

THE RED FLAG

A Journal of News and Views Devoted to the Interests of the Working Class

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FIVE CENTS

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE?

An Open Letter to the Striking Workers of Vancouver

COMRADES:—You are striking in an endeavor to enforce recognition of the principle of collective bargaining. That is the immediate issue. But the struggle in which you are engaged, and of which your particular strike is but a part, is of far greater scope and far deeper significance than any mere matter of wages or conditions of labor, or the method by which such matters shall be adjusted.

This struggle, in which, by the very act of striking, you are now, consciously or unconsciously taking an active part, is one of the oldest in the history of society. It dates from that "dawn of civilization" about which some of our school histories speak so eloquently and, in fact, has its roots in that very thing which is the basis of all civilization, ancient and modern. That thing is human slavery.

To obtain a proper understanding of the nature and significance of this struggle it will be necessary to sketch briefly the conditions leading up to its inception. In the animal kingdom, to which we humans belong, there is continually being waged a struggle which scientists have named "The Struggle for Existence." In the final analysis, this may be said to appear as a struggle to obtain the means of subsistence, namely, food. Most forms of life are absolutely at the mercy of natural conditions in this connection. They depend entirely upon the kind and quantity of food which nature spontaneously furnishes them. No matter how prolifically they may propagate, their numbers can never exceed that limit which the available food supply imposes. Having no control over their food supply it follows that if for any reason, such as, for instance, adverse climatic conditions, their available supply of food is diminished great numbers of them must perish. Obviously under such conditions as these practically the whole available time and energy of the individual must be expended in the search and struggle for food.

Out of this struggle for existence man has emerged conspicuously ahead of all other animals. Some time, way back in the early history of the human race, he began to develop the ability to control to some degree his supply of food. He began to develop the art of producing and conserving food. In short, he began to discover how to harness the forces of nature and use them to supply his needs.

Once started along this line of development it was not very long, comparatively speaking, before man found that it was no longer necessary for him to spend all his waking hours in the search for food. It became possible for him to produce more than he could consume. As soon as this stage of development was reached, then began to arise that institution of slavery upon which our glorious civilization is built.

It will be obvious that so long as a man's utmost endeavours can produce no more than is necessary to feed him there will be no advantage in possessing that man or exercising any control over him. If a work-horse could produce no more than the

cost to you of its food you would have no desire to own that horse. But just as soon as it becomes possible for you to use that horse in such a manner as to produce for you more than the cost of its maintenance, just so soon does that horse become a more or less desirable possession. In like manner, as soon as that stage of development was reached where it was possible for man to produce more than was necessary to maintain him in health and vigor, it became an advantage to possess slaves. The question of who were the first slaves and what was the method of their enslavement, though a matter for curious speculation is of no importance in this connection. Suffice it to state that it was out of such conditions as briefly outlined above that the institution of slavery arose.

Meanwhile, the struggle for existence on the part of mankind, taking the form of still further development of the ability to control natural forces continued. But side by side with it there developed another struggle—the struggle of enslaved and disinherited of the earth against their oppressors. Thus developed "The Class Struggle."

As time went on, further developments of the means and methods of production brought about corresponding changes in the structure of society. Chattel-slavery, in which the slave was the absolute private property of an individual of the ruling class, gave place to Feudal Serfdom, under

which the serf was bound to the land, and whoever owned the land possessed the product of the serf's labor, and more or less power over his life. Still further economic development and Feudalism in turn gave place to capitalism, under which the serf became the wage-laborer, who is bound to the machine of social production and whoever owns the machine, owns the product of the wage laborer, and consequently possesses more or less power over his life.

Thus during all the period of social and economic development, there continued to exist two distinct classes in society—the exploited and the exploiters—and still the class struggle goes on. History is full of manifestations of it. There exists today the written record of a great slave strike, with which no doubt many of you are more or less familiar. It occurred as far back as the fourteenth century B.C. A detailed account of it is to be found in the book called "Exodus." In this strike over a million persons were involved, and not only did they quit work, but they shook the dust from off their feet and went away from the land of Egypt in a body. Some time later, in 1100 B.C., the masons, mortar mixers and hod-carriers—all slaves—engaged in building one of the Egyptian pyramids, staged a nine-hour day strike for more pay—and got it. There are those who would have you believe that you can not be slaves while you have the right to strike. But these men were able to strike and get their demands. And they were slaves. Some of you perhaps imagine that while you have the right to organize you can not be slaves. But there exist today historical records of the fact that some 600 years before the beginning of the Christian era, the workers were granted the right to organize, and did organize—there were great numbers of trade unions in those days—and they were all slaves. Historical records are overflowing with literally hundreds of such strikes as the two I have mentioned. So you see that this business is quite an ancient affair, and has been hanging fire, as it were for ages. It is high time it was settled once and for all, don't you think?

The outcome of the struggle for existence so far as it refers to the struggle against adverse natural conditions, may be safely regarded as an overwhelming victory for man. There is an abundance of evidence of the fact that with modern methods of production, it is possible for man to produce a plentiful supply of the necessities and comforts of life with but comparatively slight effort regardless of natural conditions. And it must be borne in mind that it is the workers of the world who have achieved this result. The whole history of the development of improved methods of production during the era of civilization is bound up in the history of the working class—that class which has produced and still produces everything, and receives but a bare subsistence.

The struggle for existence, so far as the human

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WITHDRAW FROM RUSSIA

No Conscription Resolution of the Miners' Federation.

(From "Common Sense," March 29.)

The lies told in the name of Mr. Lloyd George and placarded over the country by Coalition candidates at the General Election have come home to roost. Mr. Churchill's Bill for continuing conscription after the Peace has exasperated the country, which wants to restore honesty and veracity in public life. So on Wednesday the Miners' Federation, after completing its conference on the Government's offer, went on to discuss Mr. Churchill's Conscription Bill, and passed the following resolution:

"That this conference calls upon the Government immediately to withdraw all British troops from Russia, and to take the necessary steps to induce the Allied Powers to do likewise. We further most emphatically protest against the attempt of the Government to fasten conscription on this country by means of the Bill now before Parliament, described as the Naval, Military, and Air Forces' Service Bill, and call upon the Government immediately to withdraw this Bill, or, alternatively, this conference proposes to take such steps in conjunction with the organized Labor movement, both political and industrial, as will compel its withdrawal."

What Means This Strike?

(Continued From Page One.)

animal is concerned, has resolved itself into "The Class Struggle"—the struggle of the chattel-slave against his master, the serf against his lord, the wage-slave against the capitalist, the struggle of that class in society which produces all and owns nothing to free itself from that class which produces nothing and owns everything in sight.

And that is the struggle of which your strike is a part.

There are perhaps some among you who resent the implication that you are slaves. Some of you are perhaps still obsessed by the idea that you are "Free" laborers. Let us then investigate this free labor idea. Let us apply a test to it. You are striking for the right to use a certain method in bargaining over the sale of your labor-power. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the class to whom you anticipate selling your labor-power refuse to bargain with you in that certain way. You will in that event, of course, refuse altogether to sell your labor-power to that class. You would naturally do that if you are "Free" laborers—unless perhaps you are in some way compelled so to do. There are those calling themselves socialists who insist that such is indeed your position—that you are actually compelled to sell your labor-power to a certain class—but no doubt these men are "Bolshevists" and mean you no good. What do you think?

I imagine comrades that most of you realize only too well that what the socialist says is no more than the truth. For you must have food to eat and clothes to wear and a roof to shelter you. And how are you to obtain these things unless you have money with which to buy them? And how can you obtain money unless you sell something? And what have you to sell but your labor-power? And to whom can you sell it but to a member of or an agent for the capitalist class? You are "Free" laborers indeed inasmuch as you are not compelled to work for any man—if you prefer to starve. You are free to starve—providing only that you do so in an orderly and democratic manner. And that is not too much to ask, surely, of any good citizen now that the world has been made quite safe for that particular kind of democracy. Indeed, your masters have been so considerate even as to provide a special police force to assist you in doing that very thing should the necessity arise.

Seriously, then, there does not seem to be any room for reasonable doubt that you are indeed compelled to sell your labor-power to the capitalist class. And I am sure that you are all quite well aware that the capitalist is by no means compelled to buy from you unless he chooses. And there are occasions upon which he does not so choose. Whereupon you immediately commence to undergo a process of slow starvation which continues until you enter into your inheritance of six feet of mother earth—or some other capitalist figures that he can use you for a while.

If these, then, be the conditions under which you exist—and I do not for one moment imagine that you will attempt to deny them—what are you but slaves? If another class control the means of subsistence which spell life or death to you what are you but slaves to that class? Free laborers you may call yourselves—citizens of a democracy if you will; nevertheless, so long as you are dependent upon the whims of a ruling class for your very means of life, you are just as much slaves as were the masons and mortar-mixers of Egypt in 1100 B.C. You are just as much in bondage as were the Israelites in Egypt. And the struggle in which you are engaged is the same age-old struggle which has been waging since the "Dawn of Civilization."

"But," I imagine I hear some of you protest, "if what you say is true it is a sorry picture you paint. If we are merely pawns in a game that has been unsuccessfully played for thousands of years, what hope have we of bettering our lot? It is a gloomy prospect you hold out."

Comrades! I want to say to you that never was the prospect brighter. For 10,000 years the working class have been fighting for emancipation and at no time has complete victory been more nearly within their grasp. Never in the whole history of civilization was a ruling class in so precarious a position as are now the ruling classes of all countries. Never in the history of capitalism was the system which exploits and oppresses you so powerless to save itself. And never in the whole history of slavery have the enslaved and disinherited of the earth shown such unmistakable signs of strength and consciousness of strength. Class solidarity—the recognition by workers of the fact that their interests are common wherever they be, and the spirit which acts upon that recognition—is growing every day, every hour.

You are striking for the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining. You are striking by the authority of a majority vote of your unions, and a majority vote of the members of those unions. Wherefore there is no doubt that this is your strike notwithstanding certain statements published in the capitalist press to the effect that you have been "bulldozed" into it by a few "Bolshevists." The issue was not raised here in Vancouver. It was brought about by the action of certain men representing the ruling class in Winnipeg.

You are striking then in "sympathy" with the workers of Winnipeg. Do you realize fully just what this means and all that it implies? You are striking in sympathy with men, you have probably never seen, men you know but little about, and whom you may never set eyes on. You have voluntarily accepted the inconveniences and hardships, which are inevitably the lot of the worker whenever the precarious income he derives from the sale of his labor-power ceases, in order to support a number of men in whom, as men, you have probably little or no interest.

Why? There is not one of you who can not answer that question without a moments hesitation. You are striking in sympathy with them because, whatever else they may be; they are members of the working class—your class—and you know that, as such, their interests are your interests, their enemies are your enemies, their fight is your fight. You know that. You realize that—now. And you act upon that conviction. That is class solidarity.

And you are not alone in your support of them. The workers in Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Toronto, Prince Rupert and perhaps, by the time this letter is in print, Victoria are also striking in sympathy with the workers of Winnipeg, and with each other. Do you realize that this is working-class solidarity of a scope that has never before been equalled in this Dominion?

Do not think the workers in other lands are indifferent to labor's efforts here. The dock-workers of Liverpool, England, have declared that they will unload no Canadian ships until the Winnipeg strike is settled. Class-solidarity is spreading beyond the confines of nationality. In England, again, The Triple Alliance, a combination of three great labor unions, has issued an ultimatum to the British Government demanding, among other things, that the war against the working-class government of Russia be stopped, and the economic blockade which is starving the workers of Europe be abandoned. Here is a manifestation of working-class solidarity of a scope hitherto unequalled in all history. Here is strength and consciousness of strength such as the master-class has never before had to reckon with. And so it goes, all over the world, thousands upon thousands of workers are striking and declaring their common interest with the working-class the world over. All over the world strikes and industrial unrest betray the determined temper of the workers and indicate the trend of events.

And you, my comrades, every one of you is doing his or her part. Every one who strikes is helping in the spread of working-class solidarity, is paving the way to class-consciousness—the realization of one's position in human society—is promoting the spread of militancy—the determination to do and

THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN AMERICA.

The Socialist Party in America is now engaged in a bitter controversy on party principles, policies and organization. The uncompromising, revolutionary elements in New York have organized as a Left Wing Section of the Party. They have printed a Manifesto and Program which has been distributed widely throughout the country. As a result of their work a large section of the country has adopted an uncompromising, revolutionary position. The comrades of the Left Wing are now being persecuted by the opportunistic officialdom in control, in the most brutal and high-handed fashion, for example:—In the City of New York, scores of branches have been expelled because they adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. The State Executive Committee is about to expel the Locals of Rochester, Buffalo, Utica, Queens, and Kings, for practically the same reason. The old N. E. C. having been overwhelmingly defeated in the recent referendums throughout the country, Left Wingers being elected by an overwhelming majority, have declared the election void, have O.K.'d the action of the Executive Committee of Local New York, and the State of New York, and have expelled the following: Language Federations—comprising a membership of 40,000, the entire State of Michigan, and will proceed to expel every local and state organization throughout the country that adopts the policy against the Social Reformism in favor of the Left Wing.

OIL PROFITS.

"Striking oil" is an old phrase for making a fortune quickly. The report of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company shows that it is not out of date yet. Formed so recently as 1909, the company obtained two millions of capital from the Government in 1914, and in 1915-16, reported a profit of £135,056. Next year the profit nearly trebled, and now for 1917-18 it has reached the colossal figure of £1,308,500.

no longer passively to endure. And it is out of these three, class-consciousness, class-solidarity and militancy, that the working-class will forge the weapon which shall win its emancipation.

Meanwhile, stand firm! Refuse to be deluded by reports in the capitalist press that your comrades in other parts are weakening. **From now on the working-class will never weaken.** It may be that there will be lulls in the fighting. You yourselves may by force of circumstances be compelled to retreat a step, perhaps two. But do not let that dishearten you. Even though you are compelled to return to work without winning all you demand, do not count that as a defeat. **From now on no strike can end in a defeat.** Every strike, no matter what the outcome as regards the immediate issue may be, advances the working-class movement a step. **There will be no permanent industrial peace from now on, while capitalism continues.**

Stand firm! Do not give an inch unless you are compelled. Remember, the striking workers the world over are watching you as you are watching them. Every week, every day, every hour, you hold out, heartens them, and encourages some who have not yet found themselves.

Keep order. Be scrupulous in your regard for the law. Talk no violence, and permit none to do so. Remember you have everything to lose and nothing to gain by violence. Be on your guard against attempts to provoke you to disorder. Nothing would please your masters more, at this juncture, than an excuse for resorting to force.

And, above all, be of good heart. The working-class the wide world over is awakening from its long nightmare of degradation and misery. The great working-class giant is rising to his feet. In all countries can be heard the rattle of the chains which fetter him and which, in the coming consciousness of new found strength, he will shortly break asunder and cast from him. The dawn is breaking.

C. K.

High Cost of Living Problem

*An Estimation of Its Contributing Factors
By the Aid of the Science of Economics*

EXCHANGE value being defined as the ratio or proportion in which any given commodity exchanges for any other commodity, it may be said that "price" is a special case of exchange value, in which one of the terms of the equation is always that special commodity which functions as money. That is to say, that the price of any commodity is its exchange value expressed in money.

Variations in prices proceed from a variety of causes, which, however, fall into two classes; those depending upon changes in the exchange value of either commodity, and those which are merely incidental, being contingent upon the conditions of the market.

Assuming, then, that the exchange values of commodities are determined by the socially necessary labor time required in their production, it is clear that in the first class there are two possible causes. First, a change in the exchange value of the commodity for exchange, say, flour, and secondly, a change in the value of the money commodity, say gold. Now, in the first case, that of a change in the value of the flour, it will be seen that any such change will have a direct effect on the price which will tend to rise with any increase and to fall with any decrease in the cost of production of the flour. The second case, that of a change in the value of the money commodity is just as simple, though possibly not so obvious, owing to the fact that the effect on price is in an opposite direction. Prices will tend to fall with any increase and to rise with any decrease in the social cost of production of gold. For instance, in the event of a fall in value of gold to the extent of one-half, we should have to give one-half ounce of gold for an amount of flour we formerly obtained for one-quarter of an ounce.

Very well then, it is within the knowledge of most people that there was a steady rise in prices for a matter of twenty years prior to the war, to be correct, since the year 1897. Inasmuch as it is practically certain that there has been a fall in the social cost of production of manufactured articles and even of agricultural produce during that period, it is clear that the rise in prices could not be due to the first of the causes mentioned, and it has been assumed that there has been a fall in the value of gold during that time, which would naturally reflect itself in increased prices. That this conclusion was justified is borne out by the fact that the period in question was marked by the discovery of new and fertile gold fields in South Africa, Alaska, the Klondyke and elsewhere, and the invention of new processes for the recovery and extraction of gold, such as the cyanide and chlorination processes, dredging and whatnot, resulting in an enormous production of gold at a, no doubt, greatly reduced cost of production. This factor is possibly still operative, but appears to me utterly inadequate to account for the phenomenal rise in prices that has taken place since the beginning of the war. We must, then, fall back on what I have called the contingent causes. These are:

First.—The relation of supply to demand and vice-versa.

Second.—The effects of monopoly.

Third.—The depreciation of the currency.

These we shall proceed to consider in turn.

The Relation of Supply and Demand and Vice Versa

Everyone knows that in the case of any commodity where the supply on the market is in excess of the effective demand that its price tends to fall and, on the contrary, when the demand is in excess of the supply, that the price tends to rise. These tendencies, however, in an open market where the commodities can be freely produced, are offset by the fact that, in the first case, the low price tends to increase the demand and to discourage the excessive supply. In the second case,

on the other hand, the high price tends to decrease the demand and to stimulate production. Normally, then, market prices tend to fluctuate, now over, now under, a point indicated by the value, or, more properly, the price of production of the commodity in question. All this has been upset by the conditions resulting from the great war. During the last five years there has been an enormous and continuous demand for almost all classes of goods co-existing with a diminishing supply due to the withdrawal of the producers for military purposes. In consequence there has been a very considerable increase in prices, particularly of foodstuffs and other necessities, followed by a marked though by no means adequate advance in wages. These factors, reacting all along the line, together with the advance in transportation rates, and in the interest on money due to the demand for money capital, not to speak of special war taxes on certain goods, have caused a considerable advance in the price of production of all manufactured articles, necessarily reflected in prices.

The Effects of Monopoly

Monopoly prices generally result from a conscious interference with the operation of the law of supply and demand, with a view to enhanced prices. This, however, can only be done when the producer, individual or corporation, has more or less complete control of the production of the commodity in question. The monopoly may be the result of one or more of a number of considerations, among which may be mentioned:—

More or less complete control of the actually existing supply of any commodity; of the producing plants; of the mines or sources of raw material; of patents covering machinery or processes of manufacture, or, as is the case of public utilities, by the possession of exclusive franchises.

The monopolist, in spite of a very general belief to the contrary, does not have an absolutely free hand, and can not, or rather, does not arbitrarily fix the price of his commodity. As we have already seen, an increase in prices tends to diminish the de-

mand for any particular commodity and to encourage competition and substitution. There is, therefore, a limit, fixed by the market itself, above which prices can not rise from this cause. That limit, of course, is much sooner reached in the case of articles of luxury, than in the case of absolute necessities. As a general rule it may be laid down that monopoly prices will be found at such a point that the price multiplied by the sales will give the maximum returns. This law may be better understood by reference to the well-known practice of transportation companies of "charging all the traffic will bear." It will be readily perceived that war-time conditions have provided a fertile field for the exploitation of all sorts of complete or partial monopolies.

The Depreciation of Currency

Remains now the question of the depreciation of the currency as a cause of high prices. By currency is to be understood all bank notes, bills and tokens, which function as a circulating medium in lieu of gold—money. Representative money of this kind, issued by a competent authority, will circulate at par so long as it is "convertible," that is, if it can be cashed in real money on demand. An inconvertible paper currency, however, particularly if over-issued, (inflation of the currency) is subject to depreciation relatively to gold. Any such depreciation would immediately result in an advance of prices corresponding to its extent. The result would be the same, so far as immediate effects were concerned, as a fall in the value of gold. In the absence of direct proof it is difficult to say what share, if any, this particular cause has had in bringing about the present condition of the market. It may be inferred, however, from the fact that gold is at present at a premium, and considering the enormous issues of paper money by almost every civilized country, that this factor has been operative to some considerable extent. More on this latter subject another time.

GEORDIE.

WHAT IS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM?

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8 p.m., Empress Theatre, corner of Gore avenue
and Hastings street.

Where British Soldiers Are Still Fighting

CHALLENGED the other day in the House of Commons with keeping too many men in the army, and especially with retaining men entitled to release, Mr. Churchill declared: "Every day the evidence accumulates that we are keeping too few." To color the world map to show where British troops are being employed, or troops fed, clothed, and armed by the money of the British tax-payer, at the moment when preparations are being made to celebrate peace, would show an amazing picture.

Let us begin near home.

Ireland, India, Egypt.—There are a very large number of soldiers in Ireland, equipped with tanks, machine-guns, gas, and all the implements of up-to-date war. The same is true of India and of Egypt. As Mr. Churchill said: "The situation in India, in Egypt, and in Ireland all make drains upon us."

Central Europe.—There is a large army of occupation on the Rhine, and apparently a large army is to be kept there while the indemnity is collected and to "guarantee" the peace.

Whether British troops are co-operating with General Haller in Poland is not clear, but British money and munitions are assuredly at the disposal of the general.

The Salonika army has been renamed "the Army of the Black Sea," and its contingents, with Roumanians, armed and equipped out of Allied (i.e., largely British) money, are holding down revolution in Bulgaria, probably in Rou-

mania, certainly in Hungary. Part of this army was in the Crimea—i.e., Odessa and Sevastopol, recently evacuated.

Russia.—In North Russia, British troops are fighting at Archangel and Murmansk, and reinforcements go out frequently. General Miller (Russian (!) Governor-General of the North Russian region,) in an interview with a Times correspondent on April 29, declared "The Russian authorities are well satisfied with the aims of the Allies in North Russia. . . . There can be no compromise with Bolshevism. It must be eradicated from Russia."

The army of Admiral Kolchak, operating on the Volga, Russia, is equipped with British arms and munitions (including tanks,) and a great part of his soldiers are clothed in British uniforms.

In S. E. Russia, Denikin's army was badly beaten by the Bolsheviks during March, but the Times correspondent says (April 15, Ekaterinodar) "Great encouragement has been given to the volunteer army by the continued arrival of British war material, which is pouring into Novorossisk—tanks, guns, ammunition, rifles, clothing, food, and hospital equipment."

The East.—To give any full survey of our activities in the East is impossible. There are British troops in Palestine, in the Caucasus, in Syria, at Baku. In Mesopotamia, so Mr. Churchill stated on May 1, 29,000 white troops of the Expeditionary Force are being retained through the hot weather of this year.

THE RED FLAG Capitalists Endorse Ineffective Methods of Collective Bargaining

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"Dealing" With Problem of Social Unrest

IN these days of social unrest there is much talk of anarchists. By certain kinds of people, mostly the bourgeoisie and their parasites, they are accused of being responsible for this unrest. However, the Government of Canada, having rushed a Bill through Parliament, designed to exterminate them, the unrest will now undoubtedly go to rest, and all will be lovely in the garden Maud. The Bill was put through the two legislative houses in twenty minutes. Just imagine! In twenty minutes the bald heads solved the social problem. No more, can unemployment, no more can poverty, no more ladies, can the H. C. of L. be used as the excuse for unrest. Those things will still exist, of course, but the unrest, will have been arrested, by ukase,—with the anarchists.

It is asserted, very forcibly, that the anarchists created the unrest in order to overthrow, by force, established government. An anarchist is so defined. One who advocates or uses force to overthrow established government.

It might be well to point out the inconsistency of the present bourgeois ruling class in taking this action against their brother anarchists, in that their own past history, as most histories are, is an unfortunate one, and shows them as, par excellence, the users of force. They drenched Europe in blood for many generations before they finally overthrew the established order of the Feudal landed aristocracies. Also is recorded against them, the forcible deposition of many a monarch, and the substitution of one dynasty for another, whenever it suited their purpose. Bears witness also the bloody stories of the subjugation of innumerable peoples throughout the world. And with powder and steel have the hungry and protesting been answered, as witness the hungry forties in England, when the great Duke of Wellington, garrisoned London with more troops than he had on the field of Waterloo.

Bear witness also Egypt, India, Korea, China, and the thousand tribes of Africa, panting under the blows of alien tyrannies. Bear witness the world today, an armed camp. Force, Prithvi! If overthrowing of an established order, or a status quo by force, is the hall mark of an anarchist, then by heavens the bourgeoisie stand convicted. If a state of anarchy, is a state of confusion worse confounded, then by the red hobs of hell, we have it with us in the world today under the Bourgeois dominion.

They have had, for hundreds of years, supreme control of world affairs and how have they discharged their self imposed trust. They have had their chance and what a chance. During the last 150 years, the advance in the technology of production alone, has served to raise productive capacity in the things necessary for human well-being to heights undreamed of in previous ages. And yet, in this year of grace, they meet the indignation of the poverty-stricken peoples with blanket laws, ostensibly aimed at mythical anarchists, but designedly constructed to terrorize and penalize all those whom the protesting people have chosen as their spokesmen and the organizers of their protests.

In an editorial of its Monday issue, the Vancouver "World," takes exception, as a matter of course, to the action taken by the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council in calling out organized labor in Vancouver, on sympathetic strike with the workers in Winnipeg, over the principle of collective bargaining. Quoting Sir Robert Borden, the "World" claims that the principle is already recognized by the Government and by the employers and instances the printing trades, who it claims are satisfied with collective bargaining by crafts. In passing we may point out to the "World" that there is a growing discontent, even in the crafts of its carefully selected instance, against that form of bargaining. However, the "World's" implication is, that because the form of bargaining in vogue appears satisfactory to the printing crafts, then it should be good enough for all other crafts, instead of the method of bargaining through allied trades, the principle upon which the present struggle is waged.

Might we call to the "World's" attention that we live and move in the world of stern, concrete reality and not in one of abstractions. For instance, we talk of an abstraction called Justice, but this abstract principle means little until it manifests itself in some concrete form, as, whose Justice is it, and who administers it, what is its specific nature,

Yes, the Bourgeoisie have had a full and free hand in the control of affairs; the world has been theirs and the fullness thereof. The working-class, their political subjects and economic bond-slaves, have been submissive, laborious, perforce, thrifty and abstemious, and also productive beyond the dreams of avarice. And now that in the most productive days the world has ever known they are ground between the nether millstones of unemployment, low wages and the high cost of living, what is their reward? "Stiffen up the criminal code," says the caption over the despatch from Ottawa in the Vancouver "Province." "Amended Act to hit the Reds," etc., etc. Could ineptitude linked with arrogance go further?

What lays behind this legal camouflage? Simply that the masses of the people are to be terrorized, as in the Russia of our Ally, the Czar, or as in Bismarkian Germany, back into servility and semi-starvation, through the legalized crucifixion of their prominent representatives. Anarchy! Who are the Anarchists?

Observe them! The bourgeois legislators, the bourgeois press, and the bourgeois spouters, trying to break up the orderly protest of the workers in Canada today, by concentrating their attack on a handful of individuals. They are, in fact, carrying out the "propaganda of the deed," advocated by their blood brothers in philosophy, of a certain school of anarchists. Who but a bourgeois anarchist could invent or publish the bloodwood Dick "Stuff"—such as appears in the capitalist press under the name of G. C. Porter, especially in these dangerous, surcharged, high-strung critical times.

Nevertheless, in spite of every obstacle thrown in their way, and amid the fire of many provocations, the workers are carrying on this strike in an orderly manner. This is a sure sign of growing knowledge and consciousness of strength. The more the working class grows in knowledge of what is fundamentally wrong in the present organization of society, and the clearer grows its conception of the means necessary to its emancipation, the more will it display its political maturity by giving up riots and petty terrorisms, legalized or otherwise, to the monopoly of the bourgeois anarchists, and adopt for itself instead—systematic methods, and organized processes. In doing this, it will leap out into the political arena as an independent historical force.

and is it effective or otherwise. So with the principle of collective bargaining. The thing of moment to the working class in general and to organized labor in particular, is, is the form that collective bargaining manifests itself in an effective one or not, from that point of view alone is it to be judged. Let the "World" and others of its like take note, that the working class considers itself the final arbiter on this matter of its own interests. And further, note that the granting of official recognition, either by the employers or their government, to a form of organization of proved ineffectiveness, is regarded by the working class as a cynical mockery of those upon whom it is bestowed. The memories of the working class would be short indeed if they did not remember this same "safe" and "sane" Unionism which is now lauded to the skies, being denounced as of the very devil and deportation and imprisonment for its spokesmen and organizers advocated, from the same columns of the capitalist press and from the same brazen throats now denouncing another kind of Unionism. Only the dead could fail to observe that summer-sault. The capitalist class and their spokesmen and organs are suspect, with good reason, by the working class, and any endorsement or recommendation of theirs given to something which, it is alleged will benefit the latter, is always taken with the customary grain of salt.

RAMSAY MACDONALD ON TOUR.

ROME, June 11.—Ramsay Macdonald, the defeated member of the British Parliament, has been here endeavoring to induce the Italian Socialists to combine forces with those of England and France. His objects are twofold: To insist on the abandonment of all hostile action against Russia and Hungary, and revision of the peace treaty as presented to Germany. Jean Longuet, the French Socialist, joined the deliberations and both he and Macdonald spoke at the largest meetings in Rome and Milan.

The kernel of their speeches was the same. Longuet said if the Soviet was defeated, reaction would triumph. Macdonald said the international bourgeoisie was ranged against Russia and "the peace of the ruling classes does not pledge the people. We shall prepare the foundation of a peace which is not a deception."

Macdonald is insistent that there should be a formal joining of forces but the Italians still are suspicious. The question of a general strike in France, Italy and England in sympathy with those radical ideas was urged by the Italians, but Macdonald said he was doubtful of its success in England.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

From figures supplied to the Coal Commission, it appears that during the past fifty years the average number of men killed in following their occupation is 1100. In twenty years the average number of people injured was 160,000. Considering there are only just over a million employed in the coal industry, this makes the casualty list greater than that of the war. Yet those who can go into paroxysms of ecstasy over the heroism of the battlefield are silent over that of the industrial world. The Bishop of London said all our soldiers were saints—at which soldiers themselves smile. He has been very silent over the heroism of the miner. Perhaps that is because the miner's demands threaten mining royalties, from which the Bishop's own Church largely benefits.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday night, at 8 p.m., Empress Theatre, corner of Gore avenue and Hastings street.

Science a la Clergy

WHEN science is served to the public by the clergy it is scarcely recognizable to scientific students. The Rev. Dr. Atkins serves up an indigestible mess for public consumption, extracts from which have been reported in the press. He finds science an aid to faith. He says:

"Modern science in its disclosure of an ascending development of all life, in its revelations of inexhaustible energies, in what it conveys to us of difficulties overcome and the boundless resource of creative power, does not forbid a belief in immortality; it rather helps it."

It is interesting to hear from a preacher that faith needs help from outside sources, as faith is supposed to rest upon an inner consciousness of the existence of a supreme being and to require no other support. Students who follow the matter closely, however, know that faith has to be propped up on all sides these days. This is due to the attacks of science on religious dogma.

But now science is to become the friend of religion instead of its foe. How does Dr. Atkins accomplish this? Simply by giving science a religious twist, by explaining science from a religious, instead of scientific standpoint. Dr. Atkins does not see in science an explanation of the laws of the universe. He sees it only as an adjunct to religion.

To the scientist and the scientific student, however, science is independent and stands on its own foundation of demonstrable fact. Science was not built up to support any pre-existing belief, but to furnish man with knowledge. The only way it can be alleged to support religion is by contorting it until it is no longer science.

For example, Dr. Atkins speaks of an "ascending development of all life." This statement is seriously faulty as a result of trying to make the law of evolution serve religion. The idea involved is that there is a plan which the creator is working out through evolution.

But does all life tend to ascend? Positively not. In the organic field the forms which we regard as high in the scale of evolution are those which have survived and developed, out of countless other forms which have either perished in the struggle for existence or have reached only a low point of development. There is no evidence of an

"ascending development" in the case of species of animals which have gone out of existence because they could not adjust themselves to changed conditions of life, nor is there any evidence in the case of species which have branched off from the main stem of organic evolution and remain in existence because they are well adjusted to their surroundings. Neither the results nor the merciless struggle of existence which is part of the process of organic evolution is a support to the idea of a benevolent creator working out his plan.

As for immortality being evidenced by evolution, let us look ahead and see what we are coming to. It is well known that in due course this earth will become cold and lifeless and organic life upon it, including man, will disappear. Finally the globe will collide with some other body and become absorbed or dissolved into nebulous matter. What will happen to this "ascending development of life" then?

Dr. Atkins goes into science not for the sake of truth but for the sake of religion, which is clearly shown by his further remarks. He says: "Justice demands immortality," and "Love demands immortality and reason demands it." What he should say is that religion demands it. But he can scarcely look to science to meet this demand, insofar as life is concerned. Science has discovered the persistence of force and the indestructibility of matter, but no other form of immortality. All organic beings die; all organic species, including man, die; worlds come into existence and go out of existence. Matter and force alone remain. Even man-made gods come and go, but matter and force go on forever. Matter and force in one form or another constitute the entire universe, and it is the universe in its entirety which is the only permanent thing, the only immortal thing. Life everlasting has no real existence, except as a pious wish.

But the religionist goes forth, not to seek truth, but to seek excuses for perpetuating his mummery. If anyone wants to know the truths which modern science has discovered he will find them in scientific books; he will not hear them from the pulpit. Science is an aid, not to faith, but to the elimination of faith and the substitution of knowledge.

L. B.

THE WHY OF A SYMPATHETIC STRIKE

The Vancouver "Sun" makes great profession of being mystified over the strike issue. It professes to see a difference between a sympathetic strike and a strike to protect the principles of organized labor. Of course, that is only the "Sun's" way of trying to discredit the cause of labor, for even a lesser luminary would know that the feeling of sympathy can only be aroused upon a basis of some social or group principle having been assaulted.

The sympathetic strike action has been taken because a principle, vital to organized labor, in general, is at stake in Winnipeg, that is, that an effective form of organization for bargaining with the employers over the sale of labor-power shall be recognized. Labor realizes that a form of organization which is not effective may as well go into the limbo of other futilities.

A common principle brought men streaming in from the ends of the earth onto Flanders fields. Why? For poor Belgium! They were told that when Belgium was smashed and France smashed, it would then be the turn of Great Britain, and the Americas, etc., etc.

Likewise if Winnipeg labor is smashed, it will then be the turn of Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver. It will then be the turn of the miners, the loggers, the fishermen, the railroadmen, etc., etc. That is the why of the sympathetic strike. It is good the labor movement has a history. By it, it knows its enemies, and recognizes their old familiar subterfuges, reappearing as the days go by.

A CONTRAST

Organized labor in Great Britain is demanding that the Allied troops in Russia be withdrawn, and that the blockades be lifted. This is challenging the foreign policy of the British Government. They are also negotiating with organized labor in other countries with the end in view of preventing their capitalistic governments from suppressing working-class republics wherever they may arise.

Organized labor in Canada is so modest as only to demand recognition of the principle of collective bargaining through the agency of central councils of allied crafts, a form of bargaining they have had in Great Britain for thirty years. And yet, in this country, all the power of the government has been exerted against Canadian labor obtaining it. Why?

Reconstruction in Trade Unionism Today in Great Britain

(From Christian Science Monitor, June 4.)

LONDON, England.—Consideration of those great questions which come under the category of that much mouthed word "reconstruction," is not confined to the government or to employers who, at long last, have come to recognize that if they "are to compete successfully with the United States of America," the best thing that can happen to much of their plant is to scrap it and introduce modern methods and appliances.

A number of trade unions are, at the moment, revising their constitutions, speeding up their machinery for the more expeditious handling of disputes, and generally endeavoring to fit in the new shop stewards and shop committees' movement into their scheme of things. Others are busily engaged in schemes of amalgamation, while at least one other, the National Union of Railwaymen, has formulated proposals, for consideration at the annual general meeting, which seek to divorce the purely industrial side of the railwaymen's movement from the political side.

This has been attempted before, but without success. The "industrialist" theories, however, have made immense strides during the past few years, and the resolution on this occasion has a fair chance of being carried. If so, the effect of the new policy will be to deny the right of any of the railwaymen's

organizers, their general secretary, or other full-time official, to act in a dual capacity. Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., for instance, will be asked to decide which position he would prefer to retain, the general secretaryship of the National Union of Railwaymen or his seat in the House of Commons as the member of Derby.

"One man, one job," has a sweet sounding note that appeals to the average man in the street, but the real reason actuating the leaders of the agitation is not so much the objection to one man holding two jobs, as the possibility of a trade union official, who is also a member of Parliament, being compelled to compromise or modify his policy so as not to hurt the susceptibilities of his constituents. In a word, it is alleged that he can not faithfully fulfill his duties as a servant of the union, while at the same time "nursing" his constituency; and they remind their critics of the unenviable position in which those of their leaders who are also M. P.'s found themselves among their constituents during the miner's agitation for joint control.

Again, the decision to appoint a permanent secretary and chairman of the Miners' Federation was accompanied by the proviso that the officers selected should devote their whole time to the work of the federation, and Mr. Robert Smillie and Mr. Frank Hodges, who were both prospective parlia-

mentary candidates, have, in consequence, been compelled to abandon their parliamentary career.

In other directions, too, the industrialists are busy and active in the pursuance of the objectives upon which they have set their hearts. In spite of the opposition of many of their general officers, there has just been launched a scheme of amalgamation for three of the most important trade unions in the shipbuilding and ship-repairing industry. The societies concerned are the Boilermakers, Iron and Steel Shipbuilders Society; Ship Constructors and Shipwrights' Association, and the Blacksmith and Ironworkers Society.

With a total membership of about 160,000, when the amalgamation has been completely effected, the unions will sink their individual identities and become known as the Amalgamated Union of Shipbuilding Engineering and Constructional Workers. As will be seen from the new title, provision has been made for the ultimate inclusion of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, for none of the three societies concerned have, strictly speaking, been regarded as engineering trade unions. The delicate and difficult questions of finance and donations due to the difference in the amount per member of the accumulated funds of each union have been surmounted, as also the vexed problem arising out of the necessity of dispensing with certain sets of officials.

The Tide Flows East

From the June "Liberator"

BYRON R. Newton, Collector of the Port of New York, announces that the rush of aliens leaving the United States for Europe has reached an average of 1000 per day. And the capitalist press is manifesting uneasiness. The following from an editorial in the New York "Evening Sun," (italics ours) is only one of the many now being published all over the United States:

"The throngs of aliens bound from this port back to their home countries have for some months surpassed any rate of outward movement of population that the recent records can show. This departure causes concern, partly because of the loss of workers it occasions us and partly because of the misgivings we conceive from such an expression of unwillingness on these people's part to stay here."

In spite of the attempts of the Government agencies to soothe American pride concerning the reasons for the exodus, it is more than a coincidence that this is taking place just when the Government is pressing its campaign to deport all foreign-born workers who dare to be active in labor organizations. This exhibition of Prussian lawlessness on the part of the authorities is the crowning act of the long and bloody history of capitalist exploitation of foreigners here.

One of the principles expressed in the foundation of the American republic was that of "providing an asylum for the oppressed of the earth." Like every other idealistic phrase, this was used by Capitalism to cover a shameless policy of debauching Labor. Under its grandiloquent wording, the poverty-stricken hordes of Europe were induced to come to America, and take the places of Anglo-Saxon workers in industry, for wages upon which no man could live decently. In Europe there was a surplus population, and no work. In America there was work for all—brutal, degrading work, at pitiful wages—but still work. And by living like an animal, by scabbing, submitting to nameless brutalities, the foreign-born could hope to scrape together enough, not to live in the United States, but to return to his home and live there. The fact that he returned broken in spirit and health did not matter.

This then was the spirit in which America welcomed "the oppressed of the earth." Lured not only by gold, but by the talk of freedom, the absence of compulsory military service, and the picture of the Statue of Liberty on the steamship companies' advertising matter, the aliens poured into our ports at the rate of hundreds of thousands a year. They were bullied and cheated at the port of entry, hurled into fetid slums, drawn into the lowest strata of the cruel machinery of industry, sweated, clubbed by the police, shot in strikes, and at the end, worn-out before their time, their lungs rotted with tuberculosis, were spewed out into the jails, or back across the sea. It is a significant commentary on American civilization that of the most intelligent foreigners who came here political Socialists, a large part returned to their own countries anarcho-syndicalists, advocates of sabotage and direct action.

The war revealed the American industrial system in all its brutality. Foreigners in large numbers who had taken out their first papers were drafted, and many who had never taken out any papers at all were forced into the Army, and if they refused to fight, were thrown into guardhouses and military prisons, and tortured. Those working in industry were subjected to the strictest espionage, and thrown into prison for advocating labor organization, or participating in strikes. A system of terrorism was employed to force them to buy Liberty Bonds and War Saving Stamps, and to contribute to the Red Cross; if they refused, they lost their jobs. Their churches were

invaded by mobs who compelled the clergymen to preach patriotism in English. Their papers printed in their own language were censored by bureaucrats, and often stopped for reprinting dispatches, articles and editorials from the English press. One foreign newspaper was stopped by the United States Post Office for reprinting my name, for example. Meetings of foreigners were invaded by the police and private "patriots" who arbitrarily created laws concerning what should or should not be said, and beat up and arrested speakers who refused to conform. And the lives of foreign workers were tyrannized over by private organizations such as "Minutemen" and "American Protective Leagues," composed of bankers, employers and the most reactionary hirelings of the industrial autoerats.

The barbarous Espionage Act, in its revolting character as a weapon of capitalist class domination, we especially invoked against foreigners active in working-class organizations. In Bayonne, N. J., two young Russians, Frederick Feodotov and Anton Taichin, were arrested at a meeting called to organize a school for Russians. Under the New Jersey Sedition Act they were sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary. Mollie Steimer, seventeen years old, Jacob Abrams, Samuel Lippmann, Hyman Lachowsky and Jacob Schwartz, Russians, were arrested for distributing circulars protesting against American intervention in Russia, and horribly beaten by the police of New York. Schwartz died from his injuries; Mollie Steimer was given fifteen years in jail and \$500 fine—and the three boys twenty years and \$1000 fine. Ricardo Magon and Librado Rivera, Mexican revolutionists, were given twenty and fifteen years respectively for articles in the Mexican paper "Regeneration," opposing the war. And of the hundreds of I. W. W. members tried and given long sentences at Chicago, Sacramento and Wichita, fully half are foreigners.

The agitation against foreign mass-meetings, foreign languages, and the foreign press, assumed considerable proportions. The end of the war brought no relief; for in the East, proletarian Russia was rising, gigantic and luminous, inspiring the workers of the world; and in Central Europe the Spartacides and the Communists were swinging into action. Instead of slackening with the signing of the Armistice, the campaign against the foreign workers grew more intense.

The end of the war left American industry still mobilized, as the plutocrats were busy scrambling for huge profits to plan for a conversion of industry to a peace basis. Sooner than take time to plan demobilization, they preferred to close down war activities the moment war ended, and throw thousands upon thousands of workers into the breadlines, where their numbers increase, week by week, as I write. All attempts of these unemployed workers to protest or to meet and consider their position are mercilessly checked with the threat of machine-guns.

This action was accompanied by almost universal reduction in wages throughout the textile industry, which, as I write, threatens to extend to the steel and other basic industries. At the same time awards made to the workers during the war by the War Labor Board were either disregarded or immediately revoked.

On top of this add the rapid demobilization of the Army, hundreds of thousands of men thrown penniless on the already-overcharged labor market, no jobs available—or jobs at wages less than before the war, or as strike-breakers. In the great cities of the country these aimless, workless soldier-hordes are being organized into mobs to attack Socialist and Labor meetings, wreck radical headquarters, assault individuals.

This is the situation faced by the foreign-born

workers, most of whom are not protected even by the inefficient labor organizations affiliated in the A. F. of L.—or are members of the I. W. W., which has been practically outlawed, (although the Government pretends it is not,) and whose members are hounded from city to city, arrested and beaten, and even lynched.

The final attack by the industrial autoerats on the foreign-born workers came just when the powerful general strikes in Seattle and Butte had indicated that the working-class of America was at last developing a weapon capable of combatting capitalist tyranny. Since December, 1917, foreigners active in the Labor Movement had been quietly arrested in the West, and after cursory hearings, alone, (no lawyers permitted,) threatened with physical force while being questioned, scores have been held for deportation under the Immigration laws.

The center of the movement was in the great Northwest, where the I. W. W. had been organized the timberworkers and lumbermen. This was the scene of the Everett Massacre, where deputy sheriffs and private detectives fired upon a steamboat full of labor organizers from Seattle, and killed six.

The same business men and manufacturers who inspired the Everett Massacre were behind the deportation scheme. The famous "American Committee" of Seattle, consisting of the Reverend M. A. Mathews, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church; Judge Thomas Burke, attorney; J. D. Lowman, vice-president of the Union National Bank; O. D. Colvin, general manager of the Pacific Car Foundry; J. W. Spangler, vice-president of the Seattle National Bank; A. E. Haines, general manager of the Pacific Steamship Co.; W. C. Dawson, general manager W. C. Dawson Co.; and William Calvert, Jr., president of the San Juan Fishing and Packing Co.: issued a secret invitation to the lumber companies to give "moral and financial support" to a network of detectives to be placed in the camps and mills, with the purpose of securing evidence which would lead to the "immediate expulsion of all alien agitators and publishers" from the country. A further printed statement by the same "Committee" showed that it was endorsed by thirteen lumber companies.

The credentials of one of the Department of Justice agents who arrested the aliens show that he was at the same time a member of the "Minutemen," a private secret service of employers authorized during the war by the Department of Justice, and of a private detective agency of Chicago, and also membership secretary of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club. Another such agent was on the payroll of the Government and a large lumber company at the same time.

What was going on in Seattle was repeated more or less in other parts of the country. Men were arrested on some charge of misdemeanor, or on no charge at all, held for investigation, and then ordered deported. The investigations were a farce. Membership in the I. W. W. was ground for ordering deportation. Some of the reports of Immigration agents read like a Socialist cartoon of Capitalism. For instance, this from an official in Kansas City:

"The alien has no money, and is liable to become one of the migratory herd."

In February, 1919, a train-load of these unfortunates was taken across the country, with the intention of quietly hustling them out of the United States. The Immigration officials interviewed reported that the men had received adequate hearings, and that "the Courts co-operated." As a matter of fact these aliens had been denied legal defense, had been denied habeas corpus; their chief crime was that they belonged to the I. W. W.

Owing to the intervention of Miss Caroline Lowe, and of Charles Recht, of the Bureau of

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"The Bolsheviki" --- As Seen By Raymond Robins

William Hard Tells the Story, in the "Metropolitan."

Legal Advice, who were at first forbidden even to see the prisoners, the Department of Labor was finally forced to open its files, and as a result many of the deportees were discharged immediately, and others were released on bail, pending further hearings.

But before this could be done, several men were secretly deported, among them two Italians, Pietro Marruccho—who was accused of having in his possession a copy of the paper *Cronaca Sovversiva*—and another, Angele Varrichio. Marruccho died—or was killed—on his way to Italy; Varrichio was rushed to Ellis Island, a letter he sent was held up, and his presence on the Island was denied by officials. Six Scandinavian I. W. W.'s arrested in the West, were rushed to New York, denied the right to see a lawyer engaged for them, and shipped to Sweden. An Irishman named John Meehan, arrested for being a member of the I. W. W., was held for nineteen months and then shipped to England, in the midst of winter, in rags and without a hat, his clothing having worn out in jail. He had been in America twenty-five years. Frank Lopez, a Spaniard, who had been in the country seventeen years, who was married and owned a home in Dedham, Mass., where he was a regular member of the A. F. of L., was ordered deported because he called himself a "philosophical anarchist." Edwin Flogaus, a Pole, who has been in America ever since he was two years old, thirty years ago, is held for deportation. Hundreds of Russians all over the country are being held for deportation—chiefly because they are Russian workers, and as such, possible Bolsheviki.

This is only a partial list of the hundreds of aliens held, whose number increases daily.

The really serious aspect of deportation lies in the fact that many of these aliens are political refugees from their own countries. The Italian Government, it is stated, is sending Italians deported from the United States direct to penal colonies in Africa. The British Government will of course execute any Hindu revolutionists expelled from this country. And the Russians, if deported to Archangel or Vladivostok, will be forced into counter-revolutionary armies to fight their own comrades, or be immediately executed.

American citizenship does not protect the foreign-born worker. Any judge can decide that he took out his citizenship papers under false pretenses (this has already been done in two cases,) and he can be deported. Of course first papers do not count. But in order to take out first papers, the alien must renounce citizenship in the land of his birth. Revocation of citizenship or first papers therefore leaves the alien a man without a country, since he can be refused admission to his own land on the ground that he is no longer a citizen.

But to liberty-loving and self-respecting foreigners even this is preferable to remaining any longer in America, the worst industrial autocracy on earth. All over the country Deportation Clubs are being formed, composed of those who want to return to Europe and are not permitted to leave the country. Hundreds of thousands of aliens, who have been here for years, for decades, who have, in the words of E. E. MacDonald, one of the deportees:

"... helped to fell the forests,
dug deep in the mines;
built the towering buildings,
laid the railway lines,"

are now leaving the land of their adoption forever—poor as when they came, and poorer; for they have lost the best years of their life, their health, and their belief that the New World would give birth to the New Age.

Their hope is no more in America. Last of the autocratic nations, where the masses of men are still nothing more than machine-fodder, she lies on the dark side of the earth, whose horizon is tinged with the glow of the fiery rebirth of

The power of the Bolsheviki was in knowing what they wanted and sitting tight until they get it from whatever assembly they happened to be in. They went direct to the point. They wanted the industries for the proletariat and the land for the peasants. They went after that without compromise and without trading with any of their bourgeois enemies to get what they wanted.

Robins was compelled to make his professional bow to Trotzky. He had to acknowledge him the greatest orator he had ever heard. Here is another little passage from William Hard's Story:

He was walking up and down, slowly and calmly. He was not speaking. It was impossible for him to speak. People in the audience were speaking. They were speaking to him; and they were speaking severely and loudly. The words they used were "pro-German" and "German agent" and "spy" and "traitor." They roared. Trotzky walked up and down, and stopped, and pulled a cigarette from his pocket, and pulled a match, and lighted the cigarette, and smoked, and walked up and down. One man in the audience, to Robins' personal knowledge, had a gun with which, as he confided to his friends, he would shoot Trotzky as soon as Trotzky appeared. He did not shoot. Trotzky smoked for quite a while. Then, when there was a lull, he raised his arm and lashed that audience into complete subjugated silence.

Facing the Democratic Conference, Trotzky did not even bother to refer to the words "pro-German" and "German agent" and "spy" and "traitor." He paid no attention to them. He plunged straight into Bolshevism and into Bolshevik program; and spoke for the program; and it began to win.

The Bolsheviki succeeded in getting the great assembly to refrain from endorsing the "Cadet Coalition" idea and to withdrawing the resolution in favor of going on with the war. And then he describes that audience and its victorious song:

The audience stood, unregardful of national Russia. The resolution for the war was gone. It was buried. The audience stood and sang the song, the hymn, called "The International." They sang it for their message. It was their word. They had no word for Russia. They had no word for the army. They had no word for the fight against the Germans. They had "The International." It might have been sung in Germany. It is today being sung in Germany. It was sung that night in Petrograd with the souls of the singers. It was the symbol of the triumph of the Bolsheviki in that Democratic Congress of All Russia.

Hard compares Robins' efforts to stem the forces of Bolshevism in this splendid short and pointed sentence:

"After all it was much like the case of a man blowing his breath in the same direction with a full grown natural tornado."

Before the Bolsheviki came into power, "Russia stood in the gale of the world war with an empty stomach." When the Allies said "Fight," Robins heard the answer—

"Who made us fight? The Czar. What did the Czar want? The Dardanelles? Nothing.

"Why do the Germans fight? Because the Kaiser makes them."

Europe in revolution. The torch of Freedom is gone out of her hand.

The tides of men set eastward at last, and the current is past stopping. Slowly the American labor-market is drained of its submissive foreigners, from whose blood all the great American fortunes have been distilled.

Those who are not deported are leaving of their own free will, so let them depart and be damned.

JOHN REED.

"Why do the Allies fight? Because their rulers make them, by conscription. What do their rulers want? They want Syria for France and Mesopotamia for England and some Greek islands for Italy. When we ask them why, when we ask them to speak their full mind, they say this is no time for speaking.

"We will speak. We will speak to everybody. We will speak to the Germans. They are workers and peasants, too. Nine out of ten of them are workers and peasants. We do not want their land. They do not want ours. We will speak to them, and when we speak to them and tell them what is in our hearts, they will not fight us any more. Why should they?"

Robins lets another cat out of the bag which all Socialists know, but it is good to feel that we have been backed up by so good an authority. "The Allies, of course, were conducting a propaganda in Russia. All governments were conducting propaganda everywhere and whining because other governments were conducting it."

When Robins spoke in behalf of the Allies he was stumped by questions like the following:

"Comrade, we hear that in America strikes are broken by using policemen and soldiers against them. Is this true? Why is it true?"

"Comrade, are there any workmen and peasants in the American Government? Are there any Socialists? How many?"

"Comrade, in America does not the capitalist get the surplus value of the labor of the workingman?"

The intention of such questions was unmistakable; and then, passing to the war, there would be questions indicating a profound dissatisfaction with Allied, and also with American diplomacy.

"Comrade, why does the American Government refuse passports to Socialists who wish to go to Stockholm to talk with the Socialists of the world?"

"Comrade, why does America support France and England in their desire for annexations, and why does it not urge them, as we urge them, to adopt the principle of no annexations and of the self-determination of all peoples?"

"Comrade, why do not the Allies, why does not America, make a full and frank and direct reply to the questions asked by Russia regarding the aims of the war?"

"All Power to The Soviet." The five words that won Russia for the Bolsheviki, and to the Socialist idea of a workers' world for the workers.

AUSTRALIAN LABOR.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., June 11.—The annual labor conference is evenly divided on the matter of direct action being taken as to immediate communism, and an important factor in the situation is the attitude of the secretary, who is frankly declaring that the men are out to win by direct action. He also condemns the present arbitration law. This is met by a strong statement issued by the chief arbitration judge, in which it is emphasized that the community will rue the day if the men's demands are granted at the pistol point.

BOLSHEVIK FORCES HAVE RETAKEN UFA.

LONDON, June 11.—Bolshevik forces on Monday captured Ufa, one of the cities recently taken by troops of Admiral Kolchak, after three days of sanguinary fighting, according to a Russian wireless despatch received here today.

Kolchak's armies, according to the latest Allied information, have retreated an additional 75 miles and their left wing now rests on the village of Sarapul, 650 miles east of Moscow.

CLEARING THE AIR

From the New York "Nation"

William C. Bullitt was one of the investigators sent to Soviet Russia by the Peace Conference. The report of the investigators has never been published.—Editorial Note.

THE resignation, reported last week, of nine members of the American Peace Commission, has received little publicity and less editorial comment, though it would appear to be as significant a subject for disinterested rumination in the sanctum as any that has come over the wires in some time. Some of the later dispatches are apparently intended to soften the force of the first impression that the members resigned by way of protest against the iniquitous terms of the treaty. Naturally, all the forces of publicity at command of the Government would be used to minimize the effect of action of this kind, and the United Press accordingly deserves the best thanks of all American citizens for having placed us in possession of a letter which Mr. William C. Bullitt, one of the nine disaffected members, wrote to President Wilson, giving the reasons for his resignation.

We are glad to assist in making this document a matter of public record. The time has passed, apparently, for faking the peace treaty on faith. Along with the process of disillusionment there goes an increasing interest in fixing the responsibility for what is beginning to be felt and resented as a deception of first-class magnitude. Mr. Bullitt's letter meets this interest; it does the public the service of clarifying and precipitating in plain words, a vague and perhaps unreasoned, but wholly sound, sense of shabbiness and treachery. We reproduce it directly from the United Press report, as follows:

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States:
Sir: I have submitted to the Secretary of State my resignation as assistant in the Department of State and attache to the American commission to negotiate peace. I am one of the millions who trusted implicitly in your leadership and believed you would take nothing less than "a permanent peace based on unselfish, unbiased justice." But the Government has consented now to deliver the suffering peoples of the world to new oppressions, subjections and dismemberments—a new century of war.

I can convince myself no longer that effective labor for a "new world order" is possible as a servant of this Government. Russia, the "acid test of good will" for me, as for you, has not ever been understood. Unjust decisions regarding Shantung, Tyrol, Thrace, Hungary, East Prussia, Danzig, and the Saar Valley and abandonment of the principle of freedom of the seas make new international conflicts certain.

It is my conviction the present League of Nations will be powerless to prevent these wars, and the United States will be involved in them by obligations undertaken through the covenant of the

League and in a special understanding with France. Therefore, the duty of the Government of the United States to its own people and to mankind is to refuse to sign this unjust treaty; refuse to guarantee its settlements by entering the League of Nations, and refuse to entangle the United States further by an understanding with France.

That you persistently opposed most of the unjust settlements; that you accepted them only under great pressure is well known. Nevertheless it is my conviction that if you had made your fight in the open instead of behind closed doors you would have carried with you the public opinion of the world, which was yours; you would have been able to resist the pressure and might have established the "new international order, based upon broad universal principles of right and justice" of which you used to speak.

I am sorry you did not fight our fight to a finish and that you had so little faith in the millions of men like myself in every nation who had faith in you.

WILLIAM C. BULLITT.

VICTORIES CLAIMED BY NICOLAI LENINE.

LONDON, England, (Monday).—In a wireless message from Moscow to Budapest, Nicolai Lenine states that great victories have been won in the East over Admiral Kolchak's army and declares that this theater and that in the South against General Denikin are those where operations must be decisive, since the reinforcement of the Lettish and Esthonian fronts can not be as great as is desirable for the present. The entente's attack on Petrograd, says the message, is nothing more than a political demonstration, and whatever is achieved can have only a political effect.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

By John Reed, \$2.00. Boni & Liveright, 105 West 40th Street, New York.

This book recently reviewed in these columns, is meeting with anything but an enthusiastic reception.

The capitalist press, true to its class basis, has welcomed it with a flood of unbroken silence.

Bookstores refuse to handle it in any but the smallest quantities, and outside of a few Eastern cities it is almost impossible to buy it at all.

To those of us who have read and enjoyed the book, this is apparently part of an organized plan to prevent the truth about the Bolsheviki and Soviet Russia from reaching the ear of the working-class of this country.

For four years now the Socialist press has been subjected to censorship and suppression, and while the system lasts, that is a condition that will obtain.

It devolves upon us therefore to make known those avenues of information that the capitalist rags try to keep us from. We are for that reason urging on all readers of this paper the advisability of securing a copy of this work, and studying it that they may learn the other side of the Russian question from that presented by the paid liars of the bourgeois press.

STRIKES CONVULSE DISTRICTS IN INDIA

ROME, June 13.—There have been sporadic strikes throughout the city for several weeks past in which the demands have been for decrease in the hours of labor and increase in wages, while others have been in protest against the high cost of living. The most serious of the strikes is that of 76,000 school teachers demanding a minimum of \$2 daily.

Rioting and labor disturbances continue in many parts of the country, according to dispatches received here today.

The general strike in Naples has been settled, the workers receiving a few concessions.

Printers Refuse to Set Up Misleading Copy at "Sun"—Ordered Off Premises

Before going to press this morning, Saturday, June 14, we received the information that the printers in the employment of the Publishers of the Vancouver "Sun," had been fired for refusing to set up copy in which untrue and inflammatory statements were made regarding certain members of organized labor, and on the strike situation in general. The printers are working men, belonging to one of the most conservative of labor organizations, and as such, not likely to take drastic action without warrant. But they are in touch with the organized labor movement and are capable of judging as to the fairness of any news matter or comment dealing with the affairs of the movement. In addition to this, because of long practice in handling press news, and acquaintance with the methods used in "making" the "dope" up, they are able to tell at a glance what is genuine news and what is adulterated with "dope."

We understand that though the vicious nature of an editorial was the chief cause of this action, they were also influenced by an equal vicious and inflammatory half page advertisement carried on behalf of an organization, formed since the strike commenced, operating under the name of the Returned Citizens' Law and Order League. Who ever they may be.

We quote a few extracts from the editorial in question, which had for a caption, "No Revolution in Vancouver."

"Vancouver is now in process of reaping the reward of the weakness shown by the authorities some months ago when a coterie of extremists engineered a strike to show their approval of a dead poltroon.

"Let there be no mistake. This strike is dishonest to its heart core. To attempt to explain what the trouble is about, would be a waste of time. It isn't about anything. Nominally it is an expression of sympathy with Winnipeg, but no man can give a rational account of how Winnipeg is to be helped by tying up the business and industrial activities of Vancouver. In cold fact this is a demonstration by the "Reds" who have taken Russia for their model and who hope to make their profit amid the general confusion and overturn of government.

"There is no means of knowing how much further the strike may spread, but in any event it must be fought to a finish. However, many may become involved, it must be beaten and beaten decisively. The mass of our citizens do not intend to let the government of Vancouver be conducted from a back room at the corner of Dunsmuir and Homer streets."

The local union of this trade, more than a week ago, unanimously passed a resolution, in which they practically requested their employers to be fair in their treatment of labor during the strike, and offered to assist them in furnishing the public with truthful matter on the progress of the strike situation. The press has unanimously turned this offer down and in so doing acknowledged, that while masquerading as the "Public" press, they were in the game of taking sides, and that they were not interested in publishing the truth, that is, that they could not publish without distorting facts and misrepresenting the motives of organized labor. The truth is they desire to help to bring about that "situation" so heartily desired by the malignant enemies of the laboring classes.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JUNE 15

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speaker W. W. Lefebvre