

THE RED FLAG

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

VOL. 1 NO. 24

VANCOUVER, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1919

FIVE CENTS

AN APPEAL FOR DEFENCE FUNDS

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
Dominion Executive Committee,
401 Pender St. E., Vancouver, B. C.,
July 4, 1919.

Comrades:

Funds are urgently needed for the defence of those men arrested in connection with the present strike trouble in Canada. The preliminary trial which was to be held on this date, has been postponed for a week and a further remand is probable.

Three of these men—W. A. Pritchard, R. B. Russell and R. J. Johns, are members of the Socialist Party of Canada. The funds raised, however, will be used to cover the defence of all the arrested men.

The charges against the labor officials are seditious libel and seditious conspiracy. The Federal Government has retained six of the leading legal firms of Winnipeg for the prosecution, and this may be taken as a sure indication that no effort will be spared by them to secure a conviction. The whole Dominion is at present being combed by the police in an effort to discover documentary and other evidence for this purpose.

The loyal support of all the workers is due to these men, because it is for working in their interests and for voicing their needs and aspirations

that they have incurred the enmity of the ruling class.

In addition to the case of the labor officials, a number of foreigners have also been arrested, we understand, under the provisions of the recent Act of Parliament, which the press reported as being rushed through both Houses of Parliament in twenty minutes. This new Act is a "blanket" measure, ostensibly aimed at the advocates of physical force for the overthrow of established authority, but designedly constructed so that very wide and unknown scope of application and interpretation of it is placed within the hands of the bureaucrats of the administration. A conviction of these men under it will establish precedents which will effect thousands of others holding unorthodox economic and political views, and long established and bitterly fought for privileges of freedom of thought and speech, will be swept away.

The attempt to penalize all of these arrested men constitutes a blow at the whole of the working class movement towards a better state of things, which can only be met by contesting thoroughly the validity of the charges in the courts of law.

To do this, finances are necessary. Due to the long continued strike, union treasuries and the strikers individual funds are either depleted or

exhausted. Consequently, it is the more necessary that those more fortunately circumstanced should contribute to their utmost. A large sum of money will be needed. The expenses it is estimated will run into five figures, as every present indication points to it that the trial of these men will be the most important and far-reaching in its consequences, of all the trials which have heretofore affected the labor movement in Canada.

We, ourselves, can only reach a few of those in whom this appeal would find a response. Help the cause of the arrested men and the working class in general, by acquainting others of this need for funds. Please, each one do your very best, and that quickly.

Send all moneys, if possible, by cheque, money order, postal note or by registered letter to the respective treasurers of the following collecting agencies:

British Columbia Agency—Victor Midgley, Postoffice Drawer 879, Vancouver, B. C.

Alberta Agency—A. Brouche, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency—E. Robinson, Secretary Trades and Labor Council, Winnipeg, Man. Contributions will be acknowledged at a later date through the Labor and Socialist press.

C. STEPHENSON.

Secretary D. E. C. Socialist Party of Canada.

Industrial Relations Report

REPEATED statements have come from Labor sources, that for Organized Labor, collective bargaining as an abstraction has no interest, but that the vital question has always been, is a particular form of it an effective one or not for labor's purposes. Because if it is not, then, the whole machinery, principle and all, of the organized labor movement might as well go on the scrap heap. In addition to this and in spite of the fact that labor in Canada has for the time being apparently been defeated on this matter, labor will decide and no other people, as the best judge of its own particular business, which form of collective bargaining suits its needs the best.

The Metal Trade Workers in Winnipeg demanded that the employers deal with them through their central council. This the employers refused to grant and the Government took sides with them, also the manufacturers' association, the "kept" press of course, and every exploiting interest that could get into the fight, north and south of the line banded together to cloud the issue and break the strike. Still here we have the Industrial Relations' Committee, lately appointed by the Government to bring in recommendations for allaying the social unrest in Canada, handing in its report and not only endorsing the demands of the Metal Trade Workers, but going even fur-

ther, if we read the report aright, and endorsing collective bargaining by industries. We append some extracts:

"The Commission defines collective bargaining as the right of workers to group themselves for the purpose of selling their labor-power collectively, instead of making individual agreements with the employers."

That is a general definition, but in elaborating on it, the further statement of the Commission is clearer and more specific.

"In the case of larger organizations of workers—for example, where a building contractor employed nineteen different classes of tradesmen, all organized in different trades' unions, it has been found mutually advantageous for workers to combine their demands and present them to their employers through the medium of a building trades federation, and thus settle at once the conditions for the entire industry."

(Note that this is stated as a principle already in practice.)

"The employer is justified in knowing that the schedule is presented to him with the concurrence of a fair propor-

tion of his employees, but it does not matter whether it is put before him directly by a commission of his employees or by a direct representative of the trade unions to which they belong, or through the committee of a federation of trade unions of which their particular union forms a part."

Reading that, we are almost of the opinion that the Commission must have become converted to the O. B. U. while in the West. Another week and they would have become raving Bolsheviks, thirsting for the blood of the bourgeoisie. However, it is more reasonable to assume that this matter of collective bargaining would never have given the commissioners a moments thought if the present struggle had not forced their hands. And in any case, they have only reaffirmed an old and accepted practice in collective bargaining. The Mother Country has had it for thirty years. (We say Mother Country, with a reservation, because this country is really owned now by the financial oligarchy of the United States.) It was also affirmed and incorporated into the Paris Peace Covenant. So if the Government makes the show of granting it in Canada, it will be no free gift, but has been fought for and won by the workers.

Gideon Robertson's objection to the Metal Trade Worker's demand that the collection was too big and the Press's parrot like repetition of it, falls to the ground like the rotten fruit of the

(Continued On Page Eight.)

"Our" Barbarous "Allies" In Russia

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 29th May, Colonel Wedgwood, who has recently joined the I.L.P., asked:—

"Who are these Finns with whom we are in co-operation in the attack on Petrograd? The Finnish Government has had a chequered history. When the Revolution came in Russia, in March, 1917, Finland at once proclaimed its independence, and there ensued in Finland a Social Revolution imposed upon the Political Revolution. You got what was called the Red Terror. The Red Terror was always bad—deplorable—but the Red Terror was put down with the help of German Armies which were landed in Finland, and, in co-operation with the White Guards of Finland, suppressed the Revolution. They suppressed it by probably the most shocking series of atrocities that have ever been committed, even during the whole course of this accursed war. The facts have only recently come out. They have been published in the New Statesman, and, as the Right Hon. Gentleman knows, by a man whose word is to be trusted, indeed a man who is trusted so much as to be employed by the Government. The terror in Finland is created by these same White Guards whom we are now reckoning as Allies in a further attack upon the Social Revolution. The number of men and women arrested during the first weeks of May, 1918, was about 90,000, and of these from 15,000 to 20,000 were shot out of hand—this is out of a population which is probably under a million, and they were shot without trial. Red prisoners were commonly decimated, and then the survivors were searched for 'suspects,' and any who were declared by any White present to be specially dangerous, were despatched. In that way the following were executed:—At Rehemaki, 5000; at Labti 2000; at Viborg, 4000; and so on. At Labti 2000 women were taken out early one morning in the second week of May, a fortnight after the end of the fighting, and were mown down in a batch with machine guns. This is a White Terror about which the Government do not circulate White Papers. The remaining 74,000, at the beginning of June, male and female, were confined during the summer and autumn in prison camps, and were subjected to a 'regime' of almost incredible barbarity. . . . What I do protest against is, having our honour soiled by connection with people such as these, and a Government which has already, out of 7500 prisoners, got rid of 2851, that is over one-third, who died in four months. They did not die merely from starvation. They died because they were deprived of water. There was not even the defence that they could not get food enough for these persons. These cases of starvation cannot have been less than 13,000, nor probably more than 18,000. That is your Government in Finland, the Government recognized almost immediately upon the publication of these facts in the New Statesman. These are the people that our fleet is at present supporting.

Then turn to your other Allies. There is General Denikin, who is commanding in South Russia. We are sending out an expedition to Sebastopol to help this new Government. I do not think that Denikin has been recognized yet, but he will be before long, especially if it is realized that he is carrying on warfare on these lines. A leading White politician—that is also from the New Statesman—puts number of workmen executed when Denikin occupied Rostov at 23,000. It is safe to say that if the Whites capture a Red town there will be a hundred executions for every one which occurs if a White town is captured by the Reds. At Jekaterinoslay Denikin ordered every Red Russian found in possession of Red literature to be shot forthwith. At Bafarsk, in the Don district, every man with a son in the Red Guard was killed. In one place every tenth workman was shot as an example to the rest. The White leaders regard the literal decimation of the working classes as an absolutely necessary preliminary to the establishment of any form of Government in Russia.

STORY OF THE WHITE TERROR.

Scathing Speech by Colonel Wedgwood.

I pass from Denikin. We have not recognized him yet, but we have recognized Admiral Kolchak, and in reference to the way in which Kolchak is carrying on his operations it is only fair to say that, after all, I believe that he is a fairly honest man. But it is doings of his subordinates. It is to them that we must attribute the cruelties hideously uncivilized warfare that is going on in Russia. I saw a British friend who is back from Siberia—

Commander Sir E. Nicholl—On a point of order. In Heaven's name, what has this to do with the Army Estimates?

Colonel Wedgwood—I must protest against being called to order by an Hon. Member who, before he was elected to Parliament, told a story of a German submarine, which subsequently was denied from the Front Bench. How is Kolchak's army carrying on in Siberia at the present time? I saw a British officer who is back from that country about a fortnight ago. He was not by way of being an advanced political thinker at all, and he pointed out that the Russian Generals suffered from certain classes that they are to appear for Conscription at certain places and he says that none of them turn up. The result is the troops are sent to the villages to bring the young men into the Army. But, unfortunately, when these troops get to the villages the young men have all vanished and naturally the officers in charge of these troops are somewhat exercised at failing to find their quarry, and instead of simply shooting the people who are left, they flog them and then hang them. An army recruited on those lines I do not think is likely to be very efficient, but it must be obvious that as long as you have recruiting by force of people who two years ago were dead tired of fighting, you are bound to get shocks if you enlist them by force under the direction of subordinates who are capable of any butchering in order to enforce the autocratic rule of military despotism in Siberia.

I do not want to labor this point about Admiral Kolchak, and I can not do better than end by reading an extract from a letter which I received last week from the same country. It will indicate the difficulties which are in the way of recognition of the present de facto rule in Siberia:—

"The fact is that there is a blank sight more Bolsheviks now than there were ever before in Siberia. This is a fact admitted on all sides in the East. In the next to the last Municipal Elections, the Bolsheviks cast 13,000 out of a total of 24,000 votes. There is military law both here and in Omsk and all along the railway. Omsk itself is legally in what you might describe as a state of siege—nobody allowed out after nine at night, and so forth. The Japanese staff are publishing a statement in the legal Press recounting 48 conflicts with Bolsheviks since the end of December, ranging from skirmishes with parties of raiders to a regular pitched battle for the taking of Blagoveschenk, lasting half a day, in which the Bolshevik forces were over 1000. The Japanese lost 48 killed, including a major.

The Americans publicly refused to take any part in these affairs on the ground that these insurgents are not Bolsheviks at all, but peasants dissatisfied with the present regime. This fact was emphasized by a local paper, which pointed out that the very villages and counties that had just risen against the Bolsheviks were those now being suppressed as Bolsheviks by the Japanese. There was one classic case of a man by the name of Bezsmerty, which means 'deathless,' who led his village against the Bolsheviks and was condemned to death by them and a price put on his head. Now he led his village against the present regime, and was condemned to death and shot as a Bolshevik.

The Zemstvos have been forbidden to discuss any but economic subjects, after the Council of the Zemstvos of the Maritime Provinces passed a resolution declaring that the present chaos and political unrest were due to the unpopular character of the Omsk Government and its reactionary tendencies. The essentials are these: the present dictatorship of Admiral Kolchak is the result of long intrigues, culminating in a coup d'etat, with the aftermath of a series of arrests and the murder of members of the Constituent Assembly. Admiral Kolchak himself is an honest man, but he is surrounded with reactionaries who face him with facts accomplished. His representative in the Far East is General Hoorath, and the whole Government is now purely bourgeois. After the coup d'etat, the S. R. Party refused to recognize the Government, as did the Czech National Council here. This Council was dissolved by General Stephanik, Czech Minister for War, who came from Paris to do it, but it does not alter the fact that the coup d'etat finished the Czechs once for all with helping these people. They say—'We are Democrats and we do not wish to help reaction in Russia.' I know this, because it has appeared time and again in interviews with Czech officers, and talks with the soldiers, and because I have heard it from them myself. They are disgusted with the present Russian regime. This Government does not represent the wishes of the people, and it is an axiom here that if the Allied troops were withdrawn it would fall at once.'

When we see that people like the Czecho-Slovaks, whom we were all praising, are now themselves not disposed to support any longer this Government, and when we find that this Government would fall of itself automatically directly British bayonets and Japanese bayonets are removed from Siberia, we ought to think once or twice before we permit the British Army to engage in expeditions in conjunction with such very doubtful colleagues. The war upon Russia ought to cease. The Right Hon. Gentleman got a great number of British troops sent out very recently because there was a scare that Archangel was in danger. Archangel never was in danger, but it served a sufficiently useful excuse for getting large reinforcements sent. They were sent to extricate the garrison. The garrison is coming back, but the new troops are remaining and not only remaining, but preparing for a spring forward on Petrograd, a further advance into that wilderness of Russia, that chaos of starvation that exists now. I do protest that not only should the Army be withdrawn from Archangel, but from all participation in any further expeditions to Russia, at least, that we should do nothing in that country except in strict co-operation with the American government. If the Americans do not think their troops should be sent to Russia, or if they think that their troops should not be kept in Russia, undergoing all the hardships of that climate, as well as undergoing the hardships of fighting an unjust cause, then it is not good enough for English troops either. We should clear out of the place, and let them stew in their own juice and fix up their own quarrels. Let us understand this: What is happening in Russia is an expedition or war against that country, an expedition which is not inspired by a desire to put an end to atrocities, but by a desire to put an end to the Social Revolution."

MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

A statement of the theories and conclusions of Scientific Socialism.

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Manifesto of Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland

TO THE IRISH WORKING CLASS:

Fellow Workers,—There has not been a cause in Ireland for which Irish workers have not fought on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors. The time has at last come when they must fight for their own—for the emancipation of their class. The time has come when we must organize towards the establishment of our liberation from the wages system which exploits our human power to labor and produce wealth.

If Ulster Unionism prevails there will still remain an Irish working class. If Sinn Fein prevails there will still be an Irish working class. There will still remain an Irish master class, content to be masters of Irish human beings.

Let us determine that we who produce all that is produced in Ireland—that we who make Ireland habitable and fertile shall not longer yield the produce of our labor to the masters who whip us with the tyranny of wages. Let us resolve that we shall no longer “build and another inhabit—sow and another reap,” but that we shall make Ireland a Socialist Republic, wherein shall dwell no parasite nor profit-taker and all will contribute to the needs of all and the harmony of the commonwealth.

Irish Labor has been organized to a high percentage during the last two years particularly. All over Ireland are trade union branches. On the basis of “increased wages,” workers have organized. The working class represents the vast majority of the people, and yet, even with “increased wages,” its standard of living never exceeds the bare subsistence level and never will as long as the wages system endures, because wages, or the purchasing prices of human labor are always measured by the employing class according to the minimum level of quarrying and sustaining the wage laborer.

James Connolly pointed out that “Capitalism is the most foreign thing in Ireland.” It has now become the most obsolete because the national, or mass mind of the rank and file see far beyond it in their conception of industrial democracy. They respond with an irrepressible fellowship to the new economic order with which Russia has begun to deluge the vile tyrannies of the capitalist system of the world.

Capitalism, which originated in aggrandizement and wholesale expropriation, has endured into the warfare of exhaustion.

We can dispense with the capitalist. We cannot dispense with labor and the power to produce wealth.

Only the working class possesses this power. The working class of the world has begun to assert this power.

The working class of Ireland is ripe for the same assertion.

The leaders of official Labor have failed during the revolutionary years of 1917-1919 to formulate or direct an economic policy upon the basis of the emancipation of the exploited Irish people.

They have now admitted their failure and claim that, as leaders, it is their function to be led by the rank and file.

Let us lead them! Let us see to it that they become the obedient servants of the class whose interests they advocate. Let us point the way and see to it that they neither impede nor fail us, but that they march side by side with us in fidelity to the magnificent cause of our emancipation. Remember! There is but one thing to destroy—capitalism; one thing to construct—Socialism.

It is impossible for us to take immediate control of the land of Ireland—the industries of Ireland because the existing organization of the workers is based on surface trade union safeguards and reform of present conditions.

Reform is no use to us. We require a revolution of the existing economic order, so that the many who have-not shall come into control and possession, and the few who have all shall become

(From “The Socialist,” June 5)

dispossessed of all but the right to co-operate with us on terms of mere human equality.

We must organize ourselves into workers' committees round the factories, farms and workshops where we are employed, and from these workers' committees elect in all the existing Parliamentary Divisions of Ireland Workers' Councils, i.e., councils of working men and women, to whom we can depute the fulfilment of the social and industrial needs of the special areas which elect them.

By organizing on these lines we shall be liberating the local forces of the Irish working class. We shall create the incentive towards control and ownership of the means of production and social life, which at present, in the hands of the master class, are used as the means wherewith to exploit the mass of the Irish people. Fellow-workers, it is in the power of the rank and file to do this. It is in our power to transform existing organizations of our class out of their present appeals for “increased wages” and similar palliatives into forces which will function toward control of the means of life, and establish us once and for all above our present slavery into a moral standard of human life. Let us be fearless. In liberating the Irish working class we are lifting Ireland into the lofty purpose of the Russian pioneers who have turned the base greed of the European war for possession of fresh markets of exploitation into the tremendous redemption of the world's working class.

Let us contribute our heroism to the class war which is spreading over the world, so that from “generation to generation” those who come after us will do homage to our courage in an era of human release and golden opportunity, an era wherein the common and equal peoples of the future will tread across the memories of our age of degradation into the happy triumphs of human attainment such as the world has never heretofore known.

CRITICAL CHRONICLE

Reaction and Ruin in Russia.

(From the “Justice,” London, June 12, a Bitterly Anti-Bolshevik Journal.)

The capitalist Press seems to consider that Admiral Kolchak has done a good stroke in agreeing to acknowledge Russia's responsibility for her debt to Western Europe. We object to this view altogether. That is for the Constituent Assembly, when it meets again, to decide. We hope and believe it will vote against accepting any such ruinous charge upon Russia. To pay interest upon Russia's liabilities will call for not less than £100,000,000 a year. It is impossible for the Russian Republic to discharge her indebtedness to that amount without hopelessly ruining the Russian peasantry. That is the bare truth, and the sooner France and Great Britain face it the better. Before the war the drain from Russia to Western Europe, as we have stated before, was £55,000,000 a year. This without any commercial return. The total exports of Russia were £160,000,000. One-third of this export—very nearly—was capitalist “drain” of agricultural produce. Even so, Russia had to meet her payments from 1909 to 1914 by extra borrowing. No wonder the peasantry were being crushed by taxation. How is Russia to pay double the pre-war amount? Perhaps Mr. Winston Churchill will tell us? Meanwhile, we are told, on good authority, that some of the richest portions of Russia are being grabbed by international financiers with the aid of the War Office.

Let us not dream now, but arise and act. Let us act quickly. Let us escape from a neutrality which supports the master class of the world and take our stand firmly with the working class of the world in the class war which is thundering over the earth. All power to the Workers' Councils of Ireland and the speedy emancipation of the Irish working class!

On behalf of the National Executive of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland. Thomas Pennycook (Nat. Sec.)

THE IRISH SOCIALIST.

The disruption in the Dublin Trades Council must bring great glee to the master class, which revels in the disunity of the working class. The rank and file need not be disturbed. When officials fall out, the rank and file has a chance of self-determination and when moderate and reactionary elements squabble and intrigue amongst themselves, honest revolutionaries come a little closer to direct action.

It is noteworthy that the expressions of the revolutionary workers have, since Connolly's death, ceased to emanate from Dublin. Limerick proved beyond all the arguments of the superficial that Dublin is no longer the source or inspiration of the Irish working class. It was Dublin which supported the Berne International. The rest of Ireland will go to Moscow. And no matter how much official Labor may try to camouflage its international purposes, facts remain beyond all erasion, and prove that they hailed Berne as the true International. They put their faith in the Berne Conference just as official Sinn Fein put its faith in the Peace Conference at Paris. The common people of Ireland are now aware that Berne and Paris formed a coalition, which served no interests of the master class. They have turned their eyes towards the home of the Soviets, to the pioneers who have set the world's workers out to make the world safe, or the only meaning of the phrase, for the proletarian dictatorship.

Selma Sigerson.

BOLSHEVIKS' ANSWER TO NANSEN.

The Russian Government sends out from Tsarkoe Selo the following radio showing their attitude to Dr. Nansen's proposition:—

An American radio sent from Lyons on May 14, states that the answer given by Soviet Russia to Fridtjof Nansen concerning his plan for the revictualing of Russia signifies the failure of this offer. This statement is all the more astounding considering that the Soviet Government not only did not reject the Nansen offer, but has even conformed to all the propositions embodied in it with but one exception—the question of suspension of hostilities, as this is a purely political question, and should be discussed directly by the Governments concerned.

The promptness with which the American T. S. F. has seized on this reply to accuse the Soviet Government of having refused such a humanitarian offer shows not only an absolute lack of good faith, but also shows that the Allied Governments' chief aim is still the same—to do as much harm as they possibly can to the Russian Soviet Republic.

We repeat once more that the Russian Soviet Government replied affirmatively and categorically, even to an expression of gratitude, to Dr. Nansen.

Humanite, May 22.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday in Empress theatre, corner Gore and Hastings, 8 p.m.

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Editor C. Stephenson

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Our Office Safe and the Social Revolution

WE have again achieved that bad eminence of a police raid. We were not on the premises at the time, so any unpleasant experience can not be counted to our charge. We are at all times ready to give any of our literature to any and all who will undertake to read it. We are not so free with our correspondence, still anyone possessing governmental authority can have access to that any time of the day. If advantage is taken of this offer much trouble can be avoided.

For instance, we have a safe, weighing some tons or so. It is empty except for a mortgage or two, in fact there never was a safe the contents of which were less known. Like most of the office furniture held by the tired business man, its uses were manifold. No one ever opened it, sometimes someone sat on it, and in the cheap dead days beyond recall when credit still stalked the earth, and there still was honor amongst thieves and tired business men, we got a little consideration on the strength of the safe.

It had another use in those bygone happy days when the Fraser River swarmed with Sockeye and Hastings street with suckers. Sometimes its sunk hinge, combination locked, bomb-proof, enameled bulk supported at convenient height—a keg of beer. Ah! those were happy days for the "great middle class" when the Bolsheviki was as little known and less feared than the Jaberwoki, general strikes we knew only through brief items of news concerning France, Italy, and other remote and unknown regions, and the Saturday Evening Post solved every problem in life.

Well, the Mounted Police have taken our safe, and we trust they will have less trouble opening it than they will have with "Capital" in three volumes by Karl Marx: We know they will have much less trouble with the reading matter inside. Lugging a 'steen-ton safe, void and empty of any useful material, all over town, is not within the ordinary duties of a mounted policeman. No! no! 'tis the peril of the unrelenting man-hunt in the frozen north, or the limitless expanse of the bald-headed prairie, through page after page of the Suckers' Magazine, or from cover to cover of the Boy Scouts' Mental Weekener.

But the safe will be accounted a small item when the official bean encounters "the cycle of P" in Capital Vol. II, or the analysis of Rent in Vol. III, not to speak of "the Great Contradiction."

But aside from these and without doubt a few other unpleasant tasks for the official mind, there will be found in the letters and pamphlets some sound science and excellent advice, which might start some process of thinking in officialdom. We were not put to much trouble, or inconvenience, except that a chair had to be brought in to replace the safe. And we have not the thought on our mind that the poor policemen had to be up all night as they were in Winnipeg. We have no idea what all this raiding is about, although they have with mild persistence sought entrance to our idea-refinery. It may be that hope is entertained of discovering something whereon to hang a case, or haply that the official mind really believes all

that stupid mouth-frothing peculiar to "Citizens' sheets. We have, however, long regarded the official mind as inscrutable, a causeless nonentity which functions in a sphere where all known signs fail. This is not scientific, but it's safe.

Take the "Citizens'" sheets, published as they boast, "without brains or information." Who writes the "news" which appears therein? Some citizen? Not on your life! Busy as they are framing strictures and invective, not one in a thousand has the ability to set his thoughts on paper in such order and terms as to be printable.

Here and there on the fringe, some miserable word-butcher earning a bare livelihood, can be found with gall and experience sufficient unto the evil thereof. He, of course, cares nothing and knows less about the issues at stake. It is a question of screaming and yelling, and lying, at so much per scream, per yell and per lie. Hecuba is nothing to him, nor he to Hecuba; he is paid to froth at the mouth, pull out his hair, and otherwise act the fool, because Hecuba had her brains dashed out, or because the tired business man has had his summer sales spoiled.

Being paid to scream and yell and lie, this scribbler, usually an ad-writer, or business booster of some kind, screams and yells and lies in season and out; it really means nothing to him; any more than emptying a midden does to the scavenger. If the noisomeness of the task ever forces itself upon him, he comforts his offended sense with the assurance that the pay is good, at least better than he ever had before, and anyway, the Lord tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. So as we suggested, these hired screamers might have screamed so loud and so artistically that the official mind may have been disturbed, and may really expect to find all those things which the hired liars have invented.

Of course officialdom knows what it wants, and we do not. If officialdom wants to know the real truth about Bolshevism, how it operates, when and why, we can tell them. This Bokhevist-stuff may be a blind. They may really have a good reason for sneaking around radicals' meeting places and homes, in the hope that some stray letter will give them some information urgently required. And again as you say, they may not.

But as we say, if it is Bolshevism and revolution they are looking for, we will let them into a secret. Revolution is in some respects like unto the promised advent of Christ, no man knoweth the hour it cometh; when it does come its high priests will one and all repudiate it.

When it comes more-over it will be born of the economic needs of a vast multitude of human beings, and not of the brain of a few agitators. The plan will not be found locked up in a dilapidated roller-top desk of some Labor Hall, but will arise surprisingly new from the conditions of existence, and behind it will be, not the club or the bomb of the anarchist, but the accumulated experiences of a hundred thousand years, and the irresistible might of humanity en-route for new pastures. This is a secret, we would not tell everyone. But with our Government so earnestly searching for truth, and light and justice, we'll break a custom.

This revolution has happened many times in man's past, as our Government might discover by reading one of the strange books called histories, used at our public schools. We might be tempted to say that Koskiusko, Garibaldi and Washington are altogether too much in the limelight. They all believed in overthrowing Constitutional Government by force. More than that, they all attempted and the last named two accomplished that object.

We protest against this insidious propaganda upon young and impressionable minds. The children are taught to honor and emulate those men, and when they say a few words in opposition to the accepted orthodox squint of the "Great Middle class."

"Monsters of the prime.
That tear each other in their slime,
Were mellow music matched with him."

We are however of good cheer. They may silence our voices and suppress our activities but the pregnant forces of capitalist production and their own supreme folly can only come to a period, by a revolution. J. H.

What Is Socialism?

With the Social Revolution now in birth it may seem, at first blush, to be somewhat late in the day to be bothering with the subtleties raised by this question. Nevertheless, it is one that is still quite frequently asked—indeed, at the present juncture, more frequently and with more evidence of an earnest desire for knowledge than ever before. Usually it is not the 'plug' who asks. If the truth be told he is not over-much interested in the theoretical basis of Socialism these strenuous days. He inclines more to something with an 'up and coming' flavor to it. 'Bolshevism' has won his fancy. Doubtless this is due to the intensive advertising given that article by the daily press.

It is the more superior (?) type of wage slave who at this late hour is thus manifesting a suddenly awakened interest in Social and Economic problems. More often than not the enquiry is followed by some such evidence of mental perplexity as this: "What I can't understand about these Socialists is, they can not agree even among themselves."

Now it is a fact that there exists today a wide diversity of opinion on certain subjects among those calling themselves Socialists. But I contend, and shall endeavor later on to show, that the real issue is not so much between Socialist and Socialist as between Socialism and something less than Socialism.

However, let us begin at the beginning. First, to clear the ground—to get rid of some rubbish. Socialism today is not what Socialism used to be. This must not be taken as an admission that the Socialist has retreated from a position he once held—on the contrary.

Astronomers at one time held the earth to be the centre of the Universe. Today any man holding to that idea may call himself an astronomer if he pleases, but he will not be considered worthy of serious consideration. There was a time when the name Socialist was given to persons who were obsessed with the idea that society could be organized in accordance with some preconceived plan, into an Ideal State. They were Utopians and Idealists—good men in their day, but that day is long since. Today that is not Socialism—it is nonsense. Some few specimens of that archaic mind still exist and serve to remind us that even the most serious subjects have their humorous aspects.

Modern Socialism is essentially Scientific. The only Socialist worthy of serious consideration or, indeed, having any real claim to the title, is the Scientific Socialist.

So far, so good.

There is a branch of human knowledge which has been named 'Sociology.' Sociology is a science. Science is knowledge reduced to law and embodied in system. Sociology is the science of human progress. Its field is the sum total of human achievement. All other sciences, inasmuch as they touch upon that field, contribute in that proportion to the science of Sociology.

Let us draw an analogy. There are a number of sciences which treat of the nature and origin of all these diseases to which the human organism is subject. The Physician applies the knowledge gained from those sciences in an endeavor to ascertain the underlying cause of certain unhealthy symptoms which his patient manifests. He makes a diagnosis and formulates a theory.

In like manner the Socialist applies the knowledge gained from the science of Sociology to the existing form of society with intent to ascertain the cause of those manifold ills and objec-

(Continued on Page Five.)

(Continued from Page Four.)

Some Sidelights for "Citizens"

tionable features from which society now suffers. He makes a diagnosis and formulates a theory. That is Scientific Socialism.

The Socialist's diagnosis of the existing form of society and its historical tendency, made in the light of the knowledge furnished by the science of Sociology, is the rock—the solid foundation—upon which Scientific Socialism takes its stand. Concisely stated its conclusions are three in number.

1. The basic cause of those disabilities from which society now suffers is the economic system upon which it is based.
2. This system will develop to a stage where the conditions arising out of its inherent contradictions will force a change of economic basis.
3. This change of economic basis—or the Social Revolution—is close at hand.

Upon this diagnosis, it may be safely asserted, all Scientific Socialists are agreed.

Having completed his diagnosis, the physician may prescribe for his patient and thus assist nature in banishing the disease. In like manner the Socialist may help society to purge itself of its objectionable features or, should the passing of that particular form of society be inevitable, he may help to make the transition smoother. The physician prescribes drugs. The Socialist prescribes knowledge.

Having access to a store of accumulated data concerning the different phases of known diseases and the effects of certain drugs on different animal organisms, the physician is enabled to predict, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, the probable course of the disease in his patient and the result which may be expected from a given line of treatment. Here the analogy begins to break down and the diversity of opinion between Socialists begins to arise.

Sociology is not an experimental science. Consequently, when considering the line of future development of the social organism—the method of transition and the form and character of the subsequent state—the Socialist finds himself very quickly adrift on the broad sea of speculation. And a stormy sea it has proven to be for those Socialists who have embarked upon it. Over these two subjects—the method of transition—or the precise form the Social Revolution will take—and the nature and characteristics of the subsequent form of society—there is now raging the wildest and most acrimonious controversy. But it should be understood that this controversy is over subjects which are almost entirely speculative, and upon which no Scientific Socialist should attempt to be dogmatic. It is not to be inferred that speculative thinking should be frowned upon. But it ought never to be forgotten that it is speculation.

The liveliest issue at the present juncture is, of course, the method of transition;—evolution or revolution; moral suasion or physical force; parliamentarism or direct action; ballots or bullets. The 'right wing' Menshevik or Bourgeois Socialists advocate the former in each case; the 'left wing' or Revolutionary group incline to the latter. There exists also a 'center' group which, at the time of writing, appears to be neither 'fish, flesh, fowl, hell-fie or mahogany.'

Upon this issue the scientific mind will not attempt to dogmatize. When challenged to decide between the two extremes of thought represented by the left and right wing groups, the Scientist, with his characteristic readiness to admit ignorance in the absence of conclusive evidence, will answer "I do not know. It is impossible to say."

This much, however, may be said. The probabilities are against the 'right wing' position. In the first place, the right wing is in very poor company. It is a significant fact that the Utopians such as Blatchford, the renegade socialists such as Spargo, and the 'labor fakirs' such as

Wages are the price of labor power. To be priced is the hall mark of a commodity. Cost of production determines and market conditions regulates prices.

It costs so much food, clothing and shelter, etc., to produce labor-power and the conditions of the labor market always are such that the price of labor power is wages, will keep the sellers of labor power down to the bare margin of least possible cost of producing their labor power, that is subsistence.

The cost of living determines wages. That is proved by the fact that the cost of living goes up before wages, because:

1. There is always an overstocked labor market and experience proves the difficulty of raising prices in a falling market. Also see the economists for three hundred years on the subject.
2. The working class are a conservative, unwieldy mass and slow to move.
3. Prices are regulated on the market, irrespective of wages paid. Low priced commodities

Gompers are all to be found more or less openly supporting the right wing. In the second place, the right wing is but poor company itself. The system of State Capitalism, generally camouflaged as State Socialism, which they aspire to, ostensibly as a transitional state, is, with good reason, suspected of being nothing less than an attempt to perpetuate the present system in a more intensive form. It is this that has been referred to as 'something less than Socialism.'

In any case, it does not appear reasonable to suppose that a ruling class as strongly entrenched as is the present ruling class can be persuaded to relinquish their position by anything less than physical force or the threat of it. It is indeed a childlike and ingenuous nature that can see in the State, as at present constituted, anything but the executive committee of the Capitalist Class. That they are prepared to 'gerrymander' the ballot, or even to withdraw it altogether, where there is any expectation of its being used against them is adequately proven. That they are prepared to use the whole power and resource of the State to mercilessly crush any attempt to limit their privileges has not only been stated but amply demonstrated. The preponderance of probability swings strongly to the left.

This does not necessarily imply machine-guns and poison gas. There are many factors which will combine to determine the precise method. Our knowledge of these factors is in the nature of things, limited. But this much may be said. It is the action of the Master-class which will, in the final analysis, determine the action of the Working-class. Machine-gun tactics from them might necessitate like action from us. But it must be noted that even 'machine' guns require the human element of operation. And our masters are not given to that sort of accomplishment. It is to be doubted if they would know which end the bullet came out of. It is always a wage-slave who performs that task for them. They are willing to pay large sums—even as much as one dollar and ten cents a day—for that service.

But there are increasing indications that those very wage-slaves whom they have so carefully trained in that most sinister art may decline again to turn those guns on members of their own class. In which event there will be practically no bloodshed. This would, of course, be most disconcerting to our masters. But, as any blood which might be shed would be that of members of our own class, may we not join in the fervent hope that such may be the outcome? We may. Stranger things have happened.

C. K.

may be the product of high priced labor and vice versa. High-priced labor may, and very often is more efficient and productive or may be and generally is, using more highly developed tools or machines or methods in production.

4. It has been, and is, assiduously promulgated that for wage workers to combine and stand up for themselves, to raise the price of labor power if not now a crime and misdemeanor as it used to be, is at least far from respectable. And to a class who own nothing else but their respectability, that is some consideration. Thus custom makes slaves of us all.

Billy Pritchard is back with us again after being the guest of His Majesty. He says the mentions of the law looked after him well, so well that they refuse to let him out of their sight. He expects to be on the Coast for a couple of weeks when he will be required back in Winnipeg again to stand trial for the lord knows what. The whole Dominion is being raked for serag ends of correspondence and what not in order to piece together some feather-brained structure which will send those men over the road. Billy is in high fettle though, and confident that nothing he or those to be tried have done or said anything which can be construed, without of course the facts be strained to absurdity, into anything criminal. In another column will be found an appeal for funds for the Defence.

A press dispatch, dated London, July 2 reports the Lloyd George Coalition Government as expected to dissolve soon. The writer of the dispatch speculates as to George's political future, and as to the nature of the party he will gather around him. Clynes, Barnes, Henderson and Thomas are postulated as the decoy ducks to lure the working class into this party. The writer is not far wrong in his choice of individuals. Lloyd George is characterized as a "master of compromise." What is really meant, under that mask of fair words, is that he is a master at double-crossing those people who blindly put their trust in his phrase-mongery.

American soldiers eager to marry Germans, says a press despatch. That's what getting acquainted at first hand does, instead of at second hand, through the capitalist press.

In the press of July 3, it was reported that the Bolsheviki had captured Perm.

Under the sway of the bureaucratic tyrant, Burleson, the United States postal service has been reduced to a mere political instrument for the suppression of ideas, almost rivaling the Canadian postal service in that respect. In Nov. 1918, he caused to be banned from the mails. Lenin's pamphlet, "The Soviets at Work." The Rand School of Sociology, however took the matter to the courts and have been successful in getting back the privilege of the mails for it.

Here is a despatch as to conditions in that delectable land of bourgeois socialist romance, Queensland. High cost of living solved we have been told. The "Red Stuff" is the usual press "dope" to shield the real cause of the unrest. Capitalist production can not go on when foreign markets are not available.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., July 2.—Labor unrest, cost of living, strikes and dangerous agitation culminated in regrettable features in Townsville, North Queensland, when a crowd of revolutionists, inflamed by "red" propaganda attacked the police station. There was a clash, the police defending vigorously and using ball cartridge, many of the rioters fell.

The "Associative" Principle

ITS INFLUENCE ON THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE IN NATURE AND IN SOCIETY

Society is anterior to man, that is to say, that man, as we know him is a product of society, and that all the material and intellectual characteristics that distinguish mankind are the result of associated life, making due allowance, of course, for such advantages as he may derive from his physical structure.

This concept, it will be observed, excludes the notion of any "Social Contract," tacit or explicit, by means of which society was formed in order to secure the advantages of sociality and co-operative effort. This for several reasons, among which may be mentioned: Firstly, it is not probable, in most respects, not possible that these advantages could have been appreciated before they were experienced. Secondly, experience shows that mankind, in the mass is moved to action not so much by the desirability of any particular objective as by expediency; that is to say, that man does not do what he would but what he must. In the third place, Science has shown that the process of development brings about changes and variations which are perpetuated, should they prove favorable, by the very fact of the advantages they confer. This, of course, amounts to a statement of the law of the "survival of the fittest," of the struggle for existence. It is, however, my intention to show that there is another factor, just as powerful in its action, and possibly more comprehensive in its sweep, operative in the development of man and society. This factor, sociality, has had the effect of alleviating and ennobling the struggle for existence. In short, it is as much a fact of nature as struggle.

What then are the advantages that man derives from living in Society? These are, roughly speaking, three in number:

1. Mutual protection.
2. Social intercourse.
3. Co-operation and division of labor.

These I shall treat separately.

The first, mutual protection, is the most obvious and, possibly, the first in time. It has been a powerful factor in the perpetuation and development of many species not individually well-equipped by nature to survive. This is especially true of man, who is particularly ill-equipped by nature for either offence or defence, not to speak of the long period that must elapse before he attains maturity. Moreover, the security thus attained gives opportunity for physical and mental development and the accumulation of wealth.

To the second factor, social intercourse, man owes his sense of solidarity, his tendency to altruism and self-sacrifice, which, though often obscured by circumstances and the exigencies of life are yet distinguishing features of mankind, all pessimists and misanthropes to the contrary notwithstanding. Add to these the use of speech, the art of writing, the interchange of ideas, music, painting and the decorative arts generally.

It will be noticed that, in the third factor, we have two elements bracketed together. This is done because, as a moment's consideration will show, they are, in reality, merely two aspects of one and the same thing. Whoever says division of labor, says co-operation. Incidentally, however, it may be noted that, inasmuch as co-operation can be conceived as existing without specialization, it will be seen that co-operation is the permanent, the abiding principle. Now then in view of the fact that bourgeois writers and scientists are prone, for obvious reasons, to emphasize the competitive factors in evolution, I propose to deal at some length with this particular concept which has been as powerfully and continuously operative in the development of organized life and society as any other.

As everyone knows, Pooh-Bah traced his ances-

try to the "primordial, protoplasmic globule" and this is true, not only of the Japanese dignitary, but of every living organism; a process which is repeated, or better, epitomized in the life history of each living being. Let us take a look at this remote ancestor of ours, or rather, at its living representative, some simple unit animal such as the Amoeba. This speck of protoplasm moves, feels, digests, absorbs, breathes and excretes. All these processes occur within the compass of a unit mass of living matter—a single cell. The protoplasm, an exceedingly complex chemical substance, of which it is composed undergoes the process of metabolism, that is to say, of assimilation and decomposition. Under favorable circumstances its income will be greater than its expenditure and the cell grows. There is, however, a limit to the growth of a single cell. This occurs when the rate of assimilation of the constantly increasing mass of protoplasm becomes equal to the highest possible rate of absorption. Now, absorption can only take place through the surfaces and the ratio of surface to volume diminishes very rapidly with increase in size. [For those of a mathematical turn of mind I may mention that the volume of a sphere, for instance, increases as the cube of the diameter, while the surface only increases as the square of the diameter.] When in single-celled animals this limit is reached so that starvation begins, then division of the cell takes place. By division, the ratio of volume to surface and therefore of assimilation to absorption is lowered and

two animals in place of one.

Immediately germane to the main argument introduced these facts on account of their peculiar significance in that they explain the phenomena of growth and reproduction in terms of economics. Multiplying in this way the cells form colonies, become ever more complex as evolution proceeds. In these organisms which have reached the gastrula stage, or in such as the common hydra we find considerable differentiation in the cells: the outer ones are protective, nervous and muscular, the inner ones digestive and assimilative. Here, therefore, we have division of labor. As evolution proceeds we get animals more highly organized and find the cells of which they are built up still more specialized. Some are predominantly nervous, others contractile, others digestive, supporting, protective and so on. The range of activity of the several cells is narrowed, and the cells at the same time specialized in form and structure. Aggregates of cells in which the same function predominates form the tissues of the body, such as muscular, nervous, glandular or connective tissue which again go to form special organs such as brain, heart, liver, kidneys and whatnot. This process culminates in the production of an organism such as the body of a man which is a veritable city of cells, each retaining its own individual life, growing and multiplying, but differentiated and specialized for some specific function yet all co-operating and contributing in their totality to the life and well-being of the complete organism.

Next week we shall observe the operation of this principle in society.

GEORDIE.

LONDON, England, (Saturday.)—Replying to French invitation to send delegates to attend a conference in Paris today to arrange for a 24-hour general strike in England, France and Italy against intervention in Russia, the British Labor Party has informed organizers of the conference that the notice was too short to enable them to do so, adding that a general strike can not be called in Great Britain without a ballot of the trade unions.

TO A FOILED EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONAIRE.

By Walt Whitman.

The battle rages with many a loud alarm and frequent advance and retreat.
The infidel triumphs, or supposes he triumphs,
The prison, scaffold, garrote, handcuffs, iron neck-lace and lead balls do their work,
The named and unnamed heroes pass to other spheres.
The great speakers and writers are exiled, they lie sick in distant lands,
The cause is asleep, the strongest throats are choked with their own blood,
The young men droop their eyelashes toward the ground when they meet;
But for all this Liberty has not gone out of the place, nor the infidel enter'd into full possession.

When liberty goes out of a place it is not the first to go, nor the second or third to go,
It waits for all the rest to go, it is the last.

When there are no more memories of heroes and martyrs
And when all life and all the souls of men and women are discharged from any part of the earth,
Then only shall liberty or the idea of liberty be discharged from that part of the earth,
And the infidel come into full possession.

Then courage European revolter, revoltress!
For till all ceases neither must you cease.

Did we think victory great?

So it is—but now it seems to me, when it cannot be help'd that defeat is great,

THE SOVIETS JUDGED BY AN AMERICAN.

The Journal des Debats publishes the following article sent to the Chicago Daily News by their Russian correspondent:—

Moscow, May 19.—There is no disorder neither in Petrograd nor in Moscow. There is no chaos in Soviet Russia. Never since its establishment has the Soviet Government been more firmly established than now. Never in the history of modern Russia has a Government had as much real authority as the existing Soviet regime.

In penetrating into Soviet Russia one is struck by the fact that whatever Bolshevism is it is not chaos. After having been some time within the frontiers of the Communist Republic, one is surprised, for the situation is just the opposite to what the American people imagine. There is no disorder. There is, in fact, too much order. One is safer in the streets of Petrograd or Moscow than in New York or Chicago. Imagine to yourself what would happen to one ignorant of Chicago if he passed the night in its streets! Imagine what would happen if the police were withdrawn from the town! Moscow has not one policeman, and owing to the shortage of fuel is unlighted, and in face of this one can walk in full security in the streets even after midnight.

The correspondent goes on to say that the recent successes of Kolchak have only strengthened the Bolsheviks by assuring them of the support of the majority of the nation. Whether this is agreeable or not to the rest of the world, the American people must understand it. The dictatorship of the proletariat signifies not anarchy, not chaos, but the most perfect order.

There is not in Petrograd or Moscow any thieving or drunkenness, nor any fighting. The theatres and operas are crowded. In spite of exorbitant prices, the people are well clothed and shod.

Nevertheless, the food question in Petrograd and Moscow is serious. Will America reach out a helping hand to a starving people?

British Coal Commission Hearings

THE recent hearings on the nationalization of mines, held by the British Coal Commission in the King's Robing Room of the House of Lords, developed an interesting controversy between the representatives of the miners on the Commission and several of the largest titled owners of coal-producing land in Great Britain, subpoenaed by the Commission to give evidence chiefly as to the validity of their titles. The following extracts from the testimony, as reported in the London Times of May 8, 9, and 10, indicate the scope and the intent of the inquiry.

Lord Durham, the first witness, is the owner of 21,411 acres of coal land in the County of Durham, of which, he stated, approximately 6000 acres were purchased within the last 100 years, 4000 acres between 1720 and 1820, while the remainder was "ancient land owned by the Lambton family."

Mr. Smillie. I suppose it may be taken that the land, which includes the minerals and metals, is essential to the life of the people? Do you agree?—Lord Durham. If you like, I accept that. They can not live in the air.

Q. Provided a limited number of people hold the whole of the land, they practically hold the lives of the people in the land at their disposal?—A. I do not accept that.

Q. You do agree that land is essential to the life of the people, but you will not accept the proposal that if the land is in the hands of a limited number of people, practically they hold the lives of the people at their disposal?—A. The lives of the people who live on my land are as happy as

those on any other land, and it makes no difference whether I own it or not.

Q. Land is quite as necessary to life as fresh water or air or sunshine?—A. Or bread.

Q. We can not get bread without land. It is one of its purposes to produce bread. You say you own the coal under 12,411 acres of land in the County of Durham?—A. Yes.

Q. I suppose you claim the ownership of the surface of the land with the minerals under it?—A. Certainly, in nearly every case.

Q. Do you know whether the law of England allows any person to own land in the full sense?—A. I am not a constitutional lawyer, but I consider that my title to my land is established by the laws of this country.

Mr. Smillie then quoted Williams on "Real Property," in which it was said: "The first thing the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership. Such an idea is quite unknown in English law. No man in law is absolute owner of his lands, but only holds estate in them."

"Do you agree with Williams?" asked Mr. Smillie. Lord Durham. I have not read him, but I know I am only tenant for life of those lands.

Q. But you say you own it?—A. For my life.

Mr. Smillie next quoted Coke, who said that all lands were tenements under the law of England and no subject held land except by the King. "Do you agree with Coke?" asked Mr. Smillie.

The witness protested that it was not fair to ask him questions on extracts read without the contexts.

Q. Do you agree with the general proposition that no person can hold land in England under the law, but may possess it for the time being?—A. I do not give an opinion one way or the other. I am not a constitutional lawyer.

Q. I will quote a constitutional lawyer, Blackstone, who says: "It is a received and undeniable principle of law that all lands in England are held immediately of the King." Do you deny Blackstone's authority? If he is correct you can not hold the land you claim to own.—A. That is your opinion. My family has owned land for a great many years and no one has disputed it.

"We dispute it now," interjected Mr. Smillie amid laughter. Continuing, Mr. Smillie said: "I will quote another. There is a very old Book which says, 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof.' I am not exactly sure of the author, but it appears in the Bible, upon which you have promised to tell the truth and the whole truth this morning. Would you deny that authority?"

Lord Durham. I prefer another authority, which says, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's."

Mr. Smillie. That is exactly what I want to be done at the present time, because if "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof," it can not be the property of individuals. (Laughter.)

Lord Durham (to the Chairman.) Is this an ecclesiastical examination? (Loud Laughter.)

Neil Maclean, M.P., on Why the Government Sent Troops to Russia

Neil Maclean, M.P., knows why the armies of Entente Capitalism are pouring into Russia, and he told the House of Commons why, though the Press took jolly good care that he would not be allowed to tell the country.

On the 29th May, during the debate upon the Daily Herald's exposure of the Army Office circular to the Colonels about strike-breaking and Churchill's "able defence" thereof (vide Glasgow Herald posters,) Neil declared:—

"The people of this country, the Trade Unionists of the country at their conferences and Trade Union branch meetings, are passing resolutions demanding the withdrawal of our troops from Russia. Yet those troops remain. Why? What is the cause of it? The real cause is not the cause which the Secretary of State for War gave today. The real cause is because there is so much British capital invested in Russia and because we want to be sure that there is a Government in Russia which will safeguard the capital invested. [Hon. Members: "Hear, hear!" and "No, no!"] It is estimated that there is today invested in Russia £1,600,000,000 of European capital. . . . That is the real reason for the conflict in Russia. The money of the Capitalists of this country is being invested side by side with the Germans—the Hun whom you have been denouncing for so many years, and whom you have been fighting for four and one-half years—they are investing money in that country and trying to draw dividends from it; that is the real reason for the intervention in Russia. We find volunteers being appealed for to go to Russia, and responding. I have not yet heard or seen in any paper the name of any gentleman amongst those in these records which I have of shares, who has volunteered to go out to Russia to fight for his investments. It is the boys who have gone through the war, and who are drawn from

the working classes. Hon. Members denounce the Bolsheviks, applaud every statement that is made against them, and shout down everyone from this side of the House who tries to say anything that is looked upon as Bolshevism by them. I find hon. and right hon. members of this House with money invested in Russia. I FIND THREE GENTLEMEN WHO SIT ON THE FRONT GOVERNMENT BENCH WITH MONEY INVESTED IN RUSSIA. [An Hon. Member: "Why not?"] Why not? Then do not let us have it said that we are there for high ideals. Tell us the right reason why you are there: to fight for your investments, as you went to war in South Africa for the goldfields. . . . Munitions of war and guns are sent from this country. Why? Another evidence of the strength of the armament trusts in this country. It is because the investors, shareholders and directors in the Birmingham Small Arms Company and in Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. have money invested. That has always been the game of the armament companies. They say—"Let us go to war, let us have scares of war so that we can unload our stocks upon some country, reap the money from it, and divide the surplus amongst our shareholders."

It is the old question over again—the trail of the financial serpent—men who say they can not find investments in their own country invest abroad, and when rebellion, civil war, or revolution springs up in that country they are scared, because they fear the loss of their capital abroad, when times of disorder come they fear they are going to lose it, and they use the interest they undoubtedly have with the Government to have intervention in those countries, to send troops to prevent their capital being lost.

There was an invitation for volunteers. As I have said already, not one of the men whose names I have here—and I have the names of

1500 British shareholders in Russia—has volunteered to go to Russia to fight for his investments there. If they want to fight for their money, or if their money is worth saving, let them go and fight for it. . . . We went into a war to crush Prussian militarism. Yes, and Prussian militarism is the one commodity in the world that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has allowed to come into this country without putting a tax upon it. [An Hon. Member: "No preferential tariff there!"] . . . The rights of the community against any section! De we find the Government asking the troops to send in their views as to the Big Five, as to the operations of the Meat Trust in America sending up the price of food to their relatives in this country. Do we find that the troops are being asked to send in their views in regard to the land owners of this country, who are preventing—"

And so on. All true. But a Capitalist newspaper published a line of it.

We are interested in these 1500 Russian investors. Can not we publish them—Neil!

SIBERIA.

A captain in the Intelligence Division of the American Expeditionary Force, serving in Siberia states, in an amazing article in "Hearsts" Magazine for June, that "ninety-five per cent. of the people in Siberia are Bolshevik," while, "the Trans-Siberian Railway is virtually in the hands of the Bolsheviks." Kolehak's one support is his army and even in the army, according to the report of a recent arrival from Siberia, writing in the New York Times, every soldier is "as much a Bolshevik as the soldier he is fighting against." Returned Canadian soldiers also report to the same effect. It's a strange perversity those Russians suffer from. They would rather have Lenin than Wilson. Communism than Capitalism.

An Appeal From Hungary

(From June 12 Labor Leader)

From the Hungarian Socialists to Workers of Allied Nations

THE Soviet Government of Hungary still stands. In view of the conflicting and heavily censored telegrams which are appearing in the capitalist press, the following translation of the appeal issued by the Hungarian Socialist Party to the workers of the Allied nations is of more than historical interest:

"Comrades,—The mask has fallen from the face of your governments. They are about to close the most formidable of all wars with an Imperialist peace such as the world has never known. They plunged you into this war in the name of Democracy, Justice and the Liberty of the Peoples. You have given your blood, your strength and your miserable lives in order that the vanquished German people might be economically crushed, and that the power and riches of your capitalists might be swollen indefinitely, and in order that their power, based upon oppression and exploitation, upon blood and iron, might extend throughout the world."

After enumerating the crimes of the Allied Capitalist-Imperialism, and the shameless deceptions practised upon the peoples of the Allied countries during the war the appeal points to the unmistakable deadly intention of Allied Capitalism, in the flush of victory, "purchased with the blood of the proletariat," to crush the power of the workers wherever it rises, particularly in the young Socialist republics, few against many, and almost defenceless.

"Comrades, the Russian and Hungarian workers cannot alone achieve the victory of the revolution. They cannot do so even if the German workers range themselves on their side. Today, when your capitalism has attained the height of its power, when it is about to subjugate the whole world to its iron militarism, today there is only one force that can save the Russian and Hungarian revolutions and lead the international revolution to victory.

"That force is your own, workers of the Entente nations. On your shoulders, comrades, reposes today the terrible responsibility of the future of the workers' revolution, which means the future of humanity. It is your sacred duty, your historical task, to remove the horrible burden that Entente Capitalism has fastened on to the backs of the starving and bleeding peoples to save the revolutions menaced and to prepare the victory of Socialism throughout the world.

"Comrades, when in July, 1918, in the intoxication of victory, German Imperialism prepared to impose its reign of violence in the east of Europe, a million workers rose up in Germany, in Austria, and in Hungary, and proclaimed the general strike. They did not succeed then in breaking the powerful machine of the State and their uprising was crushed by the army. But, for the

first time the structure of German capitalism was shaken, and they placed the first stone of the revolution of November, which shattered the peace of Brest-Litovsk. They saved the honor of the working class of Germany, Austria and Hungary, so shamelessly deceived and led astray by its leaders.

"Comrades, it is your turn now to act likewise. It is not enough for your representatives to refuse the credits; they will be dominated by the majority. It is not enough for you to protest in meetings, for your Clemenceaus, Lloyd Georges, Orlando, and Wilsons despise protestations. You must not wait to conquer a majority in your parliaments, for each day that passes without action on your part signifies the deaths of thousands of workers, the destruction of natural wealth, the engulfing of humanity in the morass of Capitalist Anarchy. Each day that you allow to pass without action approaches the downfall of the workers' revolution in Russia and Hungary, the promulgation of capitalist slavery for long years or, if capitalism cannot establish itself on the butchery of the world war, the destruction of all European civilization and the return to barbarity.

"The eyes of the workers of the East, fighting, suffering, creating, are upon you. On your revolutionary will, on your revolutionary acts, depends the fruits of their heroic efforts—the preparation of your own liberation—depend your future and the future of the workers of the world. To you the war has brought no well-being or happiness, but intensified misery and slavery. Every victory of your Imperialists over the Workers' Republics reinforces reaction in your land, and destroys the remaining vestiges of your democracy.

"Show your exploiters by acts, by demonstrations, by mass strikes, that you will pursue the struggle for Socialism, bring aid to your brothers of the working class, that you are worthy of your revolutionary ancestors.

"Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Socialist Party." (La Vie Ouvriere, May 28, 1919.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS REPORT.

(Continued From Page One.)

rotten tree it came.

The strike forced on the workers has now to all appearances reached its end. Only a scattered band here and there are still stubbornly holding out for terms, either for themselves or as with the Vancouver Longshoremen, in behalf of the telephone girls. The strikers are going back because of financial exhaustion. The spirit is still as grim as ever. They are merely bending to circumstances. Even the stoutest oak does that. Out of the present experience they will fashion superior methods for accomplishing their needs and desires.

We repeat, this strike was deliberately forced on the workers. They had no option, or at least no option which men with any spark of class solidarity in them could accept. Because once a blow had been aimed at a vital and accepted principle of the organized labor movement in Winnipeg, it then, especially as the Government was the aggressor in chief, it then became a matter of concern for all the rest of the country. Through the mouth of their Minister of Labor, the oligarchy of interests spoke and the "kept" press and the pulpit took up the cry and every capitalist toady and lickspittle echoed it, that labor should not bargain through its central councils of allied crafts, but by craft alone. And they won, but by what methods. No need to recount them, they are fresh in our minds. But there is still a fight on our hands. There are those labor officials and others who were arrested. There is their cause to fight. Funds are needed.

CONSERVATISM IN GREAT BRITAIN EXPECTED TO TRIUMPH (?)

Referring to the political situation in Great Britain a Vancouver Liberal paper says hopefully that "time and time again have the Conservative Party in that country been in a similar position and has emerged triumphant." That is what the flim flam of bourgeois politics is for. Out of its so-called drastic legislation always emerges, triumphant conservatism.

GREEKS FRATERNISE WITH RED ARMY.

A Russian radio of May 19 states that Greece has decided to take no further action against Soviet Russia. The Greeks of the Black Sea contingent condemned the conduct of the Entente which had forced the Greeks to fight against the Red Army. In the evening (this probably means the evening of the fraternization of the French and Greeks with the Bolsheviks) all the Greeks, including their admiral, visited the President of the Revolutionary Committee, wearing the insignia of the Red Army.

CIRCULATE SOCIALIST LITERATURE

A wider spread knowledge of the fundamentals of the Socialist philosophy is needed. Assist by circulating this literature of the movement:

SEND FOR

The Communist Manifesto, at the rate of \$8 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada . . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Slave of the Farm . . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Wage Worker and Farmer . . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

The Present Economic System, by Professor W. A. Bonger. . . \$6 per 100. Single copies 10 cents. Postage Paid.

Make all Money Orders payable to C. Stephenson, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.

IS LABOR-POWER A COMMODITY?

Why not appoint another commission to find out why labor power, if it is bought and sold on the labor market, is not to be regarded as a commodity and also, how it can escape the economic laws of the commodity market so long as it is bought and sold?

THAT SAFE!

That the Vancouver strike has been without violence, no thanks are due to the inflammatory sheets which have been appearing on the city's street with such profusion. The worker class alone are responsible for the peace and quietness. The only violent acts have been perpetrated by the forces of "Law and Order" (?). In the night, the Dominion police, in true militaristic fashion, without notification or by your leave, burst through windows and doors into the Labor Temple, and the Socialist Party Headquarters. From the latter place they took a safe that must have weighed over a ton. No doubt, as they tugged and sweated at unaccustomed and hated labor, they thought they had at last found the long-sought-for plans of the Soviet Republic for Canada. We can imagine the look of profound disgust and chagrin on their faces when they opened it and found it empty of all but a couple of heavily mortgaged deeds. To the victors, the spoils.

P. S. (Later.) The safe is back again and we had the pleasure of watching the tugging, the hugging and listening to the he haws and the yo ho's of as inefficient a bunch of miserable sweating slaves as ever existed. One longshoreman would have waltzed that safe into position in two minutes without batting an eye.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JULY 6

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings