

WILL THE PEASANTS LEAD THE WAY?

(Being part of an interview with the General Secretary of the English Agricultural Laborers and Rural Workers' Union.)

Walker's Challenge to the Farmers.

When I mentioned the lament of the farmers over the "exorbitant demands" (to use the current phrase) of the land workers, Mr. Walker replied:

I am not concerned about the cry of the landlord and the farmer that "we can not pay." Far better that any industry that can not provide for the workers in it a living wage and proper conditions all round should go out of existence altogether. But agriculture can, must and will yield to the worker that to which he aspires.

If the industry has reached a point at which it can not do what we ask, then, we say, let us have an inquiry and get right down to the rock bottom and find out where we are."

The General Secretary of the Agricultural Laborers and Rural Workers made it quite clear that he thinks that what is good for the miners is good for the land workers.

A series of such exhaustive inquiries as the Coal Commission is engaged in throughout all the industries would certainly produce results of immense value, but especially in agriculture.

Mr. Walker proceeded:

The trouble may be want of organization. It may be the want of co-operation. It may be that the industry is carrying too many passengers. But let us find out where we are, and organize not in the interests of the few but as a premier industry, in the interests of all.

Mr. Walker would not have readers of the Labor Leader believe that the agricultural laborers are concerned only with a bread-and-butter struggle.

"There is no movement," he said, "that has greater and higher ideals than that of the agricultural workers. For instance, there is no class of worker who is watching with more astuteness and keenness the developing situation in Russia, and there was no question at the National Conference which created more enthusiasm than the reference to the Russian Revolution and the workers' duty to support it. Apart from all other matters, we have naturally a great interest in the policy of the Soviets in dealing with the land question itself."

"I am pleased also to think that it was the Agricultural Laborers' Union who first tabled a resolution, at the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool, demanding Pensions for Mothers.

"And on the question of sex, our rules specifically lay it down that there can be no distinction of sex."

The Soldiers and the Peace Demonstrations in Great Britain.

The authorities who are trying to work up an hysterical outburst of national rejoicing in their so-called "Victory" and "Peace" were not finding the returned soldiers too ready to assist them before last Monday night's ugly brush with their (the authorities') police. They will hardly find them readier now. The temper then displayed and the black rain of good paving blocks which answered the belated policeman's use of force may or not have been largely due to the foolish and inept "ministerialism" of Mr. Wardle in his reception of the discharged soldiers' deputation; but there was no doubt of its seriousness. With 200,000 "unemployed" soldiers in the country and a Police Union determined to be recognized, the authorities are likely to be faced with processions and demonstrations of a very different order to the loyal and patriotic displays in which they are everywhere entreating the discharged soldiers to take part. The soldiers have not forgotten their million dead comrades, nor the million or more maimed survivors. Nor have their friends.

"We Shoot Them"

The Metropolitan Magazine is running in serial form the experiences of Col. Raymond Robins in Russia. William Hard is responsible for the form in which these are set down in the magazine. The June issue carries the first installment of Robins' experiences which commence prior to the Bolshevik Revolution.

We extract the following from the June issue as an example of the workings of the military mind and its attitude towards the peoples movements, British, French or German, it is immaterial, the military mind runs true to type.

Col. Robins and Col. Thompson, heads of the American Red Cross mission, could see no way of keeping Russia in the war except that the Allies recognize the Soviets under the leadership of Kerensky. To test the feeling of the Allied Governments on this matter, they called a meeting of the Allied representatives in Petrograd; with what result the following will show:

Colonel Thompson decided to test the Allies out. He invited certain Allied representatives to meet him in his rooms at the Hotel Europe. They came, and they expressed the sentiments which were the final sentence of death in the Kerensky chapter in the history of Russia.

At that meeting, at half past two in the afternoon of Friday, November 2, 1917, there were present the following men:

General Knox, Military Attache to the British Embassy at Petrograd and Chief of the British Military Mission.

General Niselle, holding the same position at Petrograd for the French.

General Judson, holding the same position for the Americans.

General Neuslochowsky, for Kerensky, Colonel Thompson, and, as his side, Major (not yet Colonel) Robins.

News From Great Britain

LONDON, Eng., June 26.—During the parliamentary vacation there have been rebellion in several British dependencies—such as Malta—and repeated riots and mutinies in British and colonial military camps. Perhaps the most serious reported was at Camp Belmont, in Surrey, where 4000 men refused to obey orders and two battalions of regular army troops in fighting equipment were called in.

About 400 mutineers were put under military arrest and 1800 others were marched off under guard and shipped to other camps. At this camp the men had organized committees among the privates, and for eight or ten days these practically took command.

It is announced that half a million cotton mill workers in Lancashire are still on strike.

Carefully timed with the opening of parliament was the great meeting of radical trade unionists held on Sunday at Manchester. It was addressed by Robert Williams of the Transport Workers and Robert Smillie of the Coal Miners—two of the most influential leaders of the great alliance of labor, which includes also the railroad men.

Williams advocated the calling of a general strike and direct action to put an end to intervention in Russia and to conscription. Smillie was hailed as "the first president of the republic of England." The meeting broke up with a singing of "The Red Flag."

There remains the great question of national extravagance which was emphasized yesterday by Sir Auckland Geddes. He predicts that the food prices next winter will reach heights never before dreamed of. He blames wild extravagance which seems to prevail in every class of the British public. He comes near predicting national bankruptcy if reform is not achieved.

Colonel Thompson opened the meeting by making a brief statement of the crisis and of the instant need of action. Then General Knox took the floor.

General Knox was not interested in the Soviet. He wanted to talk about the Kerensky Government. He did so. He narrated the Kerensky Government's historic frailties and futilities, at length. Everybody present knew them but General Knox wished to remind everybody present. In particular he seemed to wish to remind General Neuslochowsky and Mr. Soskice. He left nothing out. At any rate, he seemed to Robins to leave nothing out.

But then General Niselle took the floor. He remembered several faults of the Kerensky Government which General Knox had forgotten. He mentioned them. With the Soviet knocking at the ramparts, General Niselle remembered all the troubles inside the ramparts. General Judson, the American general, was, as will appear in later instalments of this narrative, an entirely different sort of person. General Niselle, bound by the chains of his environment, seemed to remain a perfect indoor person to the finish. He finished by reciting the Russian military disaster at Tarnopol, and by expressing the view that Russian soldiers were cowardly dogs.

Both Russians present, General Neuslochowsky and Mr. Soskice, left the room. They would listen no longer. They departed red, and also seeing red. They were through.

But General Knox was not through. He entered on a colloquy with Robins which I think I can exactly recite.

General Knox was thoroughly honest, thoroughly patriotic, thoroughly intelligent. He simply apparently had not informed himself. When Robins thinks of General Knox's opinions and statements on that day in the Hotel Europe, he is inclined to grasp at the thought that every diplomatic and military mission in the world ought to get a cable every morning saying: "Unless you go outdoors today, among the common people of the country to which you are accredited, you will be dismissed at nightfall."

General Knox said to Robins: "You are wasting Colonel Thompson's money."

"If I am, General," said Robins, he knows all about it."

"You should have been with Kornilov," said General Knox.

"You were with him," said Robins.

The General flushed. "Well," he said, "that effort may have been premature. But I am not interested in the Kerensky sort of government. Too weak. What's wanted is a military dictatorship. What's wanted is Cossacks. These people need a whip. A dictatorship's the thing."

Robins expressed the fear that they might get a dictatorship in Russia quite different from the kind of dictatorship General Knox was thinking of.

"What?" said the General. "You mean Lenin and Trotsky? Bolsheviks? That soap-box talk? Colonel Robins, you are not a military man. I'll tell you what we do with such people. We shoot them."

Robins was a bit roused probably by this time. "You do," said he, "if you catch them. But you will have to do some catching. You will have to catch several million. General, I am not a military man. But you are not up against a military situation. You are up against a folks' situation."

"We shoot them," he repeated.

That was Friday. On Monday, three days later, the Bolsheviks took the Fortress of Peter and Paul in Petrograd, and also the Arsenal. On Tuesday, Robins spoke for the war at the Orenbaum barracks and the Bolsheviks did better. They took the telegraph station and the telephone station and the principal railway station. On Wednesday, in the evening, Robins stood on a bridge across the Neva and watched Bolshevik sailors from Bolshevik ships firing shells in the air to explode over Kerensky's Winter Palace.

Clippings From the Press

BRITISH LABOR LEADER IS OUT FOR REVOLUTION.

(By Thomas Geggie, Special to the Province, Copyright 1919.)

LONDON, June 24.—Robert Williams, president of the Transport Workers' Federation of Labor, in a demonstration at Southport yesterday, made a clearer statement regarding the aims of the "Triple Alliance" than any other Laborist has yet permitted himself to express. He said the national convention would be called to decide that if trade union leaders refused to lead, the workers would themselves act. He wanted the revolution peaceful, if possible, but the cause was worthy of the sacrifice of many lives.

Referring to the government's resources, he said the army at present could be depended on but was less reliable and the police more revolutionary.

"Churchill, the Blenheim pup, the well-oiled weathercock, denied there was war going on with Russia, the damned liar that he was. Never mind about constitutionalists, we will make a constitution of our own. Soviet Government or Bolshevism was only Socialism with the courage of its conviction."

"REACTIONARY POLICY" CONDEMNED BY LABOR

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Mr. Henderson explained that the demonstration would be an attempt to prevent the governments of Europe from adopting a reactionary policy throughout that continent.

It would be left to each country, he added, to decide whether the demonstration would take the form of political or industrial action. Resolutions would be passed protesting against any intervention in Russia and demanding the abandonment of conscription.

The conference later passed a resolution calling upon trade union congress to take some industrial action in order to compel the British government to stop operations in Russia.

There was a heated discussion over the resolution which was passed on a card vote by 1,893,000 to 935,000.

Another resolution adopted protesting against the lack in the peace treaty of any international control of raw material and food.

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Kerensky's Manifesto.

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From the Times, December 9, 1918 (Omsk November 30, from our special correspondent:)

"Admiral Koltchak yesterday made some interesting observations on the subject of his policy and political beliefs. As regards the Constituent Assembly he takes the bull by the horns and throws it over altogether . . . when once normal conditions are restored, the admiral believes that a national assembly ought to be convened, not the Constituent Assembly, but one more truly representative of the people, after which could be formed a government corresponding with national interests."

This evidence is particularly interesting at a time when a wild Press propaganda is being conducted in favor of Koltchak being recognized by the Allies as the one democratic ruler fitted to govern Russia in the people's interest!

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The Vancouver Citizens' League had better get some more money from the banks and get out a special edition of their organ and send it to the Old Country to frighten the miners there. Bob Smillie has been booked by them as the first president of the British Republic. But then that low-down Scotch-English-Welsh-Irish slum plebeian are liable to do things that would shock a high-bred Canadian. Better go over in a body and stem the breach. The Reds will look after things while you are away.

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HOW CAN CZECHS BE REPATRIATED?

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The problem of transporting the Czechs via Vladivostok and the Mediterranean is a difficult one. It has been suggested that they might be sent westward over the trans-Siberian line and given an opportunity to fight their way through the Bolsheviks in Russia. Military experts on Allied staffs are apparently confident the Czechs could cross Russia if provided with supplies and given permission to make their way westward to their home land.

WELCOME SIGNS

There are signs and indications that the left wing of the Parliamentary Labor Party is asserting itself. The Party in the House has given cause for great disappointment among the more energetic rank and file in the country, and if the work in the country is to be maintained and the enthusiasm of the younger men and women retained, the action of the Parliamentary Party must be quickened. On matters of grave international importance, the Party has been too long inactive. Its protest against the Peace Terms (which violate all the principles to which organized Labor has given support) can not be described as strong, and its general attitude, while sound upon purely industrial questions, is weak upon the larger political issues. But it is satisfactory to note the development of a strong note in the debates.

Appropos of the abuse of the strike leaders in Canada, by what is truthfully termed the "kept press," and its fawning adulation of what it terms the "sane" element of organized labor, the following, by Jerome K. Jerome, in the London "Common Sense," for May 31, is interesting. Referring to the incident of the labor leaders, Henderson and Adamson, luncheon with Lloyd George, he says:

"Do Messrs. Henderson and Adamson think they are invited there for the sake of their fine eyes? Can not they see through the game? The rank and file of their followers possesses more insight and Labor Leaders will have to make up their minds whether they are going to serve Liberty or Dora. It is an old trick, this of our rulers—this cordial shaking by the hand, this kind patting on the shoulders of the Labor Leader who looks as if he were going to be dangerous. "Won't you come into my parlor? Won't you take the easy chair? And don't you think you can help your people better, say, as President of our new Department for the Improvement of Things in General? Or as Secretary to our new Board of Reform?" It was a terrier belonging to the late Sidney Smith, if I remember rightly, who was once asked what happened when, in the everlasting warfare between the rats and the terriers, a rat rose up of exceptional intelligence, capable of organizing his fellow rats and making use of their superior numbers to defeat the terriers. The terrier admitted that in this case the position of the terriers was dangerous until the good old remedy had been applied and had proved once more successful.

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Treatment of Soviet Russia

From the New York "Nation."

THE loathsome hypocrisy of the Administration's Russian policy becomes clearer with every passing week. On January 8, 1918, Mr. Wilson declared that the treatment of Russia would be the "acid test" of our goodwill and stated as one of the Fourteen Points "the evacuation of all Russian territory [it was Germany which held it then] and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing." Since that time we have seen Russia invaded from at least three directions by American, British, French, and other Allied troops, with Mr. Wilson's consent. We have seen public opinion in the United States systematically poisoned concerning Russia, with the connivance of high-placed Government officials, and Mr. Wilson has spoken no word. We have blushed with shame at the perfidy and dishonor of the Sisson documents, and Mr. Wilson was busy elsewhere. We have seen Russia invaded from the north to meet the German menace, and from the east to aid the heroic Czech-Slovaks. The Germans are disarmed, and the very existence of the Czech-Slovaks is all but forgotten, but American armies are still unwillingly fighting in the north and in Siberia.

After honest and simple-minded Americans had protested so loudly that the Administration no longer dared ignore their demands, we were promised that our troops would be withdrawn from

Archangel—and straightway a new force of engineers was dispatched to Northern Russia. Now we read that "American railroad troops are playing an important part in the rapid advance of the Allied troops southward along the Murmansk railway." Meanwhile our troops remain in Siberia, and the War Department is recruiting 8000 volunteers for service there. An Associated Press dispatch from Omsk states that the so-called All-Russian Government there has requested Major-General Graves not to send American troops farther into the interior of Siberia, the desire being "to preserve the existing friendly relations with America which, in view of the American Government's undefined stand on Bolshevism, might otherwise be jeopardized." The Omsk Government need not worry. Mr. Wilson has been carrying on war against Soviet Russia for ten months, and General Graves in a message to his troops, declares that "the policy to be followed by our troops in any country is one to be determined by the Executive." So much for Wilsonian Real-politik by comparison with the old-fashioned theory that it is the business of Congress to declare war. And General Graves has apparently caught even the President's phraseology, for he adds that "every nation has its own ideals and traditions which should be respected by all, and especially by guests, as we are." Having seized long stretches of the Trans-Siberian Railway, we appear to be the kind of "guests" who make their entrance by climbing up the back porch. It is hard to believe that the American people, who are for the most part honest and kindly folk, can much longer stomach the Administration policy in Russia of combined burglary and starvation, coupled with pious phrases. There is surely honesty and courage enough in Congress to put an end to this iniquity.

Captains of Finance and the Engineers

Thorstein Veblen in the "Dial."

IN more than one respect the industrial system of today is notably different from anything that has gone before. It is eminently a system, self-balanced and comprehensive; and it is a system of interlocking mechanical processes, rather than of skilful manipulation. It is mechanical rather than manual. It is an organization of mechanical powers and material resources rather than of skilled craftsmen and tools; although the skilled workmen and tools are also an indispensable part of its comprehensive mechanism. It is of an impersonal nature, after the fashion of the material sciences, on which it constantly draws. It runs to "quantity production" of specialized and standardized goods and services. For all these reasons it lends itself to systematic control under the direction of industrial experts, skilled technologists, who may be called "production engineers," for want of a better term.

This industrial system runs on as an inclusive organization of many and diverse interlocking mechanical processes, interdependent and balanced among themselves in such a way that the due working of any part of it is conditioned on the working of all the rest. Therefore it will work at its best only on condition that these industrial experts, production engineers, will work together on a common understanding; and more particularly on condition that they must not work at cross purposes. These technological specialists whose constant supervision is indispensable to the due working of the industrial system constitute the general staff of industry, whose work it is to control the strategy of production at large and to keep an oversight of the tactics of production in detail.

Such is the nature of this industrial system on whose due working depends the material welfare of all the civilized peoples. It is an inclusive system drawn on a plan of strict and comprehensive interdependence, such that, in point of material welfare,

no nation and no community has anything to gain at the cost of any other nation or community. In point of material welfare, all the civilized peoples have been drawn together by the state of the industrial arts into a single going concern. And for the due working of this inclusive going concern it is essential that that corps of technological specialists, who by training, insight, and interest make up the general staff of industry must have a free hand in the disposal of its available resources, in materials, equipment, and man power, regardless of any national pretensions or any vested interests. Any degree of obstruction, diversion or withholding of any of the available industrial forces, with a view to the special gain of any nation or any investor, unavoidably brings on a dislocation of the system; which involves a disproportionate lowering of its working efficiency and therefore a disproportionate loss to the whole, and therefore a net loss to all its parts.

And all the while the statesmen are at work to divert and obstruct the working forces of this industrial system, here and there, for the special advantage of one nation and another at the cost of the rest; and the captains of finance are working, at cross purposes and in collusion, to divert whatever they can to the special gain of one vested interest and another, at any cost to the rest. So it happens that the industrial system is deliberately handicapped with dissension, misdirection, and unemployment of material resources, equipment, and man power, at every turn where the statesmen or the captains of finance can touch its mechanism; and all the civilized peoples are suffering privation together because their general staff of industrial experts are in this way required to take orders and submit to sabotage at the hands of the statesmen and the vested interests. Politics and investment are still allowed to decide matters of industrial policy which should plainly be left to the discretion of the general staff of production engineers driven by no commercial bias.

IN PETROGRAD NOW.

What a visitor saw recently—neither thieves nor prostitutes—order and calm.

Jean Lonquet, in the *Populaire* of May 12, gives the gist of an interview between himself and a distinguished personage belonging to one of the Entente countries, who had arrived only a few days before from Petrograd, where she was sent by her Government on an official mission. She had been living in Russia for eighteen months. Lonquet asked: "What is Petrograd like? Is it true that disorder, ruin, and desolation reign there? Are the streets deserted, the few inhabitants famished, the criminals triumphant, have the honest people left?"

"In the whole of Europe there is not at the present time a single capital where order is so perfect, and security so complete, as in Petrograd. For months past not a rifle or revolver shot has been heard in the streets. I saw the Nevsky Prospect filled with thousands of pedestrians, of whom many were evidently people of leisure, covered with furs. On a sunny afternoon it was a very pleasant sight. The telephone works well. Much better than in Paris. The electric light is on every night. Carriages and motor cars are running—but I suppose they belong to the Government."

"It is said that the shops are all shut?"

"In the Nevsky Prospect most of the grocers' and butchers' shops are closed, because they have been replaced by the Soviet and co-operative shops. But very many shops containing objects d'art, pictures, copper goods, and Japanese articles are open, and bazaars, where one can buy everything, are crowded with people."

Lonquet asked whether the visitor had herself tested the security of the streets. She answered: "Oh, yes, certainly! Many times I walked home at night without ever having had an unpleasant experience. There were at least fourteen theatres open every night. At the Opera I heard Chaliapine singing in 'Boris Gudonoy.' It was filled with spectators, of whom a great number certainly belonged to the bourgeoisie."

"And the socialization of women?"

She burst out laughing. "As a matter of fact," she said, "there are no prostitutes in the Petrograd streets. Formerly, in the blessed times of Tsarism it was one of the towns where there was the largest number. During the three weeks I was there I did not see a single one of these poor girls. Other foreigners who have lived in Russia for months tell me that the Bolshevik regime has practically eliminated this hideous sore of the capitalist regime. You do not see any police in the streets, only members of the Red Guard, who hardly ever have occasion to intervene."

"But is it not true that the people are dying of hunger?"

"The Allied blockade has certainly caused cruel sufferings to millions of innocent people. But the excellent organization of the Soviets and co-operative societies has largely relieved this painful situation. Several times I went with a friend to the market. We were able to procure a shoulder of mutton, veal, carrots, potatoes, and even butter which was certainly rather dear at 140 roubles a kilo. It is rather difficult to calculate the value of a rouble as its worth depends on its kind. The old roubles are worth more than those issued by Kerensky; 140 roubles are worth about 30s. At the co-operative store we were able to buy a goose, a sucking pig, and honey. In the forty Soviet restaurants you could get for 3½ roubles (about 9d.) a simple meal, but sufficient, consisting of cabbage soup, fried fish, and bread, black but eatable. At the 'Constant' Restaurant, formerly a resort of the aristocracy, but now socialized, the food was good and the tablecloths white. On producing a medical certificate you can obtain more generous fare."

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

Stability

ONE outstanding characteristic of human beings is their dislike for any alteration in the customs and habits with which time and circumstances have endowed them.

Men plod along in their little ruts, to which they have become adapted, and are seldom constrained to make a change until some new circumstances compel one. To put it briefly, Man is by nature conservative. His institutions reflect this peculiarity. No change can take place until the material conditions needed for the success of the new order have moved their existence by rendering the old order unworkable.

Customs, laws, methods of production, and even the very structure of human society itself change when compelled to—very rapidly occasionally—but for long periods of time they appear chrysalized—stable.

The satisfaction of Man's wants is the driving force in human affairs. As long as the simple desires of the great mass of slaves and the luxury of their masters could be satisfied under the old slave empires, these empires endured. While the serf and lord could jog along and live the life of their fathers, feudalism was safe. And today, could capitalism but give the traditional allowance of corned beef and cabbage, together with clothes and shelter that "befits their station in life," to its wage-workers—and prosperity and tranquility to the business interests, no Bolshevism would menace. (Nor would machine guns be flaunted in the streets of Winnipeg.)

Capitalism can not do this. It is not the young and vigorous organism it once was. Its stability rested upon the ability to enable those under its sway to live. This it did while it was expanding. As long as the products which resulted from the toil and sweat of its Proletariat could be shipped to the four corners of the earth in a word; as long as commerce thrived, the machinery of wealth production could be used, the workers could be "given work," and capital could "earn" dividends. (Panics and "financial stringencies" always excepted of course.)

But while capitalist institutions appeared stable prior to 1914, in reality its very substance had become rotten—physically and therefore also ethically.

The very means by which capitalism thrived—the commerce based upon exports of machinery and goods to undeveloped countries inevitably capitalized them and created new productive forces. This necessarily resulted in an increased mass of commodities offered for sale and consequently made the struggle on the world market keener. At the same time, having become developed, these once backward countries could no longer function as fields for investment. This led to chronic commercial depression in business, and threatening moves against national trade rivals.

In World Politics.

The continual development in technique of industry, resulting in an enormous increase in the amount of goods which the working class produces in a given time, has not been accompanied by any alteration in its status as a class that merely get wages as a means of livelihood. Wages being determined by the cost of production of labor power—the commodity which the workers makes his living by selling—can never enable the recipient of them to withdraw more commodities from the market than are necessary to maintain the workers' traditional standard of living. The flooded labor market sees to it that the worker does not sell above value.

This development in industry, on the one hand and the unaltered status of the worker on the other, has but one result economically. It leaves an increased surplus of goods over and above that which the workers can buy back, in the hands of the owners of the machinery of production. This con-

tradiction, coupled with the one resulting from the creation of new competitors and a shrinking field for investment makes the smooth working of the productive forces impossible.

Imperialistic groups developed out of the divergent interests of the various capitalist nations, seeing no remedy for their clogged commercial machine but the annihilation of their respective competitors, finally precipitate war.

Since the divergent interests of competing and expanding commercial groups are inherent in capitalist society, the moment development gives place to destruction its stability is a thing of the past. The problem of keeping the productive forces in operation was solved while the war lasted. The armies were insatiable. The contradictions, however, far from being solved were rendered more acute. Under the pressure of war's necessities machine production was further speeded up. The productive capacity of the working class increased and new stratas of the workers were forced into industry. (Many industries that formerly employed but few women, and since the war, have employed many, while thousands of small business men, ruined by the war, today wear overalls.) In fact, now that the war is over, (except against Soviet Russia,) the defects of capitalism become more glaring than ever. The demobilized millions crowd the labor market, already glutted with millions of discharged munition workers. The competition upon the world market, even though Germany is temporarily eliminated, is just as keen as ever whilst the financial structure has been weakened by the issue of stacks of paper currency, and the imposition of high taxes.

All these happenings have not been without effect upon the minds of the workers. Many of the old concepts have been swept away. The methods of our rulers have proved only too plainly that we are not free. Orders in Council, Election Acts, Conscription, hammered away at the comforting belief that "our" institutions were not tyrannical like those of other countries, whilst every event, from the Alliance with Czarist Russia—for Democracy of course—to the war on Soviet Russia for law and order (also of course!) compels the workers to realize the Socialist contention that their interests and their aspirations are not being considered, but that those of the capitalist class alone determine the action of Governments.

In the last analysis, the stability of any class society, including capitalism, depends upon the acceptance by the subject class—the workers—of its ideas and institutions. Since capitalism has forced the workers to reject its ethics and ideology it is no longer stable. Today only the capitalist class and its hirelings raise the cry for stability. In spite of the lies of the kept press, an ever-increasing number of the workers are realizing that their interests demand a fundamental change. The sacred concepts of patriotism and democracy have changed into a knowledge that as long as they work for wages on behalf of the owners of the means of production, no solution for their troubles is possible.

Nor is that fertilizer of Man's ambitions—Hope—absent. Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary, with outstretched arms beckons the workers of all countries to follow their example—not necessarily in detail but at least in principle. There the rule of the exploiter has ceased. There the contradiction between privately owned machinery and social production has been solved. There anarchy in production has been replaced by the conscious operation of the productive forces for the satisfaction of man's needs. And despite the unprecedented disorganization with which the working class had to deal when it took control—to say nothing of the military aggression of the Allies—they remain the only countries where "reconstruction" is taking place. Stability is, in the very nature of things, only a relative term. Nothing that we have yet

HAIL TO THE PHRASE-MONGERS

"A Righteous Peace."
 "A Just Peace."
 "A Peace of Reconciliation."
 "A Peace of Reconstruction."
 "A Clean Peace."
 "The War to End War."
 "Crush Militarism."
 "Self Determination of Peoples."
 "A World Safe for Democracy."
 Etc., etc., etc.—but before we forget!
"CAPTURE GERMAN TRADE!"
 Continued in the Next Issue.

DEMOCRACY IN SIBERIA UNDER KOLOHAK

Frederick F. Moore, late captain, Intelligence, A. E. F., Siberia, has this to report of Cossack officers with the Allies in Siberia, in their treatment of the Russian railway workers. He says, "they would lead out batches of these workers and flog them with iron rods until they were inert masses of human flesh, bloody and unconscious on the tracks."

IRELAND.

The Walsh-Dunne report on conditions in Ireland, now available in its complete text, is as shocking a document as any that has been called forth by the world's present relapse into barbarism. It records a situation of utter horror in Irish prisons, and of almost unbelievable brutality on the part of the British authorities. Hundreds of men and women have been confined for months without charges having been preferred against them; hundreds have been discharged from jail with broken constitutions and shattered minds as a result of their treatment. Prisoners have been confined in narrow cells with their hands handcuffed behind them day and night; in this condition they are fed by jail attendants, and are permitted no opportunity to answer the calls of nature, other than to lie in their filthy clothes. During the winter and spring, prisoners have been showered with ice-cold water and forced to lie on stone floors in their wet clothing; many of these died of pneumonia. The specific charges of the report are seventeen in number; they are enough to stop the mouths of those who prate of civilization. The report was published in full in the New York Herald of June 15. Commenting on its history, the Herald says, under a London date line: "The report came here from Paris early this week. Those who saw it were stunned. Publication was withheld by the newspaper owners, who demanded that the Government answer the charges and publish them simultaneously with the report. This official denial was not forthcoming, and finally the report appeared in a London newspaper. It stunned England. At first, English newspapers could find but one word to use in answer to the charges. That word was 'lie.' Still there was no Government denial. The following day another newspaper printed the report. Today it was printed in full by two other London journals."

come in contact with has been found to be absolutely unchanging. Stable institutions are not unconditional ones, but merely those which conform to the economic development of the times and therefore function in enabling man and man to mutually take part in the process in which nature is subverted to their needs.

Capitalism's institutions are crumbling because they are incapable of directing the management of production and distribution. The working class, sick and tired of the efforts of its rulers to make capitalism work, is now being forced to demand that the old order be swept away giving place to one in which the productive forces shall be consciously directed toward the satisfaction of human wants. This is Socialism and it can be considered essentially stable because it solves capitalism's contradictions and therefore dissolves the class antagonisms arising therefrom.

THE RED FLAG

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

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By The Socialist Party of Canada,

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Editor C. Stephenson

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Progress of the Strike

THE socialist has few illusions as to the nature of social institutions, because it is his business to study them. The statesman has even fewer illusions about them, because it is his business to use them. And the multitude—they are also being disillusioned—by both the socialist and the statesman. Strange co-workers, fateful collaborators in these potent latter-days.

Observe the attitude assumed by the State in Canada during the strike. From the very beginning the statesmen have ranged it on the side of the employing interests.

The form of collective bargaining in dispute, in what the self-styled patriots call the mother country when it suits their purpose, has been recognized for thirty years and the League of Nations conference sitting in Paris has also made provision for it in its covenant. Yet Senator Gideon Robertson, in barefaced haste, jumped right in and denounced the strike as an attempt to overthrow constituted government. The elephantine boor had not the grace to even make the pretense of an enquiry, so anxious was he to prejudice the cause of the strikers, which was already heavily enough handicapped, as is always the case, through the whole capitalist press of two continents misrepresenting them.

The press, another capitalist institution: We shall not soon forget the shameful despatches from Winnipeg, forwarded when the strike was but a day old, of a Soviet established; of atrocities rivaling the Russian "stuff." Keep in mind the name of the calloused fabricator, G. C. Porter, notorious "well-known correspondent" of the "Vancouver Daily Province," whose "stuff" it still continued to publish even though the first two-column despatch he sent through was proven an entire "fake-up."

We will not forget, too, the petty interferences of both provincial and municipal governments, nor the designedly irritating activities of self-styled citizens' committees and leagues of various kinds, financed and run by the same gangsters, and their inciting publications, printed in scab shops, and distributed free. The Bolshevik funds, the soviet conspiracy, the failure of the anti-foreigner pogrom, the attempt to set the Canadian against the English-Scotch-Irish "combination," and last, but not by any means the malignants' least disappointment, the rejected appeal to the returned soldiers; all these will provide us with a stock of jibes and jeers for years to come. What labor does object to, however, is the tampering with the wires and the mails and thus segregating it in localities to some extent and preventing communication. Suffice it to say that no effort has been spared by the opponents of labor, not to settle the strike—for that could easily have been done—but to smash and discredit the labor organizations knowing that once they had lost their position when the labor market was unfavorable, that it would be long before they would recover again, if ever. And then along comes the arrest of the strike officials. Probably the less we say about that the better before the trial. Other people may prejudice the case of these men at will. But if the alleged incriminating documents are no worse than the samples published in the press, there is a rod in pickle for some one, and it is not the

labor officials.

There has been mentioned in connection with this strike, a third party called "the public," a kind of mythical Mrs. Harris. Let it be understood, once and for all, there "ain't no sich party." It is said that in the next great capitalist war, that there will be no neutrals. Same here. There are no neutrals in the war between capital and labor. Either you are for labor or you are against it. There are only two parties to this struggle. Declare yourself!

At this writing much confusion exists as to the actual condition of affairs in Winnipeg. The "sane" element is reported to have control of the strike committee and declared the strike off, some reports say conditionally and unconditionally. But in any event the reports say that the rank and file are denouncing the strike committee and refuse to go back to work. Evidently there is queer work going on, but whatever it may be, we hazard the guess that the rank and file of the workers of Canada will save the day yet and some people's smiles will freeze on their smug faces. The last report in from the "Peg" is that the railroad workers and running trades are still standing firm. Yesterday, Vancouver, by secret ballot, registered its will by 5-to-1. 3788 to 748 to remain out because of threatened discrimination.

There is no manner of doubt that this strike is a move on the part of the capitalist class of Canada. Labor was left with no option; it was forced on it. But Labor is watching and learning and biding its time. It has yet to move to the attack. The checker-board is the world and the little tin gods of the parishes do not realize that Labor has a cause, a purpose, a historic mission to sweep the board. Labor never loses. It is nearer its goal than it was fifty years ago. Is not that so, messieurs of the money bags? In spite of the many times your class has laughed the winner's laugh, prematurely as it turned out, he who laughs last laughs best. And be careful, that when Labor laughs at last, lest it be surcharged with too much bitterness.

In the meantime, fellow workers, stand to! Those comrades of yours threatened with discrimination, and those young, fervent fighting men of yours arrested and in the clutches of those filthy, foul old men of finance, of trade and of politics; arrested and in the dubious and twisted entanglements of master-class jurisprudence.

Rally to their support! Close in!

Need for Socialist Education

The endless commercial competitions and the futile wars between nations—the struggles between capital and labor, unemployment, and the poverty and uncertainty of livelihood amongst the great masses of the people, are driving men to see more and more clearly that these problems are rooted in the structure of the capitalist system of production itself, and consequently, that it will take more than a mere political revolution to solve them. They are beginning to realize that the struggle between the workers and the capitalists class has for its consequences, a social revolution, and this not merely because two great historical classes are involved in the struggle, but because of the more consequential fact, that the inevitable result entails a revolutionary change in the basis of the social structure. The goal of the proletariat is the abolition of the capitalist system of production for profit, and the establishment in its stead of a communism of ownership in the means of production to the purpose of production for use. This means the abolition of social classes as based on ownership and non-ownership.

There is no manner of doubt that the statesmen and thinkers of the bourgeoisie realize at this day the serious nature of the social unrest, but they and their governments, powerful as they be, stand impotent before the problem, because they stand committed to the perpetuation of the capitalist form of society and thus to tinkering and patching with effects instead of solving the problem by removing

LABOR IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

What Did Lunn and Hartshorn Mean?

Mr. Hartshorn's speech on Wednesday, May 14, was significant. He spoke of the line of thought which was being encouraged among the workers by the reactionaries in Parliament and which would almost inevitably lead from constitutional procedure to methods of a wrecking character. Readers of the Labor Leader may remember that he hinted at the organization of a week's holiday right through the Labor movement upon such issues as Conscription and Home Rule for Ireland, and suggested the possibility of the whole party leaving the House and co-operating with its colleagues in the industrial world. How far Mr. Hartshorn spoke the mind of his colleagues must be a matter for speculation, but I may draw attention to a speech by Mr. W. Lunn, exactly a week later. He was protesting against the flagrant class distinction in the Budget, and in a sentence he linked that with the question of Conscription and the threat of the use of the military in trade disputes. "I am a constitutionalist when it suits me," he said, and, emphasizing his loyalty to the Labor Party, proceeded to express the hope that the Party would "withdraw from the House and join hands with the organized industrial body to take whatever means are considered necessary to destroy the impositions and restrictions that are being forced upon us." These speeches reveal the developing feeling, at least among a section of the Parliamentary men.

the cause. In effect, they stand committed to social quackery, to all the trickery and gerrymandering of bourgeois diplomacy and politics and when these fail, then to the last fatal recourse of physical force. Fatal because, as the supporters of a dying social system, every time they use it they challenge their impending fate.

There is much talk these days of the drift towards the "left," that is, towards the communist position. Much satisfaction is expressed among socialists at this, but let us be careful and take into consideration the nature of the conditions under which this drift has taken place. It will be seen that they are such conditions as usually prevail, as an aftermath of war. Disillusionment as to the purposes for which it was alleged to be waged, disappointment as to results, industrial and social disorganization and the resultant hardships endured by those large masses of the people, who in the best of times, live always bordering on the subsistence line. But there is danger of a reaction from this swing to the left, should some temporary readjustment alleviate in some degree the hardships now endured, and as for the other factors, the popular mind is notoriously fickle and its memory short.

More than one voice of warning has been raised on this matter, as is evidenced by the current phrase "November Bolsheviks," which is meant to denote those who have been carried to the "left" on a wave of enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is a fine emotion, but, a characteristic of all enthusiasms not tempered by or not founded on knowledge, is their instability.

As a safeguard against reaction therefore, we urge all comrades to push the circulation of the standard literature of scientific socialism. This is vital.

We have now on sale a fresh reprint of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels. The reprint is the most satisfactory and tasteful production we have seen yet. This pamphlet should be possessed and studied by everyone interested in the proletarian movement, for in it is laid down the fundamentals of the movement, its historical basis and the technique of its development. It contains a historical survey of class struggles and the theory that class struggles are the instrument of political development in class societies is also elaborated.

Will every socialist make himself the active center for the distribution of socialist literature and so to help to consolidate our present numerical strength on the rock of knowledge. That is the business of the Socialist.

Past Class Struggles

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

THE break-up of the Roman Empire left Germany cut up into feudal territories with a feudal lord over each. Then came the growth of commerce which developed the wealth and importance of the city burghers. The luxuries of the East were brought West and enjoyed by the townsmen into whose hands gradually centered all the handicraft, art and luxuries of the times. This placed the feudal lord at a disadvantage and aroused his envy. He, who looked down from the superior height of traditional regality upon the lowbred townsman, found himself the townsman's inferior in wealth and splendour. He consequently looked around for means to increase his wealth.

In those days the nobility lived in fortified castles and surrounded themselves with trained bands of retainers and soldiery. Their usual method of increasing the worldly possessions was by issuing from their castles on marauding expeditions and lying in wait and robbing the travellers that passed through their territories. Wm. Jacobs, in his "History of the Precious Metals," writes of the internal conditions of Germany at this time as follows:—

Those countries under a rigid feudal system were divided into various independent and petty sovereignties, all jealous of their neighbors, and frequently embroiled with them. The roads and rivers were insecure, and the protection either to property or persons passing along them, dependent upon the interest, the caprice or the cupidity of the various princes or nobles who ruled the several minor dominions. . . . No protection was afforded to intercourse, and commerce was consequently almost unknown. (Vol. II, pp. 23-24.)

As time went on, however, lying in wait for travelling merchants became less profitable, more dangerous, and but a slow and doubtful way of acquiring the necessary wealth to obtain the delicious luxuries enjoyed by the rich merchants. Consequently the feudal princes and lords had to cast about for other methods of raising the money to purchase the good things of the new life. Right at their hands lay the weapon of conquest—the further exploitation of the peasantry.

Karl Marx, in "Capital," Vol. I, p. 220, says of these peasants:

In the 15th Century, the German peasant was nearly everywhere a man who, whilst subject to certain rents paid in produce and labor, was otherwise at least practically free. The German colonists in Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia and Eastern Prussia, were even legally acknowledged as free men.

These peasants had not sunk to the same level of serfdom as the English peasants of this period, although the degradation was soon to be accomplished. They had stretches of common lands, and under the system of corvée (statute labor) they owed a comparatively small amount of labor and produce to the lords.

With the growth of the lords' appetite for luxury, however, the oppression of the peasantry and the seizure of their common lands developed into a system of bare-faced robbery. Their rents were steadily converted into money rents and increased. Documents were forged whereby the rights of the peasants were curtailed and their duties increased.

From the end of the 15th Century there were sporadic revolts on the part of the peasantry, but these were easily crushed. Eventually (1525) there was a general and extensive rising of the peasantry throughout Southern Germany.

The German Peasants' War was, unfortunately for the peasants, a disunited and badly organized affair. In spite of the fact that the rising was general throughout Germany, each territory fought out its own individual battles, and, although there were numerous peasant armies in the field, instead of forming a united plan of action, they all aspired to be self-sufficient and acted locally only. Not so

the nobles. They formed a league (the Swabian League) to raise and equip an army for the purpose of putting down the rising everywhere. While they momentarily concluded peace with one army they fell upon and destroyed another. And in this manner, by bribery, chicanery, fraud, and force, they destroyed the peasant forces piecemeal.

Each group of peasants formulated their demands in the shape of a number of articles, but eventually the twelve articles adopted by the Swabian peasantry became generally accepted as the basis of the movement. The principal demands in these articles were:

1. Right of Electing their own Ministers.
2. Reduction of Tithes.
3. Abolition of Villeinage.
4. Liberty to Fish and Kill Wild Game.
5. Restoration of Woods.
10. Restoration of Common Lands.
11. Abolition of Death Dues.

Here, as in England, the lords pursued their time-dishonored methods of dodgery, promising redress until the simple peasants had been put off their guard, and then falling upon and slaughtering them unmercifully.

Throughout the war the peasants were remarkable for their forbearance, and the lords for their ferocity. In spite of extreme provocation only two cases of alleged barbarity could be quoted against the peasantry. In one case a Baron von Helfenstein, who had achieved notoriety by his cruelty, and who had massacred peasants by the dozen in cold blood, was captured at the town of Weinsberg. The leaders of the United Contingent (the peasant army that captured the place) gave orders that he was to be kept prisoner but a section of the peasantry (some of whom had suffered personally at his hands) had resolved upon his death, and he was executed. This act was used as an excuse for the atrocities that followed.

The United Contingent, making the same mistake as the modern workers, appointed as commander a dissatisfied hanger-on of the ruling class, a knight Gotz von Berlichingen, and after his appointment the articles originally formulated were gradually watered down. Like the modern labor leader, he played the game of the ruling class, and his vacillating and treacherous policy largely conduced to the early defeat of the peasants in the quarter where he commanded.

Eventually the lords succeeded, with the aid of mercenary soldiery and a quantity of artillery, in crushing the peasantry. Then the wholesale execution of men, women and children became the order of the day.

The majority of the leaders of the insurrection were captured, tortured, and wasted to death, or died in prison. It is estimated that not less than 130,000 peasants were slaughtered during and immediately after the revolt. "At least 100,000 were killed," says the ultra-conservative "Harmsworth Encyclopaedia," p. 4623.

It is worth noting that Martin Luther, the apostle of revolt (for early capitalism) against Roman Catholicism, opposed the peasants rising with all his power, and suggested that the best way to deal with the insurrection was to exterminate the peasantry! He is reported to have written the following sublime exhortation: "Crush them, strangle them, and pierce them, in secret places and in sight of men, he who can even as one would strike dead a mad dog." ("Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th edition, article "Luther.")

The German Peasants' War, like the English Peasants' Revolt, was but a reactionary movement, an incident and an accompaniment of the gradual rise to a share in political control of the wealthy burghers of the towns.

The crushing of the peasantry in the war fixed the bonds of servitude still more securely upon their backs, and degraded them to the lowest depths of villeinage. Many decades elapsed ere they could rise from their prostrate position, and

BLATCHFORD RESURRECTED

The local press is now capitalizing poor old Robert Blatchford. It calls him the "great English socialist," and features a tirade of his against the proposed general strike in Great Britain and, of course, calls him "the great English socialist." The local windbags know so little about socialism that they do not know the difference between a socialist and a "god killer." The latter job is Blatchford's speciality and he is pretty good at it too. If he did not "get ahead of God," he at least got ahead of the God peddlers. Clemenceau is another one. Robert is also a humanitarian in his way, that is, within the limits of "dear old Hengland." Foreigners! Nix. There are Liberal and Conservative "God-killers" and humanitarians also. Socialists have no monopoly of those virtues.

As to Blatchford's argument that a general strike, aimed to bring pressure on a government so that it will change its policy on certain matters, is an act of rebellion, might we ask what are votes cast at the polls the purpose of which are to overthrow a government from its position of power? Applying Bob's logic to this case, any government might consider an adverse vote, say an overwhelming proletarian vote, as liable to put people in power who would "break the nation," and because the government thought so they would be justified in holding their position by the armed forces of the state.

What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

It is a good piece more than half a century since the reformer, Shaftesbury's time, when the "public" conscience, which is prated so much about, was supposed to have been awakened as to the sordid conditions of life of the workers in England. Read, however, the report of the recent coal commission as to the conditions now, after many generations of parliamentary reform. A big percentage of the miners and their families are still living, crowded in one-roomed houses, under unspeakable conditions, without baths or sanitary conveniences, etc., and on great Ducal estates at that.

Robert dear old Bob, why nine-tenths of the Vancouver Reds once sat at his feet. It was he that first pryed us loose from superstitions of various sorts. And now he is come to judge, metaphorically speaking, from two thousand leagues away—riding in the Boss's chariot. Eheu!

Robert, in the flesh however, is living in his cosy cottage amongst the roses down where clean breezes blow, in pleasant leafy Norfolk.

In the hideous, execrated "Black" country, the miner and his boarder come home from their subterranean toil, black and sweaty and weary, to strip off before the family, for their ablutions in the half of a barrel in the one-roomed houses in the coal camps and slave corrals on the Ducal estates of the nation that Robert is so anxious about.

And Robert, he potters about amongst the roses, and once in a while writes, to the Clarion or the Daily Despatch, in "lucid" English in the first person singular, about his liver, his garden and the Huns, and the Bolsheviks, and the young fighting generation that he does not understand.

Of course! Robert and the miner have different points of view on many things. So have Bob Smilie and the Duke of Hamilton.

then it was only to be precipitated into a still worse servitude—the servitude of the wage slave.

In the evolution of society only movements that are logical sequences of social development can succeed. The writer recommends this point to the consideration of the Anarchist Communist, who mournfully moans for the return to peasant-proprietorship or small ownership, disregarding economic development and the results of the scientific examination of society. The conclusions of the Socialist are correct and safe because they are based on and harmonize with, the normal development of society.

GILMAC.

A New Basis for Ethics

(By Oakley Calvin Johnson, in the June "Proletarian.")

THE psychological importance of moral ideas can scarcely be over-estimated—if at all. It is amazing to observe the tenacity with which humanity clings to what is considered right; but it is even more amazing to note the celerity with which humanity, after discarding a worn-out ethical principle, declares that the new one was right all the time but hadn't been discovered. And all the time mankind is perfectly sincere in thus standing for the Right and the Good.

It is these moral ideas that thwart and puzzle the minds of reformers in all times and circumstances. Some Pankhurst advocates equal suffrage, and is pained to find woman after woman declare against her own political "emancipation" because "woman's duty is to the home!"

No clear understanding of the nature of the moral ideas pervading society is possible unless based on a scientific analysis of the origin of these ideas. This implies, of course, that the supposed causes be carefully examined, and either accepted or rejected. According to the older theologians it was God himself who told man the difference between right and wrong, and handed down from some Mt. Sinai the commandments which minutely differentiated Evil from Good in human conduct. But it was early apparent that there were many gods, and that these gods did not agree in such matters. Baal and Jehovah, for example, were both discredited. One after another the divine rules became obsolete; Moses' "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" was ruled out by Christ who declared for "humility and turning the other cheek," and now our Newell Dwight Hillis's Love shelved Christ's dictum in favor of "moral regeneration through war," and "hating the Hun."

The idea of divine fiat in the moral realm, not being supported by facts, was laid aside by the philosophers, and Human Reason appointed in its stead. It is plain, asserted the philosophers, that the laws of right and wrong are absolute, and if we apply our reason we can find out what is eternally good and what is eternally bad, then do the one and abstain from the other.

The moral philosophers of today are very sure of some, at least, of the absolute principles upon which morality is supposedly based. One principle is that it is wrong to take life; but we take the life of mosquitoes when they annoy us and of trees when we want a house. The "eternal" principle is then modified to mean, that it is wrong to take the life of animals that can feel pain; but tigers can feel pain. Then the rule is confined to humankind only; but we hang murderers and shoot our enemies. In desperation our philosophers finally apply the law to young children, for it is an "absolute" moral principle that the killing of young children is bad; but a Chicago doctor lets a hopelessly deformed baby die. Oh, well, persists the moral philosopher, of course there are exceptions. But we insist that an absolute principle in Ethics or anything else permits of no conditions.

Now the true basis of moral ideas has been scientifically analyzed and exposed by the Socialist thinkers, Dietzgen, Engels, and Marx. Their researches gave rise to the principle that the economic interests of people have a very strong bearing on their conceptions of what is right or wrong. At the present time, for instance, it is considered immoral to use or spread the use of alcoholic liquors, a belief directly contrary to both the teachings and practice of two or three generations ago. But insurance companies discovered that heavy users of alcoholic beverages are not the best risks, and industrial enterprises were found to suffer through the neglect of drunken workers, and lo! it was deemed bad to drink. To be sure, the brewers and saloonkeepers, having a

living to make, were convinced that the booze business is a divine institution, but the fact that there were more people whose economic interests were injured than there were benefited by King Alcohol led to the moral condemnation of the traffic, and is rapidly leading to its overthrow; again, songbirds are now protected by law, and it is a virtue to build birdhouses for them and feed them, while a few years ago they were sadly neglected, and in many cases rewards were offered for killing them. But at that time the birds were accused of ruining the farmers' fruit and grain, whereas it is well known now that birds are perhaps the most effective destroyers of insect pests that we have. Thus does Economics dictate the "truths" of Ethics.

It is not claimed here that liquors used for beverages ought not to be abolished, or that songbirds ought not to be protected; the point is that moral ideas are very largely influenced by economic considerations, by the manner in which people make their living. To the southern slaveholder of 1860 chattel slavery was right, and to the northern factory owner of the same year it was right to take the lion's share of the product of his factory hands. Our capitalists teach the Boy Scouts the doctrine of "unquestioning obedience," because docile workers are highly advantageous in industry; but the disillusioned workers in these industries agitate to "fan the flames of discontent." Great Britain and the former German Government, to give another instance, solemnly justify themselves in their treatment, respectively, of Ireland and Belgium.

The economic factor in people's conduct, illustrated by these examples, has long been recognized. There are, however, two other factors that play a part in history, and these are styled by Enrico Ferri, the Telluric and the Hereditary factors, respectively. The first refers to the physical conditions of life on the planet—climate, geographical influences, and so on. Thus, industry must be a virtue in a cold climate, but is superfluous in tropical countries. The second, of course, takes into consideration the influences that come down to us from the past, and their inevitable tendency to modify to a greater or less extent the institutions, moral or otherwise, which are grounded on the economic structure of society. Thus, the inheritance of Puritans and Cavaliers modified their social institutions in colonial America. At any rate all these factors are material causes of moral ideas; material and external causes, not spiritual or supernatural or divine. Hence, the method of explaining history on these principles is styled the Materialist Conception of History, or, more simply, Historical Materialism.

Enough has surely been said to show that Socialism, which teaches the materialist basis of Ethics, is not "applied Christianity." Christianity is essentially metaphysical and idealistic, while Socialism is scientific and materialistic. But does this mean that Socialists propose the abolition of morality, of right and wrong? Are we no longer to have "high ideals?" This is not the case by any means. Socialists do not abolish morality, but they point out that it is relative, not absolute, and they show conclusively the varying material forces by which it is formed. Since the prevailing ethical conditions of the present time are shaped by the material conditions of capitalist society, the proletariat, therefore, should recognize the fact, and decline to be guided by moral scruples superimposed upon them by their masters. Proletarian economic welfare, not bourgeois interests, must be the basis of proletarian Ethics.

This proposition can be proved by a consideration of the process of animal and human evolution. We see that Nature has laid down the inexorable law that whatever is good for the species is right, whatever is bad for the species is wrong. The most ideal of all virtues, mother-love—a love so forgetful of self that the mother will die for her

W. LUNN'S STRONG FIGHTING SPEECH

A Labor member in the British House of Commons, speaking of the huge expenditures on the Army, Navy and Air Services, he said:

I suppose, he said this is because the Government's Peace policy is at variance with their aims during the war. Or is it because we must have another war to destroy the Republics and the objects of revolutions in other countries. We have to raise this enormous revenue because the policy of the Government is not one of peace, but is absolutely militarist and imperialistic. By this Bill we are to raise taxation to find money to help dictators like Koltchak to defeat the Russian revolution.

The Work of the Coal Commission.

Continuing, Mr. Lunn supported a Capital Levy. A scathing description of the glaring class distinctions in the Budget with its veiled taxation of necessities like sugar and tea, side by side with the enormous gift of 40 per cent. reduction in the Excess Profits Tax to the richest and least deserving classes, led Mr. Lunn to the bold declaration:

Our hopes lie more at the other end of this building in the Royal Commission, which is exposing the hollowness of our industrial system, and which is exposing the rottenness of our landowning system, and which is laying the basis of future legislation. Robert Smillie and his colleagues have won the undying gratitude of the workers by what they are doing in that Commission.

"The Cup Is Full."

And, later, developing this line of thought, and foreshadowing the possibility of strong action by Labor politically in the near future, he declared:

I am a Constitutionalist when it suits me, like most members of this House, but I am sure, after the imposition of Conscription by this Government on the people, with the threat to use the military in trade disputes, and now a Budget like this, which is absolutely in the interests of the rich man, the cup is full, and I hope, if our position in this House is not sufficiently strong to break down the policy of the Government—and I speak as a loyal member of the Labor Party in these things—we will withdraw from the House and join hands with that organized industrial body in the country, to take whatever means are considered necessary to destroy the impositions and restrictions this Government is trying to force upon us.

child—is a direct result of the necessity for species-perpetuity. Species-welfare, then—not the Egoism of Anarchists nor the Altruism of Religionists—is the broad basis for a sane ethical philosophy; and species welfare, of course, means the sum of the material factors working for the interests of the race.

Now it happens that the human race is divided into classes whose interests are diametrically opposed to each other. No reconciliation of these classes is possible. We must side either with the Bourgeoisie or with the Proletariat. But no species can secure the highest welfare so long as it is divided into warring groups; and to side with the Bourgeoisie means the perpetuation of classes, since Capitalism can not exist without a class to exploit. On the other hand, to side with the Proletariat means the final abolition of classes and with the advent of a classless society comes the only possible basis for complete species welfare.

The highest morality, therefore, is uncompromising adherence to proletarian interests. Species-welfare becomes for us proletarian-welfare. We have "high ideals," to be sure—but we recognize that the Ideal must be based on the Real. Our principles, being true, are naturally shocking to the enemies of the Proletariat, but let them be comforted by the reflection that there are worse shocks awaiting them.

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THE RED FLAG

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

VOL. 1 NO. 23

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FIVE CENTS

The Situation in the Hungarian Soviet Republic

A comrade who has joined the Hungarian Red Army wires to the Avanti, under date May 23rd, his impressions:—

Such "stories" as that Dr. Bela Kun has died of extreme hunger and that a general strike has been declared against the rule of the Soviets are all lies. Here in Hungary, owing probably to the want of great resistance on the part of the Hungarian capitalists, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a mild rule indeed.

Dr. Bela Kun is more alive than ever, surrounded by the affection of all workers; he is optimistically inclined, in spite of the fact that his country is surrounded by an enemy well armed and well supported by the international reaction, and, consequently, without access to the market of the world.

All the factories here are working at full speed, in order to increase production for the benefit of all. I have visited, together with Comrade Morgari (the Italian Socialist) the great workshop for agricultural machines, the "Langmaschinen Fabrik," and I have found the greatest possible harmony prevailing between manual and intellectual workers. The same thing I observed in the work on the fields, and, but for the menace of the Allied Powers, the Hungarian people would be able soon to produce enough for its needs. Never has the countryside been so intensively cultivated, and this year the crops will be more abundant than ever before.

I spoke with Capt. Arcami, of the Italian Military Mission, which has remained here, and he confirmed this view. Naturally enough, the Soviet Government's chief care at the moment is the formation of a strong Red Army.

The Commissaires for War, Fidler and Szanto, together with the Commander-in-Chief Boehm and Commander Landely, and, of course, with the assistance of trade unions and various political groups, have in less than three weeks put together an army that can face the Czechs, the Roumanians, etc.

Yesterday I went with Morgari to visit the north-east front and where we were about a mile from the Czech position of Miskolecz. We crawled for a while on all-fours to avoid being hit and in order to study the enemy position. That night that posi-

(From the "Worker's Dreadnought," June 7, London, England.)

tion, a town of 50,000 inhabitants, was taken by the Red Army, with many prisoners and thirty maxim guns.

Everywhere the discipline of the Red Army is good; they go to the front singing the Marseillaise and the International. At Harzag, the soldiers stopped our car and a private from the ranks stepped forth and spoke, asking us to convey to the workers in the factories the assurance that the workers in uniform will fight to the last for Socialism.

The military organization is also good. On the 19th inst., at a given point, I saw that 56 trains passed in 40 hours, carrying soldiers to the front. The soldiers have meat, vegetables, bread nearly white, but alcohol, in every form, is strictly pro-

hibited. Tobacco is not lacking.

Chief-Commander Boehm is a metal worker, who rose from private to lieutenant; became Minister for War under the Government of Karolyi, when he rapidly carried out the demobilization of 1,700,000 men of all forces. He has now shown his skill in an equally rapid mobilization of the Red Army.

Comrade J. Alpari, who is with Dr. Bela Kun at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, thinks that the danger experienced by the Red Army in the last days of April has had a beneficial effect: it has united the workers the more. He, too, is hopeful of final success and sends greetings to the workers of all countries.

With me are now 230 Italian Socialists who have also volunteered; in our native country they may call us traitors; we know that we are amongst brothers fighting for the only righteous cause.

The Laborer's Turn

(From the June "New Republic.")

DEMOCRACY means essential equality of men, but there can be no equality of men except on the basis of equal dignity of function. Prate of equality as much as you must; you never do consider those your equals who must "rise" out of their status to yours. That every intelligent workingman knows. You say, "I was once a workingman myself; I feel myself one with the working class." Nobody takes your statement at its face value. Everybody knows that behind your words there lurks a smug complacency. "Even though I was born into the working class, see what I have become!" More than that, there is a hidden assumption that you never really belonged among the "lowly," that you had characteristics that distinguished you from the cradle for a higher place. That is just the sort of thing every self-respecting worker means to rid the world of. He means to reshape the conditions of life and industry so that nobody not a fool will ever talk about "rising" from the carpenter's bench to the constructor's roll-top desk, from the farm to the bank or the bar or the pulpit. He means to emancipate his job and make a respected career of it, just as the merchants and lawyers of two centuries ago emancipated their jobs.

The middle class won emancipation by forcing a society that lived by their services to give them a voice in the conduct of public affairs. As soon as the merchant and the lawyer got their hands on the budget, the aristocrats and generals found their privileges clipped. The working class will win emancipation by forcing society to give them a voice in the public affairs that now count most, industrial affairs. When conditions become such that we shall consult the United Building Trades rather than the associations of builders and contractors on the question of the shortage of houses, when we shall consult the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers about the shortage

of steel, rather than Mr. Gary and Mr. Schwab, the manual trades will become careers out of which men do not need to "rise."

But this, you object, is to fly in the face of nature. The lawyer's trade, you argue, is inherently superior to the bricklayer's. Just so the early modern military officer would have argued the impossibility of equalizing the lawyer's status with that of the soldier. Was not the most incompetent drunken general infinitely superior to even the shrewdest man of law? Lawyers as a class, you urge, have a higher average of intellectual ability. Perhaps; we shall have more light on this point when we lay out as much effort on the general education of bricklayers as on that of lawyers. The lawyer's work sharpens the wits; the bricklayer's work is deadening. That may be true or it may not; anyway what most interests society is the mental energy a man has over for disinterested uses after the earning of his living, and the bricklayer may have as much surplus mental energy as the lawyer when we end the working day short of the point of stupefying fatigue.

It is not proposed to reduce all economic conditions to a dead level; it is not proposed to remove the natural incentives that draw men out of one career and into another. All that democracy requires is that the manual trades shall be vested with industrial responsibility and freed from the servile incidents of excessive fatigue and sweated wages, so that the young men of ability and pride and ambition who have a personal preference for them may elect them without feeling that they are committing themselves to a role of inferiority. That is essential to democracy. It is also essential to economic progress.

THE PEACE OF CAPITALISM

A London, Eng., paper has compiled a list of 23 wars now going on which will not be affected by the signing of the Peace Treaty with Germany.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

SUNDAY, JUNE 29

At 8 p.m. Sharp

EMPEROR THEATRE

Corner Gore and Hastings

Speakers, J. Harrington