Discharged Soldiers and Sailors in Congress

(From the "Socialist," Glasgow, April 24.)

We have received the following resolution from a correspondent in Glasgow, which, being passed at the Conference in question, speaks for itself.
—Editor.

RESOLUTION.

The Federation of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers in Congress assembled at Glasgow on April 12, 1919, hereby enters its protest against the organized attempt by the scullions of unscrupulous vested interests in and out of Parliament to establish in Britain that very system of militarism, bureaucracy and absolutism, which, in entering the war, we sought to crush. It would seem that instead of killing Prussianism in Europe, and making the "world safe for democracy," we have sacrificed ourselves merely to uproot the evil system in the Central Empires and plant it in our own country.

Solemn pledges made by responsible Government officials and given wide publicity in the Press have, one after another, been treated as "mere scraps of paper," in the true Prussian fashion. As an example of this, we point out that:

The Army Council promised in 1914 that: "Any man enlisting under present conditions will be **discharged** (note: 'discharged,' not demobilized) with all possible speed the minute the war is over, whether this lasts three weeks or three years. Should the war last over three years, their continuance of service will be optional."

We find that an attempt is being made by the British Huns to start another war, this time against the people of Russia, making use of Conscription to get the men they could not get voluntarily. We find that the lives of many British soldiers have already been lost in the fighting in Russia, against whom we have never declared war; and we wish it to be understood that we hold the British authorities—not the Russian—responsible for the deaths of every one of these men.

We find that the promoters of the old German system in this country, in order to further their vile scheme, propose to pervert our children in our public schools by making militarist instruction compulsory, under the guise of "physical training."

Therefore, be it resolved that we, the Federation of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers in Congress assembled, this 12th day of April, 1919, **do hereby pledge ourselves to do whatever lies in our power, by means of publicity, to abolish Conscription, prevent the war in Russia, and give the "knock-out" to the Huns at home.**

The Derby Scheme provided for: "Service for the duration of the war, at the end of which you will be **discharged** (note: 'discharged' again) with all convenient speed."

Under the Military Service Act, 1916, all men were "deemed to have been enlisted . . . for General Service with the Colors, or in the Reserve, for the **period of the war.**"

These pledges and contracts have been ruthlessly broken, as have most of the pledges given by the Government since the beginning of the war.

We find Conscription—the bedrock of militarism—being foisted upon the nation in lieu of the freedom we fought for. We find that great financial concessions are granted to commercial interests, whose active participation in the war took the form of plain profiteering; while, on the other hand, those who fought and suffered and whose lives have been blighted, are treated like criminal paupers, and require to fight a system of circumlocution and Prussian-like bureaucracy in order to get sufficient doles in shillings and pence to keep them from starving, and being thrown on the streets by the owners of tenement "dug-outs," misnamed houses."

* * * *

There are other countries where the above applies.

Socialist Parties in England

By N. Mescheriakov.

(From the Moscow "Pravda")

THERE are a number of Socialist parties in England.

At the front of the Left there is the British Socialist Party. It is Marxian in theory and its sympathies are with the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism.

The party's leaders (Newbold, Fairchild, Sylvia Pankhurst) follow with great interest the march of the proletarian revolution in Russia. They are particularly interested in our organization of worker's control of industry and the structure of our Soviet Government of Workmen's Deputies. Its leaders proudly call themselves Bolsheviki. The British Socialist Party has expressed its solidarity with the Russian Revolution in one way, by publishing a Manifesto protesting bitterly against the sending of English troops to crush the Revolution.

Alongside of the British Socialist Party there exists in Scotland another party revolutionary in its nature—the Socialist Labor Party. Theoretically, this party strives to combine Marxism with the teachings of the American Socialist, Daniel De Leon, teachings as yet slightly known in our own country. Newbold, in the memorandum he gave me for Lenin (as the coming leader of the revolutionary labor movement of the world) characterizes the Socialist Labor Party in these words: "These are the most enthusiastic Bolsheviki. In my opinion they are the real Bolsheviki of England. The S. L. P. is very consistent and carries on a wide propaganda; it has a large quantity of literature. The members of the S. L. P. propagate as much as possible the ideas of Bolshevism, published the secret documents, defend the Bolsheviki from attacks, and call themselves the party of the British Bolsheviki. They are our Leninites." It must be taken into consideration, in evaluating this description, that the writer—Newbold—is not a member of the S. L. P.

Away from us stands the most influential English Socialist Party, the so-called Independent Labor Party. Those of its leaders whom I met (Snowden, Bruce Glasier, MacDonald, Brailsford and others) are not at all revolutionary. They do not believe that there will be a revolution in England after the war. On the contrary, they believe that after the war there will be a reaction in England. They expect a still more reactionary wave in France. However, the ideas of this party have always been opportunistic. Nevertheless, even these leaders show sympathy for the Russian Revolution, and are greatly interested in it. They have also protested against sending English troops to fight the Russian Revolution.

But the rank and file of the Independent Labor Party is much more sympathic toward the Russian Revolution. In his memorandum, Newbold, who as an agitator has traversed England from one end to the other, is thoroughly acquainted with the English labor movement, characterizes the I. L. P.: "Their rank and file, insofar as they understand our movement, approve of it; they are proud of the name Bolshevik and without hesitation will follow your example at the proper moment."

Unfortunately, all these Socialist parties are numerically very weak. The British Socialist Party has 10,000 members, and the Independent Labor Party 45,000. The majority of the English workers are not affiliated with the Socialist parties, but are in the trade unions which form the so-called Labor Party, semi-aristocratic in its program and extremely moderate in its tactics. In that party the notorious social-patriot, Arthur Henderson, wields great power. At the beginning of the war the Labor Party concluded a "civil peace" with the bourgeois parties.

But the mass of the English workers are slowly and gradually being revolutionized. Their sympathy for the Russian Revolution grows steadily. Following our example, the English workers tried to form Workmen's Councils. But the English workers do not yet clearly understand that Councils—as organs of the revolutionary struggle and proletarian dictatorship—can work successfully only in the atmosphere of a proletarian revolution. Accordingly, nothing so far has been accomplished by these Councils in England.

The old leaders—adherents of coalition with the bourgeoisie—and the old unions are gradually beginning to lose their influence over the laboring masses. More and more often the workers violate the "civil peace" by calling strikes in spite of the advice of the old leaders and the prohibitive orders of the old unions. The Workmen's Councils are in control of these strikes.

The revolutionary spirit among the English workers is gradually increasing, though the process may be slow. The food crisis and the dislocation of industry must assume more acute forms in order to provoke a revolutionary outburst in England.

Even among the petty bourgeois radicals in England there is noticeable a sympathetic attitude toward the Russian Revolution. The most enthusiastic among them is King, the famous member of parliament. The radical papers, the Manchester "Guardian" and the London "Daily News" give the best information concerning Russia. These two papers also resolutely protest against intervention in Russia and interference with the Russian Revolution.

The English Labor movement is at the crossroads. New and younger leaders are coming up out of the depths of the working masses, taking the places of the old leaders, the opportunists and social-patriots who are losing their influence. Newbold says in his memorandum: "A number of riots have occurred in the coal regions; to the surface have come a considerable number of fine young comrades, but they are not yet able to oust the old leaders in the centres of trades unionism in Britain."

The inevitable disruption for which war is responsible and the industrial crisis which will come out of this disruption will accelerate the process of creating a new revolutionary labor movement in England.

PROFESSOR FIRED FOR FAVORING LENIN

Houston, Texas, May 25.—Dr. Lyford P. Edwards, professor of sociology, was dismissed by the faculty of the Rice Institute because, it is alleged, he declared during an address at the First Congregational Church, on May 11, that, "fifty years hence Nicola Lenin, (Bolshevist Premier,) will rank in history with George Washington."

According to members of the faculty, Edwards later told them that the Soviet form of Government in Russia would succeed and that he thought it was a good form."

Our Book Review

"THE PROFITS OF RELIGION
[By Upton Sinclair]

Now, I am not a book reviewer; I am usually content to take the word of "J. H.," or some other competent critic as to what food my brain should absorb. So with this warning as to my ability, I shall let the readers share with me some, at least, of the impressions I derived from a delightful hour or two spent in reading Upton Sinclair's book with the afore-mentioned title. As a former Methodist "bootstrap lifter," as the author pithily dubs the religionists, I am well aware of the nature of the malady dealt with.

It is a disease of large extent, but one which is being overcome by strong applications of social science. An old gentleman, intent on my conversion to Seventh Day Adventism (whatever that is) gives me a sheet of propaganda occasionally. From one of these I cull the information that "more copies of the Bible are sold annually than of any other one hundred books combined." Further, "Ten million bibles in English are distributed every year." The present yearly output is double that of six years ago."

Now, leaving out the question of the accuracy of the figures, or the motives for people buying the book, it is undeniable that the slaves who would gain their freedom in the sky instead of striking a blow for it here, are legion. And while undoubtedly, economic factors will eventually push the race to the point of daring greatly and risking all; still a class that is ignorant of the forces that make for good and evil; as their position may determine, can not be near so intelligent an instrument of emancipation as should be. I do not believe in "God killing," but I do insist on the facts about religion being expounded the same as any other buttress of capitalism. Which brings me back to Comrade Sinclair. His little book, written in masterly style, brimful of delicious humor and satire, as of one who joys greatly doing battle with a hoary fraud; is one dealing with the economic reasons behind each sect or cult of Godites. And he spares none. From Mother Church to the Holy Rollers, he unerringly, puts the finger on the cause. He will scarcely be loved for his efforts by the gentry he has pilloried. But his book will be eagerly read by all who essay the opening chapter. Let me quote a little from the portion on "horn blowing."

"And here is 'The Churchman,' organ of the Episcopalians of New York, warning us, 'Without doubt there is strong temptation today, bearing upon clergy and laity alike to address their religious energies too exclusively to those tasks whereby human life may be made more abundant and wholesome materially. . . We need constantly to be reminded that spiritual things come first."

Here are some of Sinclair's recollections:

"There come before my mental eye the elegant ladies and gentlemen, for whom these comfortable sayings were prepared: the vestrymen and pillars of the Church, with black frock coats and black kid gloves and shinny top hats; the ladies of good society with their Easter costumes in pastel shades; their gracious smiles and sweet intoxicating odors. I picture them as I have seen them at St. George's where that aged wild boar Pierpont Morgan the elder, used to pass the collection plate; at St. Thomas', where you might see the 'Four Hundred' on exhibition. At St. Mary, the Virgin's, where the choir paraded through the aisles swinging costly incense to my childish nostrils, the stout clergyman walking alone, nose upturned, carrying on his back a jewelled robe for which some adoring female had paid sixty thousand dollars. Spiritual things come first? Ah, yes! Seek first the Kingdom of God, and the jewelled robes shall be added unto you! And, what is this I find in one issue of the organ of the Church of Good Society?" Business men contribute to the Y. M. C. A., because they realize that if their employees are well-cared for, and religiously influenced, they can be of greater service in business.

Who let that material cat out of the spiritual bag? ?

And from the devil doctor whom I just saw in Martin Johnson's pictures of his cruise among cannibals, to the modern prototype portrayed above, does Sinclair strip naked the vulgar imposture?

The Nation, a Liberal weekly, in reviewing this book, likened the author to the "beamish" boy who slew the Jabberwock. But I think most readers will say as did the cockney to Major Barbara;—"Wot prawce selvytion nah?" Faults there, are to be sure; Upton was a Social Patriot through the war and the fact crops out occasionally as we go along. But all in all, it can not be beaten as a brilliant attempt to hold the searchlight of economic determinism on the scourge of the ages.

The book is cheap, it sells at 50c paper, $1 cloth, with discount on larger amounts. Also 16 pages of it are issued as a pamphlet at very cheap rates. Address the author, at Pasadena, California, who now publishes his own books.

Now, with this contribution in gratitude to the author of the 'Jungle,' which quickened my blood years agone when revolution was a wicked thing to me, but which is these days a most potent and heady brew, with a world-wide ferment that makes of life a joyous adventure, I will withdraw. May the book be read, enjoyed, passed along, till it causes brains to question; light to enter, superstition to tremble; and the 'Why' of such incidents as the dismissal of Professor Ward, prominent in the Methodist Church of America, for daring to criticize the slanderous venom poured on that bugbear of Capital, Bolshevism.

Let there be light F. S. F.

THE SOCIALIST STRENGTH IN FINLAND.

THE following estimate of the Socialist strength in Finland at the time of the elections to the Finnish Diet appeared in the Social-Demokraten (Christiania) of March 12.

The results of the elections for the Diet in Finland are beyond expectation and well worth noting. They show that, in spite of numerical loss, our party has come out of the struggle stronger than before.

In the elections of 1916 which gave the Social Democrats an absolute plurality in the Diet and led to the formation of the Oscar Tokoi Ministry —that which was turned out by the bourgeoisie with the aid of Kerensky's Cossacks—the Social Democrats had 375,306 votes and all the bourgeois parties together 419,470. This year the Social Democrats have 48 per cent. of the votes then received, or 179,863 votes. But the buorgeois parties have only 67.4 per cent. of the votes of 1916, or about 274,000 votes.

It would seem, at first glance, that the Social Democrats have lost more than the others, but it must be remembered that more than 100,000 Social Democrats have been disfranchised because of their part in the civil war, and thousands of others are in exile, among them 10,000 in Russia alone. The Social Democrats are therefore even now actually the largest party in the country, and have gained more in the elections than have the bourgeois parties.

To this must be added several other factors of the greatest significance. The Social-Democratic press has been wiped out. During the elections the party had only one newly-started paper in Helsingfors and a few smaller sheets, while the bourgeois parties had their powerful press all over the country, which carried on the most terrible vilification of the Social Democrats. Moreover, the party had been deprived of all its meeting places. Although the labor movement had been promised the return of its People's Houses, that resolution was "sabotaged" by the communal authorities, so that only a few had been returned before the elections.

From this it will be seen what a disadvantage the party labored under during the elections, but it also shows plainly how strong socialism has grown in the hearts and minds of the Finnish people as a consequence of the bloody civil war and the ensuing white terror with its cruelties.

The disposition of parties in the Diet will now be such that the Social Democrats will have eighty-one representatives, and the Agrarians, who in various matters of principle as well as in practical measures stand with the Social Democrats, will have thirty-five. The two together, then, will have 116 out of a total of 200.

BREAKING UP HUNGARY

The Nation for May 3, contained an account from Mr. H. N. Brailsford, writing from Budapest in April, of the organisation of agriculture, industry, and life generally, as planned and in part carried out by the Soviet Government and accepted by the people of Hungary. He laid stress on the complete absence of disorder which marked the establishment of the communist regime, and described its main outlines, showing the extraordinary good sense with which, e.g., the agriculture provisions were adapted to actual conditions.

Hungarian Communism in every part gave full weight to intelligence, and Mr. Brailsford's account of the educational arrangements which the whole system of success would ultimately have turned, must have made every educational reformer sigh with envy. For the first time in a modern State, he concluded by saying, there had been made possible "the only condition under which freedom is conceivable, whether for the will or for the intellect. Hungary builds pon ruins, but the authors of the destruction were the makers of the war. To chaos and despair a living idea has brought the stimulus of creative hope."

To crush this living idea the Allies launched Czecho-Slovaks and Roumanian armies. Bela Kun as head of the Soviet Government issued last week an offer of peace in most reasonable and conciliatory terms, but the Times correspondent, wiring from Vienna on May 2, said:

It is not anticipated in responsible Allied quarters here that any attention will be paid to Bela Kun's offer of peace, and hope is universally entertained that the successful advance of the Entente troops will terminate only at Budapest itself.

On May 1 the Roumanian-Entente troops were within two days' march of Budapest. On May 3, according to a Reuter message from Berlin, the French mission presented to the Soviet Government's negotiator the following conditions:

(1) The Hungarian Soviet Government must immediately capitulate;

(2) All arms, munitions, etc., must be surrendered;

(3) Budapest will be occupied by Entente troops

(4) The Soviet Government will be deposed and replaced by a democratic regime.

The request for an amnesty was refused.

The whole of this message has since been denied in a subsequent Reuter message from Vienna.

The news since has been conflicting, and it is still uncertain whether Hungary will be Roumanized or Roumania bolshevised.

HUNGER STRIKES IN INDIA TO SECURE "REFORMS".

BOMBAY, May 10.—The Satyagraha, religious movement, are urging upon members of the sect that they try a hunger strike, called a "process of purification and penance," to secure reforms. "A redress of grievances by self suffering," it is termed. The "hunger strike" day is to be spent in prayer, according to Gandhi, leader of the Satyagraphs.

The Bondage to Capital of the Wage Worker

The widely ramifying strike conditions now prevailing in Canada should give us all food for thought even though we go short of food for the stomach or even by reason of it.

Many workers, who have hitherto only taken a passing and cursory interest in social affairs will, under stress of new circumstances, now give them more attention. Therefore we seize the opportunity to touch on some fundamentals, a consideration of which are essential for a true appreciation of the anarchic conditions now prevailing, not alone in Canada, but also in the world at large.

Even to the most casual eye there is manifest disharmony in the society of men and also that we are drifting along a course to irremediable disaster unless some common ground is found upon which men may establish themselves as a basis for more harmonious conditions. The adoption of this common ground is becoming imperative, so some consideration must be given to causes of the unrest.

The present disturbed conditions are only a replica, on a larger scale, more potent in their implications for the future, of the disputes between capital and labor obtaining all through the capitalist epoch.

It is asserted that wage worker and employer come together as free men, to establish a contract. The apologists for the system and those to whom the surface appearance of things satisfy, take much comfort from the free contract theory and are loud in their protestations as to the fairness and equity of the system. They hold that collective bargaining is an interference with this sacred principle of "freedom before the law."

We have long ago plumbed the shallow depths of many fine sounding bourgeois phrases, let us see where the freedom is, "in fact," when the worker sells his energy to the employer.

Compare these words of Karl Marx with your experience as a wage worker. ". . . . It is no mere accident that capitalist and laborer meet each other in the market as buyer and seller. It is the process (of production under the wages system) which repeatedly hurls back the laborer into the market as a vendor of his labor-power. .....In reality the laborer belongs to capital before he has sold himself to capital. His economic bondage is both brought about and concealed by the periodic sale of himself, by his change of masters, and by the oscillations in the market price of his labor-power." In another place he says; "The Roman slave was held by fetters, the wage laborer is bound to his owner by invisible threads. The appearance of independence is kept up by the fictio juris of a contract."

"Fictio Juris," a juridical fiction is your "freedom before the law" when fronted with hard economic facts. Possessing only his power to labor as a means of satisfying the needs of his life, the wage worker is compelled to sell his labor-power to some one or other of the class who own and control the means of production, and as time goes on it becomes more and more impossible to escape from the ranks of wage laborers. The days of the small capitals of handicraft production are gone. This is the day of huge capitals invested in large means of production with capacity to flood the world's market with commodities cheaper than the small producer. Thus economic development at this day has produced a permanent proletarian class struggling on an overstocked competitive labor market for employment.

Who can deny the manifest anarchy eating at the roots of our social well being. Millions unemployed, separated from the means of existence except on the precarious sufferance that paupers endure. And not all the ingenuity of statesmen nor all the might of powerful governments are equal to the task of linking up the idle laborers with the idle means of production in order to remove the problem. Our rulers await like veriest gamblers for trade to revive, they know not how, or why, to bring a mitigation of the evil. A mitigation too is all that they desire, for a standing army of unemployed is an asset in keeping down the wages of the human tools of production.

This is the capitalist system of production for profit. Capital can not exist without profit. It spells bankruptcy either to the individual capitalist or to the capitalist nation to produce commodities when there is no market in which to dispose of them. Hence the reason our statesmen do not solve the problem of unemployment; cannot link up the idle laborers and the idle machinery of production. And the working class pay the penalty in poverty and misery as a result of the excessive competition of an overstocked labor market. For the working class, there is no escape from this fate while under the capitalist system, because it is inherent in its very structure.

Therefore there can be no compromise with the capitalist system by those workers who understand. They realize that it is the needs of capital that is now served. So they work for the abolition of capitalism and hold that society as a whole must own and control its own means of production, and produce for use, and so serve the needs of men. In that basis alone is there economic freedom, the basic and only real freedom, for, when it is absent, all other so-called freedoms are but as mocking shadows.

WHAT WE WANT.

(From the Socialist "Standard," London, Eng.)

A lot of make-believe capitalist sympathy has been slobbered over the working class recently as the result of the revelations of some of the horrors of working-class existence in the mining districts and in the East End of London. That the capitalists may make a genuine effort to improve these conditions is quite possible. The war has shown them that they have a C3 nation of workers, and the latest births and deaths returns have revealed to them the unpleasant prospect that unless they bestir themselves they will soon have no nation of workers at all on which to found the military and commercial supremacy of their Empire. But even if they do improve the workers conditions; if they stable them in palaces and harness them in "Workmen's Charters;" if Lord Leverem finds that he can exhaust his men in six hours and does it, and Mr. Ford discovers anew that high wages, as the Dutch say of paint, cost nothing—what then?

Such things, realized far beyond the realms of possibility, would leave us unmoved. We are out for LIFE for the workers. The world is beautiful. Life is glorious. Even work is joy if a man may, as Morris said, "rejoice in the work of his hand." Evolution has given us the possibility of producing by work, as distinct from toil, wealth in such abundance that the amenities of civilization shall be the portion of all, without stint.

A place in the sun, a draught of the sweet air of the meadow, the tranquility of the country sunset, relieved of the shadow of our slavery—are they not worth fighting for? Are the workers for ever to be content with the mentality that can raise a singer to fame and fortune on such a song as "Champaign Charley?" The earth sings a better song after rain, but how many of us have heard it? The World with all its beauty is for the Workers if they will but take it.

GREAT BRITAIN TRIPLE ALLIANCE DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL FROM RUSSIA

LONDON, May 27.—This promises to be a critical and dangerous week in the relations between the forces of organized labor and the government.

A great triple alliance of railway men, coal miners and transport workers—including two million and a half men—has prepared an ultimatum to the government and has been defied by Bonar Law. The union demand immediate lifting of the blockade against Germany, withdrawal from Russia, release of all conscientious objectors now in prison, and the rescinding of the Compulsory Military Service Bill. The demand is accompanied by a poorly-veiled threat to call a general strike to enforce it.

As leader of the House of Commons Bonar Law has declared that the request could not be granted and that the government would use all the powers of the state if an attempt was made to forcibly challenge its authority. The executive committee of the triple alliance is meeting today to consider what steps are to be taken and a call for a general strike within the next few weeks is not improbable.

That the government regards the situation as unusually serious is shown by the fact that Sir Robert Horne, minister of labor, has flown over to Paris to discuss it with Lloyd George.

The danger is more real and immediate by the action of the National Union of Police, covering the whole of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

A secret ballot, entirely without the knowledge of the government, has been taken, as a result of which the police all over the United Kingdom will go on strike June 2, unless meanwhile the government grants the demands of the police union. The police demand recognition of their union, increases in wages and reinstatement of certain discharged constables.

Meanwhile the more radical and even revolutionary elements continue their agitation. At a large open-air meeting held Sunday afternoon in Trafalgar Square, in the heart of London, Tom Mann and Sylvia Pankurst openly advocated immediate revolution.

I should be more excited about it all if I had not seen several similar labor crises in the last few months—some of them much more menacing in appearance than this—which were taken in hand at the last moment by the government and settled without a strike being called. Sooner or later, no doubt, the persuasive power of Lloyd George will lose its potency. Perhaps that time may now be here. In that case, almost anything may happen.

BOLSHEVISM IN GERMANY GAINING.

WASHINGTON, District of Columbia—A report on conditions in Germany, made by British army officers, has been received through official channels here, and indicates that bolshevism is gaining rapidly.

The report says in part:

"The faith of the working classes in the Ebert Government is undermined. The bureaucratic and educated classes are powerless to avert the ruin and collapse of social order that stares them in the face.

"If the present government falls, the Independents (who have been negotiating with the Left wing Majority Socialists) will assume power. The Independents have already undermined the influence of the government over the working classes. The avowed aims of the party are the immediate socialization of all industrial concerns, such as iron, steel, banking and insurance; dissolution of the loyalist army and volunteer corps and disarming of the bourgeoisie. It may be taken as certain that this government would become Bolshevist at the first Spartacist rising.

"The bogey of bolshevism is undoubtedly being used as an argument to modify the peace terms; but the danger is none the less real and imminent because it is perverted to this use."

Statement By Santeri Nuorteva, Director of Russian Bureau of Publicity

A perusal of the "Russian dispatches" in the metropolitan newspapers of the last few days irresistibly raises the question: Will the American public once more permit itself to be fooled by deliberate lies about the Russian situation?

The world-wide press campaign against Soviet Russia has always been characterized by particularly vicious lie drives on the part of reactionaries every time that some possibility arises to bring about friendly relations between Soviet Russia and the United States. It is natural that now that the power of the Russian Soviet Government is extending daily over Russian territories, now that the impossibility of defeating that government is being admitted in all circles, and now that the establishment of relations between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world looms within sight, the forces opposed to such an outcome are desperately carrying on a campaign which outdoes any previous accomplishment in perfidy and deliberate lying. We have every day reports of Kolchak's "victories" in the east. To make such "victories" appear more real, we are told that the Soviet Government itself admits defeats of its troops. It should be remembered, however, that at the time of the Prinkipo conference decision, we had a similar "victory" by Denikin, similarly "confirmed" by "official admissions" from the Soviet Government. We were told that Denikin had captured 30,000 prisoners and extended his power over hundreds of miles of territory. About a month later the press admitted that the "victory" was a deliberate lie from beginning to end; and that on the contrary the Denikin forces had retired considerably, and that the Soviets never had published an admission of a Denikin victory.

There is no doubt in our mind that the much-heralded Kolchak "victories" of recent date also will prove a fake within a very short time. Nevertheless, for the time being, these fake "news" serve their purpose. They cause people, who have already begun to acquiesce in the necessity of recognizing the Soviet Government, to hesitate once more to fool public opinion into postponement of a definite decision on the Russian question and even to consider the possibility of recognizing the Kolchaks.

In line with despatches about Kolchak's "victory," we have, of course, new reports of "bolshevik atrocities." "Eighteen hundred men, women and children have been murdered in Ufa." In screaming headlines the newspapers announce this new lie emanating from the Kolchak Government, whose forces have marked every step of their rule with unprecedented murder and cruelties. Swallowing the fake dispatches of this kind, the average reader will forget all the authentic news about the treatment accorded men, women and children of the working class by Kolchak—that blood-thirsty exponent of defeated monarchy, vodka and the knout, in Russia, who now presents himself as a champion of humanity.

We are sure that the American people from bitter experience will be on their guard against the shameless lie drive instituted in order to defeat at the eleventh hour the establishment of relations between the Russian workers and the United States.

BELA KUN.

A correspondent who knows Bela Kun writes as follows:

Bela Kun was a Hungarian Social Democrat captured by the Russians fairly early in the war. After the Soviet revolution of 1917 he was free and worked hard at propaganda among the German, Austrian and Hungarian prisoners. A very bitter anti-Prussian, he used all the influence he had against the signing of the Brest peace. A round, jolly fellow with a big mouth and laughing eyes, he was a regular attendant at the meetings of the Central Executive Committee, and made a close study of events in Russia "in order," as he put it, "not to make the same mistakes in Hungary." He is a person of great commonsense and not at all a wild visionary or fanatic, although long persuaded that the war could only end in revolution. A man of absolute personal courage, he arrested an armoured car manned by mutineers at the time of the Left Social Revolutionary revolt in Moscow, and brought it to headquarters and its occupants to their senses by nothing but bluff and the use of his tremendous voice. He roared at them and that was enough. Throughout last summer he was eagerly working for the Austrian revolution, and the moment it came went to Budapest to agitate for a social as opposed to a merely political revolution. He took part in scrimmages with the police, was wounded, and imprisoned. He was called from prison to take his place as Foreign Minister in Soviet Hungary. I do not think he can be much over thirty. It will be interesting to observe what lessons he has learned in watching as earnestly as he did the daring and desperate experments of Russia.

THE BOLSHEVIST ISSUE.

(From "Christian Science Monitor," May 28.)

Mass Meeting Asks Justice.

At a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, held to "demand justice for Soviet Russia," the speakers included the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Amos Pinchot and Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Frederick C. Howe, United States Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, was chairman.

At the same time it is announced that Lenine and Trotzky, through their representative, L. C. A. K. Martens, in this city, will begin at once publication of a Bolshevist propaganda newspaper in this city.

Lifting of Blockade Demanded.

The Madison Square meeting demanded that the "economic blockade against the Russian people" be lifted, that Russia be allowed to determine her own fate unhampered and "under institutions of her own choosing," that American troops be withdrawn from Russia, and that the American Government refuse to recognize any counter-revolutions, or any governments representing the former monarchistic elements.

Rabbi Magnes criticized President Wilson and the other framers of the peace treaty as "children of a dying generation, men who did their best in accordance with the old ways, but who were lacking in faith that the new world actually could come." The Rev. John Haynes Holmes said: "For us the fate of bolshevism is not so important. Bolshevism may rise or it may fall, but the revolution must go on."

The names of Wilson, Orlando, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Koltchak were jeered, while those of Lenine and Trotzky were received with great enthusiasm.

GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN TURKEYSTAN.

The "Investzia" (Bolshevik Organ) reports the spread of Socialism in Mahommedan Turkestan, hitherto a pawn of rival chauvinists contestants. The District Soviet of the Mahommedan Trades Unions in Tashkent unites 200,000 Turkestan workers, and the Soviet Government has opened a Mahommedan People's University and twenty-four Turkish centers of learning. Socialist papers appear in the Turkish language, and out of 36 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic there, eleven are Mahommedans. Thus says an exchange: the Red Flag lights the way to peace even as between the age long feud of Cresent and Cross.

PRODUCTIVITY OF RUSSIAN LABOR.

THE International Relations Section of the May 17, New York "Nation," contains the first annual report of the Russian Soviet Government's first annual report on the State of Productivity of Labor in that country since the proletariat took control. Statistics are furnished covering the first four months of 1918, during which time each month showed a progressive increase over the proceeding month. Comparisons are also made with the rate of production during the years, 1915, 1916 and 1917, before the proletariat took control. The whole report shows favorably for the efficiency of the new administration of industry when the effect of the Allied blockade and the economic exhaustion of the country through the war is considered.

We append the concluding paragraph of the summary of the report:

"It is necessary to note the Psychological as well as the economic significance for the workers of the nationalization of industry. From the moment of the transfer of industry into the hands of the Soviet Government, the workers no longer labor for the benefit of a capitalist, but for that of the whole republic of proletarians and poor peasants. If, until nationalization, the worker could not have sufficient incentive to increase the intensity of labor, to manifest particular efficiency, from the moment of worker's control everything changes radically. Upon the workers now depends the finding of raw materials and fuel, the obtaining of orders, the delivery of products, the financing of production, and the payment of the workers. The deep significance of the October revolution, as prompted by the class-feeling of the workers, lies in nationalization, which is passing into socialization of the whole industry.

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

At its first National Congress held recently, the party appointed a commission to elaborate its program. "The program deals at great length with the dictatorship of the proletarian class and of democracy which it defines as equailty of rights and duties between citizens."

"Democracy," it says, "will only be fully realized even from a political standpoint when social revolution, achieving the work of the French revolution, shall have effaced the hereditary privileges of property, and the hereditary servituds of Labor. The future alone will show in what manner this transformation which is itself a revolution, should be achieved; either by a legal transmission of power or by the pressure of universal suffrage, or again by a movement of organized Labor.

"The Socialist Party," continues the manifesto, "does not confound revolution with violence. It ardently hopes that the victory may be accomplished quietly and by methodical organization. But, in order to gain political power, Labor can renounce no means of struggle, and the final form of its revolution will depend upon circumstances, and notably on the nature of the resistance offered to its effort for liberation."

The program goes on to say that the party fully realizes that the revolution can only hope to succeed if it takes place when its "historical hour" has struck. But it also utters the warning that it is master neither of the form the revolution will take nor of the moment when it will be declared.

"Whatever the form of the revolution, the taking over of public powers by Labor will very probably be followed by a period of dictatorship."

Major Leonard Wood, reported to be in the running for the next President of the U. S. A., in outlining measures, he advocated for the country, stated that "as a great Christian country we should have some kind of military organization." We pay tribute to the gallant general's application of the teachings of the "Prince of Peace."

THE RED FLAG

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

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

401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.

Editor ..... C. Stephenson

SATURDAY.....JUNE 7, 1919

The Function of the Socialist Party

AT the Sunday evening propaganda meetings of the Socialist Party of Canada it is customary for the speaker of the evening to devote a part of the time to answering questions submitted by the audience. Any regular attendant at these meetings cannot help but be familiar with a certain question which, in the matter of persistent recurrence, threatens to rival the decimal with a dot over it. Like Banquo's ghost "it will not down."

The question referred to, while appearing under different forms and diversities of camouflage, is, in general import, something like this: **"How do the Socialists propose to overthrow the present system, and what system will they set up in its place?"**

This thing bears whiskers a yard long and they are hoary with age. The time is long since when it should have been laid to rest. It is a matter for astonishment that a person can be found with sufficient intelligence to string words together to form a sentence who will stand up in a public meeting and propound this aged joke. This question suggests that the person propounding it entertains the idea that the Socialists have a nice compact little "system" all fixed up and ready to run on the pressing of a button; and that, so soon as they can persuade a sufficient number of the credulous proletariat to assist and protect them in their sinister design, they intend to sneak up on the present system under cover of darkness, beat it over the head, drag it out, set up their own "system" in its place, press the button—and the thing is done.

It is a fact that at one time such weird idea as this was held by a number of people who called themselves Socialists. It is also a fact that at one time large numbers of people believed that the earth was flat. There are no doubt some small children and imbeciles living in the present day who hold to the idea that the moon is made of green cheese. But that any person of mature age, in full possession of his or her faculties and living in this twentieth century, seventy-two years after the formulation of "The Materialistic Interpretation of History," can be so profoundly ignorant of the nature and causes of social movements as this question suggests, is indeed a sorrowful thought. However, so long as this question continues to crop up it must be squarely met and its implications emphatically repudiated.

The Socialists do not propose to overthrow the present system; neither have they any ready-made system to offer in its place. No matter what peculiar ideas may have been held by those calling themselves Socialists in the "dear, dead days beyond recall," modern Socialism dating from the works of Marx and Engels stands foursquare and solid on the impregnable rock of scientifically acquired knowledge, and it is no exaggeration to state that every new discovery in the realms of science but serves to strengthen the position assumed by the Scientific Socialist. And no person having any claim to the title of Scientific Socialist has ever preached such a doctrine as this question implies, nor anything remotely resembling it. No one knows better than the Socialist that society does not move at the behest of any individual or group of individuals but in response and in accordance with all the contributing factors and circumstances. Socialists do not pretend to initiate social movements. None know better than they the futility of such endeavor. They do, however, seek to understand them and to anticipate them. In the light of their knowledge of the nature and causes of social movements and their analysis of present-day conditions, the Socialists are enabled to anticipate the social revolution in which society will change its economical basis. They can see it coming. And they welcome it for they know that by this change society will purge itself of those objectionable features which arise out of the present economic basis and are rapidly becoming intolerable.

A question that here naturally suggests itself might be worded somewhat like this: **If, then, social movements are beyond the control of individuals or groups of individuals, what useful purpose is served by such organizations as the Socialist Party?"** In answering this question we must consider the factors which determine a social movement of the nature of that in which we are interested. Broadly they will fall into two divisions: the material factors or the economic conditions which environ society, and the intellectual factors or society's understanding of its economic basis. The principle upon which the production and distribution of the necessities of life is carried on in any given society constitutes that society's economic system. Such a system exists for the specific purpose of providing the necessities of life for the members constituting that society. As long as the great mass of society remains convinced that the economic system under which it exists is capable of meeting its ever increasing requirements, so long will that system continue. The requirements of society may in many instances actually not be met. There may be starvation and destitution more or less widespread and consequently strikes, food riots and what is often lightly referred to as "industrial unrest," but these latter will be nothing more than efforts to force the existing system to respond more generously and thus constitute a tacit admission that the system is still held to be capable of so responding. So long as this opinion is held by the great bulk of society there will be no conscious movement toward the abolition of the existing system. On the other hand, just so soon as society is awakened to the realization that the existing system is no longer capable of meeting its requirements the doom of that system is sealed. length of time during which such a system will continue in existence after the first dawning of the realization of its incapability will depend almost entirely upon the speed with which this realization permeates society.

Right here the function of the Socialist Party stands revealed. Its function is to awaken the masses to a realization of the fact that the existing economic system is incapable of responding to their needs. In a word, education.

It is frequently asked in a more or less deprecatory spirit: "Why confine yourselves to education? Is there nothing more the Socialist Party can do?"

The answer is emphatically "No! There is nothing more the Socialist Party can do." And, moreover, there is nothing more that any working class organization can do. Over the material conditions the working class have practically no control whatsoever and never will have so long as they remain slaves. The intellectual factor is the only one over which they have any influence and even in that domain they have a hard, hard row to hoe.

It must be understood, however, that education —which, in the language of the proletariat, means class consciousness and what inevitably follows upon class consciousness, namely, class solidarity —can be, and is being, accomplished in many different ways. The Socialist Party has its particular methods, namely, propaganda meetings and the distribution of literature. Labor unions, craft or industrial, revolutionary or otherwise, consciously or unconsciously, are all contributing their quota insofar as they educate the masses to a realization of their position in human society. Strikes, riots, industrial disputes, or incipient revolutions contribute nothing toward the downfall of capitalism except insomuch as they promote class-consciousness and class solidarity. Understanding this principle a class-conscious worker will approve or disapprove of a strike or any form of industrial action, so-called, according as he conceives the degree of class consciousness and solidarity which such action will promote to be worth whatever hardship may be involved.

Education is, in the final analysis, all that any working-class organization can consciously contribute toward the downfall of capitalism. And it is all that is necessary. For education means class consciousness, class consciousness creates class solidarity, class solidarity breeds militancy and it is out of these that the form and technique of revolution will take shape according to the needs of the moment. As to just when that moment will be no man can say more than that it looms perilously near.

C. K.

THE VANCOUVER TYPOS

The Vancouver branch of the typographical union voted a majority of 71 to 55 in favor of going out on sympathetic strike in support of the workers of Winnipeg. However, it was decided by the local to refuse to handle any strike news which, in their opinion, misrepresented the facts. The printers are on the inside of this business of making up "news" and they revolted when more of the "stuff" was handed in to them for composition. The refusal of the publishers of the daily press to submit to this constitutes an admission that "fakiring" is part of their stock in trade.

We are informed that the first copy turned down by them was the product of the press correspondent, G. C. Porter, the individual who was responsible for the despatches sent out from Thief River Falls, during the first week of the strike, giving circumstantially worked-up details of horrible conditions prevailing in Winnipeg. This man bears one of the most unsavory reputations as to his treatment of labor troubles in his reports. He is an old offender and is known from coast to coast as notoriously unfair to labor and a trouble-maker. Yet knowing him for what he was, the press published his ridiculous "dope," that the Winnipeg strike was the part of a deliberate plan to commence seizing the powers of government in Canada, for the taking over the industries and the establishment of the Proletarian dictatorship. Winnipeg was already controlled by a Soviet of the workers and we forget what horrible fate had been meted out to the Mayor and Council. Babies were dying for want of milk, etc., etc., etc.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JUNE 8

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPRESS THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speaker ..... J. Harrington

Today's Psychosis

By W. W. LEFEAUX

PAGAN Rome's head ached. Pagan Rome's head was hard, but it ached. And the ache was no uncertain one. The diagnosis of the condition was easy, for the dear public were showing unmistakeable symptoms of a veritable brainstorm. The pathology of the trouble was not difficult, for the Light of the Primitive Christians was hidden by no Bushel; and without exception the symptoms were most pronounced wherever that Light burned most brightly.

But what of therapeutics for the disease? That were another matter. 'Twere easy enough to see the storm; and satisfactory reasons, even if not the root causes, could be assigned thereto. But, "Our calling is in danger," and "What must we do to be saved?"

Imperial Pagan Rome never had had such a head. Many a time had the Imperial Legions swept some provincial religious and patriotic fanatic from the face of the Earth. But this was a seismic disturbance that emanated from the very centre of their earth, and like a tide rising would neither be damned nor gainsaid. Basis in natural law there was to it and the conquerors of the Earth could only adapt themselves to it or be swept aside by remorseless Nature along with the hundreds of millions of other forms of life that had not proved adaptable to changing conditions. This time neither Machiavellian Art nor the Strong Arm could eradicate the business and perforce the matter had to be assimilated.

The slaves of Imperial Rome needed no propagandist to ceaselessly point to the Class Struggle. Captured in battle or taken in the drag net of the Roman Armies there was no medium-of-exchange or psuedo-democracy to veil the situation. But chattel slavery was the order of the day and the social economy of the period was not ripe for any change. No hope appeared anywhere in that direction.

Primitive Christianity preached Communism in the present economy and Hope in the Future. No Marx was required to tell them that they had nothing to loose but their chains, and the accumulated mites of thousands looked very like wealth; in Another Life definitely promised there was to be freedom; at any moment the Promised Messiah might be expected and the Future Life installed forthwith!

At first they joined up by ones and twos. Gradually it became hundreds and thousands, and then hundreds of thousands. The One Big Union with its Determining Economic Basis and its Hope swept the Empire. For once the psychology of the mass had gotten out of the control of the "Upper Class." Swayed by the idea resultant from the conditions, and mentally intoxicated with a faith accouched by degradation and slavery they rushed to the stake, the cross, the arena and the jails with an unanimity that defied all authority and took repression as a thirsty man takes water.

Imperial Rome had a sick head ache!

Imperial Rome had to face the situation. There were three alternatives confronting the Patricians and Plutocrats. Either they had to exterminate the proletariat or to be engulfed in the flood themselves upon the backs of the masses. They chose the latter alternative. A little appearance of concession, a great noise of confession; a little doctoring of doctrine, a great show of adopting: tremendous fluttering of flags, terrific blowing of bugles, strenuous orations by political pilots, frenzied beating of breasts by new inspired sky pilots and the near-fatal psychology veered before the tornado of patriotism, bombast, loyalty and lying. Imperialism recovered its breath. For the irreconcilables and non-hypnotisable—extermination in a sea of blood.

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Christian Capitalism's head aches. Christian Capitalism's head is a hard one. And the ache is no uncertain one. The diagnosis of the condition is easy for the dear public are showing unmistakeable symptoms of a veritable brainstorm. The pathology of the trouble is not difficult for the gaunt spectre of famine is in a world of plenty, the beastiality and horrors of war in the name of Christ and Democracy, the mutterings and uneasy stirrings of the sleeping labor giant, the continuous reference to "the revolution" and a volcanic feeling in the air can not be misconstrued.

But what of the therapeutics for the disease? That is another matter. 'Tis easy enough to see the storm; and the superficial apologists for the system satisfy the petit bourgeois and so-called intelligentsia by their unending chorus of "Bolshevist! Socialist! Anarchist! Crucify Them!". But the chorus still chorusing there appears no peace. On the one side the forces of the Higher-Ups gather their armies of hirelings through the agencies of the State and on the other, the ranks of labor swiftly gather.

Imperial Christian Capitalism has never before had such a head. Many a time have Christian Bayonets let Christ and Light into the naked dusky bodies of independant aborigines who preferred death to the enlightment of "Law, Order and Democracy," and whose sense of the fitness of things did not include resolving themselves into a market for Lancashire Cottons and Birmingham Smallwares. But this is a seismic disturbance that emanates from the very centre of their Capitalist Strongholds, and rising like the tide flooding gives no hint of possibility of abatement. Based on the natural law of Eternal Change or Death, the Imperialist Masters of Worldwide Capitalism must either adapt themselves to the changing conditions or be swept out of existence by the pent-up volcanic forces that they are trying to stifle. This time neither Machiavellian Art nor the Strong Arm can keep for them the unchallenged position occupied under conditions that have passed away.

The Trump Ace of Capitalism—Worldwide War—was played in 1914. Accomplished by a carnival of flagwaving, trumpeting, orating, declaiming and other well-known psychosis, forming stunts. The Capitalist States of the World played the game that had been played on a smaller scale many a time since the old Roman Plutocrats sensed the keynote of mass control, and the proletariat of the Christian World rushed into the greatest carnival of mutual murder yet staged in human history. For the irreconcilables and the class conscious—tortures and the firing squad.

What cards has Capitalism left? By what propaganda can the psychosis now forming in the masses be prostituted again to bolster up the "rights" of property and human slavery? Electricity, steam and machinery have formed a psychosis of the proletariat that presents a soul-wracking problem to the owners of the proletariat. A glimmer of halting, stumbling intelligence is shooting into the mental equipment of the mass; a thin shaft of light is shooting across that tired brain benumbed by the slavery of untold generations; the giant chained by his "superior" formed mentality is slowly stirring.

Capitalism's only hope is to guide and use the psychosis of the industrial proletariat in such a way as to again center it upon other ephemeral activities. Will material conditions accomodate any such performance? Steam replies No! Electricity echoes No! Machinery roars No! The intelligent among the workers thunder No!

We will not be tempted to indulge in the mental relaxation and ramblings of prophesy.

We shall see. Perchance the workers of Europe can be shown and convinced of the necessity of shovelling Europe into the Atlantic Ocean, and the workers of this Continent hypnotised into the mental state that will set them at shovelling America into the Pacific.

We have had our psychosis of "Slavery here below and Hope in the Future." Our psychosis of War is about over and the remains are rapidly oozing away.

Is it to be a psychosis of shovelling dirt? Or is it to be a psychosis of LIBERTY?

FINLAND AND RUSSIA

On Wednesday, by way of gratitude for the Finnish offensive against Petrograd, launched by General Mannerheim last week, the British Government "recognized" the independence of Finland and the de facto Finnish Government. Meantime according to Reuter, the Finnish Socialist are demanding the removal of Mannerheim on the grounds (1) that he was chosen by the old, unrepresentative Diet; (2) that he is imperfectly acquainted with the Finnish language; (3) that he authorized the White Terror; and (4) that he is in touch with the Russian reactionaries. It is in fact, more than possible that General Mannerheim's offensive against Russia, and his co-operation with General Judeniteh's reactionary army, may provoke serious trouble in Finland.

Meantime, the advance on Petrograd has been checked at Olonetz.

GERMANY

The following is from the pen of Mr. George Young formerly British Council at Archangel. He is now correspondent for the London Daily News in Germany.

Whilst Consul in Archangel he bitterly denounced the British occupation of that port and did his best to expose the Allied intrigue against Soviet Russia, openly espousing the cause of the Russian workers republic against the sinister influences seeking its downfall. On April 24, he wrote, apropos of Weimar the seat of the Scheidman—Ebert Government.

As the opening of the discussion shows, the majority of the Congress will favor a combination of Parliament and Councils in which the latter shall have political power.

The best chance for Germany now lies in the establishment of such a combination on the basis of practical proposals from this Congress. The workman will not work unless some real socialisation is introduced, and that is only possible if more steam be brought into the political machine than the parliamentary system can raise. Socialism and reconstruction have been going back, not forward. Last week the Socialisation Commission resigned, because Weimar would not give effect to its mildly socialistic recomendations. Yesterday the Finance Minister Schiffer resigned, because his democratic ideas made as little progress. The Councils are as essential to Germany today as the Commons were to us a century ago. Indeed, our insistence on the supremacy of the Weimar Assembly as a guarantee for the maintenance of peace can be paralleled historically by our insistence a century ago on the maintenance of Upper Houses in the constitutions of the States revolutionised from France. The function of the territorially elected Parliament will in Germany, and probably everywhere, become more and more that of an Upper House, while the industrially elected Congress will be the creative and constructive institution. The whole difficulty lies in finding a working compromise, or, rather, co-operation. Just as feudalism imposed its political system, still surviving, in the House of Lords, as Liberalism imposed its system in the House of Commons, which now, obviously, requires supplementing, so Socialism must have its political system in the Councils. This is not revolution, but evolution. The revolution comes from thwarting and threatening it.

Economic Status of the Wage Worker Under Capitalism

The Commodity Nature of His Labor Power

LIFE, physically considered, may be defined as a continuous process of assimilation and decomposition taking place in certain organic substances comprising the living organism.

The process of assimilation requires that the organism say, a man, be supplied at frequent intervals with a certain quantity of food which, being eaten and digested, is built up into the tissues of his body.

The process of decomposition goes on continuously, more intensely during periods of exertion, and results in the liberation of a considerable amount of energy, part of which is used up in the various bodily functions and the remainder is available for the activities characteristic of the individual.

It will be seen, then, that the human body belongs to that class of machines the function of which is to change energy from one form to another. A comparison has often been made between the human body and a steam engine in that the latter transforms the potential energy of coal into motion while the former changes the potential energy of foodstuffs into heat, motion, and nervous energy.

The energy thus set free is considerable in amount and it has been calculated that a man of ordinary strength can exert 4500 foot-pounds per minute for 10 hours a day; that is, about one-seventh of a horse-power.

The force of energy generated by the human organism may be used to effect a displacement of matter—human activity in the production of wealth consists entirely in the displacement of matter—resulting in "work" which when multiplied by time is "power." In economics, however, the energy is known as "labor power" and its expenditure in production as "labor."

Now, a commodity, by definition, is an external object; is useful to some one; is the product of labor and is produced for exchange, that is, it is bought and sold. To be classed as a commodity, labor power must satisfy these four conditions.

To begin with, labor-power is a purely physical phenomenon. The distinction often made between manual and mental labor is purely arbitrary and while retained for convenience is not a real distinction in that all labor is both manual and mental although these two phases occur in varying ratios. Nor need the fact that labor-power can not be visibly separated from its producer create any confusion as to its objectivity.

It is useful, being necessary to the life and well-being of its producer and very profitable to those fortunate enough to control him.

It is the product of labor in that the food, clothing and shelter necessary to its production are labor products and inasmuch as the laborer himself as he appears in the labor market is a product of the labor expended in his rearing, education and training.

Certain conditions, however, must be present before labor-power can function as a commodity.

In the first place, co-operation, division of labor and the use of tools, in a word, social progress, must have reached such a stage of development that there is a margin between production and consumption, thereby permitting the accumulation of wealth. That is to say, that other things being equal, a man should be able to produce more wealth in a day, month or year than is necessary for his sustenance. This surplus we shall encounter later as rent, interest and profit.

This condition alone does not ensure that labor-power shall function as a commodity but leads up through slavery and serfdom to modern capitalism in which other two conditions are present. These are, first, that the laborer is free to sell his labor force. Under slavery he is himself a commodity, like an ox or a horse; but in modern society he is the owner of his person, free before the law and able to enter into a contract for the delivery of his labor-power for a definite period.

Secondly, that the laborer must be obliged to sell his labor power; that is, he has no other commodity to sell, being divorced from the land and other essentials of production which have passed into the hands of the purchaser or, rather, of the purchasing class

These conditions being present, labor-power appears as a commodity, which is brought to the labor market by its owner, the laborer, and sold by the hour, month or other period agreed upon. Being sold, it, of course, has a price generally known by the special term "wages" or, in certain cases, "salary."

"Price" is value expressed in terms of money and the value of this particular commodity, like that of any other, is determined by its cost of production. Now, the cost of production of labor-power depends on—first, a sufficiency of food, clothing and shelter for the maintenance of the laborer so that he can turn out every morning fresh and fit for a day's work; secondly, maintenance for his wife and children so that the race of laborers shall not die out; thirdly, in all occupations requiring some special skill or training, the expenses of education will pass over into the value of the product.

All of these factors resolve themselves into a definite quantity of the means of subsistence, the value of which, measured in labor time, will appear in the value of labor power. There is, however, another factor not present in other commodities which has bearing on this point—the "standard of living."

There is, of course, a physical minimum of subsistence, a quantity of foodstuffs, etc., upon less than which the working class could not exist, which, further, will vary with time and place. On the other hand, the wants and requirements of the worker are the result of a process of historical development and form a psychological factor having a profound effect on the cost of subsistence. For instance, the existence of free land during the rise of American capitalism is, no doubt, the cause of the higher standard of living and consequent high wages in America, compared with the European countries.

However, the standard of living for any given country is more or less a fixed quantity and the cost of subsistence, therefore, fairly well established. Round the value of labor power, as thus fixed, the price, that is, wages, will fluctuate according to the dictates of the law of supply and demand, but, inasmuch as there is generally an oversupply of labor power, wages are found to approximate very closely to the cost of subsistence.

Wages may be considered from three points of view. First, there is the actual amount of money paid to the laborer, the "nominal" wage. Secondly, there is the "real" wage, which is the amount of commodities which can be bought with that amount of money, and thirdly, the "relative" wage which is wages considered relatively to the total product or, what is more to the point, to the surplus value appropriated by the capitalist class. This latter aspect we are not at present concerned with, but it is obvious that it is "real wages" which are important and that it is possible for a considerable rise in nominal wages to take place coincidentally with a serious fall in real wages. This generally takes place during a period of rising prices and is particularly noticeable at the present time. During such periods the endeavor on the part of the workers to bring wages up to the rising cost of subsistence creates considerable unrest and disturbance in the labor market which is repeated, on a smaller scale, however, during a period of falling prices due to attempts to retard the corresponding fall in wages.

Closely connected with wages is the question of the length of working day. The expenditure of labor power is accompanied by a process of decomposition in the human body. There is a destruction of tissue and an accumulation of waste matter which cause a progressively toxic effect on the system manifesting itself as fatigue or weariness and, if the exertion is excessive or long-continued, in exhaustion. For this reason we find towards the close of the working day a marked diminution of efficiency, both as to quantity and quality of product and a greater liability to accident. To these facts is no doubt due the readiness on the part of the employing class to accede to demands for a shorter workday and, in many cases, to initiate such measures.

Since the establishment of modern capitalism the laborers have kept up a continuous pressure with a view to securing better wages, shorter hours and improved conditions of labor resulting in the formation of trade unions, thus securing the advantage of collective bargaining with the strike and boycott as persuasive agencies. Whatever value these organiaztions may have had for the workers in the past they cannot be said to be conspicuously successful at the present time nor are the results in any way commensurate with the energy and money expended. The trade unions were at first, of necessity, formed upon craft lines and those trades for which special skill and training are necessary were able to obtain the most advantageous terms—it will be remembered that, when discussing wages we found that the training of the skilled laborer was a factor in determining the value of labor power—this, however, is offset by the fact that the development of modern machinery is rapidly rendering unnecessary the possession of special skill and is obliterating the distinctions thus created between the workers. For this and other reasons we find strongly in evidence a growing sense of solidarity among the laborers and a tendency to much closer affiliation than is afforded by the old-line unions. On the other hand, the employers realizing, somewhat late in the day, that a healthy, contented and, therefore, efficient working class is a necessity in their business are increasingly willing to make concessions and are inclined to patronize and foster the craft unions.

Association with the modern machinery of production which, while it has broken down the special handicraft skill of the worker necessitates a certain degree of intelligence and education on his part, is in fact an education in itself, has profoundly modified the point of view of the working class, rendering it much more susceptible to those teachings which contemplate the abolition of the status rather than amelioration of the conditions of servitude. But that, of course, is another story.

GEORDIE.

LIBERATION OF HOSTAGES ORDERED

COPENHAGEN, May 27.—An official communication received here from Budapest says that the Soviet having triumphed over its enemies, the liberation of hostages has been ordered.

The Hungary army command at Budapest announces that the "enemy" is withdrawing southeast of Budapest in a disorderly manner. It says that a regiment, composed of Roumanians from Transylvania was almost wiped out.

WHAT IS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM?

The Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada:
Price—$6.00 per 100 Single Copies 10c

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

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THE RED FLAG

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

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The Sympathetic Strike in Canada

DURING the week since our last issue, the Dominion-wide sympathetic strike in support of the metal trade workers of Winnipeg in their fight for the principle of collective bargaining through the agency of their Trades Council, has developed into still greater proportions. In Vancouver, shipyards, factories, machine shops, etc., have closed down, shipping is tied up and the street cars have ceased to run. Many craft organizations in other cities, which had held back, hoping for favorable developments, have also left their work and more and more are still coming out. The continued arrogant, junker-like opposition of the Government to the principle of collective bargaining decided their action and its refusal to reinstate the postal employees also carried great weight.

What a pretty kettle of fish we have on fry now over a principle which is recognized, with applications of far greater magnitude than is demanded here, in almost every country in the world. How would the pieayune statesmen of Canada like to deal with the heads of the miners' organization, a million strong, in Great Britain; or with some three millions represented by the Triple Alliance. Truth to tell the whole affair appears indeed—fishy.

Considering the stand taken by the Government on matters in connection with this strike, and in connection with the actions of its representatives, Meighan and Gideon Robertson, in commencing to denounce the strike, they were supposed to have been sent to investigate, on the very day they arrived in Winnipeg, we are forced to the conclusion that the Government, in collusion with the employers, has precipitated this strike with malice prethought. We believe it has been planned to smash he organized labor movement when it was thought to be weak and least able to recover its strength back again, because of an overstocked labor market. We believe they took advantage of the, for the wage workers, unfortunate condition of the labor market, to catch the working class on the hip and throw them down to an even lower standard of living than is at present their lot. We believe this, but we also believe that the conspiritors have made a drastic miscalculation, and the consequences may be boomerang-like for them.

These politicians do not realize that while they have been immersed in the filthy and discreditable hugger mugger game of bourgeois politics, that the workers here, as in every other country, have been making away from the old futilities and stale political superstitions of the Grit and Tory schools. This last five years of bitter experience, has so sharpened their insight and broadened their outlook on social affairs, that the ward heelers of Ottawa will find their old bag of tricks of decreasing value, now, and in the days to come. The issues now considered by the workers, center around the very bases of the social structure, and they are questioning the social validity of many things.

And so in spite of the fact that a falling labor market puts a powerful and hitherto unfailing weapon into the hands of those who seek to smash to lower levels the living conditions of the working class, organized labor will make such a fight against this as will surprise, yes, startle its enemies.

The capitalist press, from behind its mask of being the "public" press, continues to publish irritating reports, full of misinformation and glaring misrepresentations, couched in inciting language. It plays the foreigner "stunt." We are also told over and over again with variations, of the prominent citizens with jaws set, who say they will stand no nonsence and that they are prepared to go the limit in the enforcement of law and order, etc., etc. What does such "stuff" mean? It means that the press is trying to foster an impression that violence necessarilly accompany strikes and that the workers are a law disregarding class. Both of these insinuations are, of course, dastard lies. The vast majority of strikes have been carried out without violence, in spite of the fact that never a one takes place without incurring the bitter hostility of the press. In those few cases where violence has occured, it has been fostered by the press in collusion with hired provacatuers and thugs. Moreover, we maintain that the working class, in spite of poverty and other shameful conditions arising from their exploitation by the profiteering class, are the only useful, as well as the most decent and law-abiding class in society. All aspiring religions, idealisms and philosophies have sprung from their ranks or have been inspired by their cause. Who ever championed the cause of the rulers and the exploiters except the paid hireling and the sycophant? These are at work in this struggle. Watch them! The mark of the beast is on all they do and say.

Fortunately the capitalist press has had its claws clipt somewhat. The local Typographical Union has passed and reaffirmed the following resolution moved by R. P. Pettipiece and seconded by J. Rankin, and passed unanimously:

"That, for the duration of the present strike, the President, who shall give his entire time to the work, and a representative in each of the three newspaper offices, be named by No. 226, to ensure the publication of the strikers views and that deliberate misrepresentation be prevented, under penalty of cessation of work. And that the newspapers be compelled to publish reports submitted by unions."

Despite the blatant protests of innocence on the part of the publishers, notably the "Sun," its claws have been clipped, and at a meeting held as late as last night by the printers, the resolution was again concurred in unanimously, and the prohibition of "deliberate misrepresentation" will continue. Nevertheless much provacatuer "stuff" may slip through. Treat it with contempt. Keep in touch with authentic news sources.

Workers, do not let them intimidate you. By virtue of the self-discipline and organization of the workers in Winnipeg, there has been no trouble there, though latest reports indicate that their enemies are organizing it. In Vancouver all is quiet. Nevertheless, we know that the malignants, with the will to disorder, are here, they are but non-plussed for the moment by your quietitude. Do not let them irritate and provoke you. The steadfast purpose and iron-will revealed in your organized discipline, is more menacing to them than all the threatening terrors of unorganized and raging mobs. Stand fast!

BOLSHEVIKI CLAIM ROUT OF KOLCHAK

COPENHAGEN, June 6.—The Swedish Socialist newspaper Folkets Dagsblad, which is said to be in close communication with the Russian Bolshevik government, has received a telegram from Petrograd reporting that the forces of Admiral Kolchak of the Omsk Government have been defeated in the south and centre, while th northern front is shaking. The Soviet troops are said to have captured 40,000 prisoners, 100 guns and much war material.

The Esthonian offensive against Petrograd, the telegram adds, has been stopped, and the anti-Bolsheviki are retiring in the direction of Jamburg. The telegram continues:

"The British navy attempted to force the Finnish Gulf, but retired.

"The revolutionary movement against the Soviet has broken and the Soviet is stronger than ever."

The Bolsheviki have recaptured Sarapul on the Kama River southwest of Perm, which was one of the important towns taken by Admiral Kolchak's forces in their spring advance, a Bolshevik wireless message claims. The despatch also asserts that the Bolsheviki are continuing to advance in this region.

PARLIAMENT VS. SOVIET

LONDON, June 6.—It will be surprising if, within the next few days we do not see fresh and perhaps serious labor troubles here. If so the issue will be quite clear, viz., Parliament versus Soviet.

For the moment Bob Smillie, the miners' representative, and Robert Williams, transport leader, have received a setback in their attempt to put a pistol to the government's head. They demanded, under threat of a general strike of all miners and transport workers that the government immediately withdraw all British troops from Russia, raise the blockade against Germany, abolish conscription, and release all conscientious objectors in England.

However this attitude precipitated trouble at once for its sponsors. The parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress, headed by the front bench labor men, resented this outside interference and dictation from men who themselves failed to secure return to the Commons at the last eelctions, and are now avowedly seeking to discredit Parliament in the eyes of the workers.

J. Harrington will be the speaker at the Empress theatre, Sunday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock.