possible a union of forces, their combined strength would still be far behind the numerical strength of the Labor party, and in the case of the possible defeat of the government, it would be Labor that would have first chance to form a ministry.

Ministers Fairly Intact.

Although the Labor candidates made huge inroads in the old majorities of the Conservatives as well as Liberals, the new ministers came through the contest with their ranks fairly well intact. The most prominent of the casualties were Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, minister of health, and William Watson, Lord Advocate, for whom, no doubt, seats will be found. As a result of the verdict, a large number of the men who have been prominent in British public life in the last fifteen years as ministers under Asquith or Lloyd George, disappear from the stage for a season at least. The defeat of Winston Churchill was one of the chief losses suffered by the Lloyd George forces.

The Labor party issued a manifesto stating that they find "abundant reasons for satisfaction," in their success and their gains at the expense of both Liberals and Conservatives, and declared that their party will constitute the most vigorous and efficient opposition that the House of Commons has seen for many years.

Labor's success is believed to be largely attributable to Sydney Webb, who has been in great measure responsible for the campaign organization of the party for the past thirty years. Mr. Webb has been with Bernard Shaw, the leading spirit of the Fabian Society, which represents intellectual socialism and closely cooperates with the Labor party.

Where Labour Gained.

In Wales and Scotland Labor gained through the general dissatisfaction, unemployment and depression in the large mining and industrial districts. The Labor party was not shown such treatment where skilled workmen predominate. But the Labor party is jubilant tonight. It is now the second party in the House of Commons, heading the opposition, and their official statement announces that they will succeed to power when the Bonar Law government falls.

One of the most important factors in the Labor gain, however, was the apathy of the voters. Out of 21,000,000 voters only about 14,000,000 went to the polls, of which the Conservatives drew 5,340,000; Labor, 4,250,000; Liberals, 2,750,000; Georgians, 1,380,000, approximately.

Had the proportion of Labor gains at the expense of the Conservatives as indicated last night been maintained Bonar Law would not have had a majority at all. The early reports this morning confirmed the trend indicated last night, but in the early afternoon, Lancashire and Scottish returns began to come in, showing that Lloyd George's hopes were blasted in one and Liberal hopes in another. Lancashire voted Conservative and Scotland Labor.

Despite the comfortable parliamentary majority the Bonar Law government is woefully in the minority according to the popular vote. While 5,381,413, according to the returns, so far have voted Conservative, 5,532,253 voted for other parties. In almost every instance where there was a vote of some considerable fight the winner was far in the minority. Each of the four parties gained by this situation, but Conservative and Labor more than the others.

Comments of Leaders.

Following are the comments made by the leading figures in yesterday's general election.

Prime Minister Bonar Law: "I am greatly satisfied with the results of the elections, demonstrating that the country is ready for a Conservative regime."

David Lloyd George: "The results coincide with the anticipations of my headquarters. I am quite satisfied."

Herbert Asquith: "The enormous Labor poll and the tremendous turnover in Scotland are due to widespread unemployment and the consequent acute distress, and the House of Lords decision regarding the Rent Restriction Act."

Frank Hodges, the miners' leader: "I am greatly pleased with the miners' poll as demonstrating allegiance to the Labor party."

RUSSIAN WORKERS ARE UNDERFERD

Less Than \$2 Per Month is the Average Income.

The averages wages of the Russian factory workers amount to 16s. a month—that is what we learn from the official report of the General Council of Russian Trade Unions at the fifth congress of trade unions held recently in Moscow. "As the report points out this is a great improvement, for as recently as March of this year the average wages amounted to only 6s. 7d. a month. This increase in the wages is due, on the one hand, to the intense struggle of the workers, and particularly of the metal workers, for a living wage, and, on the other hand, to the drastic measures by the government to diminish the number of workers, and thus make possible an increase of the wages of those remaining. The report admits that wages, although improving, are still greatly below the pre-war wages and the subsistence minimum.

The question arises: How do the workers manage to live on a wage much less than half this amount? The answer is that the difference is made up by pilfering and speculation. It is calculated that from these two sources the workers manage to increase their ordinary earnings by an average of six shillings per month. And yet the workers, compared with pre-war conditions, get only half of the subsistence minimum. The underfeeding of the working class is the most fundamental and fatal characteristic of Russian industrial life. The Russian working class under these conditions is simply incapable of productive work.

