

"The Unsolved Riddle"

Ten Minutes' Talk With the Workers
The British Trades Congress

THE RED FLAG

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

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FIVE CENTS

Capitalist Misrule in India

By H. N. Hyndman, in "Justice" (London)

Popular Ignorance of India.

Comparatively few Englishmen ever take the trouble to understand the position which we hold in India. Our people today take less interest in this great subject than they did twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years ago. There is, nowadays, little or no real public opinion on the question. The agitations of the past have died down, and the almost inconceivable blundering and horror of our misgovernment have been forgotten. It is high time that our entire policy should be taken in hand in earnest. We should all of us comprehend that not even the crimes of which Prussian Germany has been guilty transcend in infamy the cold economic and social ruin which we ourselves—for the people of Great Britain are responsible—deliberately inflict upon the inhabitants of the vast Empire of Hindustan.

The Population of India.

We dominate directly or indirectly in India more than one-fifth of the entire human race. There are no fewer than 315,000,000 of people under the British flag. That is to say nearly seven times the whole population of the United Kingdom, and more than all Europe put together, outside Russia. The Roman Empire, at the height of its power, never had under its rule one-half the number of this huge collection of human beings. China is the only country which ever exceeded our Indian Empire in population. Of the 315,000,000 thus under our control, 250,000,000 roughly are directly ruled by men of our race; 65,000,000 are in the semi-independent Indian States, over whom we exercise a light supervision. There are many races within our borders and several religions, of which the two most important are Brahmanism and Mohammedanism. But within the last forty years the conception of India as one great whole, possessed of a glorious civilized future, has grown up among our fellow-subjects from Bombay to Burmah and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Even the huge mass of pauperized ryots who exist in the great peninsula, and form the overwhelming majority of the people, are beginning slowly to grasp the truth that the misery they suffer from and see now prevailing all round them can not endure for ever.

Our Carpet-Bagger Tyranny.

There are only 200,000 Europeans and Eurasians in all Hindustan. Of these, ordinarily, 75,000 are British troops. 200,000 Europeans, all told, to 315,000,000 Indians! And these Europeans come from two little islands 6000 miles distant by sea, who rarely land in India before they are twenty-one years of age, have, to begin with, little real knowledge of Indian languages, habits and customs, and rarely or never settle in the country. Read what the late Meredith Townsend, a thorough-going Englishman, and in many ways an Imperialist, who knew India well, said about this: "Not only is there no white race in India, not only is there no white colony, but there is no

white man who purposes to remain. No ruler stays there to help, to criticise, or to educate his successor. No white soldier founds a family. No white man who makes a fortune builds a house or buys an estate for his descendants. The very planter, the very foreman of works, departs before he is sixty, leaving no child, no house, no trace of himself behind. No white man takes root in India, and the number even of sojourners is among these masses imperceptible." Yet these waves of white carpet-baggers of an alien, and even a hostile, race, who pass, pass, pass and disappear, exercise a despotic authority over the mass of Indians far in excess of the power at the disposal of the Emperor Akbar, the greatest monarch who ever ruled the East.

Bleeding India To Death.

It is possible that a handful of civilized white men going to another great civilized nation might, by careful study of native institutions and customs, do some good. A few of the old East India Company's servants such as Sir William Sleeman, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. James Geddes, Meadows Taylor, Osborn, Evans Bell and others before and after them, served the people of India well and knew that our domination was but a transient incident in the long, long history of India's greatness. But this is not the case now and never was the rule. Yet, even if Anglo-Indian administrators were perfect paragons in their way, nothing could possibly make up for the terrible economic drawbacks which go hand in hand with our alien system. This I have never ceased to point out for more than forty years. British India has become a very poor country indeed under our management, until today it is the most terrible pauper warren that has ever been seen on the planet. We drain out of British India each year an amount equal to considerably more than £30,000,000 without commercial return; or 50 per cent. more than the total land taxation of all our provinces. This from a country whose agricultural population is already so poor that its annual production does not exceed 15s. a head! No matter what benefits we might confer in other directions—and having studied the subject carefully for nearly fifty years, I can detect extremely few—this drain of produce from the poverty-stricken ryots is a crime of the first magnitude.

Attempted Reform Abandoned.

In 1879, Lord Salisbury, Lord Iddesleigh, Lord Cranbrook, Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Edward Stanhope and Sir Louis Malet saw the truth of that contention, and entered upon a policy which contemplated the gradual stanching of this bleeding of India, and introduced measures into the House of Commons leading in that direction. These men were all Conservatives except Sir Louis Malet, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, who was an extreme Radical. When owing to a great political change the whole plan was aban-

doned and the old abuses were granted another long lease of life, Sir Louis Malet said to me in despair: "Our only hope now of justice to India, Mr. Hyndman, is a revolution in England." That is, at the present time, my conviction too. For, since then, we have extracted from by far the poorest population in the whole world the enormous sum of £1,200,000,000 without commercial return, and we have actually borrowed of poverty-stricken India £150,000,000 to help to finance our war against the Germanic Powers. Just think what that means.

India's Services to England.

Now consider India's services to England during the war, in return for all the ruin we have wrought; not only economic ruin, though that is the most frightful of all, but ruin of her art, her industries, her great and ancient learning. If I had been an Indian, as I am an Englishman, I should have made use of the difficulties of the foreign despots and oppressors to demand justice and freedom before I raised a finger, in their defense. That at least. India contributed a million of men to the armies of Great Britain and the Commonwealths. How they fought we know. We have just given representatives of the Indian forces a splendid welcome in London to acclaim their valor and steadfastness.

India's Reward.

The Sikhs, the inhabitants of Umrtsur, Lahore, and the Punjab generally, reconquered India for us in 1857-58, when we had to face the National Indian Rising, which we call the Mutiny. But for their aid we should have been driven out of Hindustan sixty-one years ago. They have served finely, too, during the war. Splendid soldiers they are. But the people generally are quite unarmed. They could not get up an armed revolt if they wished to do so. Yet these peaceful, innocent people have been stirred up to general protest by public meetings in their cities. What have we done? We have hanged them right and left, we have sent many into penal servitude without trial, we have flogged others naked through the streets. Our own atrocities stand almost on a level with the outrages committed by Germany in Belgium, France and Poland. Worst of all, we bombed unarmed crowds from aeroplanes; and aeroplanes for punitive service are being rapidly constructed throughout India. Moreover, the law is being "strengthened" against public speech, freedom of the press and free association. And for this infamy we Englishmen at home are responsible. It is all committed in our name, and claimed to be carried out on our behalf.

Montagu's Hypocritical Muddle.

Under such circumstances it is not worth while to criticize at any length Mr. Montagu's contemptible measure, which has already been read a second time in the House of Commons. It reme-

(Continued On Page Two.)

The Truth About Soviet Russia

By M. Phillips Price.

(From "Soviet Russia," August 16.)

