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WORKERS



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BELONG

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BRITISH MINERS IN CONVENTION.

600,000 miners represented. Over 100 resolutions considered. Nationalization of coal mines demanded, with full workers' control even of coal export and colliery banking questions. Miners' executive given power to call national strike without following old custom of balloting of members upon the question. Six-hour working day to be inaugurated four weeks after peace is declared for miners. Five-day working week also demanded but not so unanimously. Demand for higher rate of compensation for miners injured during employment.

During the past week the annual convention of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has been held, attended by 179 delegates. This is an organization with 600,000 members. It is affiliated both with the annual Trades Union Congress and with the Labour Party and at the last Labour Party Conference in London it paid \$12,000 in affiliation fees and sent about 170 delegates. The Federation has increased by about 40,000 members since its last convention at Glasgow twelve months ago and Robert Smillie, the president of the federation and of this annual convention fully expects to add another 100,000 members to the federation before this year is finished.

In his presidential address to the miners' delegates Smillie began by saying that it was his intention to voice his own opinions rather than those of his executive or of the miners themselves. This remark is indicative of the movement I have before referred to that is going on amongst a large number of our trade unionists. Smillie is a bit of a Pacifist or perhaps he would himself personally sooner accept the term "a partisan of peace by negotiation." There appears to be no doubt that these views he holds are certainly personal to himself and are by no means shared by the great and overwhelming majority of the miners. In the past he has expressed these views very widely and spoken as the president of the Miners' Federation. The view has therefore got around that these views represent the opinions of the coal miners of this country. He has been called to account for this and hence we have the above-mentioned introductory remarks to his present presidential speech.

Smillie's current views upon the war are well expressed by the following extract from his speech: "The war might have been settled on two or three occasions during the past two years honorably and satisfactorily." He was "not in favor of ending the war merely by laying down tools,

but it might be ended by intelligence sitting round a table & on fair terms." In saying these words Smillie shows signs of having changed his tone somewhat and appears to have moderated some of his more striking negotiatory or Pacifist opinions in the past—or anyway their outward pronouncements, otherwise Smillie's speech dealt with miner's questions and was followed by a vote of thanks to him.

One delegate declined to be a party to all that Smillie had said and declared that the president had used the federation in such a way as to express through it his own opinions. There seemed signs of trouble resulting from this, but oil was poured upon the waters by Stephen Walsh, a miner and Labor Member of Parliament, who stated that unity was necessary because there was great trouble in store. During reconstruction after the war labor would have a tremendous, difficult and troublesome task to undertake. The convention then went into private session for the rest of the day on the question of permanent officials.

Over a hundred resolutions were down for discussion during the convention's week. The first one considered, demanded the nationalization of the coal mines, with joint control and administration by the workmen and the state. The resolution further instructed the executive committee immediately to draft a Parliamentary bill as a basis for the necessary legislation. The discussion upon this resolution was very good. It was pointed out that the trend of State control during the war had been towards purely bureaucratic administration. Producers must insist upon having some directive power within the limits of their own industry. In the coal industry the Miners' Federation should represent the producers' interests in the authority, both central and de-centralized, right down to each separate colliery. This would involve responsibility for management in every department of the industry, including even the work of exportation, banking and other departments of finance. The question was asked whether the miners were ready for this. It would be a big test of their educational attainments and they would have to face even the possibility of the industry not thriving under their control. The great thing to be avoided was a nationalization or socialization which did not carry out prominent working class control at the same time.

A number of other resolutions were adopted. One was for the nationalization of land. Amendments of the British Coal Mines Regulation Act were demanded, especially, amongst

other things, to make it compulsory upon colliery owners to provide baths at the pitheads for the miners, to lessen the danger to life by sinking an additional shaft wherever underground work extended a mile or more, and for a Government inspector on his visits to a colliery to be accompanied on his rounds by one of the local workmen's inspectors.

Under the old Workmen's Compensation Act in this country a certain level of compensation was paid to workmen who were disabled temporarily or permanently in the course of their employment. Since the war this compensation has been increased by 25 per cent. The miners in the present convention demanded an increase to 50 per cent, whilst it was further sought to make it compulsory for colliery owners to bear the cost of all artificial limbs, glass eyes, etc., that any workman might need through accidents received whilst following his employment. The question of a minimum wage was referred back to the executive committee. The miners' view of a minimum wage appears to be \$2.50 per day for the coal getter, with higher rates for other grades in proportion. At the present time there are minimum wages in this country for coal miners but they differ from district to district.

One of the most important resolutions at this convention was one for a six-hour working day. Separate resolutions had been sent up on this topic from half a dozen different important districts. The resolution which was considered to embody the aims of most of the members was one instructing the executive committee to take steps to immediately summon a special convention of the Miners' Federation on the six-hour working day question, to be followed by a special convention of the triple alliance of labor—the said triple alliance being, as my readers may remember, the miners' the transport workers and the railway workers. The definite object aimed at is that within four weeks after the declaration of peace the hours of all the workers concerned shall be not more than six per day.

A further resolution which did not obtain quite such unanimous support, but still was carried, was in favor of a five-day working week without any reduction of present weekly wages.

A later resolution was one of a more general character and demanded that British soldiers and sailors should be paid \$1.50 a day and that \$3.00 a week should be the minimum amount paid to dependents for one soldier or sailor. Many other resolutions of an important character were carried, but one of special importance remained till near the finish. It was decided that on any question of urgent national importance, or of any question already agreed to by a national conference of the miners, the executive committee or a special convention of the Miners' Federation might call the memb-

ers of the federation out on strike without a ballot vote if it were thought desirable. Hitherto no national strike of coal miners has been entered into officially without a ballot of all the members being taken first.

Western Labor News

I.W.W MEMBERS CONVICTED.

After 4½ months of the most bitterly fought legal battle in the history of American Labor, the prosecution scored an initial victory in the trial of one hundred of our fellow workers in Chicago.

A masterly defense was provided by Attorney Geo. F. Vanderveer, assisted by Wm. B. Cleary of Arizona, Otto Christensen of Chicago, and Miss Caroline A. Lowe, of Seattle. It is not too much to say that everything seemed to point to an acquittal, even the charge to the jury by Judge Landis, who, we gladly admit, proved himself to be impartial in all respects. The verdict of "Guilty" came as a shock, a thunderbolt from a clear sky.

The jury was out fifty-five minutes. It may have been only a formality that they left their seats to go to the jury room. A Chicago paper states it is evident that only the ballot was taken.

Motion for a new trial will be filed immediately and if necessary, appeal will be taken. All defendants are now in Cook County Jail. A word of cheer from the Fellow Workers in the field will be appreciated by them.

Fellow Worker Haywood gave out the following:

"I have no fault to find with Judge Landis, and none of the rest of us have," said Haywood, at the County Jail. "He was fair to us, absolutely square throughout the whole trial. His instruct were fair I thought, and certainly he treated us excellently while the trial was in progress.

"Everything possible that could be done for us during the trial was done. This is shown by Judge Landis letting about seventy of us out of jail on our own recognisances. I am glad that none of us violated the confidence he reposed in us, but that all were on hand for the final day.

"I think if the jury had followed instructions there would have been a different story. I hope the next steps will be taken quickly. If our motion for a new trial is denied, we shall, of course, appeal.

"We are still good I.W.W., all of us. Everyone is still loyal to the Organization. We look upon our conviction a merely an incident in the History of the I.W.W. In reality we regard the Organization as only born yesterday, and are sure it will flourish. We're not for Germany, as they said we were. For me, I'd like to see the kaiser licked off the face of the globe."

One hundred of our Fellow Workers are thus temporarily barred from

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The Aims of Labor.

(By Right Hon. Arthur Henderson,

NO ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

The speeches and declarations of our leading statesmen, delivered in the early months of war, offer ample evidence of the fact that this country became an active participant in the gigantic world-struggle from only the highest and best motives. Speaking in the House of Commons as Prime Minister within a week of the declaration of war, Mr. Asquith said:

If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place to fulfil a solemn international obligation. . . Secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith. I do not believe any nation ever entered into a great controversy with a clearer conscience and stronger conviction that it is fighting, not for aggression, not for the maintenance even of its own selfish interests, but that it is fighting in defence of principles the maintenance of which is vital to the civilisation of the world.

Such, then, in broad outline, were the principal objects for which the British people unseathed the sword. We assumed the role of champion of the sanctity of international treaties and of the rights of small nations, and sought to impress upon the world that we desired neither territorial expansion, nor artificial economic advantage. This high conception of national duty inspired the entire population of the British Empire and its Dependencies, and produced an unparalleled display of unity and determination. Our armed intervention, taken with the full approval of practically the whole nation, was to be a clear and emphatic demonstration of our stern and uncompromising hostility to the savage recourse to the use of force, and the wicked and indefensible violation of the integrity of a neighbouring state by the German Government, which confessed that it regarded its treaties as "scraps of paper," and excused its act of wilful aggression by the plea that "necessity knows no law." And to-day, after more than three years of military effort, unprecedented in its toll of sacrifice — human, material, and financial—the majority of the people of these isles remain loyal to the high ideals and principles which animated them at the outbreak of hostilities, and are as firmly determined as ever to prosecute the war until these fundamental objects have been attained by military, diplomatic, and political means.

British Labour is convinced, as it has been from the beginning, that a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. In the peace settlement, practical provision must be made against any future recurrence of the present terrible world-calamity by the elimination of aggressive militarism from the entire world and, what is equally important, by the removal of all the old-standing menaces and the prevention of new provocations to war.

The Allied nations are fighting against Germany's ambitions and immoral "will to power," which means German domination—military, political, and economic—at the expense of the rights of other peoples. The world will not tolerate German domi-

nation, but it does not wish for British or French or Allied domination. What it seeks is a full and practical recognition of the principles of freedom and equality among the nations.

If the suggested Federation of Nations is to have any prospect of real and permanent success, and if the present struggle is to be looked back upon as the war which ended all war, everything must be done to prevent the division of Europe into two separate and hostile economic camps after the war. It may safely be said that the latter eventuality would be fatal to all our hopes of a permanent peace, and a great betrayal of a righteous and noble cause. Instead of securing the abolition of war, it would perpetuate international suspicion, jealousy, and greed, the evil products of economic antagonisms which contributed so largely to the general causes of the present European conflict, and would lead inevitably to a bitter and devastating repetition of all the losses, sorrow, suffering and sacrifice within a few short years.

It cannot be too clearly understood that this is not the policy of organised Labour in this country, nor of the Socialists of France, Russia, Belgium or Italy, all of whom have declared emphatically that they do not seek the political and economic destruction of Germany. These representatives of the working classes and those in close association with them know full well that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalistic trusts or monopolies, lead inevitably to the exploitation of the working classes. They cannot regard with any other feeling than one of deep hostility any proposal or policy which seeks utterly to destroy the economic position of any people after the war; and if this is to be the intention or possible effect of the Paris Conference Resolutions, then it would be well to understand at once that organised Labour in this country is determined not to allow the normal economic relations of nations to be founded on a policy of oppression and ostracism, producing, as it must, hostility and hatred after the war.

British Labour is out to strangle and stamp under foot Kaiserism and Militarism and the "will to world domination" — and to substitute for them goodwill and fraternity: it is not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, except in so far as they support the war policy of their autocratic rulers. That it appreciates the danger of an economic struggle was clearly indicated in a decision reached at the recent Trade Union Congress by 2,339,000 votes to 278,000 or a majority of more than eight to one. The resolution was as follows:—

That the economic conditions created by the War have in no way altered the fundamental truth that Free Trade between the Nations is the broadest and surest foundation for world-prosperity and international peace in the future, and that any departure from the principle of Free Trade would be detrimental to the prosperity of the Nation as a whole.

This overwhelming majority shows very clearly that British Industrial Democracy, as represented by Congress, will decline to subscribe to a policy prejudicial to the economic in-

terests of our own working folk, and one that is calculated to prevent the definite and essential reconciliation of free democracies. Therefore, the proposal to cripple Germany financially and to render her impotent commercially by a ruthless trade war, may be expected to receive the determined opposition of the British Labor and Socialist Movement. Once the British people as a whole realise the true inwardness of such a policy how far it is out of accord with their own cherished aims in this war as declared by Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall, Dublin, and Cardiff speeches, and opposed to the spirit of international co-operation and goodwill, they will reject it as one inspired by a spirit of revenge, and consequently a fatal impediment to the attainment and maintenance of world peace.

In the interests of world peace, therefore, the Paris Resolutions, so far as they are intended to form the basis of a policy of organised systematic commercial and economic boycotting, which aims at the destruction of German commerce, must be strenuously opposed. They would provide a new standing menace to a healthy internationalism and to the future peace of the world, and impose further burdens upon the consumers in the respective countries.

If we have amongst us a class of politicians who regard the German people as rightful spoils to be economically exploited and oppressed after the conclusion of hostilities, let them cease talking of a fight to a finish, for no mere military victory can ever be the final stage of the struggle; it would only mean a transfer of the venue, with a change of weapons from the military to the economic. But British Labour, and especially the organised section, will refuse to regard the German and Austrian people in that light.

The fundamental purpose of British Labour in continuing its support of the war is the hope that it may influence the development of world democracy. In order that this may be accomplished, it is determined that the peace terms shall be just and honourable, and such as shall erect no barriers that will prevent the realisation of these high ideals. A spirit of revenge, if introduced, would vitiate the findings of any peace conference and make a democratic peace an impossibility. Moreover, British Labour appreciates the difficulty that has arisen already by the promulgation of the suggested policy of commercial repression and its effect in prolonging the war. France, Russia, and America all provide evidence that the objects and aims of England are suspected; consequently, we have persistent demands for a restatement of our position. We say to the German people that if they want peace, they must make themselves masters in their own house, that they must destroy the Kaiser's power for evil and that they must come into line with the free democracies of the world; but we increase their already serious difficulties by intimating that when they have succeeded they are not to be a free people but are to be commercially and economically isolated. What is to be thought of a statesmanship which invites the German people to form part of a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of a world peace, and at the same time proclaims the intention of constructing a Federation of Allies for no other object than the setting up of a commercial boycott of Germany? Such a proposal, under all the terrible experiences of the war, may

appeal to a section of the people influenced by the wounded feelings of to-day without regard to the consequences of the morrow; but when the full effects are realised they will be recognised as not only dangerous but criminal, and the sooner they are officially repudiated the better it will be for the Allied Cause.

These contradictory After-War Proposals, and the suspicion and doubt as to where Britain now stands, only render it more imperative that our aims and objects should be clearly restated in order that the world may know why it is we continue to fight. General Smuts has stated that the war is already won, and all that is required is for the Allies to sit tight until Germany acknowledges her defeat. If that is so, how important it is that we should be satisfied that the struggle is continued only because of failure to obtain the ideal peace settlement, and not because of misunderstandings as to our terms. It should not be difficult to give to the country the assurance that we continue to remain loyal to the position as expressed by Mr. Asquith in 1914, and that we are fighting neither for conquest nor for economic boycott.

