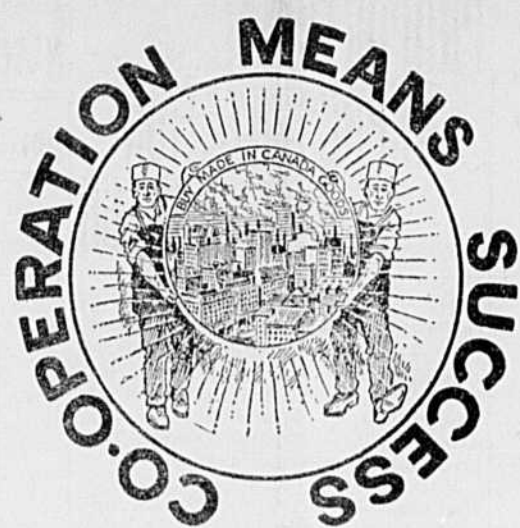


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RUSSIA ON THE ROAD TO SANITY

Not Foreign Bayonets but the Russian Peasants Are Conferring Freedom on the Russian People

There have been floods of words poured forth upon a long suffering public over the Russian situation since the Bolsheviks seized power, and most of these words have been for propaganda purposes. Those in favor of the Russian system say many words in favor of the present Russian government and in answering the allegations of the opponents point out the tremendous difficulties that had to be overcome. Those against the present Russian government give word pictures of the terrible conditions that have prevailed in many parts of Russia and have laid the occurrence of all the evils at the door of the soviet form of government. This seems to be a universal practice. If crops are good, and prices fair and if general prosperity shines upon Canada, the government of the day claims that the sun shone and the rain fell and the wheat ripened because it was in power. If crops are poor, times hard, and discontent is prevalent, the opposition party in Canada lays the blame upon the government of the day in an endeavor to turn the discontent to the advancement of the opposition.

Conditions throughout Europe have been terrible. The Red Cross societies have found it necessary to fling their selves into Europe to save the children. Through their efforts, they claim, six million babies have been saved from death during the past winter. These babies are apart from those in Russia to whom Red Cross relief was not extended. Poland has suffered as much as Russia. Austria has been equally stricken. Conditions in these countries have not had the publicity given them that conditions in Russia have had. Germany has trembled on the brink of revolution. Italy has been passing through a severe social crisis. Spain is afflicted with a murderous war in Barcelona between the syndicalists and employers. Yet these conditions are not exposed to any great extent.

The common explanation among those favoring the Bolshevik course of action is that the ruling classes of other countries fear for their power, and are cunningly appealing to the ignorance of the people to use the people against what is a great movement for the common good. This explanation is too simple to be the real explanation.

There are two reasons why the Bolshevik government under Lenin and Trotsky is opposed. The first reason is that it is undemocratic, and the second reason is that while it is autocratic, it has refused to make deals with other autocracies, or to recognize their right to exploit the people. The Russian government is in the peculiar position of practicing autocracy with the avowed purpose of using that form against all other autocracies for the purpose of benefiting the common people. It claims to act in the interests of the majority. The people who have won democracy in government elsewhere usually fear a government that tries to impose welfare upon them against their will, and the governments that have not won democracy fear a government ruled autocratically that declares itself an enemy.

Democracies Oppose Bolshevism

For a thousand years and more, people have trusted to rulers, kings, autocrats, who claimed to rule for the benefit of the common people, to devote their time and energy for the public weal. Under these rulers the people have found themselves embroiled in dynastic wars, court intrigues, and found that the way to public favor was through climbing the back stairs of the ruler's mistress for the day. Slowly the people have learned the lesson and have fought for a greater extension of popular government. What they have so hardily won, they do not feel like surrendering to any group, no matter how personally moral the members of that group may be under promise from that group that it will use the power conferred in a beneficent manner.

Lenin is personally moral and personally honest. He has taken the ration of the people and no more. When he was recovering from the wound inflicted upon him by an attempted assassination, the only way his associates could get him to partake of delicacies was to assert that the food situation had improved and all were sharing what he was getting. He is moral. So was Caesar Augustus who gathered all power of the Roman empire into his hands and founded the system of tyranny that resulted in the degenerate Roman emperors. Lenin is a great student. So was Augustus. But when people entrust power to a good man, they lose the power of self-government and lay themselves open to being ruled by evil successors of the good man.

The man far ahead of the common crowd in his perception of economics, of politics, of visions of ultimate good, is apt to be impatient of the slow growth of popular desires for advancement. He is tempted to seize the power and compel the people to go the way he thinks they should go. This is the temptation to which Lenin has given way. He has allied himself with a minority group of the Russian workers to impose the dictatorship of the proletariat upon Russia. With a will of steel he has pursued the course of bringing about the abolition of political government and the establishment of working class communist form of property distribution. The Bolshevik party through whom Lenin works numbers about 600,000 members in a country of over a hundred million people. Looking upon this aggregation back of him, Lenin declared at the third Soviet conference, "Among one hundred so-called Bolsheviks, there is one real Bolshevik, with thirty-nine criminals and sixty fools."

The good man, the honest man, the man who has suffered exile and poverty for the cause, Lenin, is at present guiding the destinies of Russia, but when prosperity comes to the Bolshevik movement, and the spoils are to be divided, will the thirty-nine per cent criminals and sixty per cent fools of the Bolshevik movement allow honesty and ability to remain in

control to distribute the created wealth to all the people according to their needs and for the common uplift, or will Lenin be displaced and the power of which the people are divested, be seized for selfish ends? The revolutionary fervor of the French revolution ended in Napoleon. Will the revolutionary fervor of Russia be turned to destruction and selfishness in the same way? This is the question that faces the world. The democratic countries and the democratic peoples hold that the experiments of the government by the few for the benefit of the many in the past have ended in the government being for the benefit of the few. The American Federation of Labor stands fast for democracy and denounces Bolshevism.

Montreal recently had a test of democracy in the Charter referendum on May 16th. One charter was prepared by the most intelligent men the city could choose. It took a year to prepare. It was submitted by referendum vote to the people and was defeated. Stories are told of voters going to the polls and asking which alderman they were voting for. Men who could not read it is said, were shown the ballots upside down and told to mark their cross opposite the top writing, and they thus voted for Schedule B. Many people were disappointed at the result, but they held firmly to the opinion that a community as well as a people have the inalienable right of sovereignty even to the point, as Rousseau said, of governing themselves badly.

Lenin, at the International Communist Congress at Moscow, in July, had his viewpoint endorsed. He declared that the dictatorship of the minority of the class-conscious working class must be maintained and democracy suppressed "as long as private property in the means of production is maintained." To Serrati, the Italian revolutionary leader, he declared this time of suppressed democracy would be from twenty-five to fifty years. To the Spanish Bolshevik, he declared it would be about forty years. If democracy is suppressed for forty years and the many are ruled by the few during that period, the many who knew democratic principles will have died off, and a new generation will have arisen, who know nothing of self government, and the whole painful lesson of the rule of the many by the many, with all the painful struggles accompanying it will have to be learned anew.

For the above reasons, democratic peoples oppose Bolshevism. The autocracies oppose it because of its intolerance of autocracies.

Autocracies oppose Bolshevism

The few appear to rule. In any movement, we hear the leaders in private, denouncing the men they lead. In their inner circles, the leaders of the National-Liberal-Conservative party denounce the party members. In an election in the Yukon, the vast mass of the electorate appear to be indifferent. Few go to the primaries. The many take the election issues as laid down by the leaders, and limit their discussions within the limits set by the candidates. The few rule but they rule within certain limits. The people are not ready for great changes, and the rulers are not anxious to educate the people for great changes. The more intelligent, the more brutal, the more cunning, become rich, or become politicians of national reputation. However, if those leaders go against the common conceptions of the people as to what is right and fitting, they may be kept in ignorance, but they do express themselves as to what they know they want. The powerful do not become powerful by opposing the people, but by educating the people along certain lines, and persuading the people that what is good for the rich and powerful is good for the people. Those members of the common people who show exceptional ability, are admitted to the ruling class. If they were not, they would remain among the common people as agents of discontent to stir them up and to show what is good for the rich and powerful may not be good for the common people. So the rich make a place among themselves for such men in order that their ability may be used in protecting privilege against the rising tide of democracy.

Wherefore, when the Bolsheviks arrived at power in Russia, they had ability. They knew how to control. Alliances were waiting them. The international comity of financiers, exploiters, industrial magnates, aristocrats all extended the open hand of friendship upon the basis of the age-old system of exploitation modified by the advance of democratic ideas.

But the Bolsheviks refused the alliances. They refused the proffered offers. They declared they were the enemies of all exploiters, open or concealed. They declared they had adopted the tactics of the rulers in order to end rulership. Open force, disfranchisement of voters, manipulation of the vote cast, propaganda open and covert, perversion of news, these were the means and tricks used by other rulers to keep real power away from the people. Very well, the Bolsheviks would use them all to give power to the people.

This was a new phenomena in history. Karl Marx declared that any slave system to endure had to allow a chance for the powerful slave to escape into the upper classes or the whole basis of the ruling class would be threatened. Here in Russia were the exploited who had risen to the charmed circle of rulership, and yet were not content.

They were going to use their position and power to abolish the position and power of the few, not only in Russia, but throughout the world.

At once, the ruling classes of all countries declared war. These rulers who fought rulership were a grave danger. In all countries there was a certain measure of discontent. If this discontent were aided by a powerful Russia, the class yawning to swallow up all vested interests. The possessions of the multi-millionaire American was threatened equally with the throne of the Indian potentate. So all means were used to overthrow the Bolshevik authority in Russia. British, American, Japanese, Polish, French, Czechoslovakian troops and treasure were used in the attempt.

Thus the soviet government found itself opposed by those who believed in democracy because of their methods, and opposed by those who believed in autocracy because of the aims to which those methods were directed.

The rulers of other lands thought they could overthrow Bolshevism for their home peoples by a great majority were opposed to the Russian methods, but when the rulers marched the troops into Russia their home peoples raised a great protest. Believing in democracy, people of Britain, of France and of other countries would not stand for their autocrats marching to overthrow Russian autocrats who were ruling in the name of the proletariat. They declared that the Russian situation was a question for Russians themselves to solve. Labor declared a blockade against the movement of military supplies and troops into Russia to overthrow the soviet government, and the rulers of the democratic nations had to desist.

Left alone, to a certain extent, Russia is emerging. The Bolsheviks are being beaten in their extreme methods, not by foreign arms, but by the home peasants. Russia is more than three quarters agricultural. The land has been allotted to individual holders and the land hunger of the peasants is being satisfied. The peasant is not a communist. He is an individualist. The Socialist theory presumes a social method of production. The machine age makes men work together and they therefore should share the fruits of their common labor, without a class of owners stepping in between the producer and his product. That is the Socialist idea. But the individual peasant is an individual owner and producer. He may unite in co-operative buying and selling, but with small holdings owned by the peasants, there is no landowner stepping in between the peasant and the products he raises.

It is easy to raise enthusiasm for theories in mass meetings in crowded cities, but the landworker who owns his land and has labored all day thereon, does not feel like getting out at night on his ten-acre lot and in his solitude, cheering himself hoarse for communism and the sharing of the results of his toil with his city brethren. He wants to see pay for the staff he produces rather than hear words about the brotherhood of man which in practice deprives him of the wealth he creates.

Lenin realizes this and is loosening the restrictions. He is allowing the peasants to sell their surplus produce. He is allowing commerce and petty manufacturing to be carried on by individuals. He is taking steps to stabilize Russia's currency. He declares that "private enterprises of artisans will be permitted until the big Socialist enterprises are established ten years hence or more." He has recently declared, "Those who believe that in this Russia of peasants Socialism can be realized, simply believe in Utopia."

The short road does not work. The seizure of power for the purpose of compelling the people to do that which they do not desire to do ends in failure. The process of agitating, educating and organizing the people so that the people themselves in free assemblies may choose their own good with open minds and free votes is the only true way of progress.

This is the course of action chosen by the American Federation of Labor. Apparently it is slower than direct action. Yet its very slowness speaks its sure success. Autocracy and tyranny is driven out of one corner to lodge in another. It is driven out of that corner to find refuge in another form, but eventually all corners and holes will be closed by the awakened vision of the people and the clear vision of the millions of common men and women.

A strike is blooming in the British engineering trade. The employers are demanding a reduction of six shillings on time rates, 15 per cent on piece work, and 12 1/2 per cent on total earnings.

The Contractors' Association of Charleston, W. Va., has renewed its agreement with the building trades council. The 44-hour week and last year's wage rates will continue.

The anthracite mine workers will join forces with the bituminous miners in formulating new wage agreements to take the place of those expiring March 31st, 1922. This action will consolidate the ranks of the 500,000 organized coal miners of the United States.

A new agreement between the United Garment Workers of Wichita, Kan., and local manufacturers provides for the 44-hour week and improved working conditions. Last year's wage rate will apply.

The steel trust announces that the employees are accepting the 20 per cent wage reduction. As these workers are unorganized and the plants are honey-combed with spies, the question rises: "What can they do?" As the payroll of the United States Steel Corporation is \$480,000,000 a year, a cut of 20 per cent on all employees could take \$96,000,000 a year out of the pay envelopes and add this amount to the revenues of the owners.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NOT WANTED

The special committee appointed by the House of Commons at Ottawa to study the subject of proportional representation has brought in its report, which favors the single alternative vote in circumstances in which more than two candidates have been nominated, rather than proportional representation.

Proportional representation, which is the demand of organized labor, will triumph in Canada sooner or later, but it has hard sledding with the present members at Ottawa. Proportional representation will introduce a new system of choosing members to make the laws. Candidates will be grouped together to elect several candidates, and a voter may vote for all the candidates by indicating his wishes by the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on placed opposite the name of each candidate in the order of preference he has for each of them.

The large constituencies will raise the tone of the election appeals, and the large number of votes together with the preferential voting will prevent a few votes swinging the election one way or another, and thus put an end to the frantic efforts of rival candidates to win by appeals to passion and the liberal use of corruption funds.

The reason why proportional representation is not wanted by many candidates and would-be candidates is that they feel they would lose all chances of election under that system, while they stand a chance of being elected by the present method of voting. For that reason, present candidates are elected while the public are undergoing a mental and emotional debauch.

The alcoholic debauch is not the only kind of debauch that individuals undergo. There are emotional and mental drunks. The emotional and mental form is the one that takes place in elections.

Between elections, all is quiet. A speaker or two may go forth and give a mild lecture on political topics. But shortly after a dominion, a provincial or a municipal election, great excitement starts. Banners are out, crowds assemble, spellbinders at high prices are engaged to address large meetings of voters. Passions are appealed to. Danger on race issues are sometimes raised. Up till this time the people have been quiet, pursuing their usual duties. But excitement begins. Minds are agitated. Emotions are raised. The hurrying begins. Reason is largely left in abeyance. Thoughts are invoked foreign to the daily life of the people. Parades, bands, bright colors are flaunted. The whole policy seems to be to make the people as excited as possible and to have them understand the fundamental issues as little as possible. Catch phrases are harped upon. In fact the people go on a mental and emotional drunk and in this condition vote for those who are to be in places of authority for years. When the people recover from the excitement, they frequently feel bitter at their conduct, while those elected swell out and declare they represent the will of the people. Because the British people realize the folly they may commit during election excitement, it is why they cling to the monarchical form of government. They have in the king a steadfast guide to represent their sober, everyday, commonsense will.

The political machinery of the Liberal and the Conservative parties is built to fit the single member constituencies. Two candidates face each other. The votes of the electors go to either one or the other candidate, consequently the whole struggle develops into a personal struggle for not making election forgotten.

The Yamaska by-election in Quebec, where charges were hurled, passions raised, and unlimited money spent shows that the single member constituency should be replaced by the multiple member district. This change would raise the whole tone of our political life.

But those candidates who win by the pernicious methods which the single member district renders successful feel very doubtful whether they would be the choice of the honest, sober vote of the electors. It is little wonder they do not want the system of proportional representation introduced.

—Japan still has a fourteen hour working day for children.

—A new agreement secured by the Barbers' Union of Rochester, N. Y., calls for \$25 a week, and 50 per cent of receipts in excess of \$30.

—In the printing trade 35 cities in Canada and the United States have signed up for the 44-hour week. The 44-hour week went into effect on the newspapers of London, Eng., nearly two years ago.

—Admiral Benson of the United States Shipping Board has announced that any company that operates ships owned by the government that agrees to last year's rates to marine engineers and seamen will have their ships taken away from them.

LABOR DIRECTORY

MONTREAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL. — Meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday of each month at Building 409 St. Catherine East. President, Alfred Mathieu, 581 Beriville, LaSalle 795; Vice-president, D. Manley, 413 1/2 St. Catherine East; Sec.-Treasurer, Paul Pelletier, 23 Garnier St.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL. — To promote the interests of the Allied Union Label (which can be had in either the French or English language). — The following constitute the council: — Typographical Union, No. 176; Jacques-Cartier Typographical Union, No. 145; Pressmen and Printers' Union, No. 52; Bookbinders Union, No. 91; Photo-Engravers Union, No. 9; Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union, No. 7; Mailers' Union, 20 News Writers, No. 10. President, Frank Lynch, Room 12, 26 Victoria Square, Main St.; Secretary-Treasurer, James Phillips, Room 25, Herald Bldg., Craig St. W., Main 7489. Executive, H. Macreux, J. Pelletier, A. Vallier, H. St-Pierre, G. Brunelle.

BUREAU-OFFICIERS DU CONSEIL DE DISTRICT DES CHARPENTIERS-MENSIERS LOCAL 134. — Président, J. O. Gagnon; Vice-Président, Jas. L'Espérance; Secrétaire-financier, A. Cinq Mars; Secrétaire-archiviste, A. Robert; Agents d'affaires, Pierre Lefevre, 182 Sainte-Catherine Est; R. Lord, 182 Sainte-Catherine Est; Ed. Henry, 182 Sainte-Catherine Est; E. Primeau, 182 Sainte-Catherine Est.

MOUNT ROYAL LODGE, No. 711, INT. ASS. OF MACHINISTS. — Meets every 2nd and 4th Friday, at 8 p.m., at 375 Ontario St. East. President, H. Brodeur, 485 Boulevard St.; Vice-President, J. Singer, 1533 Chabot St.; Fin.-Sec., A. Labonte, 802 Des Erables St.; Rec.-Secy, F. De Larocher, 907 Fallum St.; Treasurer, J. Jones, 267 6th Ave. Rosemont; Trades and Labor Council Delegate, Bro. J. Thompson.

RAILROAD PLUMBERS AND STEAM-FITTERS UNION, LOCAL 292. — Meeting every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, Layoff Hall, 875 Ontario East. President, Frank Lynch, 1074 De Larocher; Corresponding Secretary, D. Manley, 413, 6th Avenue Rosemont; Financial Secretary, J. Gauthier, 106 Orleans.

BRICKLAYERS, MASONS AND TILE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION LOCAL 4 OF MONTREAL. — Meeting every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, St. Joseph Hall, 182 St. Catherine East. Resident, F. Chapman; Financial Secretary, H. Olive; Business Agent, H. Olive, 182 St. Catherine East. Office hours: 9 to 11 a.m., and 4 to 6 p.m. Home 887.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, No. 176. — Meets every first Saturday in the Royal Arcanum Chambers, 592 Union St. President, J. O. Gagnon; Vice-President, 2674 Waverley St.; James Philip, Secretary-Treasurer, Room 35, Herald Bldg., 274 Herald Pl. Sec.-Treasurer, 7489. Business hours: 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Saturdays: 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS, 249. — Meets every Friday at 8 p.m., 1212 St. Catherine East. President, O. Drolet, 253 Desjardins; Maisonnette; Recording Secretary, Arthur Charret, 351 1/2 St. Catherine East; President, Elias Gauthier, 82 Sherbrooke St. West; recording-secretary, J. J. Dillon, 838, 43rd Avenue, Saint-Hubert; Sec.-Fin.-Arch. Secy, A. Graham, 1091 Evelyn St. Verdun.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD STATIONARY FIRE-AND-OTHERS. — Meeting every 2nd and 4th Tuesday of the month at Monument National, Room 15. President, G. Gilmore, 7 McLeod; Fin.-Sec.: John Pattwell, 203 Murray; Rec. Corresponding Secretary, T. Straps, 1653 Verdun Avenue, Verdun.

L'UNION 1558 DES CHARPENTIERS MAISONNEUVE. — Assemblée tous les vendredis à 8 heures, 1558, Ontario Est. Maisonnette. Président, J. E. Vignat, 502 Pie IX; Secrétaire-archiviste: G. Proulx, 974 Herald Pl. Sec.-Treas. Arch. Secy, J. E. Dellisle, 1645 Cartier.

N'ACHETEZ que des PRODUITS portant l'ETIQUETTE de l'Union

Etiquette de la Fédération Américaine du Travail
American Federation of Labor Label



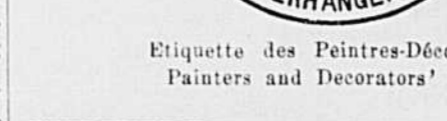
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Tobacco Workers' Label



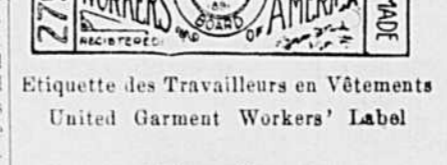
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Boot and Shoe Workers Repair Shops Label



Etiquette des Peintres-Décorateurs
Painters and Decorators' Label



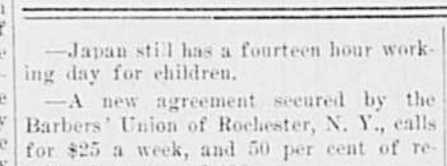
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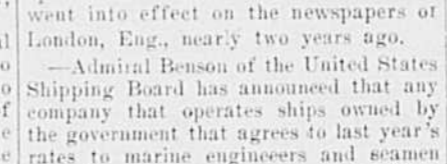
Etiquette des Boulangers
Bakers' Label



Etiquette des Métiers Alliés de l'Imprimerie
Allied Printing Trades' Label



Etiquette des Ferblantiers Couvreurs
Sheet Metal Workers' Label



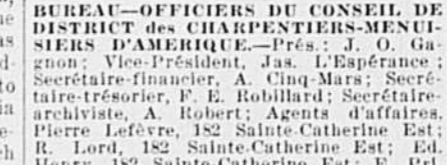
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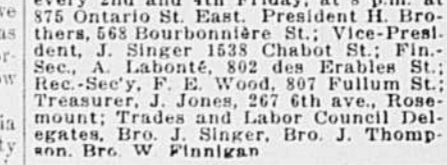
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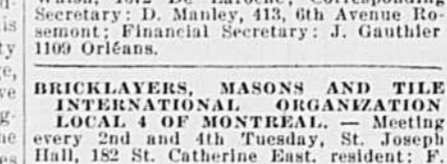
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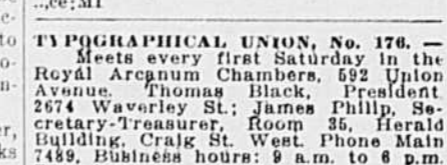
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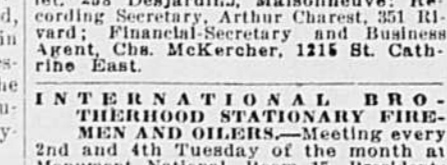
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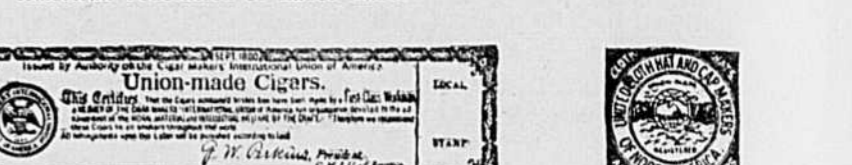


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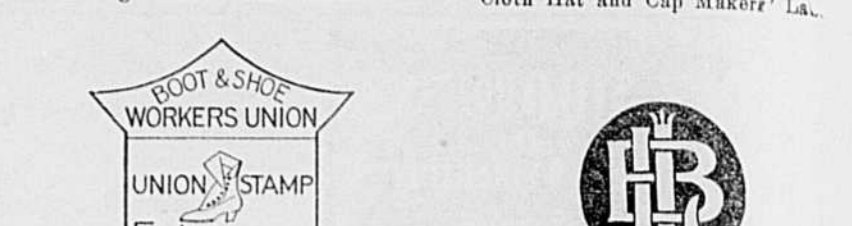


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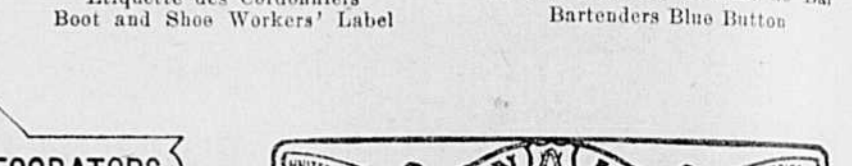
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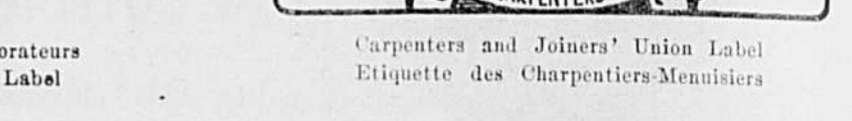
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Tobacco Workers' Label



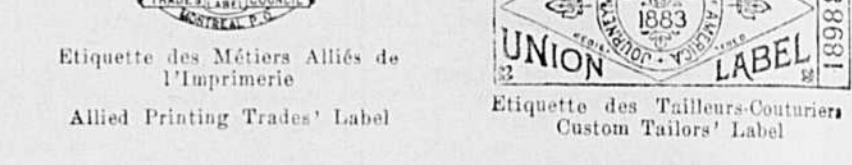
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Boot and Shoe Workers Repair Shops Label



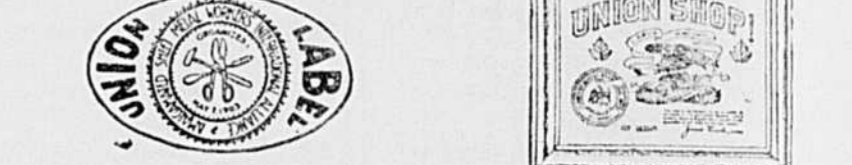
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Painters and Decorators' Label



Etiquette des Travailleurs en Vêtements
United Garment Workers' Label



Etiquette des Boulangers
Bakers' Label



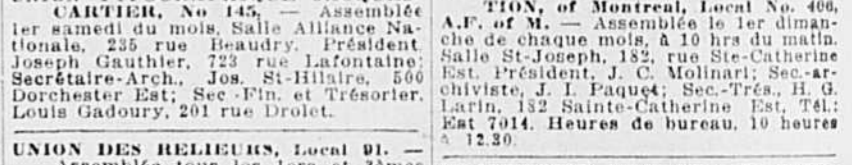
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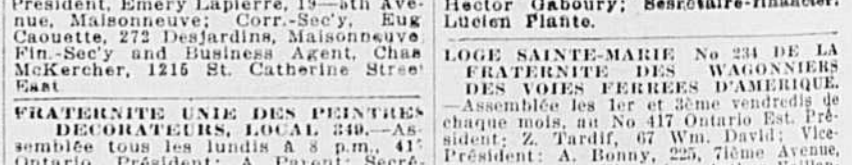
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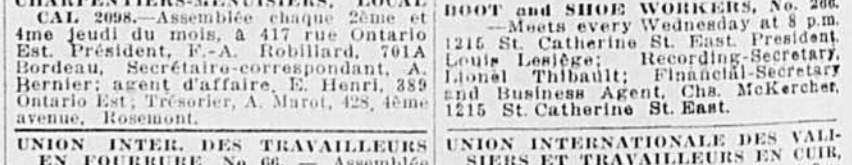
Etiquette des Barbiers
Barbers' Union Label



Etiquette des Charpentiers-Ménisiers
Carpenters and Joiners' Union Label



Etiquette des Tailleurs-Couturiers
Custom Tailors' Label



Etiquette des Tailleurs-Couturiers
Custom Tailors' Label



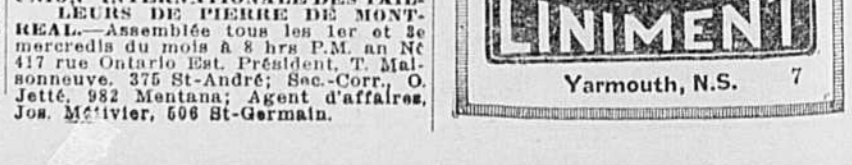
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