NOW what is the Soviet as it exists in Russia today? We have seen that, in the first days of the Revolution, it was formed out of the thousands of informal gatherings of workers and peasants throughout the land which came together to decide what next to do. The original Soviets were economic bodies, for it was natural to expect that people connected with one another by common work and common material interests should meet in times of stress in social gatherings. A factory workman's immediate interests are more closely bound up with the interests of his comrades in the same factory than they are with workers in another industry. For instance, the metal workers depend for their daily bread upon the welfare of the metal industry, the railwaymen on the railways, the peasants on the agricultural industry. Ever since man first began to divide the work of civilization among his fellowmen, he has shown a tendency to congregate on the basis of guilds or special trades. All the more natural is it now, in a highly developed society, in a state of temporary flux, that metal workers, railwaymen and peasants should get together in a different district and discuss the subject that most affect their lives. The informal economic unions, which sprang up in the first days of the Russian Revolution, became, as we have seen, the basis of the Soviet system. The most important point to observe about them is that they were industrial and had no relation to territorial divisions of society, except in so far as geographical and climatic conditions imposed a certain limit to the industrial organization. The Revolution therefore brought the Soviets into life on the economic basis and for an economic purpose, and in their first inception they were anarchic and without any common plan of action. During the first few weeks of the Russian Revolution, one Soviet knew nothing of what the other was doing. Only after the first month was it possible to talk of an organization which was gradually uniting and co-ordinating the actions of all the Soviets scattered about the country. This co-ordination became most imperative for the safety of the Revolution, because the forces of the old social order, which had been overthrown, soon began to gather strength again. Only organized Soviets could raise the necessary barrier to reaction. Only if they expanded their activities to broad political action could they possibly safeguard those local economic interests to protect which they originally were created. Only by becoming political bodies could they guarantee the new social order. Thus, in every town in Russia the factory committees and informal workers' unions united into a Central Soviet, which at once took upon itself the task of fighting the counter-revolution and controlling whatever authority the middle classes had set up. Soon the question was raised, whether this Central Soviet, which was already exercising a sort of control over the bourgeois government, should not take all political authority into its hands. The controversy that raged about this question marked the second stage of the Revolution, which ended in October, 1917, in the victory of the proletariat and the expansion of the power of the Soviets from that of indirect political control into that of direct political responsibility. Thus in every town in Russia after October the central committee of all the Soviets of that district became responsible for public order, for the militia, for public works and conveniences, and for the local finances. The same thing took place in the villages, where the union of peasant communes or later the committees of the poorer peasantry, which came from the former, replaced the local democratically-elected body. The latter for the most part were controlled by people who had got into power in the

first days of the Revolution and had stuck to that power ever since. Finally these central urban Soviets and the unions of provincial Soviets sent their representatives to a great State Congress of the whole country. This Congress now meets every six months and elects a Central Soviet Executive, which is empowered to act with authority in the period between the Congresses. This body has now become the supreme political authority in the Soviet Republic. It controls the Red Army and Navy, the foreign policy and the economic exchange with other states. Thus beginning with informal gatherings of workers, bound by economic interest, the Russian Soviet has developed into a great political power, which is to be reckoned with in international politics.

But that is only half the story. We have seen that the original anarchically-formed committees were the seed from which the green shoot of the centralized political Soviet grew. But it soon began to put forth another shoot—the organized economic syndicate. And it came about in this way. The workers' factory committees, that elect the local political Soviet for managing the militia, etc., soon began to send their delegates to a conference representing all the workers divided according to profession in that particular district. This movement was in complete antagonism to the old trade union movement, which sought under Czarism to divide the workers into a number of craft unions within the industries. The essential feature of this new economic Soviet or syndicate is that it is organized on the basis of industry and not on the basis of guild. Only in this way is it possible to prevent the economic power of the workers, the unity of which is so essential in the struggle against capitalism, from being broken into jarring craft unions, all working at cross purposes. Under the new system the wood-workers and bookkeepers in the metal industry must choose their representatives to look after their economic interests along with the actual metal-workers themselves.

The same process of organizing the proletariat industrially has taken place among the rural peasantry. After the October Revolution, the latter sent their delegates to a political Soviet, whose duty it was to organize the rural Red Guard and keep revolutionary order in the villages. Somewhat later they began to form purely economic unions, as the villages began to split up into rich and poor peasants and the conflict between these two classes began to develop. Western Europeans imagine that the Russian peasant is a peculiar creation, with habits and customs of his own, living apart from the rest of the world in dirt and ignorance. My experiences in the Russian villages has taught me that just the same social divisions are to be found there in perhaps slightly different form, as exist in the more industrialized rural districts of Western Europe. The idea that it is possible to separate the peasants from the urban population of Russia and thereby mobilize an anti-Bolshevik force within the country is a fantasy. The same proletariat and land laborer, middle class corn speculator is found there as in other lands. And the urban worker in Russia who supports the Bolshevik has an ally in the village in the shape of the landless peasant, just as the urban middle class has his counterpart in the village corn speculator. It was natural, therefore, that this mobilization of the Russian village into two social camps should be accompanied by the growth of professional unions on the basis of the new social division. Side by side with the rural political Soviet there thus grew up the Union of Laboring Peasants, which took upon itself the duty of working the landlords' land on a communal basis.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MAXIM GORKY.

(From "Soviet Russia," August 9.)

People frequently resolve to do things that are beyond their powers. Particularly difficult to carry out is the desire to tell the truth always. It requires a knowledge of the truth. The motto of the New York Tribune, conspicuously printed on the first page of that paper, is: "First to Last—the Truth: News, Editorials, Advertisements." In view of the praiseworthy nature of this ambition, it is unfortunate that no one has informed the Tribune that the articles and stories from the pen of Maxim Gorky, which the Tribune has been printing at rapid intervals within the last few weeks, and in which Gorky expresses hostility to the Soviet Government of Russia—were written long ago, some of them over a year ago before Gorky became a complete convert to the Soviet Government's philosophy and to the methods of the Bolshevik Section of the Socialist Party of Russia. For the information of the Tribune we add that Gorky is now a prominent administrative official in the Department of Education at Moscow, and that after the supply of its anti-Soviet material gives out, the Tribune can obtain, in this country, and without unusual difficulty, a rather large collection of excellent short stories from Gorky's pen, written at a much later date than the Tribune's material, and breathing from first to last a passionate love of the achievements of the great proletarian revolution in Russia.

EDUCATIONAL CLASSES.

Prepare for your Fall and Winter educational classes by getting in a good stock of scientific literature. The usual text books are as follows:—Philosophy: Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Economics: Value, Price and Profit, in addition as a support we can recommend Wage-labor and Capital. The present Economic System by Bonner. Also the first nine chapters of Vol. I Marx' Capital may be had in a handy volume. Look up literature Advt.

In places where there are no locals those interested might take an example from Comrades in New Zealand and in the United States by forming Marrian Economic Clubs for the purpose of study and for correspondence with headquarters on progress and on such matters as the students may be in doubt.

CAPITALIST MISRULE IN INDIA.

(Continued From Page One.)

dies no wrong, it stanches not a drop of the ruinous drain, it gives Indians no real power in their own country, it leaves the central despotism, which is guilty of the crimes recited above, wholly untouched. Therefore, the Bill is quite useless to Hindustan. It is a sham and a fraud, worthy of the men who have botched it up. It is condemned, beforehand, even by passages in their own Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

An Appeal to Englishmen.

I have done for the moment. But I appeal to my countrymen, as one who has long worked strenuously for India, to remove from England the reproach that while fighting against German ruthlessness in Europe we impose an iniquitous despotism upon one-fifth of the entire human race. Our British misrule in India benefits in no way the mass of the people at home. On the contrary, it is politically, socially, economically, and even commercially, injurious to us. Only a minority of parasites and anti-democrats, gain by our dominance in Hindustan. Tyranny there strengthens militarism and illegality here. But on far higher grounds even than these, on the grounds of morality, justice and common humanity, I beseech all men and women who are striving for freedom in Europe to take an active part in the struggle for the speedy emancipation of India.

UNREST IN SPAIN.

SANTANDER, Saturday.—The coming to power of the new "Liberal" Government in Spain has not changed things much for the better. A guerilla warfare, in which both sides have used assassination, continues between workmen and employers in Valencia and Catalonia. In Barcelona, the assassin of Pablo, Sabader, president of the dyer's syndicate, has not yet been brought to trial, although several suspects are held by the police. The police have closed workingmen's meeting places and made wholesale arrests among strikers; so much so, that, according to the "Liberal" of Madrid, the syndicates have decided to replace the names on their membership cards by numbers, and to suppress lists of membership, in order to keep names and addresses from falling into the hands of the authorities.

Señor Alvarez, reformist, has presented to the Cortes a petition from the workingmen's societies of the province of Cordova, representing some 60,000 agrarian workers, protesting against the sanguinary repression of the recent strikes under the Viceroy La Barrera.

FINANCIAL INTRIGUES.

(From the "Daily Herald.")

PARIS, Sunday.—A group of American officers have arrived from Archangel who have asked me to withhold their identity, but whose names are widely known in the United States. They tell a most interesting tale of the state of mind of the little north Russian town.

Our mission in particular "is believed in Archangel to have been only partly military," said one. "It is connected by Russians with a valuable concession obtained in the spring from the Archangel Government, as yet unworked."

Five Executions a Week.

"A strong minority in the town is Bolshevik in sympathy, certainly. But the Bolshevik ranks are decimated constantly by executions. I should say that five or six men were hanged weekly throughout the winter and spring, sometimes more. The prisons are full."

"The Soviet officials I saw kept their engagements to a hair. The Americans were released with no more than ten minutes of bargaining."

THE GREAT SOCIALIST PROPHECY

"No more industrial rivalries! No more wars! Only Labor and Peace!"

"Whether we like it or not, the time has come when we must either become citizens of the world or see the whole of civilization perish."

"A new order of things is born! The powers of evil are dying, poisoned by their crime. The covetous and the cruel, the devourers of the peoples are perishing of a surfeit of blood."

"Sorely smitten by the fault of their blind or villainous masters, mutilated, decimated, the proletarians yet stand erect."

"They are going to unite in order to form but a single universal proletariat, and we shall see the fulfilment of the great Socialist Prophecy. 'The union of the workers will bring peace to the world.'"—From Address by Anatole France to the Congress of the Trade Unions of French Elementary School Teachers, August, 1919.

ANTI-MILITARIST SUCCESS IN FINLAND.

(From the "Labor Leader," Aug. 21.)

The whole of the Mannerheim Government has now resigned owing to the election of President Stahlberg. A new Government has been formed, which presumably is anti-militarist, as it has refused to take over munitions sent by the Entente to Helsingfors for the use of the Finnish Army. These munitions, according to Humanite of Aug. 11, have been transferred to the Northwest Russia Provisional Government.

British Trades Congress

At this writing, the British Trades Congress is sitting in Glasgow. Some 850 delegates are present, representing Organized Workers, numbering 5,250,000. This is an increase in the trades' unionist movement of over one million since the Congress met last year. We give here a few press reports of the proceedings. The letter of Colonel Kelly must be interesting reading on Russian affairs. We shall have to wait until the British mail arrives for the full text of it. Not alone labor, but important sections of the bourgeoisie are also thoroughly disgusted and shamed at that shameless militarist adventure against Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact in the face of circumstances during the war, the bourgeoisie were compelled to delegate a large control of affairs into the hands of the military juniper class in Britain, and now the war is over, they find it hard to get that control back again, especially in view of the increasing influence of the financial interests who are largely interested in investments for exploitation schemes in foreign countries. These Imperialist financial interests and the military interests have struck up a close and sinister partnership. That is why that section of the bourgeoisie represented by the London Daily News, the Manchester Guardian, Common Sense, etc., are more and more inclined to look indulgently on the political demands of the labor movement hoping for some kind of a working Alliance between them and labor for the purpose of breaking the control of the predatory and warlike Imperialist group over the governmental powers of the country. To the writer, it seems that the next elections in Great Britain will find some such line up of opposing forces. Even if the Labor free-trade Liberal Alliance did not get a majority in the United Kingdom, they will still be likely to secure it, on terms, from the constituencies in Ireland. Anyway, the real issue, the class struggle, will be sufficiently obscured from the masses of the people by one means or another.

GLASGOW, Sept. 9.—Under the presidency of Stuart Bunning, representing the postal workers the Trade Union Congress, the Parliament of British Labor, opened in St. Andrew's Hall here Monday, delegates in attendance representing organized workers numbering 5,250,000. This is an increase in the trade unionist movement of over one million since the Congress met last year.

In his presidential address, Stuart Bunning vigorously defended the action of the Parliamentary executive of the Trade Union Congress in refusing to call a special assembly to discuss the question of direct action. It is plain there is acute division on the subject of a general strike on the government's policy, and the question will arise today on the proposal of the Dyers' Union to use the strike for the abolition of conscription.

V. C.'S LETTER.

Clynes, Thomas, Henderson and Havelock Wilson will use all their eloquence in defense of constitutionalism, but the letter of Colonel Kelly, V. C., giving his impression of the Russian situation, and charging the government with deliberately misleading the nation has enormously strengthened the position of Smillie and Williams, who will voice the opinions of the extremists.—From the Daily "Province."

LABOR CONGRESS WANTS INCLUSION OF GERMANY IN LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

GLASGOW. Sept. 9.—Co-operation with International Laborites in their campaign to procure Germany's admission to the League of Nations, and for an immediate revision of "the Paris treaty provisions, which are inconsistent with statements made on behalf of the Allies at the time of the Armistice," was overwhelmingly pledged today

by the trades union congress in session here.

The resolution was moved by Delegate Williams, of the Transport Workers, who is a direct actionist and who urged it as the first step for the reconciliation of the people's inauguration of a new era of international co-operation and good-will.

Victory For Direct Action.

The champions of direct action today won a clean-cut victory by the congress voting to refer back a portion of the parliamentary committee's report owing to the failure to explain the committee's reason for refusing a few months ago to call a special conference for the purpose of discussing the advisability of employing direct action to secure the abolition of conscription and other questions.

The vote to refer back was 2,586,000 to 1,670,000 against.

Before the vote was taken, W. W. Stuart Bunning, presiding officer, warned the delegates that a reference back of the report would be considered as a censure of the parliament committee.

Chairman Brownlie of the executive council of the Amalgamated Engineers, addressed the trades union congress on the question of increasing the industrial output. He declared it was imperative to maintain production. Mr. Smillie objected to a "lecture" being delivered by the speaker, while Delegate Mills of the engineers said that Mr. Brownlie had traduced the workers.

The congress took no action on the subject.

The Nationalization Scheme.

Persons high in labor councils said it was not easy to forecast the outcome of the agitation for the nationalization of industries. The miners may invite the convention to declare that "fullest and most effective action will be taken to secure the nationalization of mines. The congress has been pledged year after year to the nationalization of mines, railways and land and hence the belief prevailed last night that a resolution would be adopted.

Free Trade Favored.

Among the resolutions adopted on Monday was one in favor of the policy of free trade. Another resolution pledged the congress to support the unionized actors in their efforts to unionize all their amusements. The sponsor for this resolution argued that its passage was necessary in order to secure better living conditions for and to protect the morals of chorus girls.

The result of the vote on the parliamentary committee's report is attributed to speeches by Robert Smillie, Robert Williams and Frank Hodges, the "big three" of the direct actionists.

Attack On Winston Churchill.

Mr. Smillie accused the parliamentary committee of denying to organized labor the opportunity of expressing its attitude that the government was holding power under false pretences, as it was elected on policies it had since repudiated, and the committee had lost the confidence of the trade unionists.

"The trade unionists in Russia today," he said, "are fighting battles on behalf of Socialists of the world."

Mr. Smillie denounced Winston Spence Churchill in connection with the Russian adventure as "a Gallipoli gambler and pinchback Napoleon."

Chairman Bunning characterized this invective as cheap sarcasm.

John Robert Clynes, former food controller and Labor member of parliament, defending the committee, declared that British trade unionists were more divided today than at any time during the war. He counselled the continuance of efforts to achieve reforms through the ballot, not through a strike.—From the "Sun."

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President Wilson's Fall

WHOMe remembers President Wilson's winged phrases, soaring into the realms of pure idealism, before he went to Paris, and compares them with his latest utterances will realize what a sink of iniquity Europe must be. In so short a time did it demoralize the high souled moralist to the level of a Billingsgate fish wife. That cynical old atheist, Clemenceau, and the little Welsh attorney, George, were manifestly no fit company for the former Saint Woodrow. On Thursday, he told a meeting down in Montana, that he "knew some crooks he could not help liking." That comes of helping them to divide up the plunder. Among other low habits he has acquired is a taste for boasting, for he told the same audience that during the war he "had wanted to take a gun and go and fight." Then on his tour, the press reports him as "using the language of the proletariat" as one to the manner born. Truth to tell the skid road of sin is known to be well greased and down grade all the way, and now he is on it, the President is yelling to all and sundry, that he at least is no quitter. As evidence of the "rakes progress" since his fall from grace, there is worse yet to tell. He has also entered into the great and goodly company occupying the late Teddy Roosevelt's Annanias Club, and, bad eess to the luck, the world is the looser that Teddy is not here to close the door behind him with the appropriate resounding slam.

When before the Senate Committee on Foreign relations, he was asked if he had any knowledge prior to his going to Paris, of the various secret treaties, entered into by the Allied powers, other than the United States. He replied in the negative. Said he had not the slightest knowledge of them. Yet the publication of some of them, notably those published by the Russian Soviet Government had resulted in world-wide discussion during the years 1917-18, and early part of 1919. Mr. A. J. Balfour in the British House of Commons, on March 4, 1918, said that, "President Wilson was kept well informed" as to the Allies treaties. Again, the Pact of London which disposed of territories among the belligerents was the subject of vigorous discussion in the Italian Parliament during the summer of 1917, and this discussion, says the New York Nation, was instrumental in the overthrow of the Bosselli-Sonnino Government. Yet this President of the United States says that he knew nothing of them all this time that the world was ringing with the discussion. Here is one of the Foreign Relations Committee asking him questions. Senator Johnson: "These specific treaties, then, the Treaty of London, on the basis of which Italy entered the war; the agreement with Roumania, in August, 1916; the various agreements in respect to Asia Minor; and the agreements consummated in the winter of 1917 between France and Russia relative to the frontiers of Germany, particularly in relation to the Saar Valley and the left bank of the Rhine—of none of these did we have (and when I say "we," I mean you, Mr. President,) any knowledge prior to the conference at Paris!"

The President: "No Sir. I can confidently

On Advising Them

(Jerome K. Jerome, in "Common Sense.")

And now we have Mr. Vere Staeppole writing to the Manchester Guardian to urge "Mr. Smillie and other leaders of Labor" to pause for a moment and think, "Let them lift their eyes from the moment and look towards the future," the suggestion being that, left to themselves, "Mr. Smillie and other leaders" would never dream of thinking where they were going. Mr. Vere Staeppole is convinced that if Mr. Robert Smillie and the others could only know the "facts" that are so plain to Mr. V. S., then Mr. Smillie and the others would "forget everything" and turn as men never turned before to save themselves, "and us." I congratulate Mr. V. S. on his honesty in adding those last two words. Generally, gentlemen who preach the blessings of hard work and obedience to the laboring classes talk as if they

answer that question no, in regard to myself."

Senator Johnson: "When our Government, through you, Mr. President, in January, 1918, made the Fourteen Points as the basis of peace, were those points made with a knowledge of existence of the secret agreements?"

The President: "No. Oh, no."

Says the New York Nation, in comment, "What can we do but shake our heads in perplexity over these astounding confessions of ignorance on the part of statesmen who more than any other discussed the aims of the war and the basis of peace, and in whose hands for a time lay the destiny of the world? In another place it says, "Is it the truth—this confession of unpardonable innocence and ignorance? This is the unpleasant question forced upon the reader of the report of President Wilson's interview with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The question springs into the mind unwillingly. How is it possible to conceive that the President of the United States knew nothing of the secret treaties before he went to Paris, and that he has not yet seen the text of them? Dr. E. T. Williams, one of the American experts on Far Eastern affairs, reports the President as having said on April 22, 1919, 'that the war seemed to have been fought to establish the sanctity of treaties, and while some of them were unconscionable, it looked as though it would be necessary to recognize them. Thus the war for democracy and permanent peace, the war for the Fourteen Points, has turned out to be in part a war for the recognition of the secret treaties. But at the interview, the President of the United States more than once solemnly declared that he knew nothing at all, either officially or unofficially, of the secret treaties until he went to Paris.'

And the "Nation" was once one of his stoutest supporters. Thus the progress of its disillusionment. We have no sympathy for the "Nation." We warned it at the time. But it regarded us as mere bush leaguers. We advise its staff to study the columns of the Red Flag in future. Neither have we any sympathy for the excited crowds attending Senators Johnson and Borah's meetings who are now calling for Wilson's blood, because, after all, he did not "keep us out of the war."

Will they never learn that the needs of capital must dominate the course of affairs in society so long as the competitive capitalist system remains. Capital is the loom that weaves and shapes the pattern of our policies. It is the form within which all our activities must move. To fail as a capitalist nation to secure markets and the control of the sources of raw materials, and to aid in securing and keeping them, maintain armies and navies and form secret alliances, is to court disaster. They are the weapons of the competitive struggle. And so, when bourgeois statesmen raise their voices proclaiming high moralities: When the devil quotes the scriptures—look out.

had no other object than the welfare of the common people themselves. From many conversations I have had with working men, I can warn Mr. Vere Staeppole and others that the present mood of Labor is more dangerous than is imagined by ladies and gentlemen sympathizing with what they regard as its "legitimate aspirations." Labor is stirring to aspirations that they would not consider legitimate. Labor's idea of "unity" is a society marching forward with Labor not at the tail, but at the head. The Labor leaders that count are not particularly concerned with Mr. Lloyd George's well-filled sack labelled "Higher Wages and Shorter Hours." They know that they can obtain these "legitimate aspirations" whenever they choose to insist upon them. And they also know that Higher Wages can immediately be countered by Higher Prices, leaving things where they were; that Shorter Hours would simply mean "speeding up." They are not mules nor horses. They are men, even as the gentlemen with the chaff and the halter and the winking eye. And they are seeking to win for their class what has always been the chief incentive to human effort, and that is Power.

A writer in the Times, where one does not usually look for insight and understanding, states quite clearly the "root cause" of the present Labor unrest: "This unrest and restlessness of workers really means that our industrial population has made up its mind that for the future no matter what the national need may be, it will not be disciplined, managed, or controlled by any authority, whether that authority be a private employer or a State department, which it does not choose by its own unfettered will to recognize as fit and suitable and whose dictate it does not consider sound and reasonable." Labor will not rest until, in place of being the servant, it has become the master of the world. To this end it intends to use every means in its power, and it will not be turned from its purpose by homilies in the press, preaching that force is no remedy, that all forms of violence are immoral, that war—that is, war with the adjective "class" in front of it—is against the principles of Christianity. Labor does not intend to remain for ever the beast of burden; to have its wages and its prices regulated for it by winking gentlemen; to be conscripted at the will of Winston Churchill and used as cannon fodder at the whim of newspaper bosses. Journalists and politicians who for the last five years have been ridiculing the Sermon on the Mount, will make a mistake if they think Labor will not use its opportunities. Capitalism, having slaughtered twelve million of the young men for its own sordid ends—still slaughtering for the purpose of making the world safe from Democracy—has over-spent its strength, is lying bankrupt and feeble. For the moment it is full of sentiment. "Let Labor," writes Mr. Vere Staeppole, "forego for a few years its dreams of a reconstructed society." Wait till capital has recovered and is again in the saddle. Wait till that halter is again round Labor's neck, and it can be driven as before with bridle, whip and spur. Labor represents 90 per cent. of the people in every country. Now is the time to reconstruct society on the "constitutional" principle of the rule of the majority.

ANNOUNCEMENT

W. A. PRITCHARD AND R. JOHNS, of Winnipeg, will speak in Vancouver on Sunday, the 21st. Place of Meeting will be announced later.

"THE UNSOLVED RIDDLE"

IN the Vancouver Province of Saturday, Sept. 6, appeared the second of the weekly installments of Professor Leacock's series of articles entitled the "Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice." This second installment justifies what we said after reading the first one, that the series are well worth the attention and study of every worker.

His first installment was a description of the conditions in society today, with its extremes of wealth and poverty and its perplexing paradox of boundless productive powers which yet are never exerted to their capacity in the satisfaction of the simplest and most necessary human needs. "Thus" he said, an observer watching, would see among the huge mass of accumulated commodities the simplest wants would go unsatisfied. Half-fed men would dig for diamonds, and men sheltered by a crazy roof erect the marble walls of palaces. The observer might well remain perplexed at the pathetic discord between human work and human wants. Something, he would feel assured, must be at fault with the social instincts of man or with the social order under which he lives." Professor Leacock also pointed out that not more than one adult worker in ten was employed in producing necessary things, the other nine performing superfluous services. These matters he proposed to examine in future installments.

We, ourselves, however, will now take into consideration this matter of the diversion of labors to the production of superfluities before the needs of certain sections of the people for the necessities of life have been fully satisfied. But before dealing with the above anarchic condition, there is another related phenomenon which should be mentioned as making possible the diversion of labors, at least to the extent to which it occurs, and that is the curtailment of all lines of productive activity to meet the demands of the market. It must be understood that this market is only effective as a purchasing capacity market which is another thing than the consumption capacity of the buyers. The reason production stops short of supplying consumption needs of the laboring masses either in quality or quantity is because their purchasing capacity is low. They produce more than they can buy back. This allows the diversion of labor power to the production of superfluities for those of higher purchasing capacity. Thus one class sows that another may reap, endures an insufficiency that another may have a superfluity, lives in huts that another may live in palaces. The question then becomes as the root of the matter, what is the cause of the low purchasing capacity of the laboring masses of the people. It is because being dispossessed of means of production, they must, perforce, in order to live, sell their power to labor to the capitalist class who are the owners of the means of production. Wages are the price of labor power and the competition on the labor market determines what that price shall be. Suffice it to say, that the competition is always keen enough to keep that price and consequently the purchasing capacity of the wage workers low. An increase in productive capacity may thus, instead of benefiting the workers, flood the market and throw large numbers out of employment.

There is thus another effect to be noted of the capitalist control of industry, one which was dealt with in last issue in extracts from Thorstein Veblen's "State of the Industrial Arts." This effect is the dropping short, of the social industrial plant as a whole, in its possibilities as a producer by deliberate management of its businesslike owners in order to ensure profitable prices for its products. Looking at the matter from the point of view of the common good, in order to throw a light on the subject, the capitalist owners may be said to be sabotaging on the community, though doing this legally of course, and as Veblen might say, quite in accordance with the rules of the

game. We quoted Veblen as saying that production engineers had stated in public that the great essential industries controlled by the vested interests, only approached 25 per cent. of their productive capacity and that in private and confidentially they were more disposed to place the rating at nearer 10 per cent. than 25. So that, in considering the matter of the stated paradox of Professor Leacock, of a productive capacity thirty or forty times greater now than in the handicraft stage yet still leaving the masses of the people in abject poverty, we have besides his factor of the diversion of nine in ten to the production of superfluities, also to consider, what he so far has not mentioned, that is, the businesslike curtailment of production in view of profitable prices on the market. This latter businesslike proceeding is a necessity under capitalist production for sale, and is of fundamental importance as a factor to be considered in the quest of "Social Justice" upon which our professor has started out. However, he is on his way, somewhat hurriedly into the second installment, so we, perforce, must follow him.

In this second installment, Professor Leacock presents to us finely the point of view of the period of 18th and early 19th century, as manifested in the doctrines of the "Rights of Man" of the French Declaration and the American Constitution. This was the era of individualism, the foremost protagonists of which amongst the classical political economists, was Adam Smith, author of the "Wealth of Nations." It was the era in which, par excellence, the rights of the individual were philosophically and juridically justified. In law, the rights of ownership were paramount, and among the rights of ownership was the right of free disposal. Nothing was to be allowed to interfere with trade and commerce. Tariffs were tabu, likewise combinations in restraint of trade, as for example, organizations of laborers. In this system of "natural liberty," all men were compelled by the law to be free and equal before the law. Of course, compelled. It was claimed that necessary anti-combination restrictions fell equally on the vested interests engaged in business as on the working population engaged in industry! So that the measures taken to safeguard the natural rights of ownership applied with equal force to those who owned and those who did not. As someone has said, "The majestic equality of the law forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges or to beg on the street corners."

"It has been shown in the preceding chapter of these papers," he says, "that the age of machinery has been in a certain sense one of triumph, of the triumphant conquest of nature, but in another sense one of perplexing failure. The new forces controlled by mankind have been powerless as yet to remove want and destitution, hard work and social discontent. In the midst of accumulated wealth, social justice seems as far away as ever." He then proceeds, "It remains now to discuss the intellectual development of the modern age of machinery and the way in which it has moulded the thoughts and outlook of mankind." So far, if the professor keeps on with his materialistic interpretation, a bad outlook presents itself for the theories of "Natural rights," and "free will."

"The influence of environment conditions if it does not control the mind of man. So it comes about that every age or generation has its dominant and uppermost thoughts, its peculiar way of looking at things and its peculiar basis of opinion on which its collective action and its social regulations rest. All this is largely unconscious." How truly materialistic! The Marxians are justified by the bourgeois professor. Their method is now, unconsciously shall we charitably say, since it receives no acknowledgement, incorporated into the common body of intellectual thought of today. He proceeds with his discussion of the effects of

the machine age environment on the minds of men and on their institutions, into which discussion we can not follow him far because of lack of space.

"The average citizen of three generations ago was probably not aware that he was an extreme individualist. The average citizen of today is probably not aware that he has ceased to be one. The man of three generations ago had certain ideas which he held to be axiomatic, such as that his house was his castle and that property was property, and that what was his was his. But these were things so obvious that he could not conceive of any reasonable person doubting them. So, too, with the man of today. He has come to believe in such things as old age pensions, national insurance. He submits to bachelor taxes, and he pays for the education of other people's children; he speculates much on the limits of inheritance and he even meditates profound alterations in the right of property in land. His house is no longer his castle. . . . He is no longer an individualist. He has become by brute force of circumstances a sort of collectivist, puzzled only as to how much of a collectivist to be." Not much in that description of the "idealist" theory of society struggling ever towards the light and truth and the brotherhood of man. Rather man seems to resist the process which drags him on, tearing him by force away from his fondly cherished traditional beliefs. Not understanding the forces around him, nor whither they tend, he unconsciously reacts to the instinctive feeling that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush and moves forward reluctantly with many a backward glance. "However," says the professor, "individualism of the extreme type is, therefore, long since out of date. To attack it, is merely to kick a dead dog. But the essential problem of today is, in a Socialist commonwealth, can justice be found? There are others who tell us—and they number many millions—that we must abandon them entirely (meaning individualistic ideas.) Industrial society, they say, must be reorganized from top to bottom; private industry must cease. All must work for the State; only in a Socialist commonwealth can justice be found."

Did Professor Leacock, in thus presenting the case for Socialists in such bald fashion intend to discredit their program? We wonder!

Socialists are students of history, not for the purpose of memorizing interesting events and prominent personages but to understand the process of social development, its competent forces and their tendencies. Their study shows them that the great basic force determining the course of social development is the changing methods of production. It sets both the pace and the direction. And no matter what resistance may be offered, it finally swings all other forms of social activity into its line of progress. Hence the law of the process is, adaptation, and this is finally done consciously or unconsciously, at no matter what cost of sorrow and distress. Professor Leacock himself points out, that the industrial revolution marked the dawn of an age of socialized productive activity which was fertile in corresponding new ideas and new human relationships, but still the world is filled with poverty and social unrest. Evidently then, society is not adapting itself to the demands of these determining forces. An examination of the present system of production shows to the Socialist that this is so. It shows him that because the means of production are owned by one class in society, that the products must be sold before the owners can realize their profits. They must be sold on a market entailing commercial competitions, wars, and a limiting of production activity in accordance with the demands of the market and a consequent unemployment, low wages and impoverishment of the class who, because, dispossessed of

(Continued On Page Eight.)

Russian Soviets and the People of the World

By Maxime Gorki.

(From the "Socialist," July 31.)

THE international meeting of December 19 has been a Russian proletarian fete, and one would wish that this great day of the Russian Revolution may last long, for ever, in the memory of the workers.

It is not so much that the discourses were of great importance, fresh and deep words spoken to the Russian people by the representatives of different States, different nations of Europe and Asia, but what was of so much significance and importance was the feeling of burning confidence towards the Russian worker, and the complete understanding the recognition of his historic role expressed by the 23 orators.

Hindoos and Kogans, English, Persian, French, Chinese, Turks and others spoke, in fact, on the same theme—Imperialism. Imperialism which has through its greediness lost itself in the madness and shame of massacres, drunk with blood, digging its own tomb, revealing to the whole workers of the world with terrible evidence its inhumanity and cynicism.

But, I say, it is not this criticism of the old social order already well known and familiar to the ears of the masses of the workers; it is not the verdict of international equity pronounced on this band of evil doers. This was not the essential significance of the meeting.

But it was in the unanimous sentiment with which the prayers of the dead were spoken over the past, with which the joyous welcome was addressed to the regenerated Russian Revolution, calling to its help all people, and calling them to the help of the workers of all countries. In the whole of the speeches one felt the assurance that Russia, having by the will of history taken the vanguard part of Socialism, would fill with success and honor this role difficult but great, and would lead all peoples to follow towards the creation of a new life.

These discourses in different languages, pene-

trated with one feeling, had a marvellous resonance, and suggested the conviction that only the wish of the people, rationally directed, is capable of accomplishing these miracles.

And is it not in truth a miracle? Since the finish of the 18th century the monarchist people of Russia accomplished immutably the shameful and bloody task of strangling all revolutionary or emancipating movements in East and West, our soldiers have blindly fought against the revolutionary armies of France in the great French Revolution, have crushed many times without mercy the national revolutionary movement in Poland, have aided in 1848 the Austrian monarchists to stifle the revolution in Hungary, have killed constitutional Turkey in 1878-79, have laid violence on Persia, have drowned in blood the national movements in China, in a word, have played the part of executioner of liberty everywhere where they have been sent by an autocracy greedy and afraid.

And today towards these people the hearts and eyes of all peoples, of all the workers of the earth are turning; all are looking on Russia with hope, with the great hope, with the certainty that she will be able to worthily and powerfully carry out the part she has taken up of being the force which shall liberate the world from the rusted chains of the past.

This certainty, this hope, has been best expressed in his speech by Comrade Youssouopoff, representing Turkestan and Bukaria. He in the most convincing and lively fashion gave expression to the world-wide consciousness of the Russian liberation:

"Do not complain," said he, "that your existence is hard; you have taken up a work which demands the greatest sacrifices, which demands abnegation, unshakable courage, disinterestedness, and incessant work." Such was the tone of his discourse, and one may say it was exactly what was wanted.

As a fact, the Russian Socialist worker is attracting the attention of the world; as though be-

fore humanity he was passing the examination of his political maturity; he stands before all men the creator of new forms of life. This is the first time that a decisive attempt to realize the Socialist idea has ever been made on so large a scale, the attempt to put a body to this theoretical life, which one may call the religion of the workers.

One can well understand that the attention of the whole of working humanity should be directed towards Russia, for we are working for the world, for the whole planet.

And the interest of the working world concentrated upon the Russian Socialist obliges him to high and firm, keep the flag flying, for he appears historically as the master and example for hundreds of thousands and millions of men.

Despite actual circumstances of extreme difficulty, he ought to be valiant, stoical, reasonable, generous, disinterested and stubborn in the work.

He ought to know that he himself is poisoned with the poison with which the possessing classes have contaminated the universe. He should know that the cruelty and bestiality towards the next, and all that on which reposes the old world, has entered also into his blood.

He who now is free behaves always towards work like a slave; yet it is only concentrated work, obstinate, disinterested, that can tear up by the roots all the horrors of the ancient world.

I do not think these disquieting reflections should be out of place here before the speeches of praise addressed to the Russian workers on the occasion of their first international fete.

Comrades! all the workers of the earth are turning their eyes upon you with a bright hope. They want to see in you new men, upright, incorruptible, indefatigable in their work of constructing a new world.

Show then, to the whole world that you are new men. Show to the world what there is in you that is more human—your love, your generosity, your open honesty, and how well you know how to work!—From La Vie.

SURRENDER, OR BE HANGED."

How Joseph's Men Dealt With Socialist Ministers.

(From the "Daily Herald," August 14.)

PARIS.—"We determined to exterminate the Moderate Socialist Government because it was the direct inheritor of Bela Kun's policies, which we could not tolerate."

This is an extract from an amazingly candid statement made to a correspondent by Friedrich, the Archduke Joseph's Prime Minister.

"We therefore," he continued, "simply surrounded the building where the Pleidli Government was in session—the Roumanian General having given us permission—and demanded immediate surrender. It was at first refused absolutely. But when the Socialist Ministers understood that refusal meant swift hanging for themselves, and that Budapest was completely in the hands of their enemies, they gave in."

No Divinity Hedges Bela Kun.

It now appears that Joseph lived quietly at his chateau near Budapest during the Soviet regime. It is interesting to compare this treatment with that accorded by the Entente to "bloody" Bela Kun. According to a radio dispatch received here today, the Communist leader has been taken from the village near Vienna, where he was living with peasants, and gaoled in one of the State penitentiaries.

Noel Buxton, in a talk with me, says that of Szamuely alone (who, it now appears, was murdered by Monarchist troops instead of having committed suicide,) he believes there may be some foundation for Monarchist charges of brutality.

Indian Trade Unions

(From the "Daily Herald," Aug. 14.)

Labor Leader Gives Startling Facts to Committee.

After the landlords had given evidence before the Joint Committee, Mr. B. P. Wadia, who is known as the father of Trade Unionism in India, and is president of the Madras Labor Union, gave evidence.

He drew attention to the long hours worked in Madras, pointing out that the welfare of the laborers had been left in the hands of the Government, that is, in the hands of the people representing the British bureaucracy instead of under the control of Ministers responsible to the Indian people.

Asked as to the number of members of his Union, Mr. Wadia said that they amounted to about 20,000. He was confident that Trade Unionism had come to stay in India, as he was receiving invitations from all parts of the country to form branches; even amongst the agricultural workers there was a movement for combined action.

Unbearable Condition.

Social conditions had reached a point when they were no longer bearable, and the laborers look toward political power as one means of remedying their condition.

As to the frightening away of British capital, the witness said that under present conditions the bringing in of British money was of very questionable value, though if conditions changed, British capital might be welcome. He wanted Labor

enfranchised, especially in the large industrial centres.

As to the organization capacity of the laborers, Mr. Wadia said that they were very unlikely indeed to follow any leader blindly. He did not wish special representation for the workers, but wanted them to be part of the general electorate.

Mr. Jinnah, delegate from the All-India Muslim League, who was supported by the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasau, also gave evidence. These witnesses supported the view from almost all those who had previously given evidence that if the Bill was put in use it must grant some measure of responsibility in the Central Government, and there must also be full provincial autonomy.

Chamber of Commerce Heard.

A memorandum was handed in representing the views of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, which showed the immense political change which had come over the merchants of India, who were now fully determined to secure the full use of their political rights and powers.

SYRIA.

France wishes to be the power "under whose care Syria is to be developed to ultimate independence." At the same time France objects vigorously to a nationalist movement being encouraged in Syria. Just exactly what does France mean by "ultimate independence?"

Ten Minutes' Talk With the Workers

(From the Glasgow "Socialist.")

Wage Slavery and Real Progress.

IT is quite common nowadays to talk about our class as wage-slaves. But for some reason or other our present day masters or employers don't like to hear it. They are evidently afraid lest it should bring home to you just exactly what your status or place in society really is. Yet there probably could not be found in the English language two words capable of expressing our social standing in such an apt and concrete manner.

Why the Term Wage-slave?

There was a time, indeed, when we could leave one employer and go to another—although even that privilege is curtailed now with the week's notice—but never since we became dependent on an employer could we leave the whole employing class without risking starvation. It is this state of affairs due to our class privileged arrangement of things which has given rise to the term wage-slave. But do not on that account feel ashamed of yourself. It is only shallow-pated snobs who decorate themselves in tinsel and try to deceive their fellows that they are not wage-slaves. Such pretentiousness, however, doesn't carry them very far, since nearly every worker is a walking hallmark of the occupation he or she follows, as witness, for instance, the gait of a miner or the twisted shoulders of a dressmaker, etc.

Chattel-slavery and Wage-slavery.

Were you to compare the status of our class today with the position of our fellows in other periods of history, you would find we had not very much to brag about. Of course, we could not with accuracy be classed as chattel-slaves or, say, serfs as the terms are used in historical works. But while it is true that we are distinguished from these by the badge of citizenship—at least a majority of our class are; while it is also true that we are permitted to combine and possess a big margin of freedom to express our views in the press or in the public market place,

it is now common knowledge that there is not so much an absolute or unquestioned right about such things as a tactical toleration by the ruling class. This is evident in all periods of crisis, and was very pronounced during the recent war.

But from the point of view of economic freedom the slave and the serf had advantages which we—the modern wage-slaves—might very well envy. They were not haunted by the bugbear of unemployment such as you and I. If they fell sick they were not left to the soulless mercy of a panel doctor. Nor had they to spend three-fourths of their life struggling to maintain large insurance companies that they might ride to their graves in a well-polished carriage and pair as we do today.

How Differences Are Obscured.

All the comparative differences between us—the wage-slaves—and the chattel-slaves are obscured by the wages system. Whereas the relation of the chattel-slave to his master or the serf to his lord was as clear as daylight, the relation of the modern wage-slave to his employer is hidden, thanks to his means of subsistence being compounded and expressed in money.

It may not have struck you before that in the last analysis and from the standpoint of our class relationship the wages system covers up a multitude of sins. It transfers, for instance, the responsibility for maintaining the wage-slaves from the shoulders of the master on to the slave himself. By cunning trickery and deceit, backed up by the power which their control over the means of wealth production gives them, the employing class always make it their business to ensure that the wage-slaves—that is, you and I—only get as much as keeps us going on from day to day as workers. That is why you witness such apparent pig-headedness on the part of your employers when you strike, even for a farthing an hour.

How Real Wages Are Determined.

It is well, therefore, that you should have no

doubts in your mind as to what your wages represent. There is, as you are aware, a difference between nominal, or the money form of your wages, and your real wages, i.e., what you can get for your money. Your real wage is akin to the cost of production of all other commodities. Just as the value of all the elements contained, say, in this paper go to make up the cost of its production, and may be expressed in its natural price as distinguished from its market price, so in the same way the cost of food, clothing, housing, education, recreation, etc., not only for the worker, but for his wife and family, may be reckoned up and expressed in a figure—his real wage—as distinguished from the number of coins which he actually gets. This latter difference is continually varying, but you would do well to keep your eyes steadily fixed not so much upon the coins you get as on their purchasing power, which may be taken as a definition of real wages.

Towards Real Progress.

While it is true that our social conveniences, and, therefore, outlook, are greater and wider than they were to our fore-fathers a century ago; admitted that with sanitary equipment, facilities for travel, education and sport our present day life is fuller than the life of our village forbears, but contrasted with the possibilities that are at hand for improvement even on these, it is more than ever necessary to make a bid for change.

The social appetites of our forefathers had to be adjusted to the possibilities of the age they lived in. That is why progress has been made. We should not be worthy of their inheritance if instead of aspiring to the possibilities of our age, we were to do nothing because, forsooth, we believed we were better off than they.

It is in the determination to satisfy our wants, and not in their suppression, lies the way towards real progress. Hence the need for paying attention to real wages pending the abolition of the wages system.

T. B.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

(Liberator)

Eugene Debs was transferred from the West Virginia prison to which he was sentenced, and sent to the Atlanta penitentiary. It happened just as the hot weather of summer began to make the Atlanta penitentiary unbearable. In the West Virginia prison Debs had been given light work and comparatively decent quarters. His health was defended, and his age and the elevation of his motives were respected by those delegated to hold him in confinement. In the Atlanta penitentiary Debs is treated as a common criminal. He goes to work in the clothing department at 8 o'clock in the morning and works until noon. One hour is allowed for dinner, and at one o'clock he returns to the shop and works until 3:45. Twenty minutes is then allowed for outdoor recreation. Supper follows, and at 5 o'clock he is locked in his cell, and stays there until seven o'clock the next morning—fourteen consecutive hours.

This is the reward which our American republic gives to her most noble citizen—the man of whom a renowned scientist, Alfred Wallace, said, "Eugene V. Debs is a great man;" of whom a renowned poet, James Whitcomb Riley, said "God was feeling mighty good when he created Gene Debs;" the man whom the convention of the western railroad unions last winter applauded as the representative of American freedom. His lot under our government is to die in penal servitude.

The motive of the ruling class in transferring Debs to this place of more effectual torture, may be inferred from a laconic remark of Attorney-general Palmer to a newspaper reporter who had spoken of Debs' refusal to accept a pardon which did not include general amnesty for all political

prisoners: "He may change his mind."

Debs will not change his mind, and there is only one way to save his life and bring him back to the ranks of his fellow-citizens who love him. We must compel a general amnesty for all. That is the task which his true revolutionary attitude has placed upon the workers. It is the rallying point of the social-revolution.

WAR BY STARVATION.

The Blockade and American Exports to Russia.

(From "Soviet Russia," August 9.)

The latest issue of the Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States contains very significant figures bearing upon the effect of the blockade of Russia on the American export trade. The exports from the United States to Russia in Europe for the eleven months ending May 31, 1917, 1918, 1919 respectively, compared as follows:

| Year | Value |
|------|---------------|
| 1917 | \$397,568,911 |
| 1918 | 116,705,346 |
| 1919 | 7,150,994 |

Although Siberia was not included in the blockade, nevertheless the blockade of European Russia and the operations of Kolchak and his allies and associates have had the same effect upon exports from the United States to Russia in Asia as that disclosed by the preceding figures. The exports from the United States to Russia in Asia for the eleven months ending May 31, 1917, 1918, 1919 respectively, compare as follows:

| Year | Value |
|------|---------------|
| 1917 | \$126,744,173 |
| 1918 | 34,718,541 |
| 1919 | 30,217,166 |

LABOR FEDERATION COUNCIL MEETINGS.

WASHINGTON, District of Columbia.—Among leaders of organized Labor in Washington to attend meetings of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, which will begin this morning at 10 o'clock and continue for a week or more, the opinion is expressed generally that the decisions to be reached will be the most momentous in the history of the movement in the United States.

The Plumb plan for the nationalization of the railroads will be another major subject before the executive council of the federation. It is believed that by the time the council finishes its sessions a definite program for organized Labor will be formulated, as regards not only the railroads, but the steel and iron and other industries. Frank Morrison, secretary of the federation, said yesterday that all questions affecting organized Labor would come before the council.

HE MEANT CAPITALIST CONQUEST.

An "Insult To Muslims."

The Muslim congregation in London, assembled for Friday prayers at 111 Campden Hill road, unanimously passed a resolution indignantly protesting against the Prime Minister's description of General Allenby's campaign in Palestine as a crusade for Christian conquest of territories which have long been Muslim. That description they consider as an insult to our Muslim soldiers who assisted in that conquest and the Muslim allies whose adherence made it possible.