We do not lose sight of that aspect of the economic question as it affects our overseas Dominions and Dependencies, for we consider that without repression and revenge it would be possible to make such arrangements as would improve the relationship between them and the Mother Country, both with regard to food supplies, raw materials and essential industries, without a revolution in our fiscal system. On this point, Sir Robert Borden, speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, has said that the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to change their fiscal policy for the purpose alone of giving a preference to the producers of Canada, especially if the proposed fiscal changes would involve any injustice or be regarded as oppressive by any considerable portion of the people of the United Kingdom. After calling attention to the Imperial Preference Resolution approved by the Imperial War Cabinet, which runs:—

The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and especially to the making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials and essential industries. With these objects in view this Conference expresses itself in favour of:—

1. The principle that each part of the Empire, having due regard to the interests of our Allies, shall give specially favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufacture of other parts of the Empire.

2. Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.

the Canadian Premier continued:—

I should say at once that this resolution does not necessarily propose, or even look to, any change in the fiscal arrangements of the United Kingdom. It does not involve taxation of food; it does not involve the taxation of anything. As far as the fiscal system of the United Kingdom is concerned, I followed when in England precisely the same course that I have carried out in this Parliament, and in this country—I decline to interfere in matters which are the sub-

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

To Forward Readers!

We have endeavoured during the course of the War to keep the radical movements of this country thoroughly informed with respect to the attitude of our Comrades and brothers in enemy countries, believing that a proper understanding of each others outlook would do much toward cementing those relations which were so abruptly broken off on the declaration of war, and thereby pave the way for the development of the "New International" and the forcing of a Democratic peace. (a peoples peace).

Notwithstanding the obstacles that have been placed in our way by the refusal of passports to Socialist delegates by over zealous imperialists—we are now in possession of the general attitude of Socialists in all belligerent countries.

Stockholm convention could not be held on account of the before mentioned fact. Comrade Troelstra was not permitted to take part in the Labor Party Convention in England. Comrade Henderson was refused passport to Switzerland ostensibly for the same purpose, and Margaret Bondfield was not permitted to visit the United States. The peace proposals embodied in the following declarations are a complete vindication of our suspicion, i. e. That a workers peace is considered by capitalist governments to be a greater menace than a continuation of War. We sincerely hope that the radical movement in this country will not be behind in adding volume to the demand so unitedly expressed in the manifesto of their fellow workers in other countries. Ed.

GERMAN MAJORITY.

Scheidemann declared to Troelstra that the German majority has always been in favour of negotiations, not on a basis of the military situation, but on the general principles of a Socialist Congress. The main point remains the constitution of a League of Nations, in order to prevent new economic war, abolish armaments, and make the world safe for democracy. With regard to the concrete points, the German majority does not refuse to recognise the Alsace-Lorraine question, and in the case of Belgium they have declared in favour of complete independence. They are of the opinion that the question of indemnities for the little nations who are unable to restore themselves ought to be settled by a general fund, for an extra day of war is more expensive than the payment by one nation. They are, in other words, willing to adopt as a basis of discussion the proposal of the neutral Socialists formulated at Stockholm under the chairmanship of Branting and Troelstra, and they agree without reserve to the convocation of an International Conference. They agree also that Troelstra, Branting, and Huysmans should arrange to convoke this conference, and accept Berne or any other Swiss town as the place

of meeting. It appears they are ready to discuss the question of the origin of war, though they are of the opinion that this debate will not be conclusive. They reported that the Minority Socialists have announced their views at Stockholm as being favourable to a quick peace, and they do not care much about territorial questions, which, in the case of a general settlement by the creation of a League of Nations, are of secondary importance.

GERMAN MINORITY.

The Minority Socialists of Germany have declared anew that they remain true to their declaration of Stockholm.

In these declarations they demand general disarmament, economic freedom, equal rights for all citizens, protection of national minorities, the abolition of secret treaties. They demand, further the restoration of Serbia, liberty of the Polish people, the plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine, the complete restoration of Belgium, the colonial status quo. In theory, they are in favour of a united Jugo-Slav State, of a united Poland, of a complete change of colonial policy. But they are of opinion that war cannot give us these reforms, and they accept a certain modification of views, not because they do not see the injustice of the status quo ante, but because the main object is to finish, with a clean peace, a bloody world-war.

HUNGARY.

The party in favour of the territorial integrity of Hungary, of the complete independence and restoration of Belgium, of an independent Serbia connected with the sea, of an understanding on the Alsace-Lorraine and Macedonian questions, of a united Poland if possible; and for the general questions they agree completely with the Inter-Allied Memorandum.

The Hungarian party declare, moreover, that they never accepted a truce with the Hungarian Government, that they demanded an international gathering from the beginning of the war, and that they never supported either annexations or indemnities.

Austrian Socialists' Reply.

The following is a summary of the declaration handed by the Austrian Socialist leaders to comrade Troelstra for transmission to the Allied Socialist and Labour Parties:—

"The attitude of the Austrians is that the war should not be prolonged for any national or territorial demands, not even for demands which are completely justified. Their declaration includes: (1) League of Nations which shall carry out international disarmament, subject all disputes between States to a compulsory arbitration tribunal, and oppose the united force of the whole League of Nations to every State breaking international law; (2) no annexations whatever, the solution of all disputed territorial problems on the basis of

the self-determination of nations; (3) no contributions, equal freedom of economic development for all nations, avoidance of economic war of every description.

"Such a democratic peace (it says) cannot be attained by the victory of one or other of the Imperialistic groups of Powers. The declaration, however, emphasises the necessity for the speediest possible peace, even if it falls short of the demands of international Social Democracy. It asserts that peace by agreement is now possible. It opposes a peace based on victory, which would produce a desire for revenge and strengthen militarism and imperialism. The declaration urges the proletariat to press upon the belligerent countries the necessity for peace, this being the speediest way to obtain it.

"The declaration demands the reshaping of Austria-Hungary in a federation of autonomous nations and also the creation of a federation of free Balkan peoples. It rejects all annexation by the Central Powers of the border nations torn from Russia. It declares that Austrian Socialists will oppose the peace of Brest-Litovsk and Bukarest, both in Parliament and in the Press, and when Parliament discusses these peace treaties they will reject every provision for annexation or oppression. The declaration demands the restoration and indemnification of Belgium, leaving it an open question who shall bear the cost of this indemnification. "In view of the frightful sacrifice in the war, not only of money and property, but especially of life, we reject every prolongation of the war for any financial dispute whatever, and think a compromise must be concluded concerning the share of individual States in the cost of the reconstruction of the devastated small countries."

Finally the declaration asks for an International Socialist Conference in a neutral country.

Manifesto of the French General Confederation of Labour.

The French General Confederation of Labour recently sent a delegation to the Left groups of the French Chamber to express the views of their members on the internal and external situation. They have now issued a manifesto or letter to the deputies of the Chamber, of which the following are the principal passages:—

"In the situation now confronting the country the C.G.T. thinks it its duty to speak. By our delegation to the groups of the Left we wished to have removed the false impression that national defence is incompatible for the working class with its rights, its sense of dignity, and its duty of solidarity. . . For four years the working class, like the rest of the nation, has lived in ignorance of the current military and diplomatic events which are bound up with the very existence of the country."

After complaining of the false or misleading nature of the news supplied by the Press, the manifesto says that the C.G.T., feeling the danger of this state of affairs, has several times called on the Government to state publicly its war aims and to declare under what general conditions peace could be signed. But it has always been met with contemptuous silence or by the vaguest declarations.

The formula, 'Our aims are a just and durable peace,' must receive clo-

ser and more precise definition. Such definition has been refused, and at the same time we find annexationist campaigns carried on, and that proposals for peace have been rejected without the knowledge of the nation or even of Parliament." To counteract this, the C.G.T. demanded the right to take part in an international gathering, but it was refused, although other elements in the nation were accorded this right. Thus, in everything, "the demands of the working-class organisations were met with disdain and refusal."