Statistics Show More Employment.

Manufactures Show Slight Decline Which is Offset by Construction, Transportation and Trades.

The employment situation continued to show fair improvement during September, although the curve of employment did not exhibit as decided a rise in September of last year. The general expansion since April, however, has been considerably more pronounced than in the summer of 1921 and the index number for the month under review continued to be several points higher than in the corresponding period of last year. Returns tabulated from 6,250 concerns show that, of the nominal pay-roll of 780,477 persons, 766,635 were actually at work on September 30, as compared with 761,153 at the close of August. The index number, therefore, showed a small increase, rising from 93.7 on the latter date to 94.6 for the period being surveyed. In September of last year it had stood at 90.2. A slight decline was registered in the manufacturing industries owing mainly to seasonal losses in sawmilling and a contraction in automobile concerns. Fish canneries, glass, brick, tiles, copper smelting and Kodak concerns all showed a decrease. Garments, hosiery and knitted goods, confectionery, musical and rubber goods showed an increase as did printing, minerals and electric.

Leather goods maintained their upward move and a revival in the paper and pulp trades was manifested.

In the iron, steel and automobile section, employment, especially in Ontario, showed a less in employment.

Mining, both in coal and metallic ores showed an improvement parties.

Considerable recovery from the losses registered in September was registered in transportation both in street railways and railways. Shipping, however, remained quiet, with slight reductions in Ontario and Pacific ports.

Highway and building construction reported a recovery from July and August depression, but railway construction and maintenance indicated a shrinkage, especially in the Prairie district and Quebec.

The retail and wholesale trades report an increase of just over one per cent. in persons employed as compared lastly in Alberta.

The Trade Unions, having a combined membership of 161,182 persons report the index of employment as 97.2 as compared with 69.4 for August.

WHAT BOLSHEVISM MEANS

Inroads of Russian Socialism On the Mental Vision of New York.

It cannot be denied that the vote cast for the Socialist party in New York City is increasing. So much so that some of the districts in Greater New York are hopelessly lost to the dominant parties, unless a fusion is effected between them. What is this vote due to and what can be done to redeem those districts from Socialist control?

First, what is the large Socialist vote due to? The number of votes cast for the Socialist party in any given locality is by no means indicative of the actual number of Socialists residing therein. For the great majority of those who vote that ticket are not members of the party. Neither do they know anything of its philosophy or fundamentals or of Marxism and its school of economics. Some of them vote the ticket as a protest against existing conditions; others because they are attracted to it by its programme of intermediary social reforms; and still others because of a mistaken notion that with the advent of Socialism, somehow or other there will also come the abolition of poverty, and in its place universal prosperity, happiness and that much longed for, though nebulous era, the "Brotherhood of Man." Just how Socialism will bring this about, they do not know. Nor is there anything in the philosophy itself that justifies such hope. It is apparently sufficient for those voters that the mentors of the party assure them it will be so and the rest is but a matter of faith.

This is not alone true of the voters of foreign birth in the poorer, congested districts of New York, but also of some residing in the so-called Silk Stocking Districts, who boast of American lineage and a college education. In fact one of the most amusing things in American Politics is the colossal ignorance exhibited by this latter class on this question. For instance, it is not at all unusual to meet men and women high in their professions or in the business world, who in all solemnity proclaim themselves as Socialists for no other reason than that they are Progressive in politics and are opposed as they say, to the stantip attitude of the dominant parties. Likewise, one very frequently meets highly educated and cultured men and women who argue earnestly for Socialism because they believe in workman's compensation, a minimum wage law, or some other radical reform measure. It is almost trite to say that neither Progressivism nor social reform measures have anything in common with Socialism.

This confusion of thought on the question as to what Socialism is has resulted in the Socialist Party gaining in the West-Side districts of Manhattan and elsewhere a number of recruits from the ranks of those who are progressive in thought but who fail to discriminate between Progressivism, Reform and Socialism and account for the many brands of Socialism one finds in America.

