

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT

TORONTO, DECEMBER 31, 1918

100

LABOR AND THE FUTURE.

Three years ago organized Labor decided, officially, that for the "duration of the war" it would content itself with maintaining the position in Society it then held, and that it would not seek further advantages for itself until what were described as "normal conditions" had again returned. The war had not been many months in progress, however, before organized Labor found itself called upon to abandon that position, and to agree to the setting aside of many of the defensive safeguards that, like barricades, it had built up by several generations of toil and sacrifice to protect itself against its foes. Having—reluctantly and in response to the alternate threats and cajolery of statesmen and "leaders" set aside these safeguards, the workers were not long in discovering that the other things did not remain the same, but rather that changes were taking place in industry which, if unheeded, would tend to make the future struggles for a full and free life much harder than they formerly were. Slowly, but none the less certainly, it is to-day being perceived by increasing numbers of workers, that while they have slept, their position has been undermined and weakened, and it is this as yet dim perception that is mainly responsible for the present stirring of the trade union dry bones, and for what in exalted circles is described as "Industrial Unrest." Tension with regard to the future will not carry the working class very far. The times call for vigorous thought and for real preparation for action. The Trade Union movement at this great crisis—this supreme testing moment of its history—is called upon to determine what its mission, its work, its purpose, as a factor in the struggle for freedom is to be. It stands, indeed, at the cross roads to-day, and upon the choice it makes will depend whether it is or is not to be a real live force, working first for the destruction of capitalism, and secondly for the building up of the New Society.

THE NEW WORLD

Prophets, priests and kings, to say nothing of politicians and editors, daily reiterate pious platitudes about the new order that is to built up on the ashes of the world now so energetically engaged in destroying itself. But beyond feeble hints and

senile suggestions, they are strangely silent as to what form and character of the new world is to be. Since the question is one that has special application for and to the workers, we ourselves, as workers, must both put the question and find the answer.

What kind of a new world is it to be? Is it to be a world in which Labor will be more ruthlessly exploited than ever before, in which life for the mass of the people will be a dull, sordid, colorless round of companionship with poverty and Labor and Capital will fraternise, and Labor, in return for certain small concessions calculated to make life a little more tolerable, will be a willing, acquiescent consentor to being regarded as a class set apart in society and born to produce but never to own or control the means whereby production is made possible? Or is it to be a new world indeed, and one in which the workers, by virtue of the fact that they are workers, will decide for themselves the conditions under which they shall labor and live. The future of the world will be decided in accordance with the will and determination, or the lack of these qualities, shown by the workers of the world in formulating and applying the answer to these questions.

HOW IS ORGANIZED LABOR FACING THE FUTURE

Organized Labor has every reason to look forward to the "outbreak of peace" with misgiving. The end of every modern war has brought a period of crises for the workers—a time in which, owing to the sudden thrusting of large bodies of workers, returned soldiers and displaced producers of war material on the Labor market—the competition for employment has become so keen that the meagre standard of life or existence to which the workers are accustomed has been made even more precarious. It was the fear that history would in this respect again repeat itself, that led those unions to whom application or command—what you will—was made to set aside their rules, etc., to insist that pledges should be given by the Government guaranteeing that pre-war conditions would be reverted to when peace was declared, and later that those should be incorporated in the Munitions Act. Confidence in

Governmental pledges has, however, received many rude shocks of late. Even trade union officials, who a year or so ago were loudly expressing their satisfaction with the "guarantees" they had been able to secure for those they represented, are now busily engaged in suggesting that perhaps it would be as well to have some other sheet anchor, in case the "pledges" slipped a little, and are exhorting their members to perfect their organizations with the object of making them strong enough to resist any attacks. But even if the pledges of the Government and the promises of the employers, that no attempt would be made to exploit the war-time sacrifices of the trade unionists, were made in good faith, and even if an endeavour were to be made to return to pre-war conditions, could it be accomplished? For three years industry has been changing its character with such rapidity that it is quite an accepted commonplace that an Industrial Revolution has been accomplished. Old machinery has been relegated to the scrap-heap, and new machinery to the value of millions of pounds has been installed in new factories equipped with all the latest devices of speedy and efficient wealth production, handling, delivery, etc. Experimentation, often at national expense, and the suspension of some of the patent laws, have placed many new processes in the hands of private employers. The demand for labor in connection with the expansion of armament production has been responsible for the placing of large numbers of women and new men workers into occupations where though in the main untrained they have been engaged on work of a character previously considered to be the strictly limited province of the skilled worker. The specialising and standardizing of machine production has made enormous headway, so that now, by a more scientific subdivision of labor than was hitherto applied, the whole of the operations performed by a skilled worker can be carried through by a chain of separate workers, each engaged in contributing his or her quota of the effort needed to turn out the finished product.

On the Railways, the centralising of control has resulted in the elimination of a great many competing services, the closing down of many stations and a considerable reduction of railway staffs. The employment of women workers in

connection with railway work has been tried, found successful and extended, and in addition the amount of work done by, say, an engine driver, has been materially increased by such methods as adding to the length of a train or the load to be drawn by the engine. All these changes, though many have been dramatic in their application, are but a continuation, speeded up, to be sure, of movements that were in operation prior to the war—movements, in fact, which are a part of social development, and which result in the main from changes which of necessity takes place in the technique and mechanism of production and distribution. Even if it were possible for the world to return to the conditions of things that existed before Europe became insane, it would not be desirable. The position of the workers then was such that they were always forced to be on their guard against continued attempts by the employing class to further exploit them, and they were, by virtue of the competition existing amongst themselves, forced to accept conditions they would otherwise have been strong enough to decline. Pre-war capitalism had nothing in its composition that merits a moment's "looking backward" on the part of the working class.

THE PROBLEM

Since to retrace our steps is historically impossible, how are the workers affected by the problem confronting them? The problem that will call for immediate solution if social catastrophe is to be avoided, is: How shall the employing class be prevented from using the millions of men who will be "set free" by demobilisation and by the great "turn-off" of munitions and other workers, for the purpose of so playing off one section of the workers against another in the manner so skillfully used during the war, that Capital will be able to ride roughshod over the people? If other things remain the same, the competition for employment is likely to assume the character of a mad scramble, and in a scramble, as a rule, more people are hurt than receive benefit. The changed character of industry will have brought conditions to which the workers cannot accommodate themselves by the painful process of "getting used to them," or of "finding their level."

Are we to see a re-occurrence of the happenings of the early years of the 19th century, when the Industrial Revolution so changed the productive forces that the old handicraftsman found that the skill of his hands could not compete against power-driven machinery, and that his occupation was gone and his place taken by a child machine operator or a woman. Almost simultaneously the return of the victorious Empire defenders from the battlefield of Waterloo precipitated large numbers of soldiers into a civil life already overburdened with the task of re-adjusting its social conditions, and bringing them into line with economic changes brought about by the use of the engine and the machine. The fluid state of society at that period made it possible for such an intensified exploitation of the workers by the new industrial capitalist factory owners to be accomplished that the workers of to-day have not yet thrown off its effects. The numbers of men and women involved are so much more vast in the present crisis, that if history repeats itself on a bigger scale, the horrors of the 1800-1850 period will seem small and trifling in comparison with the mischief that will be wrought.

OUR OBJECTIVE

No form of organization and no plans for attack can be of service unless the workers possess a clear recognition of the service and purpose of the working class. Is our purpose the mere securing of an extra few shillings per week or the reduction of one, two or even many hours of labor? If it is, then the workers' industrial movement need but hand itself over to the tender mercies of the Alliance of Employers and Employed. The employing class will of itself concede these things, knowing well that "contented" workers, tolerably well cared for, will do more work and will be quite "safe." Our purpose must be clear and definite, and be the guiding inspiration of all our activities. It must be nothing less than the full and complete determination by ourselves of the conditions under which we live and work, and the full control by ourselves of the wealth we produce. The accomplishment of this purpose cannot be the work of benevolent, philosophical professors engaged in analysing society, or of social quacks with distorted vision. All progress comes from below. The working class has been brought into being as a class, and has become an entity by the development of the productive forces. Capitalism has produced it, and will be destroyed by it. No compact with the employing class can serve the purpose of Labor. No class can be entered into, because even when declared a period, as during the war years,

they have not and could not be observed by the capitalist class, notwithstanding that the workers were prepared to keep their side of the contract.

The spirit that led the South Wales miners, the workers on the Clyde, and later on the engineers, to challenge capitalist law and order in the shape of the Munitions and Defence of the Realm Acts, is the spirit that will carry the workers through to their final goal. This spirit should not, however, be wasted in struggles for trifling gains. It must be conserved and even disciplined in order that when called upon to be used it may be found ready and prepared. All forms of working class activity need to be co-ordinated. We have seen how the State—capitalism in its most highly developed form—has taken part in industrial regulation and control, and because of this the struggles of the future will bring the workers into conflict with capitalism at its very nerve center—the State. The programme laid down by the President of the Trade Union Congress at Blackpool for the closer linking up of the industrial, political and co-operative phases of the movement, is more comprehensive than any proposal yet taken up by organized Labor. But behind it there must be the driving force of Labor in revolt against modern conditions, and Labor determined to work out its own salvation.

We have said that Trade Unionism has reached the cross roads. It has to choose between a losing policy of defence and a policy of purposeful and determined attack. It has to choose between alliance with Capital for the maintenance of capitalist supremacy and a condition of things in which Labor will always play second fiddle in the oligarchs' orchestra; and the asserting of its position in the struggle for freedom as an integral part of the armoury of a fighting working class. United, Labor conquers all; divided it remains the tool of its exploiters. United, resolute, determined and refusing to be side-tracked by specious promises or arrangements, the working class nationally and internationally can consolidate its forces, close its ranks, and prepare, first for the clearing the ground of the encumbrances of autocracy and despotism, industrial and political; and secondly, for the building of the new society by the labor of its own hands. Those who do the work of the world have the first claim to full and free opportunities for self development, for education, for leisure, and for the enjoyment of all good things of the earth, which without their labor could not be produced, but which, because they have so far not had the will to prevent it, have been filched from them by a class whose usefulness in society has long passed away. A glorious future is our heritage; it awaits us and it calls

us on. Our own class interests demand that we shall obey the call and march shoulder to shoulder, skilled and unskilled, men and women, all banded together for one common purpose—the winning of true freedom.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

This paper is published by Toronto Central Committee, of the Social Democratic Party of Canada; in order to place the views of that body before the electors of this city in the forthcoming Municipal Elections, January 1st, 1919. This means has been devised in order to cope with the conditions of "Press Censorship" which was responsible for banning our official organ the "Canadian Forward" and in this respect we may add: That it was significant that the above mentioned paper was banned at a time when peace was within measurable distance—the armistice being signed within one month of the date of suppression. It is more than remarkable that this course was adopted by the powers that were at that particular time, and also by the fact:—that only one instance of objection had ever been brought to our notice by the Chief Press Censor, and that of a purely technical nature.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL

The "Order in Council" banning the Social Democratic Party and the consequent disorganization following from this order is principally responsible for us not placing candidates in the field at this time. It has always been a part of our propaganda to place candidates in the field at such times in order that the electors might become familiar with the purpose and policy of the Party. The S.D.P. was formed in the year 1908 and from that time to the present we have always advocated constitutional means for the accomplishment of our purpose. i.e. To legislate the Profit System out of business, and to introduce the principle of Co-operation, not only in the methods of production—but also in the ownership of the means of life. The transformation of "Capitalist Class" property into the property of the Working Class.

Some time ago we stated in the columns of the "Canadian Forward" that the "Order in Council" would not convert any person to the rightness of such orders, but on the contrary would result in a large number of people being sent to jail. We can now state that this prediction has come true, hundreds have felt the heavy hand and many have been sent to prison under these orders upon the most flimsy pretexts—politics playing a very important part in the prosecutions. The orders have fulfilled no useful purpose unless the

prevailing signs of revolt against these measures are a sign of good purpose. They have given considerable momentum to the principle of "General Strike," and the worst is yet to come. All appeals to have the "Orders in Council" removed have been unavailing, and as orderly and peaceful citizens we place the Government on record as the responsible party for any development, upon direct action lines which has taken place. When any government stands impudently in the path of progress and commands "Halt"—they are thereby engendering sentiments of revolt, which if not ended, are likely to throw the country into a condition of civil war.

CLASS WAR—AND PROFITEERING.

The Anti-Socialist will tell you that we are making a "Class War," such, however, is not the case, as we merely point out that there are two classes in Society whose interests are opposed to each other, as per instance:—At the time of the Compulsory Military Service enactment we took the ground that if the lives of the working class were taken in defence of the Empire—and that the Empire depended upon the workers, that it was perfectly logical that the resources of the Empire should also be "Conscripted" in order to defend the workers and their dependents as compensation for their sacrifices. We may add that this was precisely the attitude of the Trades Congress in Convention at Vancouver over two years ago. Now, what did the Government do in this matter? Did they place wealth on the same plane as Man-Power? No. The whole history of the War proves conclusively that not only did they not Conscript Wealth—but even permitted the corporation to make fabulous profits out of War Supplies. Money loans were even exempt from taxation, and the cost of living soared so high that prices of commodities have no parallel in history. This instance of conscienceless profiteering is conclusive proof that the Government were representing a "Class" and were carrying on a "Class War" against the workers who were cajoled into making these sacrifices in the name of "Patriotism" and "Liberty." This, and many other instances might be quoted in defense of our position, and vindicates to us the recognized necessity of "Capturing the Powers of Government," in order that the wealth producers may thereby determine how to divide the products of their labor according to the needs of the people. That is a great Nation which possess within its own borders a great number of "Happy," Healthy, Human beings. Social Democracy will make of Canada—a Great Nation.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC QUEENSLAND.

THE DENHAM GOVERNMENT.

When war was declared, a Liberal Government led by Mr. Digby Denham, was controlling the destinies of that country. All the Cabinet Ministers with the exception of one were merchants of the Stock Exchange. They were all financiers and money lenders. They were all successful business men. They all regularly attended church. They were elders, churchwardens, and some of them had been Sunday school teachers. In fact, they were outwardly everything that gave polish, pomp, respectability and tone to good aristocratic religious Statesmen. The Denham Government were no ordinary, common garden variety of politician. They were held in high esteem and supported by a good majority of the people of Queensland.

They told the people when the war broke out they were the men to save the country and beat the Huns, and the people in their innocent simplicity believed in, and trusted, them.

When war was declared the Denham Government, in order to beat the Huns and to save the country and themselves, toured Queensland and bought up all available food-stuffs as well as large herds of fat cattle and fat sheep. They then cornered the market and lifted the prices of food-stuffs over 50 per cent. In their spare time they held recruiting meetings and eloquently implored Henry Dubbs to at once enlist and go to fight for his King and country, and slay the atrocious Huns that were a menace to civilisation. Some played bands others beat the big drums. Meetings were held everywhere and great excitement prevailed.

AND THEIR FOOD PRICES!

To sum up during the first ten months of the war, while the great excitement lasted, food prices in Queensland soared higher every day until they reached 100 per cent. above pre-war prices. The Cabinet Ministers and their friends made millions of pounds by profiteering.

This went on until a General Election took place in Queensland on the 22nd May, 1915. Before the election campaign started Mr. Thomas Joseph Ryan, the leader of the Labour Socialist Party in Parliament, investigated the deals in foodstuffs made by the Cabinet Ministers.

RYAN'S FIRST VICTORY.

He stumped the country; made specific charges against Cabinet Ministers, and proved to the satisfaction of the people that individual Cabinet Ministers had made over 50 per cent. clear profit on their deals. So disgusted were the people of Queensland with their own Huns, that when the polls were declared it was found that all the Cabinet Ministers with the exception of the Attorney-General had lost their seats in Parliament and Mr. T. Ryan and the Labour Socialist Party was returned by a majority of 17.

The Liberal Government were then compelled to resign and on the 1st June, 1915, the Governor of Queens-

land sent for Mr. T. J. Ryan to form a Ministry. The Ryan Government was formed the same day, and the following day they set out to reduce the cost of living and to emancipate the workers of that country.

STATE SUGAR MILLS.

Straight away the Ryan Government built State sugar mills and State sugar refineries, and manufactured the sugar for the people of the country. The retail price of sugar was immediately reduced to 3d. per pound for the best quality. This amounted to a reduction of about 50 per cent. on the Capitalist prices.

The Ryan Government by different Acts of Parliament resumed, conscripted, or confiscated — whatever one may care to call it — about 9,000,000 acres of land hitherto belonging to the Queensland squatters big land-owners. The Government put young sheep and young cattle upon that land started to breed more. When the cattle and sheep were reared and fat they were driven to the different towns and killed at Government abattoirs, and the meat and mutton hung up for sale in State butchers' shops.

By buying up hundreds of thousands of fat cattle and fat sheep and cornering the market, members of the Denham Liberal Government had lifted the retail prices of meat and mutton in Queensland to over 1s. per pound. This was called good business men, and the Queensland Capitalist Press said the high prices proved the country was very prosperous. When the Ryan Government put the State meat and mutton on the market for sale in the State butchers' shops they reduced the average price of meat and mutton from over 1s. per lb. to an average of about 5½d. per pound. This was hailed with delight by the workers of Queensland. It was a bit of that pure, unadulterated Socialism which the Press had assured the workers would ruin them! It was a touch of that 'atheistic Socialism' which would 'damn their soul for an eternity.' But the workers of that country today smile at the pious warnings and take the risk.

STATE BUTCHERS' SHOPS

These State operations caused a sharp and immediate fall in the price of meat in the private butchers' shops. The private butchers were forced to bring their prices down both by direct Government control and by Government competition. But, notwithstanding the great drop in prices of meat in private butchers' shops, meat was selling at the beginning of this year in the State butcher shops 30 per cent. less than the prices charged in private butchers' shops. The Ryan Government (paying full Trade Union rates for Labour in every department) last year made a net surplus profit on the State Meat Industry of £137,913. By entering the meat retail business the Ryan Government has benefited the community to the extent of 4s. per week

per family of five persons.

A TRUE FAIRY TALE OF FISH.

The Ryan Government built large State steam trawlers, and equipped them with the best up-to-date appliances. To-day they catch the fish with their own State steam trawlers, and sell them in State fish shops. They have organised the fishing industries so thoroughly that they have eliminated all waste and overlapping of labour. As a consequence they have been able to reduce the retail price of fish 66 per cent.

Salmon was reduced in price from 9d. to 3d. per lb. All other fish was reduced in price accordingly. The fish, like the meat, under Socialism is obtained and distributed by the State for the use of the people and not to make a profit out of it for idle shareholders. According to official figures since the reduction in the price of fish the people are consuming double the quantity.

STATE HOTELS & TIMBER MILLS

The Ryan Government, built and established a large number of State Hotels and State Refreshment Rooms. These are far better conducted than any hotels or refreshment rooms run by private enterprise.

The Timber Industry has also been taken over by the Ryan Government. Last year there was a profit of the State Timber Mills of £8,746.

STATE COAL MINES AND IRON WORKS.

The Ryan Government has opened up State Coal Mines, and to-day employs large numbers of State coal miners, and pays them a far higher hewing rate for the coal than the private coal companies, and sells the coal to the consumers far cheaper than the private coal dealers.

The same Government also opened up State Iron Mines and built large State Iron and Steel Smelting Works. Both have turned out a success. The rolling stock for the State Railways is now manufactured in State Foundries, as well as the most up-to-date agricultural implements. The Ryan Government have established a State line of Steam Boats to trade around the coast of Queensland. State Oil wells have also been opened up. State Chilling Works and State Freezing Works have been established. State Printing Works were established two years ago, and the Ryan Government made a net surplus profit on them last year of £13,574. The Ryan Government has also taken over the Life, Fire, and Accident Insurance. Last year by a Statutory reduction in premiums they saved the insuring public over £50,000, and made a net surplus profit of £57,000. The same Socialist Government has built State Workers' Dwellings, and shown how to house the workers in good houses and cheap rent.

FOR THE BLIND AND DEAF AND DUMB.

The Ryan Government have socialised the hospitals, blind asylums, and deaf and dumb asylums. Before the Ryan Government took over the hos-

pitals they were run by charity. The aristocrats who gave the largest donations controlled them, and charged private patients £2 2s. per week. And the workers who could not pay the charges were branded as "paupers" on notice boards hung over their beds.

This has all been changed. Under Socialism all patients are now treated free of charge (just as in the Military hospitals in Britain) with the best doctors and nurses. The same Government established Baby Clinics for the treatment of children free of charge. The blind, deaf and dumb are all properly cared for. The Ryan Government passed an Act and gave every widow, regardless of age, when she lost her husband, 15s. a week of a pension, every orphan child under 15 years 8s. to 10s. per week of a pension, and every mother £5 of a bonus at the birth of every child. Last year they gave £40,000 to returned soldiers to start them in life again, and £15,000 to maimed and wounded soldiers. It is the duty of the Federal Government of Australia to look after the returned and maimed and wounded soldiers.

THE SCHOOL TEACHERS' SALARIES.

Last year the Ryan Government increased the school teachers' salaries £56,000, and so made possible for them a good standard of living. Last year the Ryan Government increased the unskilled workers' wages employed by the Government £759,825 per annum. All State workers are now raised to a good standard of living.

THE ELIMINATION OF THE CONTRACTOR.

All railways and roads are now constructed, harbours and rivers improved, and public buildings erected by men employed directly by the Government on the day labour principle.

The Government are paying their employees 9s. per week more wages than the private contractors paid their men, and are doing the work 25 per cent. cheaper than the lowest tenders received from the contractors.

An act was passed to establish a Statutory Eight-Hour Day by law in all callings. The Ryan Government in their official Red Book states that they intend to nationalise the liquor trade with the ultimate object of abolishing it.

A popular Initiative and Referendum Bill is now before the Queensland Parliament. This Act, when passed, will make Queensland the most Democratic country in the world.

Thus in three years the Ryan Government Socialised a great many of the most important industries in Queensland and controlled the price of foodstuff in others by law. They thereby reduced the cost of living for the workers to pre-war prices. Wages, at the same time, have been greatly increased and the standard of living raised. Hours of labour in nearly all callings have been reduced

by law, and large numbers of houses built for the workers. This policy will be pursued by the Ryan Government until all the workers are emancipated and Labour is free. Queensland has every prospect of becoming the first Socialist Commonwealth in the British Empire.

RYAN'S SECOND VICTORY.

On the 16th March, 1918, a General Election took place in Queensland. During the election campaign the Capitalists of the British Empire subscribed literally unlimited sums of money and sent it to Queensland to beat the Ryan Socialist Government.

Twenty of the most popular Australian Military Officers were relieved of their duties to contest 20 seats against the Ryan Government. All the political parties in Queensland changed their names—but could not change their spots—and amalgamated under the combined name of the patriotic National Party in order to defeat the Ryan Government. But the country refused to be bought, bribed, bullied, or camouflaged, and stood solid by the Ryan Government, with the result that Ryan and his Government were returned by 51 to 21 votes. The Agent-General for Queensland informs me the victory was 48 to 24. But Ryan says 51 to 21.

All the Military Officers were defeated at the polls. Queensland declines to be any longer ruled by Capitalists, Jingoists, or militarists. The Ryan Government are International Socialists, anti-war and anti-conscriptionists. They opposed conscription with all their might and main. This angered the Hughes Federal Government, and W. M. Hughes suppressed the "Queensland Hansard" and tried to jail Ryan. But so popular and powerful has Comrade T. J. Ryan become that the Federal Labor Socialist Party have invited him to become their leader.

Reconstruction! Of What?

We have been looking for the enlightened oracles to speak upon this important question, and far be it from us to impugn their moves—they have sufficient to answer for. We may be permitted to criticize their utterances, however, and a brief study of the reconstruction proposals set forth by the "Canadian Reconstruction Society" is sufficient to warrant the question: "Reconstruction"—of what? Sir John Willison writes, "We must not touch Capital. If we must not tax 'Capital' how is the war debt to be met? We venture the suggestion that the Canadian manufacturers desire that capital shall be absorbed in new industries and thus provide work for the workless, but even assuming that new industries may grow up overnight in sufficient size to absorb those laid off by the closing of munition plants, etc., and the consequent demobilization following the cessation of hostilities (a deduction which we do not admit) it still leaves the war debt unpaid. Do they intend to repudiate the national debt? If every household is to be taxed to meet this

debt approximating \$16,000,000,000, it will take at least \$50 per year per family. This is tantamount to the price of two weeks' wages in the year to meet the accruing interest on the money borrowed; to say nothing of paying off the original capital invested. This is unthinkable as a practical policy. The shrinking dollar is a greater argument than political camouflage. The policy of these so-called reconstruction bodies is to provide more work, and work that is intended to be productive of greater surplus-values. A much greater concentration of industrial capital is quite feasible; but at the best a large proportion of the taxes will have to be levied either directly or indirectly upon the consumers of commodities. The whole scheme as outlined by this reconstruction group comes under three heads:—1. Greater concentration of capital and a more scientific development of industry. 2. Tariff reform. The combination of industrial capital in the development of trade and in securing new markets. 3. Co-operation between capital and Labor to the extent of eliminating industrial strife—strikes, lockouts, etc., adjustment of disputes by arbitration boards.

None of these proposals touch the root of the problem. That root is "Profit." We are not content with any proposal that leaves the worker in a position of dependence to the owners of capital. What we want is not "More work," but "More leisure," and a more equal distribution of those things which our labor has created. The problem of production has been solved in-so-far as the production of life's necessities are concerned. It is not a fitting climax to a victorious "War for liberty" to tell the veterans of a hundred battles that what they want is "more work," and that now the enemy has been vanquished they must go on the land and grow cabbages, without consideration for either their physical or mental fitness for such occupation. It would be more democratic for these social baronets to do some hoeing themselves and permit us to do the legislating. We should at least have better legislation, but we "hae our doots" about the crops. Let us reverse the problem by putting it this way. What we want is not to make the workers work (they have been doing that for two thousand years), but how to make the parasites work. Society is infested by a host of people who do not work, but own and consume what the industrious produce. To deprive these of their power to exploit is the first problem of any properly organized reconstruction society.

The Municipal Election.

The powers of municipal bodies are limited by national and provincial statutes and consequently present little opportunity of remedying the great social problems with which society is confronted at the present

time. Candidates will come before you in the meantime to solicit your votes and support in securing their election to office. This will be the opportunity for political quacks of all kinds to present their wares, which will vary in character from the principles of taxation to the painting of the town pumps, and pink pills to cure social earthquakes. Few, if any of these will deal with the fundamental problems affecting the workers, but they will make up for this by the profuse use of hackneyed phrases such as Democracy, Liberty and Patriotism. Tributes will be paid to your intelligence and the themes suggested will be an outrage upon ordinary sense. It is up to you to tell these gentlemen where they get off, and where you get on. You want good houses to live in not hovels to die in. Ask them about municipal houses and hear them chirp about keeping down the tax rate. Fail not to forget about "promises" and proverbial "pie crust," for this will surely be a promiscuous election, and after this the deluge.

Demobilization.

The demobilization of the military forces which is now taking place will have a tendency to congest the labor market, and although the Government have seen the necessity of increasing the discharge pay, the fact that the remuneration will cease at the end of six months will have a disquieting effect upon the returned men; and if not succeeded by some form of unemployed benefit which will assure to them a reasonable existence, the second state of the men will be worse than the first. We must not forget that many things have changed since 1914. The mind of the soldier and the working class in general has changed, the industrial conditions have changed, everything has changed except the method of exploitation, which is greater to-day than at any other time in history. It is just as impossible to make a mental reverse to the psychology of 1914 as it is to reverse the industrial processes. Let the powers that be bear this in mind, the maintenance of the Empire depends upon the workers. We are the people. If social peace is to be guaranteed the Government will need to make provision for a wider and more equitable distribution of material wealth than their immediate provisions warrant. A general reduction of the hours of labor is the best guarantee of steady employment to all, and any measures calculated to force them "Back to the land" against their acquired habits will be fraught with disaster. As a protective measure we adjure the returned soldiers to line up with the organized workers, both industrially and politically, and not to permit themselves to be used by profiteers or political charlatans. Several labor candidates are in the field for municipal honors, and while we as a Socialist party hold no brief for these

men as individuals, the principle of working class representation is worthy of your support, for no one will help you to help yourselves in the same measure as members of your own class.

WHAT IS "BOLSHEVISM."

Any organization that suggests any remedial legislation is immediately labelled "Bolshevik" by those whose vested interests are likely to feel the heavy hand of "Democracy" in the distribution of material wealth, consequently we would suggest that the reader enquire as to the true nature of this thing labelled "Bolshevism." By way of explanation let us say that the word "Bolshevik" translated into English—means "Majority." In this light you will see how foolish the indiscriminate use of this term is. The "Bolsheviks" are a group of Revolutionary workers whose purpose is to Socialize the means of life. i.e. The Mines, Railways, Factories, workshops, etc., or anything else upon which the whole community depends for its livelihood. This organization (or group) of individuals are, however, only one section of the working class in those countries where this organization has developed—but it is the Majority group. The "Menshevik" (or minority group) and the "Social Revolutionaries" form an integral part of the Soviet Government. These groups constitute the "Soviet Republic of Russia," and form the Working Class Government, just in the same sense that the Capitalist Groups of this country form the Government of Canada. Considerable opposition has been developed by the "Junker Class" in order to overthrow the Workers' Government, and to reinstate the "Bourgeois" (pronounced Bushwa) or profiteering group who have been defeated by the revolution. The hostility of this group is primarily due to economic considerations—The Repudiation of the National Debt—and the confiscation of Capitalist property, and as a secondary consideration the ideology of their class: i.e. The preconceived notion that they are the only Class capable of ruling Society. This, however, is "Egotism"—run mad, for verily, the existence of a vast army of unemployed, thousands of people being upon the verge of starvation in the midst of plenty, these facts of themselves cast a sad reflection upon their so-called "superior brain," to say nothing of the European war, which in itself is a standing example of their ignorance and stupidity. We submit that the workers were not responsible for this:—They were not consulted either in the declaration of war or in the measures necessary to carry it on. This was the result of misrulers—not workers.