In the meantime the situation became worse and worse. "Would the Governments of our country and of the Entente have weakened their national defence had they responded to the desire of the workers and published their war aims, and had they affirmed before the whole world that the peace treaty must give to all nations—belligerent as well as neutral— independence and security by the abolition of all militarism and all imperialisms and by the establishment of a Society of Nations? We do not think so." On the contrary, such diplomatic action would have been in accord with the desires of the peoples, and would also have had a good effect on the autocratic Governments of the Central Empires. "In combination with the international action of the workers it would also have awakened sympathetic echoes in the peoples of the Central Powers and hastened on the hour of peace. Even had this not been attained, at least the situation would have been cleared up, and the responsibility for the continuation of the war would have been fastened on the right shoulders."

The manifesto then deplores the military mistakes and the silence thereon, and demands that the Government and the Chamber should express their views on the general principles expressed in the resolutions embodying the views of the workers, adopted by the C.G.T. at Clermont-Ferrand and by the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conference in London.

Finally, the manifesto demands:— An exact definition of the aims of the war and the general condition for peace; that no propositions for peace wherever they may come from, shall be dismissed without discussion, and that the entire nation be given the opportunity of watching and controlling the march of events, so that no chance of peace could be missed; that all repressive measures against opinions and free political public life be abolished, and that the liberty of the individual be guaranteed by an impartial application of the laws; that the working-class movement should be allowed full liberty of thought and action in national and international affairs.

We have given a pretty full account of this manifesto, partly because it so well illustrates the condition of affairs in France, and also because it shows the confusion of thought still prevalent in the workers' ranks. For there are still many leaders of the C.G.T. who believe quite ardently and in spite of everything in the "union sacrée." The manifesto, moreover, expresses in the view that nothing but good would have resulted had the Entente Governments made public just and noble war aims. Certainly—but whom are the C.G.T. appealing to? Are the war aims of France, Italy, England, and all the rest noble and just? Do they believe that

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these Powers, just like the Central Powers, are out for Imperialist aims, and that they are all imbued with the lust of conquest? Is it true Governments cannot make known their real war aims without removing the last excuse for the support given to the war by the leaders of the working-class and Socialist parties. They take shelter in generalities to gain the support of the latter, whom, when their hour strikes, they will be able to betray by giving to these generalities their own interpretations. This the C.G.T. evidently feels vaguely, but it has not the moral and intellectual courage to recognize it boldly and to act on it fearlessly. When recognition at last comes it will cease appealing to the generosity, good feeling, noble aims of the world imperialists. It will react on the latter in the only way our governing classes understand.

The Call England

News from Russia.

On the 27th June the registration of the newly-elected members of the Petrograd Soviet took place at the Smolny. Of the 600 members who appeared four-fifths declared themselves Communists (Bolsheviks), seventy-five social-revolutionaries of the left and about thirty Mensheviks and social-revolutionaries of the right. Amidst ovations Zinovieff made an enthusiastic speech. The presidium was formed of four Bolsheviks and two social-revolutionaries of the left. The sitting, attended by four thousand people, proceeded in an atmosphere of immense revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Ukrainian section of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities learns from a reliable source that, in the province of Ekaterinaslav, a sanguinary combat has taken place between White Guards (Germano-Ukrainians) and the peasants who are carrying on a guerilla warfare in this province. It is an organised "Red" army of peasants two hundred thousand strong, with artillery and machine-guns. The factories are closing as the majority of workmen are leaving to enlist in the guerilla war. In the province of Chernigoff famine is on the increase and the indignation of the populace is rising.

French National Council.

The following is the text of the resolution proposed by the Minority Section, and adopted at the meeting of the National Council of the French Socialist Party on July 28.

On the eve of the fifth year of the war, the National Council recalls that in every one of its manifestations since the month of August, 1914, the Socialist Party has declared its resolve to assure the complete defence of the nation. In spite of the Imperialist inclinations, the delinquencies and errors of the Governments, it renews the affirmation of its unanimous will not to abandon the formal decisions which it has taken with this object at all its meetings.

Nevertheless, it is obliged to point out at this hour that the faults, political, diplomatic, or military, accumulated by the Governments have been fatal to the Fatherland and to humanity as a whole.

The Government which refused to grant a free passage to Stockholm is the same which in the beginning of 1917 repulsed peace proposals meriting a serious examination. And those

who now hold power at the command of the worst reactionaries have only added a military defeat to all their internal enterprises against liberty, to their capitulation before the injunctions of the promoters of a coup d'etat, and to their violence against the working class. It was at the price of the most terrible sacrifices and thanks to the incomparable courage of our soldiers that the compromised situation was saved.

The National Council calls upon the French Government to revise its war aims, to denounce the imperialist agreements, to make a clear and precise declaration of our conditions of peace on the bases defined by the Russian Revolution and President Wilson, whose general ideas on war and peace were ratified by the conference of London on 20th February, 1918, which included the qualified representatives of all the Socialist and Labour organisations of the Entente. The National Council especially insists upon the necessity of preparing all the particulars of a League of Nations in the same terms and in the same spirit as indicated by the President of the United States. It recalls to the workers that capitalist society being essentially a regime of disorder, arbitrariness, and violence, a certain peace can only be assured by the establishment of Socialism.

The Socialist Party renews its entire adhesion, and without any reservation, to the meeting of the International Congress, and declares itself prepared to respond to its convocation by the citizens Huysmans, Branting, and Troelstra, who have been appointed by the Inter-Allied Conference in London to organise this meeting. The National Council affirms its resolve to obtain complete liberty of action, national and international, for the Labour organisation and the Socialist Party. The issue of passports having become an inter-Allied question owing to the action of Governments, the National Council, in accord with the Labour and Socialist organisations of the countries of the Entente, resolves to employ all the means in its power to obtain them. For itself, it charges its deputies to take vigorous Parliamentary action, even to the refusal of military credits; it expresses its entire concurrence with the Confederation Generale du Travail in the application of the decision taken at its recent congress on July 18th, 1918.

The National Council declares that Socialism cannot under any pretext favour the project of the Russian counter-revolution. It declares that in the state of extreme trouble in which that country finds itself, the greatest circumspection is necessary. It protests against all intervention by the Allies which may be taken against the Russian Socialists, and which may interfere with the right of the people of Russia to administer their own affairs. It rejects all intervention, whatever the cause, except at the unanimous decision of the Russian Socialists, without which such intervention could only be contrary to the interests of France.

The resolution ends by censuring the disloyalty of the ultra-patriotic group of 40 deputies, headed by Albert Thomas, in taking action of a direct and systematic nature in opposition to the spirit and the letter of national and international congresses and councils, and calling upon all members and federation to maintain the discipline and unity of action of the Socialist Party.

Gleanings by the Way

CANADIAN BONDS.

As an evidence of Premier Borden's good faith in preserving the integrity of the State we give the following:

Two year 5 per cent. External Gold Notes.

Authorised Issue \$100,000,000.

"These bonds are exempt from all present and future taxes imposed by the government of Canada, including any Canadian Income tax."

5 per cent. External Gold Bonds.

Authorized and Outstanding \$75,000,000.

"These bonds are exempt from all present and future taxes imposed by the government of Canada, including any Canadian Income tax."

First War Loan 5 per cent. Bonds.

Authorized Issue \$100,000,000. "Without deduction of any tax— including income tax."

Second War Loan 5 per cent. Gold Bonds.

Authorizer Issue \$100,000,000.

"Without deduction of any tax — including income tax."

Third War Loan 5 per cent. Gold Bonds.

Authorized Issue \$150,000,000.

"Without deduction of any tax — including income tax."