Thus we have Christian Socialists, State Socialists, Fabian Socialists, Right Wingers, Left Wingers, and several other brands more or less phonetic in name but substantial in numbers. Though the "scientific Socialist" will assure you in public debate and in his official organs that there is but one kind of Socialism, to wit, Marxism Socialism, it never noticed that the party has never disowned these bastard offshoots nor even officially denounced their illegitimacy. On the contrary, the Party stretches out its hand in warm welcome to all these heterogeneous elements around election time and boasts of its increased vote after election as representing the masses in the modern class conscious Socialists in America.

In propagating its philosophy among the middle classes on the Upper West Side of Manhattan and in the more exclusive residential sections of the city, the Socialists say to these citizens: "Are you good Christians? If you are, then you are Socialists. For like the Saviour, we too believe in the golden rule. Are you Progressive? If you are then you are Socialists. For does not our platform of intermediary reforms out reach anything the Progressives themselves have ever adopted? Are you for State ownership of certain State utilities? If you are, then of course you are Socialists. For the very foundation of our philosophy is communal ownership. Are you for honesty and efficiency in Government? If you are, why indeed you are part of us. For

has anyone ever heard of a Socialist official who was dishonest or a public servant who was inefficient? So all along the line in appealing to this class of voters, it hides its economic philosophy beneath a multi-form colored cloak of platitudes and ideals, designed to appeal to every shade of political and religious thought.

On the other hand on the East Side of Manhattan, in the Bronx, and in the t. Brownsville section of Kings things are entirely different. There the citizenship consists in the main of men and women who are employed in the garment and other industries. Most of them are factory workers. With but few exceptions they are American citizens by adoption and not by birth. They had probably immigrated here at an advanced age from all corners of the globe. Their first stopping place when they got here was perhaps the very factory where they are now employed. Their opportunity to see America and study it was by necessity a negligible one. To most of these citizens all of this country consists of the little territory which they traverse in their daily routine of life. In the very nature of things there never was afforded to them a vision of the real America with its multifarious problems and glorious traditions. To them the Socialist propagates his philosophy in this manner. Hark, the oracle from the back of a truck:

"Your bosses are blood suckers and parasites, and you, my fellow citizens, the suckers they prey on. How is it that you who build mansions, do not live in them? Why is it that your bosses can ride in automobiles and you must crowd yourselves like sardines into the subways? Can you answer these questions? NO! Well—I'll tell you! Because you are Republicans and Democrats and not Socialists."

This is but a small part of the general propaganda conducted in the most systematized manner in those neighborhoods throughout the year. For instance, Sunday school classes are formed for children of five years or over where paid and volunteer teachers give instructions in the A B C of this kind of Socialism. Co-operative stores are organized ostensibly for the purpose of selling to the residents of those districts merchandise at a reduced cost but in reality for providing the Party with neighbourhood centres from which its agitators may preach this Socialist Gospel. Conservative trade unions are invaded and wherever possible counter Bolshevik organizations formed that can be depended upon to support the Socialist cause.

All of these mediums are systematically employed for the one purpose of spreading a gospel of revolt which will result in the creation of unreasonable discontent and industrial unrest on the part of an unenlightened citizenship, with a view of making converts to the Socialist "philosophy."

I know the Socialists will deny this. But they will not and cannot deny that in the main this gospel consists of teaching the workers in those districts to believe that all profits represent the exploitation of labor and that all employers lead but to social and industrial unrest! It is to be expected that men and women can be constantly reminded that they are being robbed by their employers of the fruits of their labor without creating in them a feeling of deep resentment against them? It serves no purpose, for the Socialists say that this monstrous doctrine is really Marx's theory of surplus value and in preaching it they are but advancing a more correct interpretation of the same. For the men and women to whom this theory is advanced know nothing of Marx or his school of economics. Nor is it advanced to them as an economic theory but as a bald statement of fact.

I dare say that even of those who are party members and belong to the local Socialist organizations but very few have read "Das Kapital" or could understand it if they read it. This is not said in disparagement of the residents of those localities but of Marx and his involved algebraic method of establishing a supposedly economic science.

The fact is that the Socialists themselves with but few exceptions have abandoned Marx's theory of surplus value long ago. But here in New York City, among the factory workers, it is exaggerated and camouflaged and used

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