Newsagents in Vancouver for the Red Flag.—W. Love, Hastings street, next to Royal Theatre. Columbia News Agency, corner Hastings and Columbia. John Green, Carrall street, near Water street.

OUR LITERATURE.

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.

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

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific . . . Single copies 15 cents. \$13 per 100.

Wage Labor and Capital . . . \$8 per 100. Single copies 10 cents.

Capitalist Production, being the first nine chapters of Vol. I. Marx's Capital . . . Single copies, paper cover, 50 cents; cloth bound, \$1.00.

"Ten Days That Shook the World," By John Reed—\$2.10.

Kolchak, Autoerat and Tyrant. The actual story of Kolchak and his methods told by an American official recently returned from Siberia. With this is included, Anti-Bolsheviks and Mr. Spargo, by William Hard. Taken, with apologies from the July 9 "New Republic" . . . \$6 per 100. 10 cents per single copy.

"Industrial History of England," By H. De B. Gibbens—\$1.50.

"Six Red Months in Russia" By Louise Bryant—\$2.10.

Postage Paid.

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

Some of the French armament firms must make the shareholders in British companies green with envy. The Societe Hotchkiss, according to a French paper, is paying 200 per cent. for 1918. This compares with 100 per cent. for 1917, 75 per cent. for 1916, and 8 per cent. for 1913. In September, 1916, and in May, 1918, additional shares were created, and on each occasion a bonus of 100 per cent. on the existing shares was given, the required amount being taken from reserve and made payable in cash or shares.

THE UNSOLVED RIDDLE.

(Continued From Page Five)

ownership must operate the machinery of production for a mere livelihood.

The case then presents itself, as that the productive forces are not allowed full and free play to satisfy the needs of society, because they are bound by the rules of the institutions of class ownership of the means of production and production for sale. The solution almost states itself. Free the productive forces from these bonds. Let the already socially operated means of production be also owned socially for the benefit of society as a whole. Beyond the general proposition of freeing the productive forces from the capitalistic bonds, the socialists do not lay down details, anymore than the protagonists of the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century could have lain down the details for future adaptations in the developing capitalist society. We have something to say, however, as to what must be done before these productive forces can be freed. First, the masses of the people must be brought to a knowledge of what is wrong both by education and through bitter experience. When the people realize that it is class ownership of the means of production is the cause of our social troubles, then they will take steps to remove that cause and substitute in its place social ownership of the means of production and so free the productive forces for exercise to their full capacity in behalf of society as a whole.

Labor Officials Are Now Out on Bail

A press despatch dated Winnipeg, Sept. 10, reports that after 20 days' imprisonment the eight strike leaders who have been held in the provincial jail pending their trial on charges of seditious conspiracy, were at 5:20 o'clock, in judges' chambers, granted bail. Chief Justice Mathers, who, together with Mr. Metcalf, heard the arguments of counsel, read the decision of the court.

Bail was granted in the sum of \$4000 each and two sureties of \$2000 each.

The court found that it had not been proved that the accused would not appear to stand their trial; and the decision went on to state:

Not Justified In Refusing Bail.

"The court would not be justified in refusing bail on the sole ground that public safety might be endangered by permitting the accused to be at large."

The decision as read by Chief Justice Mathers:

"Because of the great public interest involved in this prosecution, and because bail has once been refused by a brother judge, I asked my brothers, Macdonald and Metcalf, to sit with me while hearing this application, and had the satisfaction of knowing that both concurred with me in the views herein expressed."

"I, therefore, order that the accused be admitted to bail in the sum of \$4000 each, and two sureties of \$2000 each."

The liberated men are due for trial at the Assizes in October.

Everyone will be glad to see the imprisoned officials free again, as they will now be able to present their side of the case to the people in opposition to that of the prosecution which alone has been presented in the capitalist press. In addition to this they will be of great assistance in raising funds for the defence.

We again mention that besides the defence of these officials, the defence has also been taken up of numerous individuals, mostly Russians, throughout the country, who have been arrested under the provisions of the Amended Immigration Act. The best that can be done, under the extraordinary conditions of these provisions, is being done, and much expense is entailed. The defence is heavily handicapped. The sole evidence against those in Vancouver is that of secret service agents who had wormed their way into intimacy with the prisoners. This evidence mostly consists of scraps of conversation and in general is of such a character as would not secure conviction in a regularly constituted court of law. In view of the fact that those men who are deported to Russia, will most surely be executed on arrival in Kolchak territory, they should at least have had a fair and open trial before a judge and jury. This, they are denied by the Government, however, and so what can be done in their defense must be done. In Vancouver, so far, the release of three or four of them has been secured, and about twelve have been sentenced to deportation, which means, as we said, death or worse. The case of Romeo Albo who was sentenced in Nelson, B. C., to deportation is awaiting the result of an appeal to Ottawa. Unfortunately for these other men their case seems hopeless, because of lack of public support in their behalf. The press by the nature of its reports of their case having turned public opinion against them.

Our heartiest thanks are due to all contributors and workers for the defence fund. Keep it up.

Send all money and make all cheques payable to A. S. Wells, B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broateh, 1203 Eighth avenue east, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law. Secretary.

NEWS AND VIEWS

The world's merchant shipping tonnage is now larger than it was on the eve of the war. In 1914, the gross tonnage was 49,454,000; in 1919, 50,919,000. In 1914, British shipping was 41.6 of the whole, and American 4.6, in 1919, the British percentage has fallen to 34.1, and the American risen to 20.4.

"John Stuart Mill Was Inclined to Question the Sanctity of Landed Property"—Professor Leacock

In questioning the sanctity of landed property he was but viewing the matter from the same angle as the rising manufacturing capitalists, who look upon the landlord as a mere tribute taker from production without rendering any service in return. His rent is viewed by the manufacturers as a charge upon production and a handicap on successful competition with foreign capitalists.

Professor Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, has declared against intervention in Russia. He is of opinion that it is the duty of the State to enter into relations with all Russian groups and with all existing Russian Governments. "I should like to see the Allies entering into relations with Lenin, Kolchak and Denikin. The Allies must help Russia, but by peaceful methods." This is rather remarkable testimony coming from such a quarter.

Mr. Glenn Plumb, author of the U. S. Railway Workers' scheme for nationalization and tripartite control, has charged the 18 representative railway companies now controlled wholly or partly by the Morgan, Rockefeller and Gould interests with giving away bonus shares aggregating over 450 million dollars, from 1900 to 1910, and with paying millions in dividends on these bonuses. He demands that Congress should immediately investigate these charges.

BEWARE OF THE PROVACATUER.

A man who is paid to find plots as a rule does not spend his time urging his neighbors to remain quiet. There is danger that the lives and liberties of men will be swept away by spies and agents provocateurs.

IRELAND.

(Says the Glasgow "Forward," of August 23.) There were tar barrels in Derry last week. And English regiments were fighting Irish citizens on Irish soil. There were British machine guns blazing at civilian riflemen. Every day we hear of meetings being suppressed and newspapers silenced. And, of course, small nations are sacred.

BELGIAN ACTION.

BRUSSELS, Sept. 9.—The Miners' Federation at Charleroi has adopted a resolution in favor of the nationalization of mines, a minimum wage scale, free fuel for all miners, control of production and the creation of an organization representing both the miners and the government.

The decision of the miners is considered an important prelude to the approaching Miners' Congress to be held in Brussels.

LONDON, Sept. 3.—A wireless despatch from Moscow received here reports that Admiral Kolchak, head of the All-Russian Government, has evacuated Omsk and transferred his headquarters to Irkutsk.

Defence Fund, Room 12, Labor Temple, Winnipeg. Contributions will be acknowledged through Labor and Socialist Press.

Lawyers for the defence in Vancouver, Bird, Macdonald & Earle.

Because of discrimination against contributors, whose names have been published as sending in moneys for the defence fund, acknowledgment in future will be made by mail.