Victory Loan 5 1/2 per cent. Gold Bonds.

Approximate Issue \$400,000,000.

"Without deduction of any tax — including income tax."

Total \$925,000,000 all exempt from taxation, according to Oxford Securities Corporation. Interest per year \$482,500.

Surely Premier Borden has kept faith, at least, so far as the Bond holders are concerned.

Fineberg Reaches Moscow

Just after we had gone to press last week a telegram reached us from comrade J. Fineberg announcing his safe arrival in Moscow.

ROOM FOR CONFUSION.

The Toronto Saturday Night advises its readers that few Canadians know where the "Murman Coast" is, and cautions its readers not to confuse it with the "Mormon Coast". Perhaps the members of the prospective Canadian Contingent will be able to advise us of the important difference in a few short months.

APPLY THE LESSON.

"The United States and the Allies cannot save the world from militarism... by complete victory over Germany until they, too, have learnt and can apply the lesson that militarism has become the deadly enemy of mankind." Lord Grey.

DOMINION POLICE BREAK UP MASS MEETING in MONTREAL.

A Mass Meeting of socialists was broken up in Montreal on July 29th. The purpose of the meeting was to protest against the Allied intervention in Russia. No excuse has been forthcoming as to why a meeting of this nature could be broken up, and in view of the fact that the thirty-nine

who were arrested have all been liberated it is an evidence that there was nothing unconstitutional in the purpose of calling this meeting, of course in these days the custodians of law and order do not necessarily need to have any legal excuse for actions of this nature. The whole proceedings have turned out a fiasco with the exception of providing a few startling headlines for the yellow press.

The treatment being meted out to Russians in the Dominion of Canada is of such a character as to suggest an infringement of the law of nations which we understand grants immunity to citizens of a foreign neutral country. We would advise our Russian comrades to secure legal advice and have this matter brought to the attention of the Minister of Justice and the parliament when it re-assembles. In the event of protection not being vouchsafed by the administration a general demand should be made by all Russian subjects for transportation to their own country. The recent terrorist activities of the police in the Dominion of Canada leave nothing to be desired, and no enlightened person need feel regret at leaving a country where they are treated with such scant courtesy.

Being thrown into jail and held indefinitely with bail without almost any pretence of legal trial, is sufficient to make any average person conclude with the proverbial "Thinkers Malediction".

MONTREAL SOCIALISTS PROTEST ACTION OF POLICE.

Whereas a meeting, called in Montreal on Sunday 2th to express disapproval of proposals for armed intervention by the Allies in Russia, and attended by some 700 persons 39 being placed under arrest; and Whereas, the Allied Governments not having at the date of the meeting made any official declaration regarding armed intervention in Russia the subject with which the meeting was to deal was clearly a legitimate one for discussion; and —

Particularly Whereas, the police instead of prosecuting those responsible for the leaflet, calling the meeting, which, it is so stated, led to their action, instead of listening to the speeches to be delivered at the meeting and taking action should they have found anything objectionable in them, chose rather to break up the meeting at its commencement, therefore:—

Be it resolved that we, the English local of the Social Democratic Party, Montreal, protest at such intolerable interference with the freedom of political discussion.

VETERAN - SOC. LABOR MAN Arrested at Cumberland.

Joseph Naylor is under arrest and in Jail at Cumberland, B.C. He was arrested by the Military Police while investigating the killing of Albert Goodwin on behalf of Vancouver Trades Council. No details are to hand as to the cause of his arrest and the prominent position occupied by Joe necessitates that the labor movement of the west keep their eyes skinned, as all kinds crooks are doing their best to discredit the labor movement. This class of individual will not scruple as to what methods are adopted, so much the better for them, if it can be done in the name of Law.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Correspondence—

All correspondence should be addressed to

THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

106 397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



AFTER THE BATTLE.

NORTH-EAST TORONTO ELECTION.

William Varley — Soldier Labor Candidate in N. E. Toronto bye-election is defeated by the handsome majority of 5,000. We never entertained any illusion as to the possibility of his election — we know the party machine too well and now that the smoke has cleared away we may sum up. Wm. Varley (Bill) was defeated not because he was not good enough a representative of his class, or his comrades of the G.W.V.A.—for Bill understands the position all too well being one of them, and has done some thinking along working class lines. That was why he was not supported by the 'Jingo Press'. The record of the poll studied from the class viewpoint proves conclusively that the soldier candidate was not of the right class. The plutes in all polling subdivision voted solidly for one of their own class. Dr. Cody is about as able a representative of the Aristocracy as any person we know — also being one of those highly cultivated of the best capitalist stock — there is no wonder that the Black and brocade was more fitting than the courdroy of the builders laborer. Those of the unwashed voted fairly solid for the laborer veteran, but this did not avail. The Plutes voted as they always vote (irrespective of the candidates valor) for their class. One might reasonably ask the question: — How is it the Telegram which has always supported returned soldier candidates up to now, why they refuse to support Varley? All the other candidates were "Bourgeois".

How long is it going to take the returned soldiers to learn that they are workers first and soldiers afterwards. That their interests are with the rest of their class and that the only way they will ever get anything worth while will be when they unite with those whose interests are identical with their own — as workers. All the clap trap about the returned men not entering the political arena is but to keep them seperated from the rest of their fellow workers, and labor disunited spells defeat every time. It is clearly up to the "Vets" to start something on their own or otherwise join with those who have moved along this trench for the capture of the powers of government.

Read Telegram editorials about joining with the Labor Socialist crowd — and then do otherwise is our advice, if you want to get anything take our tip — "We know how". The writer of this was one of Varley scrutineers and saw much evidence that everything not done by the enumerators in the way of registering the working-class electors had a very important bearing upon the result, scores being turned away because they were not on the roll. Dr. Cody's supporters in the main were the enumerators which explains much with reference to the ineligible, we have much to learn along this

line if we are going to beat them by parliamentary methods.

AN INVESTIGATION NEEDED.

The frequency of riots and the prospect of more to follow is an imperative warning to those who are paid to see that order is maintained that something needs to be done to prevent the development of "Mob Law". The stories to hand from Vancouver and Winnipeg containing indirect charges against big-business representatives are a constant challenge to the "Law and order crowd". The negligence of the police in not preventing these outbreaks is likely to have serious results — for if one section of the community is permitted to break the law with impunity, and another section to be rigorously suppressed in carrying on its lawful activities; there will come a time when the powers that be, will have lost both the power and initiative to prevent lawlessness in any shape or form. So far as labor is concerned they are not always going to sit silent and have their heads smashed with the police looking on, indifferent to the fate of law abiding citizens. The law of self-preservation is bound sooner or later to find expression by labor using force in its own defence. When responsibility comes to be fixed, responsible officials are going to get a severe handling. We have drawn the attention of ministers to this matter and in the particular case of the Guelph disturbances the Minister of Militia. Hon. Mr. Kemp did not even deem a reply necessary. Somebody ought to be scalped, and an investigation as to who are responsible made.

WAR OR NOT WAR.

According to despatches received this morning from Russia, it is not clear as to whether the Russian Republic has formally declared war on the United States or not. The impression we glean from the dispatch is: — That Mr. Trotzky's reference to a state of war existing between the two countries, has reference to the forced intervention by the Allies against the wishes of the Soviet government constitutes an "Act of War" — in this event, the Russian interpretation of that act amounts to a declaration of war by the Allies. — Russia having, according to the Moscow Convention "the greatest friendly feeling toward the Allies". We sincerely hope the Allies may yet come to some agreement with the Soviet government.

INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA.

Manifesto of the National Council of the I.L.P.

The National Council of the Independent Labour Party (the I.L.P.) has issued the following statement in relation to an auted intervention in Russia.

