The Second German Congress of Soviets

WE publish the following, knowing it will be of interest to the workers in this country as to the progress the German workers are making towards the concepts and practices of the industrial revolution, as distinguished from the merely political revolution, which has little or no effect on their lives unless accompanied by the other. Liberal or Conservative, Republican or Democrat or Coalition "so shall our days in one sad tenor run" of economic slavery to capital.

The Ebert Government, Socialist, so called, has fought just as hard against the admittance of the Councils of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils as an integral part of the German constitution as any out and out capitalist government, say the Canadian could have done. However, to our excerpts:—

. . . One of the chief reasons for the abortive general strike in Berlin from March 3 to 8, and the subsequent (second) Sparacist rebellion, was the dilly-dallying of the Government in regard to giving the council system a place in the Constitution; demand for which was by this time general even among the Majority faction. On March 3, the day the strike was called, the Government publicly promised to yield to the demand. Two days later the Vorwarts printed another pronunciamento, outlining the governmental plan for anchoring the council system. According to this and subsequent announcements, Article 34a of the Constitution would provide for the election of "workers' councils" (Arbeiterrate,) endowed with rather amplified trade union functions. These councils would be in charge of general labor interests and welfare, and would have consultative powers in the management of enterprises. Furthermore, the proposal provided for "economic councils" (Wirtschaftsrate,) in which workers and employers are to be represented "equally." These economic councils are to be charged with supervising production; they have the right to initiate legislative measures, but otherwise they do not infringe on the sovereign power of the political Parliament. The economic councils of the realm elect a central economic council, with jurisdiction over the entire country. This may be consulted in industrial questions by the Legislature. The socialization of plants through the instrumentality of councils is expressly refused. This plan was a long shot from the straight Soviet system advocated by the Independents, and even from the more moderate Labor Chamber plan —a compromise between Soviet and political democracy—sponsored by Kaliski. Naturally, the Independents were dissatisfied and continued their agitation. . . .

. . . All this was, no doubt, excellent sport, but essentially nothing more; and the four first days passed without transacting real business. Even the report of the Executive Council, submitted by Leinert, was forgotten. The principal item on the programme was finally reached at the fifth meeting when the two reports on "anchoring" the council system were submitted by the official "referents," one, in behalf of the Majority Socialists, by Julius Kaliski and Max Cohen, chairman of the Executive Council; the other, in behalf of the Independent Socialists, by Ernest Daumig, one of the party's intellectual leaders.

The Cohen-Kaliski project is by far the most elaborate and ambitious scheme for making the Soviet idea an integral part of the German Constitution. It takes up the suggestions of organization laid down in the government proposal, but carries them further and develops them along both trade-industrial and political-geographical lines. It provides for "economic councils," embracing delegates of workers, office employees, and managers, to be organized in each plant. These councils are to supervise production. Economic councils* in the same branch of industry are linked together in district, province, and state economic councils, the whole edifice topped by a central economic council representing the particular industry of the entire country.

The resolution, in contrast to the Government scheme, declares, moreover, that "the economic council is the fundamental structure of socialization" in the particular industry. Thus by an ingenious, if rather obvious, stroke, the Cohen-Kaljski proposal undertakes to solve simultaneously the two outstanding problems of national economy, that of nationalization or socialization, and that of industrial representation.

Now for the political side. All economic councils of a given geographical unit—a municipality, for instance—elect representatives to a "chamber of labor" of the unit; the same is done in the district, province, state, and finally in the entire country. This central chamber of labor elected by the councils of the whole nation, becomes a Second Chamber co-ordinated with the Parliament, or as the latter is called here, the People's Chamber. The former is representative of the producers, the latter of the consumers. The Chamber of Labor has legislative initiative in industrial and economic questions; above all, in matters of socialization. The People's Chamber has similar initiative in more strictly political and in cultural matters. A bill becomes law only if adopted by both chambers; but if one is adopted successively in three years by the People's Chamber, it becomes a statute over the veto of the Chamber of Labor. Both chambers have the right to call a referendum.

Finally, the Cohen-Kaliski proposal provides for "anchoring" the trade union system. It states that the unions are associations of workers in a particular calling to conduct collective bargaining with employers' associations. In any one plant the union is represented by the "works' council" (Betriesrat.) The entire machinery is extended to all lines of agriculture as well as to intellectual workers. It will be noted that the fundamental difference between this project and the plan sponsored by the Government is that while in the latter the Chamber of Labor is conceived as merely a consultative adjunct to Parliament, in the Cohen-Kaliski scheme the two bodies are put on an almost equal footing as organs of the National Legislative.

On the other hand, the Cohen-Kaliski proposal differs radically from the resolution submitted at the same meeting by the Independent Socialist Daumig, who characterized the former as a "miserable compromise," since it leaves the instrument of political democracy intact. At any rate, Daumig's measure has the virtue of extreme simplicity. It provides for workers' councils to take charge of political management, and works' councils, to handle economic-industrial affairs. The representatives of the workers' councils unite in a Congress of Soviets, which is the supreme political instance. It supplants the National Assembly and has the right to appoint and remove the people's commissioners, who take the place of the Ministry. Only workers possess the right to vote and to participate in public affairs; the employing class is excluded, although intellectual workers are recognized on a fully equal footing with the proletariat. In a word, Daumig's system provides for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a Soviet republic, but rather on the Hungarian than the Russian model. It differs from the latter by endowing the intellectual class with full rights —a difference carefully emphasized by Daumig and the other Independent speakers. In his speech, Daumig accused the present German Government of betraying the revolution and the interest of the proletariat, and of being a mere tool in the hands of the exploiting class.

A third proposal, submitted by Dr. Paul Michaelis in behalf of the Democrats, assigns to the workers' councils purely economic functions, and puts an embargo on political activities. In the discussion, the Cohen-Kaliski plan was denounced by the Independents, mainly on the ground that it embraced the employing class. However, when a vote was taken, the Cohen-Kaliski scheme was adopted almost unanimously—five Democrats registering the only votes in opposition.

The seventh and last meeting of the Congress was taken up by the address of Karl Kautsky, one of the greatest of living Socialist scholars, on the subject of socialization. The address was read by Mrs. Kautsky in the absence of her husband who was ill. It introduced a resolution declaring that socialization is a process indispensable for the welfare of the proletariat, the substitution of production by and for the commonwealth instead of capitalistic production for profit. However, he declared, headlong socialization has dangers no less than the continuation of capitalistic economy itself. Three factors must co-operate in a socialized state: the workers, the consumers, and the technical scientific experts. To disregard any of the three would be fatal. "Socialization does not mean simply the expropriation of capitalism and of the great landed proprietors, but also a reorganization of the entire economic life. . . . This can not be achieved in a summary way for all branches of industry, or without preparations. It must proceed step by step, and it will take years to carry it out in full." . .

One of the chief witnesses for the prosecution in the preliminary trial of the labor officials was asked by the crown prosecutor what was his opinion of the effect of the speeches, at certain labor gatherings, on the audience. The lawyer for the defence objected to such questions as very leading, but was over-ruled. Evidently the opinions of secret service men are to count as evidence.

COUNTRY POOR AS A CHURCH MOUSE—WONDERFUL BUSINESS IN JEWELS

Sir Auckland Geddes recently said that the country is as poor as a church mouse. The prices which are being realized at the sales of articles of luxury hardly confirm this view. The diamond trade is having unparalleled prosperity. The De Beers Diamond Company has just declared a dividend of 80 per cent. for the year, as compared with 50 per cent. for the previous year.

Fine jewels from various sources, all anonymous, one day last week realized £163,114 at Christie's sale. The outstanding feature was a pearl rope, composed of 315 well-matched and graduated pearls of the finest orient. The bidding for this started at £20,000 and fell at £41,500. All the war profits are apparently not going into the War Loan.—"The Labor Leader.

CHATTEL SLAVERY IN AMERICA

(Continued From Page Five)

that if found slavery here when it arrived, and accepted it as a settled institution, not even that it is plainly taught in its "sacred" books, but that it deliberately created a new form of slavery, and for hundreds of years invested it with a brutality greater than that which existed centuries before. A religion which could tolerate this slavery, argue for it, and fight for it, can not by any stretch of reasoning be credited with an influence in forwarding emancipation. Christianity no more abolished slavery than it abolished witchcraft, the belief in demonism, or punishment for heresy. It was the growing moral and social sense of mankind that compelled Christians and Christianity to give up these and other things.

As a system, Christianity was irrevocably committed to the institution of slavery. That modern Christians try to prove otherwise, may be taken as only one more instance of the disintegrating effect of new ideas and new institutions on old customs and beliefs.

Mr. Ransome's Description of Russia

(From the London "Common Sense," June 14.)

("Common Sense" is an organ of British Liberalism. Its editor is F. W. Hirst, late editor of the "Economist.")

THE attitude of most commonsense English people about Bolshevik Russia is one of suspended judgment. They feel they do not know. The atrocity stories poured upon them in the columns of the daily press have, constantly repeated throughout five years of war, first about Germans and since about Russians, lost their power to horrify because a doubt as to the truth of what appears in the newspapers has penetrated the simplest mind. Ordinary people are rendered sceptical when a whole nation is described to them as dominated by a group of inhuman monsters, or as being in the grip of a moral plague. No one can be quite so bad as the Bolsheviks are painted. But how is the ordinary newspaper reader to get at the facts?

It is now possible to put him in the way of knowing some of them. Mr. Arthur Ransome was the Daily News correspondent in Russia during the early years of the war; he saw the March, 1917, Revolution from the thrilling days of its inauguration and through the disappointments and disillusionments which followed on the failure of the Kerensky Government to secure peace and led to its supersession by the Lenin regime; he saw the Bolshevik Government set to work on the tremendous task of giving bread and peace to a starving and disorganized country. After some months' absence in Sweden Mr. Ransome returned to Russia in February and March of this year. He has just come back to England, fresh from this experience, and publishes an account of what he saw, based in the main on a diary he kept at the time. His book, simply entitled "Six Weeks in Russia," contains, we believe, more direct first-hand truth about Russia as it is today than has yet been available. Mr. Ransome holds no brief for any party. He writes as an observer, not as an advocate. There is no rhetoric, no flaming descriptions, no appeals, in his quiet and artless narrative. He has been there; he has seen; and he puts before us what he has seen without comment. We have called his narrative artless; but it is the artlessness of the artist whose trained eye perceives, and whose skilled hand can convey the atmosphere as well as the bare outline of what he perceives. But what he shows is what he has seen; not what he would like to see. Mr. Ransome has found that the Bolsheviks are human; that life under their regime goes on, despite the terrible pressure of grinding hunger (due in large measure to our blockade,) in human fashion. He explains how their institutions are working, the limitations to their pure theory which have been introduced in practice; the degree to which private enterprise still goes on and what life looks like to the ordinary individual. He does not tell us this; he shows it. And his pages will give the reader an idea of something actual, such as can not be obtained from the pages of the anonymous gentleman whose effusions were published by the Foreign Office. Take, for instance, his story of the man who before the war owned a leather-bag factory in connection with a big tannery, belonging to an uncle. The uncle, after the November Revolution, called together all workmen, and proposed that they should form an artel or co-operative society and take the factory into their hands, each man contributing a thousand roubles towards the capital with which to run it. Of course, the workmen had not got a thousand roubles apiece, "uncle offered to pay it in for them, on the understanding that they would eventually pay him back." This was illegal, but the little town was a long way from the centre of things, and it seemed a good way out of the difficulty. He did not expect to get it back, but he hoped in this way to keep control of the tannery, which he wished to develop having a paternal interest in it.

Things worked very well. They elected a committee of control. "Uncle was elected president, I was elected vice-president, and there were three workmen. We are working on those lines to this day. They give uncle 1500 roubles a month, me a thousand, and the book keeper a thousand. The only difficulty is that that the men will treat uncle as the owner, and this may mean trouble if things go wrong. Uncle is for ever telling them, 'It's your factory, don't call me Master,' and they reply, 'Yes, it's our factory all right, but you are still Master, and that must be.'"

Some people imagine that under the Bolsheviks all forms of art has disappeared. Mr. Ransome tells us of the wonderful futurist paintings, in vivid colorings, with which the hoardings are sometimes covered, and gives a description of a visit to the theatre and another to the opera. In Moscow, the theatre, opera, and ballet performances are crowded nightly: French, English and Russian classics are performed at a dozen theatres. At the opera, the whole audience was in everyday clothes. There were many soldiers, and men come straight from work. "There were a good many grey and brown and woollen jerseys about, and people were sitting in overcoats of all kinds and ages, for the theatre was very cold." . . "Looking from face to face that night, I thought there were very few people in the theatre who had had anything like a good dinner to digest. But as for their keenness, I can imagine few audiences to which, from the actor's point of view, it would be better worth while to play. Applause, like brains, had come down from the galleries."

Of the actual performance I have little to say except that ragged clothes and empty stomachs seemed to make very little difference to the orchestra. Helzer, the ballerina, danced as well before this audience as ever before the bourgeoisie. As I turned up the collar of my coat I reflected that the actors deserved all the applause they got for their heroism in playing in such cold. Now and then during the even- of opera generally perhaps because of the contrast in magnificence between the stage and the shabby, intelligent audience. Now and then, on the other hand, stage and audience seemed one and indivisible. For "Samson and Delilah" is itself a poem of revolution, and gained enormously by being played by people every one of whom had seen something of the sort in real life. Samson's stirring up of the Israelities reminded me of many scenes in Petrograd in 1917, and when, at last, he brings the temple down in ruins on his triumphant enemies, I was reminded of the words attributed to Trotsky:—"If we are, in the end, forced to go, we shall slam the door behind us in such a way that the echo shall be felt throughout the world."

Going home afterwards through the snow, I did not see a single armed man. A year ago the streets were deserted after ten in the evening except by those who, like myself, had work which took them to meetings and such things late at night. They used to be empty except for the military pickets round their log-fires. Now they were full of foot-passengers going home from the theatres, utterly forgetful of the fact that only twelve months before they had thought the streets of Moscow unsafe after dark. There could be no question about it. The revolution is settling down and people now think of other matters than the old question, Will it last one week or two?

Mr. Ransome had a series of talks with Lenin, which are extraordinarily interesting, and with the other commissaries, and from his pages one really gets some notion of how the whole thing works. But what one mainly feels is that whatever one may think of the social system, the people who are living under it, who have accepted it, are human beings like ourselves, and that it is mere wickedness and criminal folly to go on treating them as wild beasts with whom we can not negotiate. Mr. Ransome's book will, we believe, do much to convince everyone who reads it that Mr. Churchill's Russian war is utterly indefensible. At any rte, we commend it heartily to everyone who wants to form an independent judgment, who values the opportunity of making up his own mind, and who can appreciate a candid veracious, and well done piece of literary work.

"Six Weeks in Russia," By Arthur Ransome, Geo. Allen and Unwin, 2s. 6d. net.)

SOCIALIST WAR POINTS

(From the Glasgow "Forward"

I spent an idle hour glancing through Lord French's book, "1914," the other day, and for reward came across a passage which the Capitalist Press reviewers, with singular accord, have forgotten to notice:

> "The governing classes in Russia were saturated with disloyalty and intrigue in the most corrupt form. But for their black treachery the war would have ended at the latest in the spring of 1917."

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This is the gang now being subsidized with British money and assisted by British troops.

And what becomes of the lying wheeze that Trotsky and Lenin were German agents?

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You remember when the Railwaymen were asking for an increase in wages, and the Government announced that the railways under Government control during the war had been run at a loss of from 90,000,000 pounds to 100,000,000 pounds!

It was a staggerer to the railwaymen and to the passengers, who thought that the war-time 50 per cent. increase in fares ought soon to be taken off.

• • • •

It was a staggerer, but it was a LIE—a Government Capitalist LIE.

The bogus figures were secured by allowing nothing on the income side for Government traffic —stores, guns, munitions, soldiers' and sailors' transit. And as the bulk of railway transit during the war was on Government account, and by the simple trick of crediting the railways with nothing for all the Government traffic, there was secured a paper loss of from 90,000,000 to 100,000,000 pounds.

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Listen to the Chairman of the Scottish Railway Stockholders' Protection Association (Mr. Andrew Macdonald) at the first annual meeting of the Association (Glasgow Herald, 26|6|19:

"The Transport Minister-elect, on the second reading of his Bill, quoted figures which seemed to show that the railways were being run at a loss to the public of between 90,000,000 and 100,000,000 pounds per annum. Since that statement was made a White Paper had been issued by the Board of Trade, which showed the net result of the whole situation to be that the Government under their control had made a profit out of the railways up to the end of 1918 of not less than 30,000,000."

At Christie's last Friday, in the Drummond collection of pictures, a drawing by Turner of Zurich, eleven by seventeen inches, was sold for 6200 guineas. This increased price represents the increased spending power of the rich.

Meddling in American Affairs By The Agents of Foreign Governments

(From An Exchange.)

Interference in American affairs by agents of foreign governments has attracted the attention and aroused the indignation of thinking people of this country. The last annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, deplored such conditions and encroachment upon the sovereign right of this nation. They vehemently protested against the action of the administrative authorities, threatening deportation of political refugees. The executive council was instructed to investigate the deportation proceedings against Hindus who are working for the emancipation of India from British rule.

President Gompers Takes Action.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president, American Federation of Labor, says in part in a letter to the Friends of Freedom for India, located at 7 East Fifteenth street, New York City: "I have submitted the entire matter to the secretary of the United States Department of Labor and will advise you as to what is done in the matter. I have strongly urged favorable action in the matter.

In a recent speech at the Pan-American Labor Conference, held in New York Mr. Gompers said: "The American labor movement has always stood for the right of asylum for political offenders. It is true of Mexican refugees, of Irish refugees, of Polish and Russian refugees." He reminded the delegates that "only a few days ago the federation officially protested against the deportation of Hindus to India, where they would most certainly be shot by the English authorities.

This timely action of Mr. Gompers and the A. F. of L. is greatly appreciated by all lovers of liberty and freedom.

There are six of the Hindus held for deportation, and many more are subject to such action.

British Interference.

How foreign influence is used to violate the old American traditions of granting asylum to political refugees will be evidenced from the brief statement that has been presented to the secretary of the U. S. Department of Labor by Mr. Gompers.

1. The British Government spent $2,500,000 to convict the Hindus in the San Francisco case.

2. The British brought, under guard, witnesses from India, China, Siam and Java to testify against the defendants. In most of these cases, the witnesses bought their freedom or their lives in return for evidence.

3. British Secret Service men, in charge of George Denham, came from India to assist in the trial, and helped complete and direct the case against the Hindus. Denham is still in this country, conducting his nefarious activities.

4. A British secret service man, named Nathan, was very active in implicating the Hindus and American citizens. The British Consul in New York placed a request with the court stenographer for copies of all evidence in which Hindus were involved.

5. British Consul in San Francisco, A. Carnegie Ross, in a letter offers to supply the United States Immigration authorities with sufficient information to deport the Hindus in case the information which he had already furnished was insufficient.

Local Unions Protest.

The various local unions are taking action to stop these deportations. Street Railway Employees No. 518, Millmen's Union No. 42, and Office Employees' Association No. 13,188, San Francisco, have already passed strong resolutions against the deportation of the Hindus and against the surrender of the American right of asylum.

The Irish Sympathize With India's Cause.

The Sons of Irish Freedom in a State Convention held in San Francisco, July 6, 1919, passed unanimously the following resolution:

Whereas, the United States of America has, since it gained its independence from Great Britain in 1776, extended the right of political asylum to countless European patriots who fled from the wrath of tyranical governments, and this policy has been pursued without question till this date; and,

Whereas, The People of India, like the people of Ireland, have been compelled by intolerable conditions, both economic and political, to challenge the right of Great Britain in preventing India from asserting her right to national self-government, and

Whereas, Many of these Hindus, forced to seek refuge in this country, are now facing deportation proceedings, which, if carried out, will result in their instant execution, India being now governed by martial law; therefore

Be it resolved that we, the delegates, accredited to this convention by the Irish Societies of California, do hereby emphatically protest against the carrying out of these deportations, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the organizations represented here for their adoption and to the Senators and Congressmen for the State of California, as well as to the San Francisco daily press.

The Friends of Freedom for India has made an appeal to all the unions, various organizations and others who desire to maintain the traditional policy and principle of giving shelter to the political refugees. It is sincerely hoped that the appeal will have hearty response from all the citizens of America.

The Tsar' Secret Archives

IMPORTANT REVELATIONS IN RUSSIA—PREPARING FOR WAR

(From a Special Correspondent—London Daily Herald, June 29, 1919)

At last the pre-war archives of the Russian Foreign Office have begun to appear, and, to judge from the extracts given below, they promise to furnish as astounding revelations as the Secret Treaties themselves.

The documents have appeared in "Pravda" under the editorship of Pokrovsky, Soviet Commissary of Finance, and translations have been made in certain of the foreign Press. The following extracts are taken from the translation published in the "Svenska Dagblad" (Stockholm) of June 2.

The Winning of Italy

Pokrovsky begins by describing the manner in which Italy was won over to the grand combination which Russia was building up in order to win Constantinople and the Straits. The Russian-Italian Convention of Racconigi was concluded on October 24, 1909, and the last clause of this runs: "Italy and Russia bind themselves to a mutually benevolent attitude, the former with regard to Russia's interests in the question of the Straits, the latter with regard to Italy's interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica."

Two years later the Tripoli war broke out. As soon as it began, Isvolsky the Russian Ambassador in Paris, wrote with regard to it: "I beg to remark that in any event we must make sure in one form or another of a declaration from Italy that, now that she is carrying into execution the claims on her side to Tripoli touched on in the agreement, she will equally in the future keep her word to us with regard tothe question of the Straits."

The Winning of France

But Isvolsky's activities were not confined to making sure of Italy. He was also concerned to make sure of France, and here occurs a touching passage that should enlist the sympathy of every diplomat. On October 12, 1911, he writes:

"If we are really concerned to take up the question of the Straits, then it is of the highest importance to see to it that we have a good Press here. Unfortunately, I am, in this respect, deprived of a most important instrument, since all my assiduous entreaties to be provided with funds for the Press have produced no result. I shall of course do all that is in my power, but this is one of those questions where public opinion is, for traditional reasons, most easily against us. As an example of how useful it is to have money to offer the Press, the Tripoli affair may be quoted. I know how Tittoni (the Italian Ambassador in Paris) has worked up the leading French papers most thoroughly and with the most open hand. The result is now manifest to all.

At this time Caillaux, as Premier, was virtually in power in France, and Isvolsky found the outlook depressing from the point of view of his designs. But the position changed when Poincare became President. On September 12, 1912, Isvolsky reports a conversation with Poincare, in which the latter assured him of France's loyalty to the Tsar in these terms: "If a conflict with Austria should involve Germany's armed intervention, France will at once recognize it as a casus foederis, and will not lose a minute in fulfilling her pledges to Russia."

The Winning of England"

In September 1912, during the first Balkan war, the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, paid his famous visit to England to get the lie of the land. Sazonov's report to the Tsar is as follows:

"After I had confidentially informed Grey of the contents of our naval agreement with France, and referred to the fact that under this agreement the French fleet would take upon itself the protection of our interests in the southern theatre of war by preventing the Austrian fleet from forcing a way into the Black Sea, I asked him if England on her side would do the same service in the north by keeping the German fleet off our coasts on the Baltic. Without hesitation, Grey replied that if the situation in question occurred, England would do everything to inflict the heaviest blow on German power."

In the same interview, Grey assured Sazonov of the existence of an Anglo-French agreement by which England bound herself, in the case of a war with Germany, to support France, not only by sea, but even by landing troops on the Continent.

By the spring of 1914 things were getting warm. In a secret message from Livadia on April 11, 1914, the Tsar wrote: "To open the Straits I am prepared to use force." That same month Sir Edward Grey and King George were in Paris and Isvolsky reports conversations with a view to a general Anglo-French-Russian convention.

Grey said, according to his report, that there were elements in the British Government which were "suspicious of relations with Russia," and mentioned Asquith as belonging to these.

Isvolsky goes on: "According to Sir Edward Grey's account, there could only be a question of a naval convention between us and England and not a continental convention, because the disposition of England's land forces was already arranged, and they could not operate along side the Russian land forces."

In July came the Serajevo murders, and the even more terrible consequences that plunged the whole world into war. The bones of our brothers in two continents tell the rest of the tragic story.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday evening, at 8 p.m., Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings Street.

Chattel Slavery in America

"BLESS GOD FOR SUCH A SYSTEM"

WE take the following from Chapman Cohen's "Christianity and Slavery," a shilling pamphlet, published by the Pioneer Press, 61 Farringdon street E. C. 4, London, England.

Our extract has a lesson for us in the present day working class struggle for emancipation from wage slavery. Arguments familiar to us against our movement, rise like ghosts out of the past. The Rev. Dwight Hillis and his compatriots today had we see, their counterparts in that earlier struggle sixty years ago. There is, it again appears, nothing new under the "Sun," not even in the arguments or the methods of terrorism used, magisterial or otherwise, to bolster up a system of special privilege based on human exploitation.

Does History repeat itself, or is it merely a coincidence that revolutionary Russia has opened the way to another higher epoch of human emancipation, and that revolutionary France was the first to set the example for the rest of Europe to follow by being the first to decree the freedom of its slaves of its colonies?

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. . . When the picture of slavery as drawn by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe was impugned, she replied by issuing The key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, in which she cited all the facts upon which her story was based. The Harmony Presbytery of New Carolina resolved:—

> That whereas certain sundry persons in England and Scotland have denounced slavery as obnoxious to the laws of God....Resolved, That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slaveholders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (who are now in the kingdom of heaven) to the time when the apostle Paul sent a runaway slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal letter to this slaveholder....Resolved, that....the existence of slavery is not opposed to the will of God.

The Charlestown Union Presbytery resolved:—

> That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word; that it is in accordance with the example or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, apostles, and prophets.

The Georgia Annual Conference (Methodist) resolved that" it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference, slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil." At a public meeting composed of the clergy of Richmond, it was resolved "that the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles, in not interfering with the question of slavery . . . is worthy of the imitation of all ministers of the Gospel." In the Northern Churches, Mrs. Stowe records that, in 1836 the New York Presbytery decided that no one should be elected a deacon or an elder unless he gave a pledge that he would abstain from discussing the subject of slavery. In Baltimore, a somewhat similar resolution was passed. Generally, she sums up the situation by pointing out that the action of the Churches has been to suppress such anti-slavery feeling as existed some fifty years earlier. This, she says, is true of the Presbyterians. "Worse has been the history of the Methodist Church. The history of the Baptist Church shows the same principle; and as to the Episcopalian Church, it has never done anything but comply either with North or South." On this head Mrs. Stowe is quite borne out by Garrison.

What the clergy resolved on in General Assembly they loyally stood by in practice. The Rev. M. Peck said:—

> If we go strongly against slavery, we shall cast a gloom over the whole Christian Church. Let us leave the matter in the hands of God.

Rev. James Wilson calls slavery—

> that gracious and benevolent system which elevates the heathen cannibal into contented, civilized, intelligent, and happy domestics we see around us. Nay, more, into humble, faithful, and most joyous worshippers of the true and everlasting God. Bless God for such a system. We don't apologize for slavery, we glory in it, and no society shall exist within our borders that disqualifies or stigmatizes the slave trade.

The attitude of the American Tract Society may be judged by the following, written by James Russell Lowell in 1858:—

> If the pious men who founded the American Tract Society had been told that within forty years they would be watchful of their publications, lest, by inadvertence, anything disrespectful might be spoken of the African slave trade—that they would consider it an ample equivalent for compulsory dumbness on the vices of slavery, that their colporteurs could awaken the minds of Southern brethren to the horrors of St. Bartholomew—that they would hold their peace about the body of Cuffee dancing to the music of the cart-whip, provided only they could save the soul of Sambo alive by presenting him a pamphlet, which he could not read, on the depravity of the double shuffle—that they would be fellow-members in the Tract Society with him who sold their fellow-members in Christ on the auction-block, if he agreed with them in condemning transubstantiation....If these excellent men had been told this, they would have shrunk in horror, and exclaimed: "Are thy servants dogs, that they should do these things?" Yet this is precisely the present position of the Society.

The Protestant Episcopal Society issued a pamphlet containing the formal declaration that "Without a new revelation from heaven no man was authorized to pronounce slavery wrong." Alexander Campbell, founder of the "Christian" sect, proclaimed the divine right of slavery. The Maine Universalists declined to express an opinion on the subject. A Cincinnati Conference (Methodist) declared itself "decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and asked its ministers to refrain from patronizing the Abolition movement." Wilbur Fiske, President of the Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn., was described by Garrison as "an abusive and malignant opponent of Abolition." When, in 1845 the Northern Methodist Church showed signs of a better feeling, the immediate result was the secession of a number of churches and the formation of "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South." Fifteen years later (1860) when an attempt was made to induce the ministers of the Methodist Church to sign a protest against slavery, out of 14,000 ministers only 241 would append their names to the document.

The Leeds (England) Anti-Slavery Society's report for 1860 contains a letter written by the Rev. H. Mattison, of New York, travelling preacher to the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he says: "I am fully satisfied from figures that we can not have today less than 10,000 slaveholders, and 100,000 slaves in our Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, and the number is increasing every year. And, still worse, our people raise, and buy and sell slaves as others do, without rebuke or hindrance." That this was no exaggeration is shown by the fact that at the Methodist Conference held at Buffalo in 1860, on one delegate suggesting a resolution against slavery, he was authoritatively informed that not ten delegates would support the resolution. It was just before this date that Garrison had written in the Liberty Bell that "in England and Scotland especially, extraordinary pains have been taken in public and in private to hold up the American Anti-Slavery Society as unworthy of all countenance in any degree, on account of its infidel character.

The infidel character of Garrison's associates had already caused him trouble. One man had written him that he could not act with "Infidels like Fanny Wright and Abner Kneeland." Garrison, when he visited Boston, found every church, chapel, and public meeting place closed to him. It was, says his biographers, "left for a society of avowed 'infidels'" to offer him their hall. It was Abner Kneeland's society, its leader having only recently been imprisoned for blasphemy.

In the struggle against the Stuarts in the seventeenth century, the bulwark of passive obedience and the divine right of kings was the New Testament. In America, two centuries later, the same documents were found useful against Abolitionists. Certainly the Young Men's American Bible Association was of that opinion, since it issued a specially annotated edition of the New Testament as an Anti-Abolitionist pamphlet. The General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church having seized a debtor's goods, and some negroes being among the effects, sold them and devoted the money to missionary purposes. Shortly before this, at a meeting of the Baptist Missionary Union, one of the zealous brethren offered to sell one of his slaves for two hundred dollars, if the buyer would send him to Africa to preach the Gospel among his colored brethren. No one can question this slaveholding parson's zeal, nor doubt the touching story the slave-missionary would have to tell his people. No wonder the American Bible Society declined to interfere in the question of slavery. It numbered hundreds of slaveholders among its published list of members. The influence of these pious slave owners was indeed so powerful, that the well-known publishing firm of Harper Brothers issued an apology for having printed a work written by an Abolitionist.

How could any of the Churches denounce slavery when so much of their money came from slave owners? When did the Christian Churches denounce anything under such conditions? A Mississippi clergyman, the Rev. James Smylie, writing in defence of slavery, put the case in a nutshell:—

> If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to returning them to their masters is a direct violation of the divine law, and if the buying, selling, or holding a slave for the sake of a gain is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, in eleven States of the Union are of the Devil. They hold if they do not buy and sell slaves, and with few exceptions they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves when in their power.

Even after slavery had been officially destroyed in North America, at the cost of a long and bitter war the negro was still doomed to experience the true nature of Christian brotherhood. 'Slavery might be abolished, but the color bar and the color prejudice, substantially unknown, as we have seen, to the Pagan world, remained. Laws that hold good for the white man do not hold good for the black. Even when the law fails to discriminate, public opinion does. An able and unquestionable authority on the condition of the negro in the United States, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, writing in 1911, thus sums up the situation. In the Southern States negroes can not vote, or their votes are neutralized by fraud; they live in the least desirable districts and receive low wages; they can not by law marry whites; they can not join white churches or attend white colleges, white hotels, or places of public entertainment; receive a distinct standard of justice in the courts, and are exposed to mob law; are taxed for parks and public libraries which they may not enter; are often unable to protect their homes from invasion and their savings from exploitation. In the North, legal disabilities do not exist, but the negro is often refused accommodation at hotels etc., and is made to feel himself an undesirable.

Very much more might be said on the question of Christianity and slavery, but in the nature of the case, it could only be a repetition in kind what has already been said. And, truly, the case against Christianity is plain and damning. Never, during the whole of its history, has it spoken in a clear voice against slavery; always, as we have seen, its chief supporters have been pronounced believers. They have cited religious teaching in its defence, they have used all the power of the Churches for its maintenance. Naturally, in a world in which the vast majority are professing Christians, believers are to be found on the side of humanity and justice. But to that the reply is plain. Men are human before they are Christian; both history and experience point to the constant lesson of how many cases the claims of a developing humanity override those of an inculcated religious teaching.

But the damning fact against Christianity is, not

(Continued on Page Eight)

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,

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Editor ..... C. Stephenson

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The Unsolved Problem

'TIS a mad world if we fix our gaze on the surface appearance of things, but there is method in the seeming madness if we search beneath and mentally, grasp those mysterious economic forces which determine the great currents of history.

"To understand is to leave behind" said Hegel, the philosopher. That is true providing the materials are there with which to make the new departure.

"An Army," said Napoleon, "moves upon its stomach," so it is with society. Its productive powers must always provide the basis and so make possible an advance. As a matter of fact it has always been the development of the economic powers which has forced society forward. The growing perfection of the means of production lifted man from among the brutes. And yet withal, though man's welfare and progress depends on his productive powers being exercised to the full, we find that those powers can not be utilized to anywhere near their full capacity today. Can not be utilized to the full! Human labor power lies idle asking only that it may be put to work at the machinery of production to produce in superabundance the things necessary for the sustenance and enjoyment of life.

Of society's productive capacity we had abundant evidence during the war. Some twenty thirty millions of men were standing under arms, consuming and expending the products of labor at a tremendous rate on the far flung battle lines. The floor of every ocean was being littered with sunken cargoes. Millions of laborers were withdrawn from producing the necessaries of normal life to the production of munitions of war, and besides this, the ranks of the unproductive parasites suffered little if any diminution. Only in instances, the personel was changed. And still the remaining producers, were able to feed, clothe and shelter themselves and the rest of society.

Now that the waste of war has ceased, why can not this great productive power of society be exercised to the full? This curtailment of productive powers, this, to use the proper and expressive term —this sabotage on society, why should it be? It is no new problem. It was with us before the war. Poverty of the material things of life amongst vast multitudes of the people, and in every city in the world, the unemployed and pauper relief and the bread line. It is an old, old problem. It is a problem which more vitally effects the lives of the people than all the other problems which face mankind, this problem of connecting the people with the means of life.

Our ruling class have all the brains in the world, at least so we are led to believe and they are at the helm with all the economic and political power in their possession. Where are their economists(?) on this matter, who write so wisely and glibly in the press on things that do not matter?

We, of the working class, are told not to run after shadows, that our work is to dig ditch, hew wood, lay stone on stone. Well; just for arguments sake, granting that, there are millions asking in vain for the opportunity. Come — —lers and wise men, this problem so you tell us, lays in your Province, solve it! The diggers of ditches, the hewers of wood, the layers of stone on stone, their wives and their children can assure you, from bitter experience, that it is no shadow. And a word—the sand in the glass runs low!

Those mysterious economic forces which drove the world to war, have through the war, revealed to us all the wonderful productivity of our labor. The capitalist method of exploiting us by wage labor and the capitalist method of accounting and dividing up our surplus between the employer-landlord-banker class had hidden from us this productivity. But now—our eyes are opening.

We suggest as a practical solution to strengthening the precarious hold of the masses of the people on the means of existence, and to connect all with the means of production who are willing to labor, that they themselves control those means of production and prodnce for use instead of for sale.

He Failed—He Could Not Imprison Ideas

By their violent reactionary policies towards the liberating movement of Revolutionary Socialism, our ruling class appears determined to make history repeat itself by reproducing the violences which marked the attempt of the reactionaries of Europe, in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, to suppress what might otherwise have been a peaceful revolution. Their activities then, however, only resulted finally in the suppressed liberating forces bursting all bonds and prohibitions and achieving their historic purpose in flaming and destroying revolts.

We have no hope in the least, that that historic lesson will have any warning for the ruling class of this day, but a short account of the methods used by the reactionaries of that former time may be of interest to our readers now that we, ourselves, are suffering under similar oppressions.

Metternich, first minister of Austria, from 1809 to 1848 was the great man those days, the hope and leader of European reaction and a master in the art of secret treaty-making, and of political legerdemain in general.

On the downfall of the great Napoleon in 1815, Metternich was from then on the most influential statesman in Europe. "When Napoleon fell," says the article on Metternich in the "Brittanica," "there was a prospect of the introduction of constitutional government throughout a great part of Europe." But, "Metternich's advice, tendered with every grace of manner, . . . was not hard to accept by the rulers, for he simply recommended them to give up nothing they had got. It was at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), that the retrograde tendency which was now succeeding to the hope of 1815, first gained expression."

A political assassination gave the great statesman an excellent pretext for organizing a crusade against German liberty. "A conference of ministers was held at Carlsbad. The King of Prussia allowed his representatives to follow Metternich's lead. The resistantance of the constitutional minor states proved of no avail; and a series of resolutions was passed which made an end of the freedom of the press throughout Germany, and subjected the teaching and the discipline of the Universities to officers of state."

How homelike and familiar all that sounds to us in Canada.

"The king of Prussia broke his promise of establishing a national representation, and satisfied his conscience by creating certain powerless provincial diets, exactly as Metternich had recommended him. (In our terminology, he ruled by order-in-council.) Throughout Germany at large a system of repression was carried against the advocates of constitutional right. The press was silenced; societies were dissolved; prosecutions became more and more common." (As in Canada in the 20th century.).

"While Metternich imagined himself to be stifling the spirit of discontent, he was in fact driving it into more secret and violent courses, and convincing eager men that the regeneration of Germany must be sought not in the reform but in the overthrow of governments."

Not alone in Germany, but all over Europe, he was instrumental in instituting similar measures.

The French Revolution of 1830, however, shattered the moral fabric of his system of bureaucratic absolutism, but he continued to fight for the political order he built up until the revolution of 1848 when he fled, in disguise, to England.

He died in June, 1859. a "few more months of life would have enabled him to see the end of that political order which it was his life work to uphold. . . ."

We take the following excerpts from an article entitled "Metternichs—Old and New," in the July 12 New York "Nation":

"He hated the Revolution. He lavished upon it a wealth of metaphorical denunciation. It was 'the disease which must be cured,' 'the volcano which must be extinguished,' 'the gangrene, which must be burned out with a hot iron,' 'the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order.' He was the prophet of 'the reconstruction of the social order' and a 'durable peace based upon a just division of power.'"

"To achieve his will he used his own remarkable powers of persuasion, suggestion, intimidation. The system he created, at war with human nature, at war with the human spirit, rested upon a meddlesome and ubiquitous police, upon elaborate espionage, upon a vigilant censorship of new ideas, which was applied to theatres, newspapers, books, schools and universities. The frontiers were guarded that books of a liberal character might not slip in to corrupt. Political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions. Particularly did this Government fear the universities, because it feared ideas. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures. The Government kept a list of books consulted by professors. Text-books were prescribed. Obviously under a system where there was no freedom of teaching or of learning, science withered. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid."

"He failed in the end because, while he could imprison revolutionists, he could not imprison ideas. He failed to understand the impalpable forces of his age."

And in our age so shall the Metternichs also fail, even though the human family shall have to win through to a new freedom in blood and tears.

Three-fourths of the negroes in the United States are disfranchised. Over two million negro men pay taxes but can not vote.

* * * * *

The newspapers these days read like the concoctions out of bedlam. Cheek by jowl, with accounts of peace celebrations, we have reports of the progress of the twenty-three wars going on and the starvation blockade of Soviet Russia. Also our ally, Japan, appears to be getting in bad odor. Then we have the race riots in the home of liberty and culture to the south, hunger riots in Europe, returned soldier riots everywhere and strikes in the same locality. Insurrections are being suppressed in Ireland, Egypt, India, Korea, Morocco, by alien police and soldiery.

O, Peace where are thou? Even thy celebrants carry a gun on the hip. And the religion sharks justified war! They promised us a spiritual regeneration through the blood-letting of the body politic, as their prototypes in surgery promised a physical one to our forefathers, generations ago, in the "dark ages" of physical science.

It is said, "there is no fiend like a woman scorned." What shall we say of a people disillusioned? Na'theless, before the dawn the dark, and darkest the hour before it breaks.

IT CAN BE DONE

It was three months ago that I met "him" on the job.

He was of military bearing. Straightforward was his appearance; and frankness was pictured in the looks of him. So I ventured on the "real work."

"Don't you think," quoth I; "that it is pretty raw work to be fighting Russia, without even a declaration of war?"

A cold stare became evident.

Suspicion lurked behind the glance shot at me.

Then; "Are you a citizen?"

I humbly submitted: "Not yet."

"Then," he brought out triumphantly, "you have not right to criticize."

"And," he continued, "I know your game; you want to boost those Bolsheviks; let me tell you they are the lowest kind of trash. I've read about them, and we can trust to Mr. Wilson to see they get what is coming to them."

Not so promising, eh?

Some job, Bo; believe me, and I've seen some.

Well as I said, it was three moons ago. It took heap big medicine, plenty sapping, mining, following up of stray scents. But the hunts is fascinating, and a veteran has learned much. He has acquired patience. He doesn't call his job-mate a bonehead, and give it up. If he has to work with Scissorbillus-Americanus, and there is disharmony, it must be removed; and surely, years of imbibing knowledge has not been so unfruitful that arguments potent and convincing cannot be produced.

And more surely still: Probing the acreage of discontent, with the ploughshares of facts, must have tended to a knowledge of psychology; if so, what chance has the marked one? Anyway, the house is going up, as we progress to the end of our meal ticket. We dug out the basement, and went over the class struggle We raised the concrete wall, and adorned it with joists and a wilderness of scantlings and shiplap the while he laid attentive ears to a disquisition on what the negro called "the mysterious deception of history."

We are climbing aloft now on the rafters, and perspiring in the July sun, as we hammer and hoist; and surplus value, unpaid labor time, commodity labor power, are becoming familiar terms to friendly ears at last.

Says friend job-mate, last week, "Go on, tell me all you can; it's meat and drink to me." And today: "You wait and see, in a year from now; there'll be none of these damned financiers left in this man's land. If the European workingman puts its over you bet your life we will, too."

Says I, "You'll do; but don't underestimate your enemy, acquire knowledge, pass it along; make Socialists, make 'em good and red, and soon we will be there."

FOR IT CAN BE DONE.

F. S. F.

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The Bankruptcy of Parliament

(From "The Socialist," Glasgow, June 12.)

THE best indication of the collapse of a social system is the ineptitude and immobility of its administering institutions these being the "props" by, and maintained. When the system is healthy, its institutions operate with the smoothness of a well-oiled machine, and there exists that harmonious response between "the social requirements" and their "means of fulfilment," which is the only true criterion of fitness. Under such circumstances systems progress, developing and extending their organization with an adaptability which enables them to withstand the most violent shocks from natural causes, thus providing an antidote to Revolution.

When a system is thoroughly established not only do all institutions, which would act and operate healthily, bear as their hall-mark, the character of the system, but there is also a corresponding change in the ethics, morality, and general standard of living of the people, which constitutes a particular culture.

This latter plays a prominent part in affecting social changes, and its standard of fitness with a particular system registers the degree of healthy vigor of that system.

These facts are almost invariably overlooked or lost sight of by most of those who attempt to explain industrial unrest, political discontent, or a general social ferment—and hence the remedies proposed are just about as dispelling as their diagnosis is disjointed.

Insofar as there has since the days of Primitive Communism, never existed that "harmonious response between Social Requirements and their means of fulfilment," it follows that the various social systems were inevitably doomed to collapse, and, verily, "carried within their womb the seeds of their own destruction.

Thus did the patriarchal system fade into the realm of time, to be followed soon afterwords by feudalism. And in so far as capitalism failed to profit by the misfortunes of its predecessors, about the only thing it did not profit by, the first stone of its very foundation will prove to be the rock upon which it will perish. Where there exists a socially unequal arrangement of things, there is bound to also exist a simmering ferment of discontent, which will seek expression at every opportunity, and the more aggravated the inequality becomes, the more intense will be the expression.

In this respect it is interesting to observe the progress of the present system of capitalism. When in this country they adopted the manufacture of wool, the effects of this change were manifold. The importance of the landed aristocracy began to wane, and a trading or merchant class soon came to the front. Factories were set up, which attracted the village laborers and transformed them from soil slaves into wage slaves towns grew up around the factories, and superceded the villages. Natural motive power was supplanted by artifical motive power, and steam was manufactured to take the place of water and wind—to be followed later by electricity.

And while scope for these changes was accorded the merchants, and obsolete institutions did not bar the way of development, all was well; but when the aristocracy made an effort to retain the power they were fast losing, and when the props of feudalism became insurmountable barriers, then the crash came, and Cromwell sounded the death-knell of the feudal system, the House of Lords receded into the background, and the House of Commons assumes first place.

The obsolete institutions were smashed up, and new institutions brought into being. A Revolution had been acomplished, and a system of factory-owner and factory-worker—employed and employee—exploiter and exploited—was established, a system wherein those "got" who did not "earn," and those who "earned" did not "get."

There the new system was born, and there the "ferment" was germinated which was to be its undoing. A socially unequal arrangement of things was established, and was from that moment foredoomed to disaster. All drastic and rapid social changes produce germs of discontent, but where the change fundamentally produces social equality, then "ferment" is desirable, and the "germs of discontent" become the safety valves of the system, where, if once attention be but paid to the items of discontent, with suitably created institutions built to deal with the items and administer the system, then soundness and adaptability should result, and consequently progress of the system. As it was, capitalism lacked this stabilizing equality; and, while in the beginning Parliament functioned somewhat effectively as the sounding-board of the system's health, and "practitioner" doctoring the social ills, time developed these ills into a general social cancer, demanding a surgical operation, and the "sounding-board," became very indistinct, issuing naught but discords. Grievances abound which go unremedied, accumulate, and thus accentuates the discontent. The people demand Moral Rights, Justice, but their cries pass unheard. The system has fallen out of proportion, even with its own culture, and the ears of Parliament are "stopped."

And ought they not to be so? Was not Parliament born to administer capitalism, and while Parliament is the maintainer of capitalism, is not capitalism the edifice upon which it stands to do it? Can their Parliament legislate the edifice from under its own feet without crashing to the ground as a consequence? All the political, juridical, and social institutions of today take their stand upon capitalism, administer capitalist dictums, capitalist laws, and maintain capitalist supremacy.

The ineptitude of Parliament is the bankruptcy of capitalism, and in so far as the Socialist movement is concerned, Parliament can only have an agitational value to it.

From our system of social equality will spring the suitable institutions of administration and the advent of Socialism will render Parliament the playground of the sad, and, mayhap, well-meaning politicians, whose eyes became so blinded with concentration upon Mr. Speaker that they were unable to see the trend of the times.

To us Parliament centralizes and concentrates the strength of capitalism morally, while the workshop concentrates it economically, and in periods of crises the popular will of discontent converges round the former, leaving the particular industrial or social issues dependent upon the particular proffered solution by Parliament.

When the agitation is formidable, and the Parliamentary reply formidable also in its power of resistance and the summoning of its armed and physical forces, might not that, their strongest action, be one day their weakest tactic, and the action which will fan the flame of Revolution? We admit of its possibility, and arrange our agitational scope accordingly. Apart from this, Parliament to us has no other essential virtue, as our constructive policy is based upon economic freedom and our tactics determined by the needs of the essential Social Revolution.

ARTHUR McMANUS.

EXCHANGE

The Practice of Primitive Barter of Products and Commodity Exchange Reviewed

As Preliminary to a Consideration of the Money-commodity---Its Properties and Functions

The production of commodities, while typical of the capitalist system is not peculiar to that system but has existed in some form or another during the whole historical period and, no doubt, for ages, anterior to that period. What, however, distinguishes the present system from the forms of society which preceded it is that commodity-production and exchange is the dominant mode of the distribution of products, while in earlier societies it was merely incidental to and existed alongside of the prevailing mode of distribution.

The fancy pictures drawn of primitive life in which the savage is represented as exchanging say a bow and arrows for a deer and in which each party calculates the time he took to produce the weapon or to capture the game, are not warranted by the facts. There is no reason to suppose that any such idea ever entered the savage mind. In the first place, the proceeds of the chase were not regarded as being the private property of the individual and were distributed more or less equally among the members of the tribe according to their needs.

On the other hand, primitive man has an objection to parting with anything he has made, say a weapon or personal ornament; these being regarded as in some way part of himself, so much so, that when he died they were buried with him. I am aware that a religious explanation has been given of the latter act but it is probable in this case as in many others, that later ages have placed a spiritual interpretation upon an act having a much simpler explanation. However, this may be, it is likely that we have here the origin of the idea of property and, if so, a confirmation of the view which bases the right of property on production rather than on possession. In any case the savage has no idea of time and little if any of value and such exchange as took place would not therefore be based on any such consideration. There is considerable probability in the view that the interchange of products arose out of the practice of giving presents, which being reciprocal, a feeling grew up that the presents should be equal in value or, rather, equal in desirability. As a matter of fact, we should not expect exchange of commodities to take place to any great extent, until the right of property was firmly established and considerable advance had been made in the division of labor.

We find, therefore, that barter, that is to say the direct exchange of products grew up not within the primitive societies, but on their confines. The tribes, self-contained and self-supporting, really formed the units of ancient society and between those units, though generally supposed to have been more or less hostile to each other, a certain amount of trade took place. A place was often set apart in the neutral ground between the tribal territories at which the tribes could meet. This place it appears, was called the "mark" and our word "market" is supposed to have this derivation. The goods traded in would naturally be such as could not, for geographical or climatic reasons, be produced in the district to which they were brought. We can, for instance, imagine the members of one tribe bartering certain natural pigments or the feathers of certain birds only found in their territory for some special stone, useful for weapons or tools only found in the district inhabited by some other tribe. The nomad or wandering tribes were probably the first to develop trading to any extent and, later on in history we find nations, such as the Phoenicians, who lived by this means and founded cities such as Tyre, Carthage and Cadiz for this purpose. These people, however, while in ancient society, were not of it, so to speak. Further, inasmuch as the ancient nations were based on kinship rather than on territorial considerations, the laws and customs applicable as between members of the tribe were not held binding beyond their boundaries or in relations with strangers. For this reason all kinds of sharp practice were deemed admissible in trading and as the ancient traders were not averse to a little piracy or kidnapping when occasion offered, it is not surprising that neither the traders themselves nor the occupation they followed were held in any high repute. A consideration of the modern business man would seem to confirm this view. It is, no doubt, owing to this sentiment that the word "bourgeois," innocent enough in itself, has always been considered more or less as a term of reproach. This I take it, is why the early Socialists were so fond of using it.

Here, then, we have the beginnings of commodity production. At first there is production for use only; then the surplus, if any, is disposed of; finally we have goods produced for the express purpose of exchange. This process, however, can not go on very far on the lines of pure barter and we very soon find some one commodity, segregated out from the others and performing the functions of a measure of value and a circulating medium. It is important to note that these functions may be performed by different commodities, that is, one as a measure of value and the other as circulating medium. This process goes on spontaneously and more or less unconsciously, stimulated by the very real disadvantages of the barter system.

These disadvantages are generally described as:

(1) The inconvenience arising from the lack of coincidence in barter.

(2) The indivisibility of ordinary goods.

The first difficulty in barter is to find two persons whose disposable possessions mutually suit each others wants, for before barter can be effected a double coincidence must take place; the possessor of a certain commodity must not only find some one willing to acquire the object he possesses but that some one must be able and willing to give him in return precisely the object he wants. Even should this take place there is a third improbability—that the articles will be of equal value. This brings us to our second disadvantage. Many commodities are naturally indivisible, such as a coat or a sheep. The possessor of such a commodity must part with it as a whole, while the articles he wants may be of much less value individually and to be obtained from various people.

The use of some special commodity as a medium of exchange does away with these difficulties and separates the act of barter into two distinct operations, sale and purchase.

We shall next consider the money-commodity, its properties and functions.

GEORDIE.

AUSTRIA'S PROGRAM OF SOCIALIZATION.

(Special to The Christian Science Monitor from its Washington News Office.)

WASHINGTON, District of Columbia.—A statement by the Austrian Government concerning the socialization program has been received here. The government it says, purposes to socialize the coal-mining industry and the wholesale coal trade, the extraction of iron ore and production of pig iron, the electrical industry, exploitation of water power, forestry and the timber trade. There was talk of socializing the chemical industry. Special measures were planned for dividing the great estates. Legislation to make effective these schemes has been drawn, but no steps have been taken to make it effective.

AN APPEAL FROM FINLAND.

Militarists Insisting on the Russian War Against Wish of Masses.

COPENHAGEN, June 20.—The Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Finland have issued the following appeal:—

Finnish militarist and Imperialist circles, which were formerly supporting themselves on Germany, are now endeavoring to obtain support on the corresponding circles of the Entente countries, in seeking to provoke a participation by Finland in operations against Russia.

Any such participation would have disastrous consequences for Finland, because under cover of a state of war reaction would succeed in retarding the coming of great democratic reforms which would otherwise be at hand.

The Finnish Social Democracy, with the enormous majority of the people, wishes to continue in peace its work of civilization, but these efforts would be prevented by the militarists, who pretend that it is necessary for Finland to take part in the war on behalf of the Entente.

The Entente Governments have rather encouraged than discouraged these views.

We beg the Socialist Parties of the Entente countries to do everything possible to obtain from their Governments an assurance that they will not insist on any participation by Finland in military operations, and to put no pressure on Finland.

DISSOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAN FAMILY.

"Socialists are charged with the intent to abolish the family, but those who do destroy the family bonds—who not only mean to, but actually do destroy them right under our eyes—are not the Socialists, but the Capitalists. Many a slave holder has in former times torn husband from wife and parents from children, but the Capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery; they tear the infant from the breast of its mother and compel her to entrust it to strangers hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are of daily occurence, a society whose upper classes promote "benevolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babies, such a society has the effrontery to accuse the Socialists of trying to abolish the family, because they, basing their opinion on the fact that the family has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production, foresee that further changes in that system must also result in a more perfect family relationship."

KAUTSKY.

CITIES RECAPTURED BY THE BOLSHEVIKI.

(Special cable to The Christian Science Monitor from its European News Office.

LONDON, England, (Sunday.—The War Office announces increasing Bolshevist counter-attacks against General Denikin's advance in south Russia, particularly near Balashov, Bobrov and southwest of Kharkoff, near Valki. The Bolsheviki have recaptured Balashov and Bobrov. Volunteers are, however, successfully enlarging their hold on the western bank of the River Dniester and are fighting 40 miles northwest of Ekaterinoslay.

The recent serious rising of the Egyptians against the British rule is said to be due to the nonfulfilment of secret treaties made by Sir Edward Grey with representative Egyptians guaranteeing the complete independence of Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia on the condition that the Egyptian Committee would use its powerful influence to prevent any assistance being given to the Turks during the war. The Egyptian Committee carried out its part of the bargain, but the British Government refuses to fulfil its contract.

Chattel Slavery In America *Mr. Ransome's Description of Russia*

The Second German Congress of Soviets

THE RED FLAG

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

VOL. 1 NO. 27 VANCOUVER B. C., SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1919 FIVE CENTS

Peace Conference Says Human Labor Power Is a Commodity

"Labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce."

"This sentence is the work of a World Legislature sitting at Paris; the italics are supplied by officials of the American Federation of Labor, whose attention is for the time fixed upon a word. It appears that the American labor delegates took with them to Paris the positive assertion of the Clayton Act that 'the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce'; and in Paris the positive was exchanged for an equally emphatic negative. Thus the Fifteenth point."

Thus the opening paragraphs of an article entitled, "Trades Unionism and the Control of Industry," in the New York "Dial," of July 12.

The article proceeds effectually to prove, by taking actual conditions in America, that Clemenceau's version is the more correct one, and also that Mr. Gompers and his organization, the A. F. of L., exist by virtue of the fact that labor is a commodity and an article of commerce. And moreover, that both he and his organization, if form and function count for anything, exist to perpetuate it as such.

The Clayton Act mentioned, embodies the fallacious Gomperian formula merely to protect organized labor against the Sherman Act and its penalties against combination in restraint of trade. But, as the article points out, "Under the protection of this safeguard labor is still handled as a commodity, and will continue to be so handled as long as the American Federation of Labor cherishes its traditional national craft-union policy."

It appears that the wording of the formula as taken to Paris by the American labor delegates was altered after they had left for home again and without their sanction. Hence the flurry at the A. F. of L. convention in Atlanta when attention was first called to the alteration.

Evidently the old fogies in Paris knew more of the economics of wage-labor than the A. F. of L. officials know or pretend they know, because, as the formula stands amended in the Peace Covenant, it is a tacit acknowledgement of the fact that labor (i.e., labor-power) is a commodity, though contained in the renovated formula is a sentimental ethical appeal that it "should not be regarded merely" as such. The wily elder-statesmen at Paris knew, of course, that there is no sentiment in business, but they also knew their uncritical, gullible constituents. Anyway, the amendment is a slap in the face for the "labor-power is not a commodity" fakers.

We use the word "fakers" with certain reservations. Some of the upholders of that theory must be classed as boneheads. The author of the article in the "Dial" mentions it as being said, that a member of the executive council of the A. F. of L. made a union-label speech in Russia after the Revolution. Ha! Ha!

The author of the article surveys the recent developments and tendencies in the organized labor movement in the U. S. A. and Canada; and develops the conclusion that the workers are moving in the direction of eliminating the commodity-status of human labor power, by preparing to assume the responsibilities of control over the means of production.

Appeal for the Defence Fund

WE again take the opportunity of urging all our readers to support thedefence of their fellow-workers now undergoing their preliminary trial in Winnipeg. Not less than the labor officials do the arrested foreigners also require help. Some of them are Russians and should they be deported they will be sent to Kolchak and to certain and horrible deaths. There is nothing surer than that, and the authorities know it, but they will deport them without compunction. It depends on your efforts whether these men can be saved.

Comrade Victor Midgley, secretary-treasurer of the British Columbia collecting agency, informs us that contributions are coming in good from this province and will be acknowledged from time to time in the B. C. Federationist. The S. P. of C. has already circularized the country, but in addition to this another circular will also be sent out under the joint auspices of the O. B. U., the B. C. Federation of Labor, Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, the Federated Labor Party, the S. P. of C., and other working class bodies in Vancouver.

Our many thanks are due to those who have already so kindly responded to our appeal. Keep on with the good work.

We append below part of a circular from the secretary of the Central Defence Committee in Winnipeg:

Winnipeg, July 14, 1919.

"To All the Workers of Canada and the United States:—

"Greetings:

". . . No worker who is active in the labor movement or any other movement, that dares to criticize the government or the profiteers is any longer safe in Canada. At any time the charge of sedition may be brought against you and the power of this Immigration Act brought into play. It is up to you as wage earners to protest against this infamy It might be your turn next. Do all in your power to get your fellow workers to take action. Thousands of petitions are being circulated throughout the country—see that you get them, have them filled and sent to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa.

"Those brothers not of British nationality are still confined to jail and may be railroaded out of the country without having a fair jury trial unless the workers make a most emphatic protest. Thousands of dollars are needed immediately so that the brothers who have made the sacrifice may get the best available counsel to conduct their trial. Send along your donation as soon as possible, and get your fellow workers to do their share. In this way you will not only be helping the men who stood up for justice, but you will also be helping the whole working class movement. The action already taken by the authorities is a direct blow to every organization that is agitating for better social, economic and political conditions in Canada. Now is the time for action by the workers; any unnecessary delay will make the matter more serious.

"Hoping this appeal will awaken the sympathy and rally the support of every working man and woman in the Dominion and the U. S.,

"Yours in anticipation of support.

"JAMES LAW,
"Secretary Defense Committee."

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

British Columbia Agency:—Victor Midgley, Postoffice Drawer 879, Vancouver, B. C.

Alberta Agency:—A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency:—E. Robinson, Secretary Trades and Labor Council, Winnipeg, Man.

Contributions will be acknowledged at a later date through the Labor and Socialist press.

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

ITALY

An Italian journalist, writing in the New York "Nation," says: "In regard to Italy, we find she is in a worse plight than any other country. When the national wealth is mortgaged for more than three-quarters, and the people have not enough resources to extinguish or diminish the public debts, but must pay for their interest and for the increased expenses of the budget, no living man would dare to deny that such an economic and industrial situation bespeaks very dark days for Italy. So the country which entered the war to break the bondages of diplomatic and financial slavery of the Central Empires, and to redeem her sons beyond the Alps, having apparently accomplished these marvelous deeds, will be strangled in another way by her ruinous imperialistic policy. Whichever remedy the rulers of Italy will resort to, it will be a cajolary which the working classes, alert, watchful, anxious to apply their radical programme, will denounce as a policy of deceit and continuous misery for themselves and their kind.

ATROCITIES

Investigation into charges of cruelty of United States officers to soldiers in prison camps are to be investigated. A horrible condition of affairs has been revealed at a preliminary hearing before a committee of senators, of men tortured and beaten to a pulp with blackjacks. F. W. Dallinger, representative from Massachusetts, characterized the offences "as 'horrors' that hark back to barbarism." The senator evidently never heard of lynching bees in the land of dollar culture and dollar diplomacy.