

THE RED FLAG

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

VOL. I. NO. 26

VANCOUVER, B. C., SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1919

FIVE CENTS

Daily Herald Editorial

Extract from an Editorial in the London "Daily Herald" on the eve of the Southport Conference of the National Labor Party of Great Britain, at which it was finally decided to join Italian and French Labor in the strike demonstration against the Allied attempt to destroy the workers' republic of Russia.

The question of the suggested one-day strike against the Russian war is bound to be in everyone's mind. We must all get quite clear about this. Nobody wants to belittle political action: but will those who disbelieve in direct action for political ends tell us what in the present circumstances we are to do? The abomination goes on. Human beings are massacred. An unrepresentative Government, having tricked itself into power by lies, persists, dead against the will and conscience of the people in using British wealth, labor, munitions and men, to destroy the Socialist Republics. Nobody is being asked to strike for any particular form of Government in Russia: the suggested strike would be simply and solely for the right of the Russians to decide for themselves what form of government they shall have. The wealth and power of the capitalists is being used all the time for political ends: why not then the worker's power to give or withhold his work? Let the enemies of direct action give a little of their attention to the forces of Big Business! And let them tell us what we are to do. What form of "political" action do they suggest that shall stop the waste and murder? Or do they mean calmly to suggest that we are to acquiesce in the murder and the waste? We will not acquiesce. And we have a clear right to use our industrial strength to prevent the triumph of wickedness and reaction.

The social and industrial life of the nation is in the melting pot. The landlords, led by the Duke of Northumberland, and the whole capitalist forces, are on the warpath. In the City of London organized capital is declaring war on all schemes for nationalizing either land or industry. War bonuses and wages are coming down. Prices are still soaring. The army of unemployed men and women grows larger each day. The disabled men, broken in the war, find themselves badgered from pillar to post in a vain endeavor to get the merest instalment of justice. The problem of what to do with displaced women workers is proving well-nigh insoluble.

The conference must take a courageous line. Our national resources, our national labor were organized for war. They must now be organized for peace. The land, the minerals, the oil, all the natural resources of our country must be commandeered for the service of all.

Industry must be organized for service and not for profit. The day for compromise, for half-measures has long since passed by. We are on the road toward national bankruptcy. We can be saved only by reversing our policy and establishing, in place of competitive money-making anarchy, ordered, reasoned, co-operative industry for the use and service of all.

THE HOLLOW MOCKERY OF CELEBRATING PEACE

SOME people imagine that the signing of the Treaty by the Germans would give peace to the world and the people of this country.

Speaking at the Guildhall on Monday, in support of the Victory Loan, Mr. Bonar Law referred casually to the fact that the Chief of the General Staff had told him that we were now waging twenty-three wars. Apropos of this, the Star reminds us that it was Sir Henry Wilson who, in a Paris interview the other day, remarked that while the terms of world peace were being prepared there were no fewer than twenty-three little wars still in progress.

A Star man asked the authorities in Whitehall if they could name them. At first they thought the C. I. G. S. was indulging in a figure of speech. But they reflected a moment, and the recited list grew with alarming celerity.

"Let us see," they said, in effect, "there are ten distinct operations in Russia, one in Siberia, one in Transcaucasia, one in the Balkan States, two in Hungary, one in Austria, one in India, one in Kurdistan, one in Arabia. That makes nineteen. Then the Poles are in action against a group of Germans."

The authorities (we are told) had rattled off this list in less than a minute, though it was more than enough for half a dozen war offices to go on with.

We have endeavored to descend to particulars, and offer the following list, which is, of course, imperfect:

1. We are, in Georgia, defending the Georgians from Denikin and Denikin from the Georgians.
2. We are fighting in Turkestan and have recently evacuated Merv.
3. We are fighting in Afghanistan.
4. Colonel John Ward and the Middlesex Regiment (are or recently were) in Siberia demonstrating their attachment to Kolchak.
5. Our expeditions based on Archangel and Murmansk are fighting in various parts of Northern Russia.
6. Roumanians are fighting against Bela Kun under Allied inspiration.
7. Czecho-Slovaks are fighting Hungarians.
8. Poles are fighting Ukrainians.
9. Ukrainians are fighting Hungarians.
10. German troops are fighting Letts and have re-occupied the country.
11. Estonians are fighting Germans.
12. Germans are fighting Bolsheviks.
13. Estonians, urged by Allies, are fighting Bolsheviks (much against their will.)
14. Finns are fighting Russians.
15. Kolchak, with Allied assistance, is fighting against the Bolsheviks in the East.
16. General Denikin, with Allied assistance, is fighting against Bolsheviks in the South-east.
17. The British Navy is in the Baltic assisting in shelling Cronstadt.
18. The British Navy is in the Black Sea assisting Denikin.

The Defence Fund

FUNDS are urgently needed for those arrested in connection with the late labor troubles. These funds will be devoted to the defence of all those arrested whether labor officials or not.

Due to the strike, Union treasuries are either depleted or exhausted. It is the same also with the savings of individuals who have been on strike or from other causes unemployed. So that an extraordinary effort is requested of those who are financially better circumstanced.

For the purpose of impressing on the attention of our readers the urgency of generous support, we desire to point out that the enemies of labor, those shameless moral paupers, prating forever of constitutionalism, have already, openly and publicly, by means of the conscienceless press and from the blabbing mouths of governmental functionaries, tried, before the evidence was collected and the due processes of the law had taken effect, and found guilty those men arrested for fighting the battles of your class. These bourgeois have violated every principle supposedly lying at the base of their own jurisprudence. Their biased and partizan views have been given the utmost publicity in the capitalist press in all quarters of the globe, and the case of the arrested men irremediably prejudiced in the minds of the unfortunately, so large, un-eritical reading public, nor can any judge or jury, in our opinion, now sit on their case and weigh the evidence impartially. All this has been accomplished in premeditated malice, because it was known full well that the arrested men had no means of putting their side of the case forward adequately or of counter-acting the malicious propaganda defaming their personal characters and misrepresenting the aims and object of their activities.

The recourse now left to the arrested men is a vigorous and skilful defence in the courts. To do this, the best of legal talent must be obtained and this costs money, that universal equivalent of bourgeois justice.

Remember, it is not alone a question of the liberty of the individuals immediately concerned. Organized labor itself is also threatened and not alone that, but the scanty and pitiful remnants of the privileges of freedom of thought and speech still left to us, after five years of government by Order-in-Council, are also endangered.

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

- British Columbia Agency:—Victor Midgley, Postoffice Drawer 879, Vancouver, B. C.
 - Alberta Agency:—A. Brounch, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.
 - Central Collection Agency:—E. Robinson, Secretary Trades and Labor Council, Winnipeg, Man.
- Contributions will be acknowledged at a later date through the Labor and Socialist press.

C. STEPHENSON.

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

What Is Political Action?

HERE appears to be quite a little misunderstanding abroad as to the precise meaning of the term Political Action. There are those who would interpret it as pure Parliamentarism—the use of the ballot, the election of Socialists or those professing sympathy with Socialist doctrines to parliament. It is a fact that such action is Political Action. It is also a fact that the horse is a four-legged animal. But the horse is not the only four-legged animal. Neither is Parliamentarism the only form of Political Action.

Politics is the art of Government. Anything is Political that has reference to Government or the method and conduct of Government.

When a man like 'Gene Debs, for instance, makes a speech criticizing the conduct of the Government or advocating a change in the method of Government he is, if the Government choose so to consider it, guilty of a 'Political' offence and becomes as we have seen a 'Political' prisoner.

Political action then is:

1. Any action taken by the State in exercise of its authority.
2. Any action by any individual or group of individuals directed against the State with intent to influence its policy or to challenge, and in the last resort to completely usurp, its authority.

Thus it will be obvious that, when any individual (to whom the State has graciously granted the privilege) drops (at the time appointed by the State) into a box (provided by the State) a paper (prepared by the State) marked in a manner which he fondly imagines will influence the policy of the State—that is Political Action. Or, when some haggard-eyed, addle-pated believer in the 'propaganda of the deed' drops a bomb down Mr. Borden's smoke stack, naively thinking that by so doing he will influence the policy of the State, that is Political Action.

If this were all there was to Political Action we would be inclined to agree with those who insist that it is 'no good.' But:—

When a body of working men to the number of two million or more issue an ultimatum to the State demanding that the State withdraw its troops from Russia and thus bring to a close a campaign which can not even be dignified by the name of War since war has not even been declared, and—

When those same two million workers demand that the coal mines which were originally stolen from the people shall be taken over and held in trust for the people.

That is an attempt to influence the policy and challenge the authority of the State and that is Political Action.

And in the event of those same two million workers reinforced by several millions more taking action to completely usurp the authority of the State, that will be Political Action.

Thus it may be seen that Political Action covers a multitude of things good and bad. Some would confine it entirely to Parliamentarism. Others insist that it means the action of an enslaved class working for emancipation. The term includes both of these things but refuses to be restricted to either of them. We are sorry to disappoint these gentlemen, but words have meanings and the facts are against them.

It may be asked 'Why confine yourselves to Political Action. Is there no other way by which the workers may gain emancipation?'

The answer is emphatically 'No'—for the very simple and all-sufficient reason that any action taken by the working class to emancipate itself must necessarily be directed against the class which holds it in bondage and that class is represented by the State. Thus the struggle for emancipation must necessarily be fought on the political field.

As for Parliamentarism, under existing conditions, it is a farce. No one with a proper understanding of the nature of the State can consider it otherwise.

The function of the State is to Govern—note that word 'Govern.' There are those who imagine the term to be synonymous with 'administer,' 'direct,' 'organize.' They delude themselves. To Govern means to control—to possess and to use power over those governed.

A Society which could freely elect certain of its members to organize and direct its activities, and which, moreover, could at any time recall any or all of those elected and replace them with others—such a Society would not be 'Governed.' It would be administered. Capitalist society, however, is Governed. We need cherish no illusions upon that point. Our masters do not.

Government implies the existence of two distinct classes in society—that class which by virtue of its power governs, and that class which by reason of its helplessness or ignorance submits to be governed.

We have not the power to freely elect certain of our members to administer our affairs. Those who think we have delude themselves.

A 'Flivver' rattling along a country road passed a farmer driving a wagon.

"How much better of am I than that miserable animal the horse," said the flivver, proudly, to itself. "I am not tied to a clumsy wagon. There is no bit in my mouth. There are no guiding reins on me. I can go where I will. I am free."

Just ahead the road forked. "That road to the right looks good," said the flivver. "I will go that way."

At that moment something happened to the flivver's front wheel and it swung to the left. "Now there was a foolish trick it muttered, as it rattled along. "I fully intended to take that road to the right. However, this one is probably just as good."

And it is said that to this day the flivver does not realize that its freedom consists in being free to go wherever its driver chooses it shall go.

We can vote (if the State permits us and at such times as the State allows us) for any individual we choose. There is nothing to prevent our writing on our ballot 'Julius Caesar' or the name of the man who lives next door. But we can elect only those individuals whom the State chooses to permit.

At the last Dominion election there were certain individuals—mostly members of the Liberal party—whose election the State did not think desirable. But there was reason to believe that a large section of society intended to vote for those individuals. So the State promptly deprived a goodly portion of that section of the vote. There was another section of society which had never previously had the opportunity to vote, but which could be depended upon to vote the way the State wished. So the State promptly enfranchised that section. And all in a perfectly constitutional manner. Lord yes!

There are those who think that the Conservative party was responsible for that. They deceive themselves. It was something bigger and stronger than any party. It was something without which the Conservative or any other party is but a shadow. It was the Capitalist State.

In justice to ourselves it must be stated that it is not often that we display such alarming symptoms of 'the delusion of freedom.' We are too well trained. But there are a people living in and around Vladivostock in Siberia who recently conceived the most absurd ideas of the meaning of Political Freedom. They actually imagined it meant the freedom to elect whom they choose.

Under the supervision of the armed forces of the Allies, those people held an election in Vladivostock. Out of candidates representing eighteen different parties they elected all Bolsheviks. And

INDIA.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet and philosopher, has requested the Viceroy of India to relieve him of the "honor" of knighthood as a protest against the recent outrages committed against Indian people in the Punjab in the name of "Law and Order."

ECONOMISTS (?)

Some economists (?) in dealing with the great social unrest suggest as a solution, more production. They forget or pretend to forget, the market. Production, under capitalism, must wait on the market. If the market will absorb goods at a profit to the capitalist producer there will be no lack of goods on the market. In saying that, if more were produced than there would be more goods to share around, they, the economists (?), talk as though we were producing for use in the co-operative Commonwealth in which the whole of the people owned the means of production. Ask the capitalist producer why he is not employing more hands and machinery and he will tell you that his orders do not warrant him in doing so. This is the capitalist system of production for sale under which we have as its natural outcome—a contradiction. That is that though labor, mental and physical, produces all wealth from the resources of the earth, yet we have forced on us by the economic laws of the system a huge unemployed army of potential wealth producers, because the market can not absorb all the products we are capable of producing. The working class live to work for the increase of capital and do not work to live.

they elected them by a vote which outnumbered the combined vote of the other seventeen. But the Capitalist State represented by the Allies did not approve of the Bolsheviks. So the election was declared null and void.

There are those who think that we have the right to vote. They would probably be surprised to hear that there is no such thing as the right to vote. That point was thrashed out long, long ago and was decided by the State acting through its courts of law. If the reader will look up 'Suffrage' or 'Franchise' in any reputable encyclopedia he will find that the vote is not a right vested in the individual but is a privilege which may be granted by the State and, by the same token may be revoked by the State.

The function of the State is to govern in accordance with the interests of the class it represents—the master class. The primary interest of the master class is to remain master. If any man thinks he can use a vote exercised by permission of the master class to force that master class to relinquish its power, he is indeed a naive and ingenuous soul.

When the first man has succeeded in lifting himself by his bootstraps; when it has become customary for a gambler to supply his opponent with the funds necessary to break him; when it is the accepted procedure for one nation to supply munitions to another nation with which it is at war; then and not till then will it be reasonable to suppose that a master class is going to voluntarily furnish its slaves with the means to overthrow it.

All this must not be taken as implying the ballot is useless. There is probably no question of policy or procedure upon which two opinions are not possible. There is probably no fairer way of deciding such questions than in accordance with the will of the majority. And there is certainly no better method yet devised of ascertaining the will of the majority than by the ballot. But not a ballot that is at the mercy of such abominations as 'The War Times Election Act.' A franchise which admits of such things as that is not a franchise, it is a force. Before we can hope to win economic freedom by the franchise we must first have the franchise. We do not possess it. First catch your hare.

C. K.

Latest Allied-American Dealing With Lenin

(From the New York "Nation," July 12.)

THE NATION is enabled to give to its readers this week one of the most extraordinary and sensational contributions to the vexed questions of the relationship of the United States and the Allied Governments with Russia which has yet appeared. It is a wireless statement issued by the People's Russian Information Bureau in Buda Pest after its receipt early in June by wireless from Moscow over the signature of the Russian Government and it makes the direct and open charge that Wilson, Lloyd George and Colonel House drew up a new set of terms for a peace conference in Russia and for an Allied peace with Russia. This statement has been published in England, but so far as The Nation is aware only obscurely there. We give it in the exact form it reaches us, evidently somewhat injured in the double translation, but nevertheless telling the truth:

It is now evident that the Allied Governments—although professing to have abandoned the idea of military intervention in Russia—have, in reality, never changed their policy, and are secretly preparing, underhand, a new attack on the Russian Soviet Government. Under the pressure of working-class opinion, the Allied Powers have in the past made several peace proposals to Russia, but they have always formulated impossible terms. When the Soviet Power, to defeat these manoeuvres, did finally accept these terms, the Allied Powers then announced to the world that their proposals had been rejected. This was the policy followed both with regard to the invitation to the island of Prinkipo and to the proposal of Nansen.

Concerning the third peace offer, the Allied Powers thought it best not to give any public information, because, in this case the acceptance of their proposals by the Soviet Government could be proved by documents. This proposal was brought to Russia by the American, Bullitt, Captain Pettit and the journalist Steffens. The Soviet Government, at the Bullitt express request, reluctantly restrained its desire for an immediate publication of such terms.

Now, after the resignation of Bullitt from the Peace Delegation at Versailles, and the continued attempts made by the Allied Governments to overthrow the Soviet Power, and in the face of a further shedding of blood, the Soviet Government publishes to the world those peace conditions. They were drawn up by Wilson, Colonel House and Lloyd George, and were sent to us through Bullitt.

The Allied Governments invited all the Governments really existing in Russia to a new Peace Conference upon a basis agreed upon by all the Allied Powers, leaving only details to be further arranged. The Soviet Government made some modifications and these were accepted by Bullitt. The open invitation should have been sent out on the 10th of last April.

Since it was not the desire of the Allied Governments really to bring about peace, but only to hide from their peoples the continuation of the war, in the hope of finally ruining Russia, the invitation was not sent.

The Allied Terms.

The principal points in the Allied terms were:

An armistice to be declared on all Russian fronts whilst the Peace Delegates were discussing the following:

1. All the Governments formed within the territory of the old Russian Empire to keep their full power over the territories occupied by them, until the inhabitants should declare the form of Government preferred by them.
2. None of such Governments to attempt to overthrow another by force.
3. The blockade of Russia to be raised.
4. Re-establishment of commercial relations.
5. All produce existing or received in Russia to be accessible to all classes of the population, with-

out any distinction.

6. All the above Russian Governments to grant full and complete amnesty to political opponents, soldiers included.

7. The Allied troops to evacuate Russia.

8. Simultaneous reduction of the Soviet and of the anti-Soviet armies to peace footing.

9. All the above Russian Governments to recognize, jointly, the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire.

10. Freedom of residence and movement of all Russian subjects over all parts of Russia.

11. Repatriation of all prisoners of war.

England and America were to guarantee the observance of these terms on the part of France.

Although the Red Army was then on the eve of taking possession of Odessa, the Crimea, and the Don region, the Soviet Government was ready to accept these terms; to accept the status quo; in the certain hope that the inhabitants of those parts of Russia not under the Soviet regime would, sooner or later, withdraw their support from their reactionary and monarchic Governments.

The publication of these proposals shows once more the hypocrisy of the Allied Governments, and exposes the lie that it was the Soviet Government which refused to cease hostilities. The double dealing of the Allied Governments has but one result, that of closing still further our ranks to fight to the last, against the unholy alliance of small and big Imperialist Governments in this attempt to enslave the workers and peasants of Russia.

The Nation itself is in a position, through information received direct from Paris, to state that the above facts are accurate, that Messrs. Bullitt and Steffens did take a memorandum into Russia

and that that memorandum was in the handwriting of Philip Kerr, private secretary to Mr. Lloyd George. That did not prevent Mr. Lloyd George from stating, in reply to a question in the House of Commons by Mr. Clynes asking as to "approaches alleged to have been made to his government," from Russian sources, "I think I know what my right honorable friend refers to. There is some suggestion that an American came back (from Russia.) It is not for me to judge the value of these communications, but if the President of the United States had attached any value to them he would have brought them before the Peace Conference."

This was a double prevarication made to the House of Commons because he was not only aware of the Kerr memorandum, but breakfasted with Mr. Bullitt as soon as Mr. Bullitt returned from Russia. Still he denied that Mr. Bullitt was on any official mission.

It is further of interest to know that Mr. Bullitt himself drew up the Nansen correspondence with the Big Four with the exception of the reply of the Council of Four to the Nansen proposition, which the Big Four substituted for Mr. Bullitt's draft, setting forth substantially the conditions cited above.

The above publication recalls the fact that The Manchester Guardian's Helsingfors correspondent as far back as May 27, asked who had suppressed Lenin's radiograms in which Lenin accepted the Nansen-Bullitt-Lloyd George-Wilson offer and asked for the naming of delegates. This publication proves once more how indebted the world is to the Lenin Government for throwing a little daylight upon the tortuous secret diplomacy which has gone on and is going on in Paris.

The French Strikes

Paris, and indeed, most parts of France, is at present in the grip of a most serious strike movement. On Monday nearly 300,000 metal workers had come out on strike in the Paris area, the immediate cause being the attempt by the employers to reduce wages when the new eight-hour Act came into force. In the north, 80,000 miners are out. Next day the Paris tube-men came out, soon joined by the bus and tram workers and by Wednesday no less than twenty-seven trades in Paris and the provinces had joined the movement.

The main reasons of this movement, which is spreading fast, but so far in a completely orderly fashion, are high food prices (the cost of living had risen by the end of 1918, according to French official statistics, no less than 292 per cent. above the pre-war level,) the delay in demobilization, and the continuance of war. One-half of Paris dines and dances while the other half suffers. French soldiers are refusing to fight in Russia. The loss of Odessa was admittedly due to the refusal of soldiers and sailors to fight the Bolsheviks, and the C. G. T. has extracted a promise from M. Clemenceau that they will be withdrawn. But French Labor knows the value of the pledges of statesmen. Behind the general labor unrest evidenced in the present strikes is a growing determination against the policy of war against the new Socialist

Republics. On Tuesday, the French Socialist Party issued a strongly-worded appeal to agitate in all possible ways against the policy of intervention in Russia.

"It is to action," declares the manifesto, "that the Socialist Party calls you today. In England the industrial Triple Alliance threatens to down tools if it does not obtain the immediate recall of British troops in Russia. The Italian Socialist party is proposing a mass movement to our three proletariats. The French working class is preparing for it. This is no mere empty menace.

"To save the Russian and Hungarian revolutions, and with them the possibility of your own liberation, comrades of the Industrial and Socialist movements, hold yourselves ready to respond to the appeal of your class organizations!"

CALL FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION.

For purposes of organizing a Communist Party of America, some members of the Minority group of the Left section of the Socialist Party of America have issued a call for delegates to attend a Convention to be held in Chicago on September 1, 1919. The issuers of the call claim that the result of a successful struggle of the Left section to capture the machinery of the Socialist Party would be an empty victory as the Right and Center sections would still remain in the party. And that it is just these elements which it is imperative, in the interest of the proletarian movement, that the revolutionaries should separate from.

The organization Committee are—

Dennis E. Blatt, D. Elbaum, O. C. Johnson, John Keracher, S. Kopnagel, I. Stilson, Alexander Stoklitsky.

Communications to be sent to the National office of the Organization Committee: O. C. Johnson, secretary, 1221 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

AN ITEM DISCOVERED IN THE FINANCIAL COLUMN OF A VANCOUVER PAPER

"It is alleged by the New York bureau of legal advice that Ellis Island immigration officials attempted to deport Margaret and Jeanette Roy, Scotch sisters, held for four months after being ordered deported at Seattle as I.W.W. agitators, on board a cattle boat, the only women among a crew of a hundred men."

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Published When Circumstances and Finances Permit
By The Socialist Party of Canada,

401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.

Editor C. Stephenson

SATURDAY JULY 19, 1919

Next Great War Already Looming Up

THE "kept" press is already propagandizing for the next war. Column after column appears, indicating Japan as the new "Hun" seeking world dominion. This means, of course, that she is already felt as a too successful competitor, both in the world's market and in the business of exploiting those backward peoples who are the natural prey of capitalistically developed nations.

Japan's aggressive interest in Chinese affairs is the occasion for the latest newspaper propaganda. Her activities are viewed with jealousy and alarm which is aggravated by a justifiable fear that the capitalist exploitation of the Asiatic races by the "White" nations has bred hatred and bitter detestation of their rule and that this feeling will give to Japan an advantage in organizing Asia under her dominant imperialistic sway.

It is an old saying "that chickens come home to roost." Are centuries of ill usage and oppressive exploitation of the teeming millions of Asia by the white races to be avenged? Is there a law of compensation of universal validity? Are the Opium Wars, the forcing upon these peoples of huge alien armies and of police officialism, the indescribable miseries, the deaths of unnumbered millions through the years by famine, falsely and hypocritically so-called, and in plagues induced by malnutrition due to the robbery of the products of their labor,—are these injuries to be repaid with interest? If there were a just God, weighing things in the balance and apportioning thereunto—! But we have no faith in the inevitability of the reactions of any such compensatory justice. On this earth at least, the wicked may flee from the wrath to come—and escape rejoicing.

Last Sunday's edition of a Vancouver paper contained a good sample of the anti-Jap propaganda going on here. In Japan, the press is also working up the people there with anti-British-American propaganda. So even while you celebrate your hollow peace, the war drums are beating and the fire-eating old men are scheming and getting ready to send the young men to the slaughter again. But peace has been declared you say! And the League of Nations! Nevertheless, we are told, that in spite of that, twenty-three wars are still going on. Also listen to this from an article in the Vancouver "Sun":—

"The League of Nations," I hear you say. What do the furious and disinherited Turks, the wild Tartans of the central steppes, the savage Afghans now arming against us, the secret rebels of India—the angry Chinese, the Japanese vainly claiming color equality, the proud Arabs restive under strange "mandates," reckon of the League of Nations? I believe in the principle of the league, but not too hopefully, and for Asia not at all.

We are lighting fires in Asia which will be burning when this century dies, and even now none can see far through the clouds of smoke and flame.

(Our contributor's article was written before the remarkable speech of Sir Douglas Haig in Edinburgh gave his warning a very authoritative endorsement.)

"The magnitude of the next war, if no means are found to prevent it, will be far greater than we have yet experienced or imagined," said Sir Douglas Haig.

"It will be a war of continents—of Asia against Europe, if the relations between states or combinations of states are to be carried forward on lines similar to those which have prevailed in the past.

"Every human device has been tried to stave off war in the past. Treaties, alliances, balance of power, diplomacy, have all failed."

The working class of the white nations may turn away this wrath sired by capitalism, born of hate and fear and save civilization by abolishing predatory capitalism in their own countries, and so lay broad-based and firm the economic foundation of a world economy out of which internecine strife can not arise and in which the nations may progress in harmony to higher and less brutal planes of existence.

MAKE SOCIALISTS—MAKE THEM GOOD.

SCIENTIFIC Socialism is the theoretical expression of the Proletarian Movement. And as such its literature should be the subject of serious study for all who are interested in the Movement, whether as seekers for an understanding of it or as partakers in its struggles. To all partakers in these struggles devolves the labor of educating the members of the proletariat in the history of social development generally and of the proletarian class in particular, and as to its position in present day society. The confusion of ideas which is the curse of the working class movement leading to confusion in aims and objects arises either from a total lack of or but a superficial understanding of that position in society.

To gain this understanding a knowledge of the economists of the capitalist system of production is essential and to the degree in which that knowledge is spread among the working class will that class adopt more and more a sound, scientific and clear cut definite program. The ignorant confusionists and the traitors within its own ranks, and the imported confusionists from without, will lose their power and influence to deflect the drive of the proletariat away from its true goal of conquering political power for the purpose of reorganizing the economic life of society on a new basis of production, by and for the Commonwealth, instead, of capitalist production for profit.

Send for the following pamphlets. Read and study them. Recommend them to your fellow-workers. On economics read the "Present Economic System," and for more extended enquiry, "Capitalist Production."

Be an intelligent factor in the social movement. Be educated, and educate.

SEND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Single copies 15 cents. Wholesale price, later.

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

Kolchak, Autocrat 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," 5 cents per copy.

Postage Paid.

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

A FEW WORDS.

(From the "Socialist Standard," May, 1919.)

TO THOSE ABOUT TO CELEBRATE "PEACE."

Six months now have the dogs of war been leashed, yet still their snarling is the most audible sound throughout the world today. Orlando has gone back to Italy, and the jingo Press of Allied Europe foams ink at the mouth at Wilson, the Peace with honor—the clean Peace—indeed all those Peaces of which we have heard are still in the balance. For as the war was confined to this unhappy planet alone the dogs of war have only one bone between them.

Yet what is this Peace of which you talk so much? How will it affect the Working Class? ("How absurd the writer is," you are saying, "everyone knows that Peace is the cessation of war.") Will Peace then resuscitate the dead? Will it restore sight to the blind, limbs to the limbless? Will it strike off the shackles of slavery that bind the proletariat? Will it demolish the sunless slums of Bethnal Green or make it possible for women to obtain bread without selling their bodies? Will it prevent future War? If it will not do these things it is no Peace for me.

Peace to me means the end of wage-slavery. The abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the passing of them into the hands of those who produce. It means the creation of a new and beautiful world by the overthrow of the system of society which makes wars and widows and blind men.

But, perhaps, I am exacting, think you. Maybe I am not satisfied to remain a slave on the promise of a Peace which affects my slave position not at all. You are. Ah, well, perhaps I am only a Socialist after all, and you are—well, what are you, friend? I have heard you call yourself a Free Citizen. What are you free to do? Can you exist without selling your labor to a master? Have you access to those very tools even with which you manufacture the wealth of the world? What proportion of that wealth do you receive back in exchange for your labor power? Is it enough to satisfy you, does it suffice to clothe, feed and educate your children, as you would wish them to be clothed, fed and educated? Or are you not forced to send them out on the labor market at the very earliest moment? And suppose you can not find a master to employ you, does not your boasted freedom resolve itself into the freedom of starve?

What, then, if Italy does have Fiume? Will you or the Italian worker be any better off? If the German colonies be divided between the Allies, will the German workers be the losers and the Allied workers be the gainers proportionately? Not a bit of it! The capture of foreign markets as the result of war means nothing more to you and me than the continued exploitation of the working class. You wear two gold bars and four service chevrons, you have fought and captured cities in all theatres of war, but if you can not find a master to employ you, you must starve. But was not that your position before the war? If, therefore, the division of territory, the readjustment of national boundaries, the "reparations, indemnities, and effectual guarantees" do not alter one iota the slave position of the international proletariat of which you are a member, why in the name of Reason do you worry yourself about them?

In conclusion, if you are interested in Wars, why not take an interest in your own War—the Class War—and join up in the ranks of the Socialist Party, organize with your fellows consciously and politically to overthrow capitalism with its bloody wars and hollow peaces, and to erect in its place the Socialist Commonwealth. S. H. S.

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

THE WHITE MASSACRE IN SIBERIA.

(From the "Daily Herald," June 20.)

Today we publish further details, furnished by a Vladivostok correspondent, of Kolchak's regime in Siberia.

We call particular attention to the document immediately following, which is an official order concerning the treatment of political prisoners.

"Order of the Supreme Controller of Peace and Order in the Yenisei and (Part of) Irkutsk Provinces.

"The Government troops are fighting with bands of robbers. The offending elements—dregs of society—are waging an armed struggle for gain, theft and violence. Bolshevism gave them organization. The disorderly acts performed by the robbers, the smashing of passenger trains, the murder of administrative officials (i.e., the Militia, which being now appointed by the Central Government—as the police were before the Revolution—instead of by Local organizations, as during the revolution, are not popular in the villages, and always get it first.) and of priests all this has made it necessary to diverge from the general principles of morality applied to an enemy in time of war.

"The prisons are full of leaders of these murderers (a paper recently stated there were 10,000 people in prison at present in Siberia.) I order the Commanders of Garrisons of the cities in the region entrusted to me:—

"(1) To consider the Bolsheviks and bandits detained in the prisons as hostages.

"(2) To communicate to me every act of violence similar to those I have stated above; and for every offence taking place in the stated region to shoot from 3 to 20 of the local hostages.

"(3) To bring this order into execution by telegraph.

"(4) To publish it broadcast.

"Kill in 24 Hours."

The "detailed instructions" attached say:—

4. The facts and accusations given to headquarters should not contain an estimate of the guilt of the person. This estimate is to be made by the Garrison Commander, but the person and institution giving the facts and accusations shall be responsible for their accuracy.

5. In cases of undoubted guilt the Garrison Commander, upon receiving from me permission in a given case to shoot a given number of hostages, shall communicate to me by telegraph only the surnames, christian names, by whom, when and for what they have been detained. Upon receipt of my telegram: "I agree with the contents of your telegram, recommending the shooting of No. —" to proceed to shoot the required number within 24 hours.

6. In doubtful cases, all the evidential material in summarized form to be sent me by telegraph, and in the case to await my confirmation of the shooting of each batch.

7. Only persons detained for Bolshevism in general or for acts, even although of criminal nature, implicating them in the present revolt, can be held as hostages. Simple ordinary criminals (not implicated in the revolt) are not to be included among the hostages.

ROZANOFF, Chief of Staff.

AFANASIEFF, Captain of the General Staff.

March 28, 1919, Krasnoyarsk.

Justice Under Kolchak.

You will note No. 7 makes it quite clear that it is political prisoners that are singled out for this monstrous treatment. We used to criticize the old regime for treating political prisoners and criminals on the same footing. This goes one better. It must not be forgotten that there is military law along all the railways, and in Glazov and Uralsk.

The Hungarian Atrocity. "Stunt" died out for want of material, and also because the people are less gullible than formerly.

Fashions in Propaganda

(From the "New Republic," July 2.)

WE used to assume that effectiveness in propaganda consisted in endless repetition. Float a statement, however absurd, and keep it floating; in the end it will sound so familiar that it will have the feeling of truth. But we were mistaken. As anyone can now see for himself, if he will examine the various alien propagandas that have been applied to us, the more effective exhibit a high degree of versatility. The Italian imperialist propaganda relied on repetition of the same elements: Italy's sacrifice in war. Italy's natural, geographic, geologic, botanical, historical boundaries. The argument went stale. But the Russian anti-Bolshevik propaganda is ever new and various. Observe its succession of fashions.

At first when we were in a white heat of hatred against the Germans we were asked to proscribe the Bolsheviks because they were alleged to be under German influence. But we were not asked to proscribe the White Finns or the Ukrainian reactionaries, far more evidently under German influence. Next an attempt was made to play upon our instincts of civil order. The Bolsheviks were "anarchists," although they were at the very time scourging the real anarchists out of the Soviets. Then for months an atrocity campaign was conducted against them. And they were in fact guilty of atrocities. They put men and women to death in large numbers, some on sufficient grounds, most, we believe, on insufficient grounds. They meant to strike terror into the hearts of their opponents. They deliberately added death to their stock of implements for attaining their political objects. That is horrible. But who are we to cry out against it; we who are helping to maintain against Russia a blockade which kills in a week more persons, and much more innocent persons than the Bolsheviks killed through the whole period of the terror? We are using death as a political device, using it with a vengeance. We may be justified, but whether we are or not, our mouths are stopped from exploiting the charge of terrorism against anyone else. That is, if we are honest.

When it became evident to the masters of anti-Bolshevik propaganda that the atrocity campaign was turning stale in a world surfeited with atrocities, they conceived a new strategy. The English-speaking peoples, according to the continental view, are perfect fools on the subject of morality. Perhaps that nerve could be tweaked. Hence for weeks they exploited the vile lie about the nationalization of women. They exploited it until there was no kick left in it. They have tried since to stir us to action on the ground that the Bolsheviks are persecuting the Church, but since all they can prove is that the Bolsheviks have separated Church and State and secularized education, we remain cold. They have recently floated a canard that the Bolsheviks are deliberately corrupting the morals of the children. Boys and girls are required to attend the same schools, and there are school dances—ahem! Well, we know something about co-education and are not greatly disturbed. Finally they are appealing to our cupidity. They point out to us the concessions available, the trade within our grasp, when "order is restored in Russia." Only recently certain banks trustees for Russian loans raised in the United States, have announced that temporarily no interest would be paid on them. But Kolchak may be expected to do something about it later. At the same time it was announced that Kolchak expected to spend the bulk of \$180,000,000 in America on arms and munitions. Where will he get the \$180,000,000? In America, of course. But we will get the profits.

What is there about our appearance, our manners, our speech, that makes these canny counter-revolutionary propagandists think that we can be played for suckers? In their show windows they

place an endless succession of attractive goods. They look all right until you turn them over to examine the seamy side; and before we get a chance to do this they are retired. On the inside of their shop they have just one kind of goods, and that they keep in a safe which not even Archibald Stevenson could blow open. What is it? The Tsar restored; offices and lands returned to the aristocrats; the peasant happy once more under the knout, the class conscious proletariat adorned with "Stolypin's neckties." Why are they not frank enough to put that in the show window instead of all the succession of bogus samples? Why do they assume that we would not buy? We know a good thing when we see it, even if we haven't the nice subtlety of these Russian dealers in fine wares.

A BISMARCKIAN PEACE.

The comments of the French Press, as given in our papers, give only one side of the picture. The Socialist papers condemn the treaty as imperialistic in the worst sense. L'Humanite, (May 9,) wrote:

The war for right is over—at least on the Western front—for at the other end of Europe, against the proletarian Republics of the East, the war continues with redoubled perfidy. As to the peace of justice, the most purblind and confident know today that it only is in reality a peace of violence, of rapacious Imperialism and iniquity. This peace is a bourgeois and capitalist peace, and only the capitalist and bourgeois parties will ratify it. The French proletariat refuses its signature forthwith. In a few days, by its organized organs, it will raise the necessary protest against this Bismarckian treaty, which is an outrage against the right of the peoples as it is against the most elementary morality. There is a question of setting up a commission of eighty members of the Chamber for the purpose of Parliamentary ratification of the treaty. Whatever the procedure we can say that no Socialist deputy could without total abdications, ratify by his vote a diplomatic instrument which history will consider as a criminal breach of the pledged word, as an offence against morality and law.

"MAN IS NOT MAN AS YET."

"When a collective will grows plain, there will be no blind thrusting into life and no blind battle to keep in life, like the battle of a crowd crushed into a cul-de-sac, any more.

The qualities that serve the great ends of the race will be cherished and increased; the sorts of men and women that have these qualities least will be made to understand the necessary restraints of their limitation.

You said that when men ceased to compete, they would stand still. Rather is it true that when men cease their internecine war, then and then alone can the race sweep forward.

The race will grow in power and beauty swiftly, in every generation it will grow, and not only the human race. All this world will man make a garden for himself, ruling not only his kind but all the lives that live, banishing the cruel from life, making the others merciful and tame beneath his hand."—H. G. Wells in "The Undying Fire."

Hungarian Soviets Proclamation To Its Army.

(From the "Christian Science Monitor," July 3.)

"We are not retiring before the mercenary troops of the Czecho-Slovak imperialists. We have to do with the entire power of the greatest exploiters of the world—the French, British, and American money kings, labor oppressors and peasant plunderers. We know a dictated peace is no peace, and we shall not lay down our rifles because we are defending to the last drop of blood the proletarian dictatorship."

The "Associative" Principle

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

(Continued from Last Issue.)

III

The "Laws" of Science—An Explanation.

THOSE who have been reading attentively this article will have observed that we have been describing a phase of that universal process which has been briefly but comprehensively summed up as "a change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity through continuous differentiations and integrations." This everyone will recognize as Spencer's statement of the process of development—the law of evolution. We are not, however, bound to accept all the conclusions that may be drawn, and have been drawn, from the law of evolution by many of its high priests. While admitting, therefore, that the law as quoted above, is very highly calculated to inspire a feeling of reverence, I, for one, never weary of protesting against the exaggerated respect so many people seem to display for natural law. It is as if the law of evolution, the law of value and the rest of them had slipped into the places left vacant by the banishment of Jehovah, Son & Co. The present writer cheerfully confesses that he has no more respect for the law of gravitation or the law of value than, he has for the equator. A law, so-called, is no more than a generalized statement, more or less true, of certain observed uniformities in nature, which is always subject to the test of an appeal to the facts. The process of development is, for man, a process of understanding and, therefore, of controlling the forces of nature. So much being said, I can now proceed to speak of a law as if it were an entity, which is decidedly convenient if somewhat misleading.

Limitations of the Law of Division of Labor.

All of which is suggested by the remark I made last week that I should now treat of the limitations and shortcomings of the law of division of labor.

Allow me here to make three generalized statements:—

(1) The growth and well-being of an individual or of a society depends upon the degree of harmony or co-ordination existing between that individual or society and external nature and between the units composing that society. Disease consists of a lack of such harmony.

(2) The happiness of the individual depends on the free use of all his functions and the development of all his faculties and capacities; on the fullest expression of his individuality.

(3) Under such conditions the normal "product" will be a work of art. "Art is the expression of joy in labor."

Now then, we have observed in society the operations of certain principles working towards the ends here set forth. We have seen the development of a humanity capable of understanding and controlling the forces of nature; strong in its sense of solidarity and in mutual helpfulness; finding pleasure in social intercourse and the interchange of ideas; men cunning in intellect and skilful of hand, able and willing to "rejoice in the work of their hands;" a society in which art might be the common heritage of all.

Instead of which we have the "abomination of iniquity" in which we are compelled to have our being and to which we are only reconciled by those instinctive manifestations of sociality and solidarity which persist in spite of adverse conditions and, for some of us, by the cynical and fearful pleasure we take in deriding and fighting it.

Time has gone long past when the state of human knowledge would permit us to impute good or evil, motive or intention to the forces of nature or to the

operation of natural laws. Wherever, then, we find evils existing in society, we may assume lack of adaptation or mal-adjustment. This we shall find in the substitution of production for sale in place of production for use. Now this was a necessary and inevitable phase in development, given the institution of private property; a fact, however, which does not prevent it from lying very close to the root of every evil that afflicts society. Production for use is a simple, natural and reasonable process but production for sale—that is to say, for profit, is an iniquitous thing, conceived in sin and begetting evil. Under a system of production for use the law of division of labor operates to ensure the necessary adaptation; to provide each individual with that occupation suited to his capacities; to produce the skill necessary for the making of a perfect product. Each one has pleasure in his work and is proud of the result. The increase in productivity provides a greater amount of wealth, making for the general comfort and well-being. The saving in time provides leisure—the necessary condition for the growth and dissemination of culture. Under a system of commodity production, the results are different. The worker, by successive stages, has been torn from the soil, deprived of his tools and his skill, and reduced to a mere appendage to a machine, whose only hope on earth is to be allowed to expend his life in the service of the possessing class. Education, culture and art have become the possession of a privileged few. Degeneracy attacks society as a whole; the workers as a result of poverty, misery and degradation; the rich through all the evils that flow from parasitism. Clouds of parasites batten upon the extravagance of the wealthy and upon the ignorance of the poor. Society lives in an atmosphere of lies, industriously disseminated by pulpit, press and platform.

The old-time watchmaker made a watch; he took his time to it; he made it all and he made it good; he had pleasure in making it and he was proud of it; he was a craftsman. The modern worker in a watch factory spends ten hours a day pushing little discs of brass under a die. He isn't a man; he's a thing. But, I shall be told, the factory makes a better watch. This may or may not be true but, I, for one, consider it a misfortune that we should need better time-keepers. Time is no object to a free man. The sun is a good enough time-piece for him.

Extent of Production Determined By Market.

As I have already mentioned, production under capitalism is limited and determined by the market. Increasing production resulting from the division of labor and the use of the machine demands an ever-increasing market. Only thus can the capitalist class realize the advantages of the efficiency of labor. From this arises the vicious circle in which that class finds itself involved. Production tends to outrun the means for disposal of the products. Foreign markets must be found. Still the machine develops and still the mass of products accumulates. Then the crisis is upon them, and all the evils inherent in capitalism are intensified; there is unemployment and more poverty and misery; there are strikes and walk-outs, and more trouble until, after a time, the goods are worked off and the wheel takes another turn. Competition between nations and the desire for forcing markets and fields of exploitation generate the imperialistic spirit, then there is war and more trouble, and the end is not yet.

It has occurred to me, looking over this stuff, that some of you will be thinking that we have travelled a long way and got nowhere in particular. Well, as the colored gentleman might say: its not so much a question of where we are going

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

(From "The Workers' Dreadnought")

As was mentioned before in these columns, a desperate fight is now being waged to force all workers in and about the mines to join up into one union—the South Wales Miners' Federation. In order to secure this result, the opposition of vested interests in the various craft unions has to be met. In the week commencing June 16th, the Colliery Clerks struck, but not in a body, for various increases in wages and recognition of their union.

The attitude of the Miners' Federation was not sympathetic, an action which may seem a negation of trade union principles to the minds of others than miners.

The position is just this. One of the immediate and most important objects of the S. W. M. F. is the perfection of the organization by including in its ranks all grades of workmen helping in the production of coal.

If support is given to the clerks in fighting by means of their craft union they will surely win. Then they can point to their craft basis of organization as being responsible for victory. Their deduction would be wrong, for obviously the victory would have been won, not by their organization as Clerks, but by the help of the miners. Therefore if the craft basis is to be destroyed, the Clerks are to be shown that the craft union weapon is of no use and must be abolished in favor of one Industrial Union. It is a truism that before any human institution can be destroyed its utility must be apparent. The withholding of support from the Clerks is a means to this end. This course has been fully justified by latter events, for news has been received that the Clerks intend to join the Miners' Organization. The Federation will now be in a position to give the coalowners a certain time to settle the Clerks' dispute, and if unsatisfactory, then the whole force of the organization will be with the Clerks.

To the vested interests let it be said that the time has gone when the workers can be split up into different groups. The advantages of such a policy go directly to the employer alone.

To those trade unionists who may be shocked by the attitude of the Miners in being willing, if necessary, even to "blackleg" the Clerks, remember that static principles can not guide the Labor movement. Conditions surrounding us decide our actions. All these actions must be considered as means to an end. Our ultimate end in view is the socialization of industry and one of the most important means to that end is the organization of the workers by industry. The Miners' immediate end is Industrial Unionism, then, if we have enough faith in it, all means to that end are justified. Even the blacklegging of the Colliery Clerks is justified on that score.

Let us not quibble about the violation of lifeless principles, that were born when numerous craft unions in one industry were quarrelling about each other's rights. Let us keep in mind our goal, if we have sufficient faith in its justice and inevitability we shall not be afraid to use any and every means to realize it. All changes in human society violate cherished beliefs. The introduction of machinery destroyed domestic contentment, but all will agree that machinery can become a great blessing to humanity.

as what we pick up on the way. You know, there isn't really any place to go to. We travel along a while, we notice a few things by the wayside and—someone else carries on. I have noticed that people who think they have arrived anywhere, usually stay there, and they are an awful nuisance. I am still on my way and shall be glad to have your company next week or some other time.

GEORDIE.

A Few Notes

AMERICAN SOLDIERS SELL WAR CROSSES.

NEW YORK, July 16.—American Distinguished Service Crosses and French Croix de Guerre, won by American soldiers in France, are obtainable in New York pawnshops for the insignificant sum of \$5.00

Several pawn shop proprietors explained that the emblems had been sold by soldiers who felt the pangs of hunger, but were too proud to beg.—Vancouver "Province," July 17.

Churchill, the offspring of both the British and American junker-class, is urging the formation of a new political party in Great Britain, a Coalition of all Capitalist parties, to fight Bolshevism. By this, is no doubt he means the working class movement. The issue becomes clearer, and the lines of division are drawing tighter.

"I know now what this Bolshevism is," suddenly said one working plug to another, while reading a paper during the dinner hour, "It means us, Bill."

"It is not as an individual that man is heir to the ages, but as a social being. Let him stand alone, let him be wrecked on a desert island, what a poor pitiful forked radish is the civilized man of today. Even were he a Prime Minister he would find that in the struggle with brute facts His Right Honorable-ship was of no more account, rather less in fact, than a naked savage. Without human companionship, without mutual aid, he would become a gibbering idiot."

Signor d'Aragona, speaking for the Italian Federation of Labor at the Southport Conference, made the statement gravely, that the situation was such in his country, that they must not be surprised if in a short time there might be a Revolution in Italy, and the shedding of blood. He belonged to the "Right" wing, but he saw no other solution.

"Common Sense," London, Eng., points out that it is precisely those districts in which the Soviet system has once been established, then overturned by the Whites, and afterwards cleared of them. That Bolshevism is most ardent; that give the largest quota of soldiers to the "Red" army.

Theodore Roosevelt was once asked how it felt to be a great man. "Well," he replied, "I have just been reading some geology, and that makes you feel that the fame of all the famous men that ever lived is a very small thing."

The "Daily Herald" reports "that college men in Oxford University, England, are starting a magazine to be run on labor and socialist lines." The movement is growing from the bottom up.

The Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council voted in favor of the O. B. U. This action says the press despatch comes as a shock to those who thought that the O. B. U. had been killed.

The average life period of a native of India is 23 years, due to semi-starvation. That of England 40 years and that of New Zealand 60 years.

WHO WANTED WAR?

This is the minute for which we have waited, 49 years—Clemenean.

"I claim" said Abraham Lincoln once, "not to have controlled events but confess plainly that events have controlled me."

The teachers strike in Italy is finished, but that of the priests is spreading considerably.

Some Impressions of Siberia

(Continued From Last Issue.)

Kolchak's position always has been, and still is, very insecure. When he appealed to the Allies for help to "Restore law and order," the Japanese responded with avidity, not that they cared for him or his troubles, but because they saw an opportunity of getting a foothold in Siberia, a thing long desired by them. They sent a large force of men, who have done the fighting, together with the Czechs and Cossacks. England has sent supplies of uniforms, arms and munition, and has footed the bill with regard to the Canadian Expedition. But in spite of English gold; and British, Canadian, American, French, Italian, Czech, Cossack, Russian, Japanese and Chinese troops, Kolchak's power is nil, for he can not gather in the taxes, and it is with great difficulty that the Trans-Siberian Line is kept open, and communications kept between the towns along it. His new-mobilized army is composed of men between the ages of 18 and 40. Since anyone refusing to be mobilized is shot, he is gathering in all the Bolsheviks, and several of them said to me that they did not at all object to being trained, and being given arms and ammunition, and when the time comes they know what to do with them. If the statement in the capitalist press, to the effect that 40,000 of Kolchak's army has recently been captured by the Bolsheviks, is true, then the fact is, that they just gave themselves up. Although perhaps at the time of the revolution they did not realize what Bolshevism meant, the taste of freedom and real life, followed by this reign of terror of the counter-revolution, has made them realize that they have something to fight for, that Bolshevism is the only way to freedom, and they intend to fight till death. Their intense hatred of the Czechs, Cossacks and Japs, add force to their arms and determination to their wills. On the withdrawal of troops, which is likely to be very soon, (according to information I received just before leaving Siberia,) Kolchak's semblance of power will be gone, and the Reds will sweep everything before them I feel sure. At present they harrass and worry the "Whites" and make it very difficult for them to maintain communication between the large towns. In reality the Whites have only got control of the Trans-Siberian Railway, as far as Omsk, all the rest of the country being Red. Trains are frequently delayed by finding that the track has been taken up, the ties and rails having been taken into the forest and hidden, in spite of the fact that there is a guard all along the track.

With regard to the Allied troops, the Japs are

REVOLUTION IN SIBERIA.

The whole of Siberia (says a Soviet wireless message received Wednesday) is in a state of revolutionary unrest. The population is in a state of revolt. Consignments from Vladivostok to Omsk have to be accompanied by armored trains in order to protect them against insurgents. These insurgents have become so strong that the Japanese, despite their 120,000 men, are falling back.

The province of Daghestan, where Soviet power was established a few weeks ago, has concluded an alliance with the Tchetchen Province (in the Caucasus.) and both are conducting war against Denikin.

BRITISH HELP FOR DENIKIN.

M. Delara, a special envoy of General Denikin's Government now in England, stated in an interview with Reuter's representative that British supplies of all sorts, from small arms ammunition to fully-equipped tanks, were now arriving, and already over 100,000 tons of material had actually been disembarked and furnished to the army. Before this summer was out General Denikin's forces would almost certainly effect a junction with the troops of Admiral Kolchak, somewhere on the Volga, in the neighborhood of Saratoff.

the only ones who were really in earnest or have done any fighting. Japan has been given just recently a sphere of influence in Eastern Siberia as a reward for services rendered, and as a bribe for further services. But Eastern Siberia will be another Korea for Japan, for the Koreans are in a constant state of unrest and are trying to throw off the Japanese yoke—an Asiatic edition of England and Ireland. For the rest of the Allied troops it is absolutely true to say, that the average man was quite indifferent to the 'Bolshevik menace to Civilization.' In fact, so little did the Americans care about it, that they refused to go up the line against them because the Japanese were there, and they refused to fight side by side with the Japs. Very few of us went far from Vladivostok, most of us having to kill time and patience in barracks. Some of the Imperials were training the White army, but several remarked to me that they did not care a damn about either the Bolsheviks or the Russians, they simply came out for the extra money offered, and most were sorry they came.

Russian credit is very low, when we arrived at Vladi in January, the rouble, which was originally worth 52 cents, had dropped to 12 cents, and early in May it was only worth 3 cents which caused a panic, the Russians refusing to take their own paper money with which the country had been flooded. However the financiers manipulated affairs in some way for their own ends, for the next day it rose to 3 1-2 cents and the panic stopped. I believe the Bolsheviks have since abolished money both metal and paper.

The Bolsheviks have an overwhelming majority in Siberia and are fast organizing themselves, although this is a very dangerous and difficult thing to do at present. Still secret societies are being formed, and men are going to the country and joining the Red army, so that before long, I feel certain that a determined attempt will be made to free Siberia from the tyranny and oppression of Kolchak and his band of assassins. I was interested in the statement made in the capitalist press the other day, that the Czechs are getting Red, and must state that several companies went over to the Bolsheviks at the beginning of the invasion, whilst others were half-hearted in their fighting. It is quite impossible for any body of men to be in Siberia, in constant touch with the Bolsheviks, without becoming 'contaminated,' and I confidently assert that the expeditions of the Allies have done more harm to the capitalist class in their respective countries, than could have been done in five years of propaganda.

Those of us who wished to do so, after establishing our good faith, were able to get right among the Bolsheviks, so learning the truth about them and their ideals, and seeing what they had done and what they hoped to do. We were careful to spread the knowledge thus obtained, judiciously amongst the other fellows, and it is certain that the average soldier taking part in this expedition will be inclined to side with the Bolshevik element rather than with the capitalist class when the class war comes to a head in the respective lands, in which they are privileged to be wage slaves. For my own part I went with the object of obtaining information and knowledge, and I got quite a bit. It was a disappointment to me that I did not see more of the country, but perhaps I should not have learned much more even if I had gone about more. In Vladivostok one came across all nationalities and classes, and if one could overcome the language difficulty, which I fortunately was able to do, (in one case using my knowledge of Latin learnt at school,) and if one used judgment and discretion, a whole fund of information could be obtained.

I am indeed grateful to the British Government for giving me the opportunity of this education, even if at times there were unnecessary hardships to be undergone, and I will undertake to use it for the benefit of the workers in their struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

What Sort of Nationalization?

(From the "Workers' Dreadnought," June 26.)

Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala writes:—

"The educated workers of the world have come to realize that it is their concern, rather than that of any other group in society, whether industries as a whole, or some of them, shall work for individual profits governed by the law of competition alone, or whether they shall work for national service as a national asset with no preferential profits to a few individuals in the State.....