An Allied force has been landed in the north of Russia. The Russian Government has, it is reported protested against this invasion of a neutral and friendly country, which it regards as equivalent to an act of war, and has declared its intention to take measures accordingly. The further announcement is made that an Allied expedition consisting of British, French, American, Japanese and Chinese troops, is to invade Siberia to assist the Czechs-Slovaks who are fighting in that region for the overthrow of the Soviet Government.

It is no longer maintained, that the purpose of the Allied campaign in Siberia is to carry on the war against Germany on the western frontiers of Russia. That idea never was practicable, for no one with an elementary understanding of the situation conceived it possible to transport a vast army and material across 7000 miles of difficult country. But even were the idea practical, it would be none the less an indefensible and outrageous proceeding to violate a neutral country under the pretext of military necessity. Such an act would be precisely analogous to the German invasion of Belgium.

Allied intervention in Russia has been undertaken without the consent of, and in direct opposition to, the wishes of the Russian Government, and is viewed with alarm and resentment by the mass of the Russian people. The project is, on the other hand, openly hailed in the British and foreign Jingo press as a step towards the overthrow of the Russian Revolution.

It is alleged that the Soviet Government does not represent the Russian people, and that the Allies have undertaken the invasion of the country in order to liberate the Russian democracy from the tyranny of Government.

We express no opinion on the merits or demerits of the present Russian Government. It is admittedly difficult to know what is the actual state of affairs in Russia. But two important facts discredit the allegation that the Soviet Government exists in defiance of the wishes of the general body of the Russian people. The first is that the Soviet Government has maintained its authority, and has been carrying out great schemes of social-organisation for nine months; and the second is that there has been no counter revolutionary movement in Russia possessed of popular support and capable of even attempting to overthrow and supplant the Soviet Government.

The Allies have, it would appear, secured the submission of the local Soviet in the sparsely populated Murman district, but this has been accomplished by offers of food, implements, and financial assistance; while in Siberia the so-called revolt is in reality an attack by an alien force (the Czechs-Slovaks) against both the Russian people and the Russian Government. The only support so far as is known, which is being given to the Allied intervention, is from aristocratic and capitalist classes (who in the Ukraine, the Don and Finland, welcomed and assisted the German forces to overthrow the revolution in these parts) and a few Liberal and Socialist "Intellectuals," supporters of the Kerensky administration, whose deposition from power has thrown them into the arms of the reactionaries.

The military intervention of the Allies in Russia against the will of the Russian Government and people is a challenge to democracy and Social-

ism. It is, we believe, no less than attempt to overthrow the Social Revolution and to re-establish the rule and power of Capitalism. The invasion will be resisted by the Russian people, and can at best result in plunging Russia into the throes of civil war, and greatly intensifying the suffering from industrial dislocation and famine.

Socialists in this and the other Allied countries cannot remain silent and indifferent under the challenge and menace of this act of Imperialist aggression on the parts of their Governments. We appeal therefore to British organised Labour to express the strongest condemnation of the participation of the British Government in an act which constitutes a crime against national independence and against the Russian Revolution which has contributed, despite all its faults, so much to the hopes of human freedom—a crime which if persisted in will prove not only disastrous to Russia but to the cause of freedom and democracy, throughout the world.

SOME LIGHT ON THE CZECHO-SLOVAK RISING.

The following extract is taken from *Isvestia*, the organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, for June 2, and throws a little more light upon the Czecho-Slovak rising:

The Czecho-Slovak regiments have been recruited in Russia chiefly from prisoners of war, with a view to their fighting for the national independence of the Slav provinces at present forming part of Austria Hungary. At the head of these regiments were bourgeois Chauvinists, who, after the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, refused to support the Soviets in the Ukraine, notwithstanding the fact that it was a question of fighting against Germany and Austria. They preferred to remain neutral, to abandon the Ukraine, and demanded to be sent to the French front, where they hoped for an opportunity to fight with clear consciences against the German Imperialists, not for the defence of the Russian Republic of workers and peasants, but for the French Government. In the meantime part of the Czecho-Slovak regiments looked askance on this project, and passed over to the Soviets, enrolling themselves in the Red Army. But it was only a minority which thus resolutely passed over to the Internationalists. The majority remained in the ranks of the old Czecho-Slovak Corps, which was beginning to cross the Oural in groups.

It was natural that the counter-revolutionaries in Russia should cast an eye on this corps, seeking to replace by these detachments the destroyed troops of Korniloff and to reinforce the defeated troops of Captain Semyonoff. . . . This Czecho-Slovak adventure is doomed to failure as complete as it is inevitable. No Government, whether of Chernov or Miliukov, can be established by such support. We are sure that the Czecho-Slovak Internationalists will, on their part, take all the necessary measures to illuminate the consciousness of their former comrades in arms, still under the influence of the mischievous forces.

The world does not owe any man a living, but it owes him the opportunity to work for a living.

The workers do not ask for charity. If they get all that they produce they will not need charity.

RED RUSSIA

(By John Reid.—By Permission of Liberator.)

(Continued)

THE DEATH MARCH

A Squadron of Cossacks, rifles on backs, road up the street with their peaked caps over one ear, and their "love-locks" very prominent. The leader was playing together in a chorus. Then a Lettish regiment came marching along down, swinging their arms and singing the slow Lettish Death March, so solemn and courageous. As they went along comrades ran out from the sidewalk to kiss them farewell. They were bound for the line of fire.

In the town-hall sat the Refugee Committee, almost swamped by the thousands of people who had fled before the advance of the Germans or the retreat of the Russians—homeless, helpless. The committee had originally been created by the Imperial government, but since the revolution all members are elected by the refugees themselves. The secretary took us down into the foul, flooded cellar where every day were fed seven thousand women, children and old men.

LOOT.

"Why did the Russian soldiers loot?" he repeated, thoughtfully. He himself was a Lett. "Well, there were the criminal elements that every army has, and then there were hungry men. Considering the general disorganization it is remarkable they looted so little. Then you must understand that the Russian soldiers have always been taught that on a retreat it is a patriotic duty to drive out the civilian population and destroy everything to prevent it falling into the enemy's hands. But the most important reason is that the Russians were suspicious of the Lettish population, which they thought were Germanophile, and the reactionary officers encouraged this resentment. Hideous things have been done by counter-revolutionary provocateurs."

WAR AS A CLASS ISSUE.

The Russian soldiers really consider the Baltic provinces alien territory and do not see why they should defend it. And they have looted, fobbed. But in spite of all, it is only the German overlords who want the Germans to come in, and the bourgeoisie which depends upon them; the rest of the population has had a belly-full of German civilization, and the workers, soldiers and landless laborers have long been Social-Democrats, thoroughly in sympathy with the Revolution. That is why the war against Germany was so universally popular in Livonia — it was a class issue.

A WORKING CLASS ARMY.

This was corroborated at the office of the Iskolostreel — the Executive Committee of the Lettish Sharpshooters, of which nine regiments some 15,000 men, belonged to the Twelfth Army. The Letts are almost all bolsheviks and relied almost altogether

upon their own organization, a really revolutionary crowd of fine young fighters. Originally a volunteer corps of the bourgeoisie, the sharpshooters had finally been reorganized to include all the Letts drafted into the Russian Army, until it was overwhelmingly a working-class body.

VISITORS.

Word had gone about that Americans were in town — the first within the memory of local mankind — and we had visitors. First was a school teacher, who spoke French, a little man with a carefully-trimmed beard and gold-rimmed glasses, who declared he was a member of the Intelligentsia and approved of revolutions, but not of the class struggle. He averred that he had been deputed by the peasants of his village to come and ask us how to end the war. Then there was a fat German-American baker by the name of Witt, who had an American passport and had lived in Cincinnati. He professed himself to be a great admirer of President Wilson, had a very hazy idea of the Russian revolution, and came for advice as to where to emigrate; was the bakery business very profitable in Siberia? Finally a sleek, oily prosperous looking peasant, who represented the Lettish Independence Movement, and deluged us with bad history and shady statistics to prove the yearning desire of every Lett that Livonia should be an independent country — a desire which we already knew was almost non-existent.

The Iskolostreel Investigates.

Bright and early next morning thundered at our door Dodparouchik Peterson, secretary of the Iskolostreel. The soldiers' committee of the Second Lettish Brigade had sent in a complaint about the inefficiency of sixteen officers; a delegate of the Iskosol and the Iskolostreel was going down to the lines to see about it; did we want to come along?

This time it was an ambulance which carried us, together with Dr. Nahumsen, the delegate army surgeon, holder of several German university degrees, veteran revolutionist and prominent member of the Bolshevik faction. We had aboard also about half a ton of Bolshevik papers — Saldat and Rabotchie Poot — to distribute along the front. No passes were necessary, for nobody dared stop such a powerful personage.

"The condition of the army? the doctor shrugged his shoulders and smiled unpleasantly. "What do you want? Our French, English and American comrades do not send us the supplies they promised. Is it possible that they are trying to starve the Revolution?"

THE DEATH PENALTY.

We asked about the death penalty in the army, over which such a bitter controversy was raging between the radicals and reactionaries.

"Consider," he replied, "what the death penalty in this army signified. Today I will show you regiments, en-

tirely Bolshevik, who have been reduced four thousand men to seven — in this last month's fighting. In all the Twelfth Army there have only been sixty men officially proclaimed deserters since the fall of Riga. No, my friend, Mr. Kerensky's death penalty has not been applied to cowards, deserters and mutineers. The death penalty in the Russian Army is for Bolsheviks, for agitators, who can be shot down without trial by the revolver of an officer. Luckily they have not tried it here — they do not dare. . . ."

Whenever we passed a group of soldiers, Peterson threw out a bundle of papers; he held a pile on his lap, and doled them out one by one to passers by. Thousands of papers with the reactionary program of the new coalition government — suppression of the Soviets, iron discipline in the army, war to the uttermost. . . .

REACTIONARY OFFICERS.

Brigade staff headquarters were in a brick farm-house on a little hill amid wooded meadows. In the living room the officers sat at a long table, a polkovnik, his lieutenant-colonel and a group of smart youths wearing the cords of staff duty, eating stchi, mountains of meat, and drinking interminable tea in a cloud of cigarette smoke. They welcomed us with great cordiality and a torrent of Moscow French — which is very like that of Stratford; and in fifteen minutes Dr. Nahumsen and the Colonel were bitterly disputing politics.

The Colonel was a frank reactionary — out to crush Germany, still loyal to Nicholas the Second, convinced that the country was ruined by the Revolution, and utterly opposed to the soldier's committees.

"The trouble with the army," he said, "is that it is concerned about politics. Soldiers have no business to think."

All the rest followed their superior's lead. The podpolkovnik, a round merry person with winking eyes, informed me confidentially that "no officer of any character or dignity would have any dealings with the soldier's committees."

"Are there no officers who work with the committees?" I asked.

He shrugged disdainfully. "A few. But we call them the demagogue officers, and naturally don't associate with them."

PITY THE OFFICER.

The others volunteered further interesting information. In the first place, according to them, there were no bolsheviks in the army — except the committees. The Lettish troops are ignorant and illiterate. The committees interfere seriously with military operations. And the masses of soldiers are bitterly jealous of the workmen in the towns, who get phenomenal wages and only work eight hours, while "we are on duty here twenty-four hours a day."

By this time we had sat at the table two long hours, drinking tea and smoking, during which time the entire staff did absolutely nothing but talk. One tall boy, with a smell of brillantine floating around his shining hair, went over to the piano and began idly fingering waltzes. Occasionally two bent and aged peasants, man and woman, she with bare feet, crept through the room to the tiny closet they had been allowed to keep for themselves. An hour later, when we left to go to the soldiers'

committee, the staff of the Second Lettish Brigade was still "working twenty-four hours a day," and expressing its honest resentment against the factory workers of Moscow and Petrograd. . . .

FRATERNIZATION.

The way to the Committee led down across a little brook, up a winding path through a wood all blazoned yellow and red, and put upon lush meadows where the view plunged westward forever across the rich, rolling country. A gaunt, salient youth on horseback led the way, and as we got further and further away from the staff he began to smile, and offered his horse to ride. And he talked, telling of the May days when the Russian troops fraternized with the Germans all along this front.

"The Germans sent spies," he said, "but then, so did our officers. There is always somebody around to betray the people, no matter what nation you belong to. Many times they tried to make us attack our German comrades, but we refused. And they also refused; I know of one regiment where I had many friends, which was condemned for mutiny, reorganized, and twelve men were shot. And still they would not fight the Russians. So they were sent to the Western front. As it was, they finally had to tell us lies to make us advance."

A SOVIET COMMITTEE.

It was half a mile to where the low, wide, thatch covered farm house and its great barn stood baldly on a little rise of ground. Artillery limbers stood parked there, horses were being led to water, there were little cook-fires, and many soldiers. A huge brick stove divided the interior of their belongings heaped in the corners; the other half was bare except for two home-made benches and a rough table, heaped high with papers, reports, pamphlets — among which I noticed Lenine's "Imperialism as a New Stage in Capitalism." Around this sat six men, one of them a non-commissioned officer, the rest privates — the presidium of the Soviet of the Second Lettish Brigade. Without any place to sleep except the hay-loft, without winter clothes or enough to eat, the committee sat permanently, and had been sitting for a month, doing the work the staff should have done.

This is no unsupported assertion on my part. One had only to ask any soldier where he got his food, his clothing — what he did get — who found and assigned his quarters, represented him politically, defended his interests; he would always say, "The Committee." If the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies gave an order for the Second Lettish Brigade to attack, or to retreat, not a single man would move without the endorsement of the Committee. This resulted from two fears; one that they would be sent to Petrograd to suppress the Revolution, the other that they would be tricked into an offensive as they were tricked in June.

They welcomed us with great friendliness, wiping off the bench where we were to sit, fetching cigarettes, taking our coats, other soldiers crowded in and stood about the door silently watching.

(To be continued)

NEWS ITEMS FROM ALL PARTS

BOB SMILLIE GREET'S IRISH LABOR.

Let us hope that Labour is organising in Ireland not merely to secure a slight rise in wages from time to time or even for an instalment of justice in the shape of shorter hours of labour.

Those things, good in themselves, and absolutely necessary for immediate well-being, are only slight steps in the direction of Social, Political and Industrial freedom, and no movement is worthy of the attention of earnest men and women which has not for its object the total emancipation of the human race from the body and soul-destroying curse of landlordism and capitalism. Ireland, like the other countries of Europe, is being sorely tried at the present time.

Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, "Freedom's battle once begun, but be of good cheer. The dawn is breaking, the common people of the world are going through martyrdom to freedom.

Though baffled oft, is ever won." I hope that the Irish Trades Union Congress at Waterford may be a huge success.

ROBT. SMILLIE.

WHY NOT A STATE BANK.

The Australian Commonwealth Bank is a State Bank, the only State Bank in the British Empire. It started in June, 1913, with £10,000 borrowed from the Australian Treasury. At the end of December, 1917, its assets were £47,000,000 and its accumulated profits over three-quarters of a million. That it has made large profits and afforded Australia cheap service is a small thing. But it has brought vast resources under the power of the State, it has made the State independent of the private banks in State financial operations, and but for it the amazing feat of floating domestic loans during the war amounting to 150 millions could not have been achieved. How much more certain, easy, and economical would our borrowing have been if we had at our command a State Bank of a similar character?"