"The object of nationalization should be the saving of the profits now paid to private shareholders, in order that the workers in industry may enjoy a life of comfort and enjoyment, instead of one of unmixed drudgery; the consumer, that is to say, society in general, having the benefit of the balance, either in lower prices or as profits transferred to the general revenues of the community.....

"In the capital account side of industries, like railways or coal mines, nothing can be gained by exchanging royalty and rent "rights" for a stock on which the nation has to pay an annual revenue as interest or sinking fund.....

"The working and maintenance of "nationalized" industries should pay no profits to private concerns or individuals, otherwise the scheme of so-called nationalization must remain not only a huge farce, but even a huge deception and plunder.

"In nationalizing railways what do you nationalize? If you wish to repair or erect railway stations, signal boxes, or bridges you will go to private contractors and pay them profits, you will directly, or through your contractors, pay profits of merchants dealing in bricks, stone, timber, glass, cement, iron and steel, paints and varnishes, etc. If you wish to repair or extend a railroad you have got to pay heavy profits to some steel rail company. If you want carriage wheels or springs you have to pay a heavy private profit to some individuals. To build carriages for your "nationalized (?) " railways you will have to pay profits to private individuals trading in timber, iron, brass, fittings, tapestry or leather (for cushions,) window glass, lamp fittings, etc. So what are we really about to nationalize, and where are we stopping national money from running away to private dividend arrears?

"Similarly for coal mines, you will keep on paying profits on all buildings, and plant required by your collieries after what you term nationalizing them. You will keep paying profits to dividend distributors on coal cutters, boilers, pumps, haulage equipment, electrical equipment, and every little thing that a colliery requires. Where, then, is real nationalization with any real economic object or purpose served thereby?

"Now, suppose you do not agree to any such patchwork and deceptive forms of nationalization which keep feeding private profiteering at every turn. You will require to nationalize your railways and coal mines in such a manner that you will also nationally produce all your requirements, and these also you will produce from materials, and raw minerals brought under national possession and not allowed to remain under private ownership. Your nationalized railways and mines will then have the requisite number of nationalized iron and steel factories, glass factories, brick yards, electrical and mechanical equipment factories, all under nationalized non-profiteering control, and all in their turn possessing national stores of raw materials required. This, and this alone, would mean an effective, real, and honest nationalization of railways and mines, the other being merely an eye-wash. If you are not prepared for it, then plainly vote against it, but not for any make-believe nationalization.

"So far I have merely pointed out to the reader what real nationalization ought to be as against patchwork nationalization of coal mines and rail-

ways. The thoughtful reader might, however, take himself further forward. He may ask, where, then, shall we stop? Nowhere, if you really adopt a sincere and progressive scheme in place of a deceptive, patchy, stagnating form of nationalization..... A complete nationalization would then, in your opinion, lead to socialization of all industries? In my opinion it would not logically stop before that, and must even go beyond it till the Sovietization of industries is reached.

"In nationalizing a concern here and there you do not eliminate private profit, in socializing it you leave the matter of control somewhat in doubt, and a conflict between the producer and consumer remains; in the Sovietization of industries you not only solve the control difficulty, but you harmonize the interest of the producer and the consumer within a given society....."

FURTHER SECRET DOCUMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

(From the "Daily Herald," June 24.)

"Ball Cartridge Only" in the Event of "Riots."

On the 13th of last month we published the now famous secret Army orders issued to Commanding Officers by the War Office in which the following information was sought:—

Will Troops in various areas assist in strike breaking?

Will they parade for draft to overseas, especially to Russia?

Whether there is any growth of Trade Unionism among them?

The effect outside Trade Unions have on them?

Further secret instructions have now been published, for the text of which we are indebted to our Glasgow contemporary the "Worker." These we print below.

The Government's "explanation" of this latest example of militarism will be awaited with interest.

Parliament meets today and unless some explanation is volunteered, the workers of this country will look to the Labor M.P.'s to raise the matter in the House.

In a recent issue the "Aeroplane"—which apparently regards strikers as "Bolsheviks"—asserts that the Royal Air Force

would have but little mercy on a Bolshevik mob if once let loose on them with bomb and machine-gun the R. A. F. pilots and observers have had much excellent practice during the German retreat in operating against mobs on roads and in streets.

In view of the above the Air Ministry Weekly Orders (1380—1433) provide interesting reading. On page 23 appears the following illuminating paragraph:—

961. In the event of a disturbance amounting to a riot, the magistrate present with the troops will, if circumstances permit, read the Proclamation under the Riot Act and call on everyone present in assist in suppressing the riot. Whether the Proclamation has been read or not, he will as soon as he comes to the conclusion that the police can not cope with the riot and that military action is necessary, call upon the officer in command of the troops to take action. No order to charge or fire should be given until the magistrate has called upon the officer to take action. An order to fire, if given, is to be given by the officer in command.

No. 962 is equally interesting:—

962. Full and distinct warning must be given to the rioters that the troops are about to fire, and that the fire will be effectual. The officer shall, if time permits, consult with the magistrate present as to the best means of giving such warning.

But the following paragraph is even more note-

ALLIES—ALWAYS (?)

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

I am glad to gather from an interview given by Mr. Lloyd George the other day to a representative of the Petit Parisien that "the mere idea of any dissension" between ourselves and our various present Allies can not exist in the future. "Great Britain," Mr. Lloyd George declared, "will always remain the faithful ally of France—always." I beg Mr. Lloyd George's pardon, not "always." He said "always" at first, but seems to have changed his mind and limited the period to fifty years from the present date. I am sorry he did that. It still leaves the more distant future of the world unsettled. But one must not sin one's mercies, as they say up North. It is something to have human affairs guaranteed against all fluctuations of the human mind, if only for half-a-century. I am old enough to be able to look back on the half-century that has just passed. Let us take a bird's-eye view of it. It should make us grateful to Mr. Lloyd George for securing us (till 1969) from similar confusion and uncertainty.

Only a few years ago Russian men-of-war were sinking English fishing boats in the North Sea. Feeling ran high, and we were on the point of declaring war against Russia. Three years ago she was our beloved ally, the steamroller. We are now calling for a volunteer army to invade her. Twenty years ago our press was holding up the Boers to execration as fiends in human shape. The columns of our papers were filled with stories of the atrocities they had committed, and Lloyd George narrowly escaped lynching at Birmingham for not joining in our hymn of hate against them. They are now our gallant comrades, and, according to Lord French, they had always been fine fellows. Twenty-three years ago we were on the verge of war with France over the Fashoda trouble. The Daily Mail was urging us to "roll France in the mud," take her colonies away from her, and give them to Germany. Twenty-five years ago Lord Salisbury and Joe Chamberlain were touring England, advocating an alliance with the Kaiser. A popular novelist wrote a book picturing the forthcoming war between England and France. Victorious France had swept our Navy from the seas, and we were in danger of being starved into submission. From which calamity we were saved in the last chapter by the generous and timely coming to our aid of the German fleet. Lord Northcliffe, then Sir Alfred Harmsworth, thought highly of the book and wrote a preface to it.

As a young man I remember seeing the late Charles Bradlaugh, streaming with blood, fighting his way out of High Park. He had been so "unpatriotic" as to protest against our going to war in support of our then "dear friend and ally," Turkey. The crowd was then singing, "And Russia shall not have Con-stanti-nople." About that we were (then) eternally determined. The first war talk to which I ever listened (I have heard a good deal since) was the demand of all true Britons that we should sink the American Navy as the only proper and becoming reply to Washington's outrageous behavior in connection with the Alabama business. We will say nothing about the years preceeding, when France was always "the enemy;" when Nelson urged us to bring up our children to hate every Frenchman like the devil; and public-houses were springing up all over England named after the King of Prussia. Perhaps it was thinking of these things that made Mr. Lloyd George finally decide to limit his forecast to a mere fifty years. The wise man does not prophesy too far.

worthy:—

965. It is undesirable that firing should take place over the heads of the rioters or that blank cartridges should be used.

We withhold any comment, pending the official explanation—which will, we think, need to be very watertight to convince the public, in view of our earlier disclosures.