Manchester Guardian

"Every private industry, not excluding the banking industry, seems able to extract great sums from the public treasury here. Why not spend a tithe of the money in saving the country through a State Bank from the domination of the money trusts?"

LOSSING ON MONEY FRONT.

The people of this country have been losing heavily on the money front, and General Plunder is massing his reserves in preparation for the inevitable reaction when the people discover their losses.

The Government's own Select Committee on National Expenditure (see *Glasgow Herald* 27/7/18) have reported that since 1892 the Bank of England shareholders have drawn about £200,000 a year for "services" rendered to the State, and that in 1916-17 the booty jumped to nearly 1½ millions sterling (equal to over 10 per cent. on the total shares held by the Bank of England proprietors. In 1915-16 it appears to have been greater still.

You would observe also that the National Bank of Scotland is being

bought up by Lloyds' Bank, the shareholders in the former institution receiving £350 for every £100 worth of their stock. This swollen capital will make the dividend rate per £100 lower in future, and will prevent the working classes from being excited by big rates of dividend from exhibiting that jealousy which is the bane and the curse of the poor.

The *Weekly Record and Mail* (Lord Rothermere) last Sunday published a story about a munition worker (female) who was making so much money that she

"did her hair up each night during the Fair with Treasury notes."

Now you can guess what John Burns meant when he told the House of Commons the other day that the Harmsworth Press was owned by blackguards, edited by ruffians, and read by fools.

Glasgow Forward.

THE DEATH OF NICK.

So our Court has gone into official mourning over the death of our trusty and well-beloved cousin, "Nick Romanoff", and dutifully we drop a salt of tear upon the ironed weepers which drape our old tile hat; but we hereby serve notice upon whomsoever it may concern that we shall decline to go into mourning when (and if) officially ordered for the sudden death of our cousin "Hohen Bill."

Glasgow Forward.

BRITISH LABOR GROWING.

A statement issued by F. Bramley, of the Statistical and Information Bureau, Trade Union Congress, contains the following:—

During the first week in September, 1918, the Trades Union Congress will celebrate its jubilee at Derby, and special efforts are being made to make the fiftieth annual convention of Labour a record in every possible way. The following figures indicate the progress made during the past fifty years in the affiliated strength of Labour's annual Parliament:—

Year.	Place.	Deleg.	Memb.
1868	Manchester	34	118,367
1878	Bristol	136	623,957
1888	Bradford	165	816,944
1898	Bristol	406	1,200,000
1908	Nottingham	522	1,777,000
1917	Blackpool	697	3,082,000

Since the Blackpool Congress several unions have applied for an obtained admission, and in addition to a number of smaller unions the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with about 280,000, the Workers' Union with over 260,000, and the Friendly Society of Ironfounders have been accepted by the Parliamentary Committee. The affiliated membership is growing near and may get above the four-million mark.

This represents the largest trade union affiliated membership in the world, and the strongest organised force ever created by any class in any country for the purpose of mutual protection.

PAN-AMERICANISM.

A cording to a Toronto Star correspondent the relation of the South American Republics were never better, it states:

"Chile, long an ardent admirer of Germany for many natural reasons, of late has shown a desire to promote closer relations with the United States to the end of making permanent the lines of trade down the South American West Coast that have been established in our heavy importations of nitrates and copper for munition manufacture."

This admission says much:— isn't it remarkable how "Trade"—Nitrate, Copper, Munition manufacture, etc. effect the amorous instincts of imperialists and exploiters the world over? Surely it is up to the correspondent in his servile duty to "Biz-Biz" to explain the high ideals of these noble races,—and thus remove any reflection that Socialists and other gross materialists may feel inclined to take (Re) economic factors determining treaty relations, etc. Mexican Oil is also an important factor just now, with the tax dispute is also likely to become a cause for "Intervention" if nothing else satisfies.

JAPAN AND RUSSIA

By Philip Snowden.

The Press campaign in favour of Japanese intervention in Russia has been very active during the last few days. A statement has been published that President Wilson has at last succumbed to the pressure which has been brought to bear upon him to agree to the Japanese invasion of Russia, with the approval of the Allies. It remains to be seen whether this statement is true, but if it should turn out to be so it will be no surprise, for it will not be the first occasion when President Wilson has recanted previously expressed views, and supported a policy which he had previously denounced. Mr. Balfour has refused, in replying to questions in the House of Commons, to declare the policy of the British Government in regard to this important matter, but it is quite evident from the attitude of a large section of the Tory Party in Parliament that should the British Government support Japanese intervention in Russia the action will be approved by the House of Commons, or at any rate there will be no general opposition to it. Mr. Balfour's references to Russia in the Peace Debate, as I have stated in a previous paragraph, were ambiguous, and are quite capable of allowing him later to plead consistency by maintaining that in supporting the Japanese invasion of Russia the Allies are serving, in their view, the best interests of that country. We still believe that such a course of action by the Allies will be a criminal blunder, and one which will bring irrevocable disaster upon the Allied cause. The impotence or indifference of the House of Commons to questions of vital moment has never been more strikingly shown than by the fact that outside the pacifist group there has been no protest against the British Government supporting Japan in its attack upon Russia.

Labor Leader.

They tell us that we must have rich and poor in order that there shall be an incentive for the poor to work. A flea on a dog is an incentive for the dog to scratch, but the flea is of no benefit to the dog.

(Continued from page Two)

ject of domestic control and concern in the United Kingdom. I decline to

invite them to change their fiscal policy. These matters are within their control, as our fiscal policy is within ours. And I would go further, and say that the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to change their fiscal policy for the purpose alone of giving a preference to the producers of this country, especially if the proposed fiscal changes should involve any injustice, or should be regarded as oppressive by a considerable portion of the people of the United Kingdom. But what this proposal looks to, as I understand it, is this—that we can within the Empire get better and cheaper facilities of communication than we have enjoyed up to the present time. That I believe, is the line along which the change indicated will proceed. The question of transportation has been a very live one, a very important one to the producers of this country, especially those of the western provinces. We know that before the commencement of war the cost of transportation across the Atlantic increased twofold or threefold. There was sometimes a dearth of ships. I hope and believe that there will be concerted action and co-operation between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the Overseas Dominions, by which speedier, better and more economical transportation will be provided between the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions themselves. So that, in this light, I am confident that the resolution passed by the Conference will receive favourable consideration by the people of this country.

Here, then, we have a clear recognition of the position of the United Kingdom and the possibility of some arrangement being made which would be acceptable to Canada and other Dominions without carrying with it any risk of injury to our own people. British Labour desires to maintain the policy of the Open Door because this policy is more beneficial to the workers than a policy of commercial restriction and isolation. Moreover, it believes that it would afford immense possibilities in the way of Government action and organisation having for their object the safeguarding of British industry and commerce, and the highest development of the resources of every part of the Empire, which could be secured without imposing new and heavy burdens on the working classes. Instead of commercial antagonism and repression it desires a full recognition of the need for concerted international arrangements, having for their object a general improvement of working conditions of labour, wages, etc., by means of international factory legislation to operate in every country, whereby a greater measure of social and economic contentment may be secured for the workers of all nations, and safeguards imposed against their being economically exploited or oppressed. The future must be an improvement on the present and the past, but no improvement can be obtained from an economic war, because this double-edged weapon inflicts fatal wounds on all peoples. Of this Labour is convinced, that a world peace which is broadly based on the expressed will of free democracies cannot be assisted by a temporary or perpetual economic war. And a peace which does not properly recognise the natural economic rights of all peoples will be neither democratic nor lasting.

Next Issue

"Revolution or Compromise"

