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Great War Veterans Demand Conscription of Wealth

"A RICH MAN'S WAR," MAINLY,
"POOR MAN'S FIGHT."

(We herewith reproduce in full the G.W.V.A. declaration on the "Conscription of Wealth." We are perfectly in agreement with the main provisions of this policy, so far as applied to finance. The awakening we anticipated in the minds of the returned soldiers is maturing at a rapid pace, and if the advance becomes accelerated, we may look for a rapid increase in contributors to the Socialist philosophy.)

This is a war that was ordered by rich men and old men and has been fought mainly by young men and poor men. To-day the rich men and the old men live in terror lest they may be made to pay the heavy price in hoarded treasure which this war has cost. In the ultimate it is the love of power and greed of money that has brought the world to this pass. The desire in every country of one class to dominate over the life of all other classes passed into the ambition of the most materialistic of all European communities to exercise domination over all its rivals. We, the peoples of the allied democracies, will yet be able to thwart this ambition, but it is still an undetermined question whether a limited class in each country may not be left with complete economic power over the destinies of the mass of their fellow citizens. Sooner or later the testing time is bound to come, whether the allied states will emerge as real democracies or as financial oligarchies camouflaged as democracies. To which of the two ideals the Union Government gives its allegiance, will largely depend upon their attitude towards the problem of future taxation.

Already our debt has passed the billion dollar mark and every year that the war lasts must see an addition of at least four hundred million dollars. We have great natural resources, though their volume is often exaggerated by enthusiasts, but we have only a scanty population to develop them and the necessary capital may not be forthcoming after the war in limitless quantities. It is all very well to be comforted with assurances that Germany is piling up an even greater load of indebtedness than any of the allied democracies, but it is a poor consolation and will not lighten our own future burdens, especially as indemnities are probably now out of the question. Herefore, despite the excess profits tax and the modest income tax lately inaugurated, our government has insisted on providing the main sinews of war by loans instead of taxation, and great play has been made of the success of their various loans.

Ever since the war began there has been a bitter argument between two financial schools, one of which urges the attempt to pay our debts by taxation, while the other advocates the continuance of the system of bonds and loans. The argument in favor of financing the war largely by loans is based on the idea that thereby we take part of the burden of taxation off the present, and put it on future generations. Such might be the case if many of our bonds were sold abroad, but almost all of them have been sold within our own boundaries. The result is that the loans mean taking the same amount of money at the same date, mainly from the same pockets, by compelling the same economies as would have been the case if heavier taxes had been levied. The process of paying the loans will consist of taking from the Canadian people as tax payers the same amount that must be paid in that year to the Canadian people as bond holders. What the loans do accomplish is to give the richer individuals of the community the opportunity of being the receivers of other people's taxes. Since the life and business of the present day is in any case shouldering the burden of providing the funds for the war, it is surely the fairer course to find as much money as possible by taxes rather than by loans, unless we think it a fair deal that those who are now able to take few or no bonds shall be loaded in the years to come with taxes payable not to those who took just their proper share, but to those who had surplus wealth to take an exceedingly large share.

ENRICHING PROFITEERS.

What this process also means is that because our wealthy classes, in so far as they are spending less than their income, prefer to get richer by the war instead of poorer, the government and the people of Canada are really paying for the war twice over, once directly to the soldiers, officials, contractors and munitioneers, and a second time in the annual interest and sinking fund, which will have to be paid on loans that might well have been to a large extent taxes. Loans at a high rate of interest are bad national economy, and in reality bear very heavily upon the producers and workers of the country. We are, however, unhappily aware that there is a large and contemptible class of people in Canada who are extremely anxious to add to their personal fortunes by the war, or who, as some patriots have shamelessly announced, will be heroically content to see no diminution of their hoards.

Some of the more reactionary members of the Government have been at pains to deny any intention

of conscripting wealth, but most of the advertisements and incentives to buy bonds are based upon the plea that the loans were guaranteed by the right of the Canadian State to all the income and all the property of every citizen within its bounds. "Your loans," they said in fact, "must be safe with the Government since the State has the power to draw upon all the resources of the nation for their repayment." The lesson is obvious that if loans are only safe by reason of the ability to conscript wealth, the conscription of wealth must become a necessity if the loans reach the point where ordinary taxation cannot repay them. Sir Thomas White, on the one hand, has assured investors that their loans are safe because the State has the power of conscripting wealth, and simultaneously has assured the financiers that he has no intention of conscripting wealth. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the Government will not conscript wealth—until it is compelled to do so.

There must be an end of this miserable alliance of patriotism and business, this confusion of public with financial policy. The war is a necessary war and a popular war, and the Canadian people pledged themselves on December 17th to see it through. The people have the will, the Government has the power to commandeer all the financial resources necessary to the efficient prosecution of the war. The money which we have lately raised will soon be exhausted. There has, be it noted, never been any declaration as to what percentage of each loan consists of conversions from the previous loan. But, be that as it may, the voluntary system in finance will in the long run as surely fail as in the shorter run it failed in the military field, and to recognize that it is already beginning to fail is the first duty of our finance minister.

CONSCRIPTION INEVITABLE.

Conscription of wealth in some form being inevitable, we are confronted with the alternative of a heavy increase in taxation or a levy on capital. The very prospect of the latter idea will cause a shudder in many plutocratic bosoms, but it has no terrors for Mr. Bonar Law, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, who recently declared as his considered opinion that it must be regarded as a possible contingency in Britain. When the war is ended our taxpayers will be called upon to find for the annual charge of the country and the payment of interest on the debt, no less a sum than three hundred million dollars per annum. A large proportion of this money, at least one-third, will go towards keeping in idleness a numerous section of the community who otherwise would be compelled to work and add to the general wealth. The tariff offers no hope of heavier revenues, and a heavy income tax seems

(Continued on page Two)

LIBERAL VICTORY IN MONTREAL CITY ELECTION CAUSES WILD DISORDER.

Jacobs Hailed as Protector of the Red Light District by Large Crowd Who Demand a New Election.

Socialist Growth is Shaking the Old Order in Montreal.

Jacobs, Lib. 2,000
Buhay, Socialist 1,400

Stormy scenes took place on the announcement being made that Jacobs had been elected in opposition to Buhay the Socialist candidate for St. Louis Ward. A crowd of 5,000 pelted him with mud and missiles, the appeal of the Socialist speakers saving him from serious bodily injury. The crowd were deeply incensed at the manner in which Jacobs' campaign had been carried through, claiming that he was elected by "Dead men and repeaters' votes.

His main support, apparently, had come from the red light district. The windows of the Canadian Eagle were smashed in. The crowd then paraded the streets, demanding a new election, and cheering for Michael Buhay and Socialism. Buhay was then carried shoulder-high through St. Catharines street to St. Denis. It was the most remarkable demonstration ever witnessed in Montreal.

The growth of Socialist sentiment is causing deep concern to the radical machine. (No distinction being made between the Radical machine and the Tory machine so far as methods are concerned.) Two years ago Shubert, Socialist, polled 185 votes, no wonder the rapid increase is causing a flutter in the Capitalist camp. Socialism has indeed become a menace, particularly in the St. Louis Ward. Rebecca Buhay, the sister of the candidate, sends a letter of thanks to the National Headquarters, expressing thanks for their generous financial assistance. Many prominent Socialist speakers, including Assemblyman Waldman, of New York, and James Simpson, of Toronto, addressed the electors. This is the time every worker should fall into line. The tide is with us.

Old Age Pensions.

(Hon. Thomas White, M.P., Minister of Finance.)

While it is a tribute to the humanitarian instincts and kindly hearts of all the members of the House that theoretically they feel kindly disposed towards an old age pension scheme, they do not hesitate to say to me—that any such legislation now would be decidedly in advance of public opinion and consequently unwarranted.

I have advanced the argument in regard to public opinion and the fact that in my view this kind of legislation is premature. But the financial side cannot be lost sight of by that 75 or 80 per cent. of the people, who I say, are not keenly interested in the matter.

THE INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS AND THE NEW WAR OF GERMANY AGAINST RUSSIA.

The "Arbeiter Zeitung" on February 19th, writes that: "Now, in truth, it is no longer the same war as in 1914, protecting Germany against the Cossack hordes. The new war of Germany against Russia is not our war and must not become our war. The secret treaty with the Ukraine must not be a pretext for sending troops to help the Rada."

In speaking thus, the paper voices the opinion of the Socialist Parliamentary group. In fact, on February 20th, Dr. Adler declared that the Socialists would vote against war credits because Austria has no longer to maintain a war of defence.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

At the sitting of the Socialist National Council in France, on February 17th, Vandervelde, Belgian Minister and President of the I.S.B., said: "The number of men, who, on either side of the trenches, believe in a decision on the field of battle is diminishing. Whether they are right or wrong, the fact is there, and it is impossible not to recognize it. . . . Under these conditions, it is inevitable for the working classes in all countries to count less on governments than on themselves to solve the formidable problems arising out of the war."

THE ANTI-MILITARIST STRUGGLE IN SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland the anti-militarist struggle seems to be forging ahead. A very large number of resolutions protesting against the militarisation of labor, and the treatment of deserters and refractaires, have been passed by various labor organizations in Basle, Berne, Zurich and la Chaux-de-Fonds. At the end of Jan-

uary, a special meeting of the woodworkers passed the following resolutions:

"The Swiss Association of Trades Unions and the Executive of the Social Democratic Party, are asked to present the following ultimatum to the Federal Council: (1) The scheme for the introduction of the national service to be wholly withdrawn, and deserters and refractaires already mobilized to be released; (2) To provide for the labor necessary for an intensification of our agricultural production, demobilization of the army to begin immediately, and to be completed by May 1st, with the exception of a small number of troops necessary for the prevention of smuggling; (3) The plenary powers accorded to the Federal Council on the outbreak of war, to be abolished by the Federal Assembly; (4) If these demands are not complied with a general strike to be proclaimed immediately and the Federal Council to be made to resign, and to be re-elected by the people."

The left Socialist Party and Press, of course, supports the movement vigorously, threatening a general strike against compulsory military service in any form, and on account of the Socialist pressure, the Government had to withdraw the clause in their scheme relating to the enrolment of all Swiss citizens. But this has, naturally, not satisfied the Socialists, who demand equal just treatment for their foreign comrades. Thus the "Volksrecht" of Jan. 19th says: "The Swiss Socialists will maintain their position not only as a party which consistently stands for democratic principles, but also as a member of the international proletariat. As such, it will never regard the question of deserters and refractaires as one lying outside itself. The proletariat has common interests

which must be defended in common. The struggle will not be only half carried out, it will be continued and will extend far beyond the limits of national service.

DISCHARGED SOLDIERS' DESIRE FOR PEACE.

A congress of French invalided and discharged soldiers held Sunday, February 24th, passed unanimously a resolution of sympathy with their comrades at the front, and together with them, demanded the conclusion of a speedy peace.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS IMPRISONED.

Comrade Lazzari, secretary-general of the Italian Socialist Party, and Comrade Bombacci, assistant secretary, were brought on Wednesday last before a Rome tribunal charged with carrying on propaganda calculated to diminish the country's power of resistance, and were sentenced, the former to two years and eleven months' confinement and a fine of 3,900 lire, and the latter to two years and four months' confinement and a fine of 2,100 lire, in addition to payment of costs. Various witnesses, among them being Comrades Treves, Turati, Prampolini, and Morgari, maintained that the Socialist Party considered itself bound to keep the pledges given at the International Socialist Congress at Basle in 1912. It was their duty to remain apart from the war and to do everything to secure peace. All the witnesses named declared their solidarity with Lazzari and adhered to the contents of the circulars.

THE RUSSIAN LOANS.

On January 31 the French Government asked the Chamber to authorize an expenditure of about £16,000,000 for "advances to Allied or friendly governments." On enquiry it turned out that grant was wanted mainly to pay the interest on Russian loans to French holders of the

stock. The Socialists, therefore, strongly opposed it, especially as M. Klotz, the Finance Minister, would not say whether the Government proposed to go on paying the interest indefinitely. France's allies, he said, would have to be consulted on the point. The government secured a majority of 360 against 111, but a speech made by Moutet is said to have made a great impression.

FRANCE AND THE RUSSIAN LOANS.

Marius Moutet, in the French Chamber, made a speech in which he scourged the financiers who had supported Czarism. He said: "It appears as if Russia denies her obligations just now. In 1905, however, when a revolutionary government was formed for the first time in Russia, it asked that the policy of loans which constitutes a permanent interference in Russian internal affairs should be abandoned. This was refused and now the consequences of this mistake is being felt. Those who were confident must pay for their confidence. Are the war losses going to be repaid in full like those of the holders of Russian investments? Is the Russian debt going to be a French national debt? The Russian bankruptcy is your bankruptcy."

RUSSIA.

Comrade Peter Petroff has been appointed president of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Soviet.

* * *

A Petrograd Telegraph Agency telegram to M. Litvinoff reports that thousands of German deserters are arriving in the Russian lines. Revolutionary movements are making progress, and several regiments have refused to move to the front line trenches. The German generals are perplexed by the situation created, and are demanding strong measures to be taken for the establishment of discipline.

GREAT WAR VETERANS Demand Conscription of Wealth.

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the inevitable alternative. Consider what that means. It means that we are going to say to every struggling professional man faced with a greatly increased cost of living; to every merchant handicapped by scarcity of capital; to every farmer, confronted with falling prices and higher wages; to every manufacturer, anxious to transform his business to peace conditions: "Carry on, but remember that for the rest of your life, if you make a success of your business, forty cents of every dollar you make is going to be taken from you. If you just contrive to make ends meet, we will probably be content with about twenty-five cents on the dollar." Is such a state of things going to increase the national energy and enterprise and conduce to the regeneration of Canada? Men cannot work with keenness and efficiency, if burdened with a load of debt that cannot possibly be repaid, and no nation weighed down by a burden of taxation that may sap its life for the coming generations can hope to regain its lost stability. But such is the fate that may confront us unless other courageous measures are taken.

TAX CAPITAL.

The obvious alternative is the enforcement of the financial conscription, by a levy on capital. Why

should there not be such, either a direct levy of ten per cent. of the amount of each individual's wealth or a grade scale of levy after the manner of death duties? There would, of course, have to be a minimum exemption of say two thousand dollars and all domestic furniture and house paraphernalia. The levy might be payable in instalments spread for a certain period of years and there ought to be a large discount for cash payments. Large land holders could surrender ten per cent. of their holdings. Holders of war loan stocks would simply have ten per cent. of their holdings cancelled. In Canada we could at least wipe out two-thirds of our national debt by such a policy and leave ourselves with a comparatively clean sheet to begin our schemes of reconstruction.

Such a partial conscription of wealth, falling principally upon people over military age, would be some small balance to the conscription of manhood by means of which the elderly people, themselves only suffering vicariously, have so far managed to throw most of the burden of the war on the young. Our elderly people who have given so freely of their relatives, will do well to think about giving something of their own; it will be better for them in the end. Wipe off most of the national debt and direct taxation can be levied at a modest figure. It is true they will have less to leave their children, but

they will leave them free from a herbage of national debt that might some day lead to national bankruptcy.

The obligation of property to pay for the expenses of war is as old as history itself. Throughout the middle ages most landed estates in Europe were originally granted and held solely on condition of war services. Tenures of property have changed, but the principle still holds good, that the people who have most to lose by a national defeat should contribute most to the cost of victory. Finance ministers should not regard how much they take from an individual, but rather how much they leave him. Ten per cent. of the income of a man who earns \$1,500 means a serious curtailment for his household, but 50 per cent. of the funds of the plutocrat who has \$50,000 per annum leaves him with a very ample margin for the necessities and reasonable enjoyments of life.

AN UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENT.

There is no argument against the justice of the conscription of wealth on a large scale. The financiers and plutocrats rarely attempt to produce their objections in public. A man gives his life, or if he is wounded, part of his life. He or his dependents are rewarded with a very modest pension, though it is calculated that the total annual cost of the pei-

sions will exceed in Canada thirty million dollars. If the lenders of money and the buyers of Victory Bonds, are to get all their money back, and in addition we are to pay them sixty million dollars per annum, there is not a shadow of justice in such a division of the recompense for "the defenders" of their country.

If the financiers who furnish arguments for the prosperous classes and the politicians who tamely accept them think that the soldiers and the workmen of this country are going to pour millions of dollars annually into the maw of their masters, they ought to read European papers and keep their ears to the ground.

It isn't how much an insect eats that makes him a bedbug, it's how he gets it. It isn't how much a man has that makes him a capitalist, it's how he gets it.

Capitalism makes criminals and then punishes them.

The workers build all the houses and then pay rent to live in the worst of them. The workers dig all the coal and then pay a profit to someone to sell it to them.

Socialists demand that wheat shall be raised to make bread instead of to make profits. Is there anything unreasonable in this demand?

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL IN CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Measure Providing for Universal Woman Suffrage Throughout the Dominion Introduced by Premier.

The Government's Universal Woman's Suffrage Bill, which was introduced by the Premier, Sir Robert Borden, was read a first time. The bill provides that every female person who is a British subject, over 21 years of age, and who has resided three months in Canada prior to voting, and who is not disqualified, on account of race, blood or original nationality to vote at provincial elections, shall have the right to vote at Federal elections. The reference to race, blood or nationality makes provision for Indians, Japanese, Chinese and alien enemies.

The definition of a British subject is as follows:

- (a) Born a British subject and unmarried or married to a British subject and who has not become the subject of a foreign power.
- (b) If she has herself been personally naturalized as a British subject and has not since become the subject of a foreign power.
- (c) If, being a married woman and personally an alien, she has become a British subject by marriage or by the naturalization of her father as a British subject while she was a minor, and, in either case, has not done anything to forfeit or lose her status as a British subject, such a woman does not lose her right to vote by marrying an alien, unless he is an alien enemy.

MOONEY'S REPRIEVE ASKED BY PRESIDENT.

President Wilson has telegraphed Governor Stephens, of California, asking for executive clemency for Thos. J. Mooney, now under death sentence, it became known recently. Mooney was convicted in connection with a bomb explosion in San Francisco in a preparedness day parade, July 22, 1916, which caused the death of ten persons and injured forty others.

CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION MAKES DEMAND FOR NON-INTERFERENCE IN TARIFF REGULATIONS.

The attitude taken by the western grain growers has occasioned a flutter in the manufacturers' camp. The circumstances which call for such worthy ebullitions from this august assembly is the demand made by the grain growers for the reduction of tariffs on farm implements as a means of facilitating production. A statement made to the press by the manufacturers to the effect that a reduction of tariff would seriously jeopardize the employment of returned soldiers, may readily be taken as so much camouflage designed to protect vested interests. The claim put forward that the government had promised not to interfere with tariffs during the course of the war (in which is cited a statement made by Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of agriculture during the recent campaign) is quoted as a breach of faith on the part of the administration.

It would do us good to think that the manufacturers are now coming into their own. Tariffs are merely a

thinly disguised means of robbing the consumer at the best, and a means of protecting certain groups of manufacturers on this side of the imaginary line against their more powerful rivals on the other. It will be interesting to note how their protégé, Mr. Borden, handles the job, as he is invariably a very plastic person where the interests of the manufacturers are concerned. He is in a peculiar dilemma, standing, as it were, between "love and duty." We hope, however (without very much ground we admit) that he may decide to do his duty even though it necessitate a painful separation from his early love, or by fouling his own nest.

HIDEOUS BOLSHEVISM.

Rev. Prof. Johnston Preaches Baccalaureate Sermon at Victoria College.

"Great and perilous days are ahead of us, something is coming to birth which might be the hideous monster of Bolshevism," said Rev. Prof. Johnston in the Baccalaureate sermon delivered at Victoria College Chapel recently. "We must keep steady in this time of change," said Prof. Johnston. "We can never jump wildly, madly or ignorantly into truth. Truth builds on the past and erects no castles in the air. We can escape slavery, but we can never escape the eternal verities."

What the reverent gent observes is not the grinning gargoyle of Bolshevism—but Capitalism. Had the Bolsheviki been as blind as the teachers in the theological seminaries, they would not have seen the necessity of abolishing wage slavery, an institution for which the reverends have a pronounced reverence.

Socialists of New York Resolve to Have the Hungry Children Fed.

New York Socialist aldermen endeavor to have the hungry fed—to this end a resolution is brought in, which resulted in the Tammany candidates sending it over to the Board of Education. The purpose of this move is to rob the Socialists of any claim in its introduction as there are no Socialists on the Education Board. The measure is likely to be carried through and as usual "Big Biz will claim the credit, but the fact of the measure having to wait for the coming of Socialist aldermen before being introduced does not reflect creditably for their possession of supposed "Superior brains."

...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS...

The Dominion executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

The Ontario provincial executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee—Meets on the 1st and 3rd Sunday of each month. All comrades desiring to join party or organize Locals are requested to write, F. G. Wetzel, Box 151, Vanguard, Sask.

Locals and Executive Bodies may have their Advs. in the Directory for the sum of \$3.00 per year.

SUMMER MILK PRICES SAME AS IN WINTER.

Ontario producers decide to stick to winter prices for the sale of milk. Some of the producers were in favor of increasing the price from \$2.50 to \$2.75 per eight-gallon can. The convention decided to continue at the same rate until such time as they could ascertain the exact cost of milk production.

LORD BEAVERBROOK.

Max Aitkin, the young Canadian company promoter, who blew into Britain with his easily acquired millions some years ago, seems to have burrowed himself into the nerve centre of British politics, and without displaying any particular capacity therefor himself. Having figuratively been inoculated with the blue blood of the British aristocracy, he has rather appropriately selected "Beaverbrook" as his lordly title. His "ludship" has, however, failed to display in his career the constructive qualifications of his nimble namesake.

FAILS TO COMPREHEND.

In an article on Mr. Secretary McAdoo of the U.S. Treasury, the editor of the "Saturday Evening Post" expresses his inability to comprehend why great executive talents applied to the exploitation of the people for personal aggrandisement should receive public condemnation when similar capacity unselfishly devoted to social service commands public respect. Uncongenial ideas are slow to penetrate the minds of the highly-paid intellectual slaves of capitalism.—Canadian Co-operator.

PREAMBLE — SASKATCHEWAN LABOR PARTY.

This organization shall be known as the Labor Party of Saskatchewan, and shall have for its object the maintaining of an active political party for the purpose of securing to the workers of this province adequate representation in the various legislative and representative bodies of this country.

Look around and you will see the fertile earth that can yield all things needful for all. Look again and see your fellow creatures struggling and sweating, suffering and debauching, fighting and plundering and oppressing each other the wide world over.

GOMPERS—MIMIC.

Again Samuel Gompers has achieved the almost impossible; a greater stultification of himself and the movement which he leads.

It is announced that he has cabled his despatch to Russia urging the Soviets to fight Germany to the last.

What Wilson does, this poor mimic follows, and follows belatedly and foolishly quite a long distance after.

To him initiative of a strong, a resolute and a determined labor policy seems impossible, and he has earned already for himself the derision and the anger of British laborites by his complete misconception of the international duties of labor.

This Soviet cable was a particular case of super-stultification. The man has not once, but many times, denounced the Bolshevist control in Russia. He has lambasted it in speech and print, and he went out of his way to outdo the kept press in its denunciation of the only solid effort ever made anywhere and at any time for real industrial democracy.

And now when he thinks a little temporary approval and master class flattery may be secured, he announces that he has cabled to those very men whom he has denounced, misrepresented, insulted and upon whom he has heaped all kinds of his petty odium, urging them to fight Germany to the last. Human stupidity could go very little farther at its utmost.—Seattle Daily Call.

Senate Not Progressive.

(W. F. Maclean, M.P.)

I object to the continuation in this country of an irresponsible body, in office for life, having an equality of say with the peoples' representatives, elected by the people. It is not democratic, it is not American, it is not Canadian, it is not British, it is not progressive—and the people will stop it in a very short time if there is not a change.

"Suffer little children to come unto Me," said the great-hearted Founder of Christianity, yet throughout so-called Christianity millions of child slaves are annually crushed to death under the wheels of capitalism.

Making people work is not one of the tenets of Socialism. Socialism merely purposes that every man shall have a chance to work—they can work or not, just as they please. But he that will not work, neither shall he eat.

The Centenary of KARL MARX

Special Number

OF THE CANADIAN FORWARD

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ONTARIO LABOR FORMS A PROVINCIAL SECTION OF THE CANADIAN NATIONAL LABOR PARTY.

The convention was called by the Dominion Trades Congress Executive, in accordance with instructions received from Congress at last session. Secretary P. M. Draper, representing the Congress, was on the platform. H. J. Halford, of Hamilton, was elected chairman, and James Simpson, of Toronto, as secretary. The organizations represented were convened under the following heading: Labor organizations, United Farmers of Ontario, Socialist Party of North America, Social Democratic Party of Canada, Fabian Society, Social Reconstruction Group of the Theosophic Society, Single Tax Organization, Provincial Trades and Labor Council, Labor party organizations and co-operatives.

There were 120 delegates present, 56 of whom were representing Socialist bodies direct, and several indirectly through labor unions.

A motion endorsing the action of the Congress in calling the convention, and their recommendation that the organization should follow the line of the British Labor Party, was moved by Delegate Macdonald and carried by a large majority.

After considerable discussion in relation to the form of procedure it was finally decided that each section represented should elect three delegates from their respective groups, and that these constitute a Resolution Committee with instructions to bring in a comprehensive resolution which would present a possible foundation for the new organization.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION.

"The name of the party shall be the Ontario Section of the Canadian Labor Party.

"The membership comprises the trades unions, Socialist societies, co-operative societies, trades councils, local labor parties and farmers, together with those men and women who are individual members of a local labor party and who subscribe to the constitution and programme of the party.

"Objects: (a) To organize and maintain in Parliament, Provincial and Federal, a political Labor party; (b) To co-operate with kindred organizations in joint political or other action in harmony with the party constitution and standing orders; (c) To give effect, as far as may be practical, to the principles from time to time approved by the party conference; (d) To secure for the producers, by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof; (e) Generally to promote the political, social and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or brain for the means of life."

We Want Voting Power.

The discussion on the resolution may be summarized as follows:

Delegate Roebuck, of Temiskaming, said: "The thing we are out for is voting power. I am opposed to restricting it to local organizations, or to the workers themselves."

Delegate Flatman, of Hamilton: "I am anxious that the strongest barricade should be erected against the old line politicians." He condemned the "win the war politician," also the tactics used at last election by the "Windy War Politician," including his resume of our political leaders by the statement that, had it been ne-

cessary, the government would have given the vote to chinamen in order to win the election.

Delegate Lewis, Machinists' Union 438, claimed that class distinctions must be recognized and saw no reason for those who stood between the two classes being allowed to enter the party. "We know," he said, "that we are wage-slaves pure and simple. Our masters are the capitalist class and we are forming a party to fight this class. When members of the bourgeoisie come down below their own level we know they come down for their own benefit."

Wage Slaves and Workers.

Delegate Ashplant, of London, admitted that it was a fight to a finish between the workers and capitalists, but wished a distinction drawn between wage slaves and working class. The lawyer, doctor or minister who depends for his living on what was not profit, rent or interest, which, he maintained, was the line of demarcation between capital and labor, could consider himself an honest working man.

The Viper Within.

Delegate—As I understand it, this is a convention of working class organizations to take out of the hands of the capitalists the government of the country. But what protection are we going to have from the vipers that are now in the ranks of our own party?

Draper Rebukes Delegates.

Dominion Secretary Draper rebuked delegates who stated that the British Labor party was a wing of the Liberal party, and emphatically stated that the British party had demonstrated that it was the equal of any party in the world. The party should not be afraid to rub shoulders with even the old line politicians. "It is no use labelling the old politician as a scoundrel," said Mr. Draper. "He has dealt with us; let us deal with him." In Great Britain the Labor party had elected over forty candidates, while in Canada, except in East Hamilton and a very few other places, there had not been a working class candidate elected to either Federal or Provincial Houses.

TEXT OF AMENDMENT.

Mrs. G. Custance wanted clause (d) to be amended, to read:

"To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

Model Democracy.

Mayor McBride, of Brantford, was the first to turn on the extremists. Canada, he said, had the most democratic form of government in the world. "If the government is not democratized, we are the people to blame," he stated, amid applause. "All we have got to do is to elect men to Parliament to bring about the reforms we desire. We need no revolution to make things lovely in Canada."

Private Varley said it was absolutely absurd to try to force Socialist doctrines on the meeting.

Delegate Bell introduced a radical Socialist motion to the effect that only a working class political party, with its immediate aim the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth, could permanently benefit the working class.

Mr. James Simpson was in favor of



(By Phillips Thompson, Oakville, Ont.)

It is time for Socialists to raise the old slogan—"No fusion, No compromise, No political trading."

The new Labor Party is being patted on the head and is receiving some pretty compliments from the Grit and Tory press. But will they support its candidates at election time? Not on your life!

I have always given Comrade James Simpson credit for his good work in the past for the cause of Socialism. But no man, however great his services, has a right to pull down the Red Flag and trade on his record as a Socialist in order to gratify his personal ambition.

If Socialists are going to abandon the all-important work of propaganda to engage in office-hunting and vote-catching in combination with a heterogeneous crowd with only one idea in common, that of success at the polls, they might just as well dissolve their organization and join one of the old parties. There they might at least have a fair chance at the loaves and fishes.

Our Prohibitionist friends, the great majority of whom voted for Union Government and the war policy, are now finding out what militarism means. They see their litera-

the adoption of the clause of the British Labor party, but not the extreme resolution.

Mighty Dirty Feet.

Mr. Good, of the United Farmers, said he was satisfied that either of the amendments would not be in harmony with the objects of the farmers' organizations, which were numerically strong. President Halbert, of the United Farmers, said he was anxious for harmony between the farmers and the workers, so that both might fight for the great common people who for so long had been used as a door-mat, and, heaven knows, that some of the feet have been mighty dirty.

Mr. James H. Ballantyne, as sponsor for the resolution in committee, said that the convention was trying to anticipate results of things still to be achieved.

The extreme amendment was supported by only 36, and the British Labor clause by 60, while the resolution was carried by an almost unanimous vote.

A Policy Committee.

The committee appointed to draw up a policy and orders, to be later submitted to the various organizations, is as follows: H. J. Halford, Hamilton; James Simpson, Toronto; Mayor McBride, Brantford; J. H. Ballantyne, Toronto; H. G. Fester, Hamilton, and J. W. Morrison, Secretary of the United Farmers, Toronto.

Secretary Draper, of the Trades and Labor Congress, said that his organization would finance the new party until it was on its feet.

ture proscribed and their leaders threatened with imprisonment. They are getting just what they voted for.

The proposal of the Great War Veterans to compel aliens to work for subsistence wages is a most insidious attempt to wreck the trade unions. It would be a great snap for the labor skinner, wouldn't it, to have a large percentage of their employees bound to stick to their jobs on pain of internment and with no inducement to make any effort to better labor conditions, or join in a strike? But if the loyalty and patriotism cry is properly worked, possibly the workers will stand for it. And possibly not.

Over half a century ago there was a great agitation over the case of a fugitive slave named Anderson, who had escaped to Canada after killing a slave catcher who tried to arrest him. All Canadians, except a few inveterate Tories, rejoiced when the courts gave him his liberty. And today the great majority are hounding on the slave catchers and execrating the slaves who make a fight for liberty. We are retrograding towards barbarism very rapidly.

You cannot have Socialism without Socialists. And you cannot make Socialists by uniting for political action with a bunch that repudiates the principles of Socialism.

The capitalists of Britain, the United States and Canada, will be a sick and sorry lot before the reconstruction period after the war is over. Governments have discovered how easy it is to raise money for public purposes by taxing wealth and there will be lots of money needed. The great bulk of the people will be quite willing to support legislation to fry the fat out of the plutocrats, and when they are squeezed dry the turn of the middle class will come.

Write a letter to Premier Borden, or to the member for your constituency, backing up the protest of the International Bible Students' Association against the proscription of their literature. They are putting up a good fight against the meanest form of despotism—persecution on account of religious principles. Letters to Ottawa officials and M.P.'s go free of postage.

The most disgusting feature of Imperialism is the everlasting prate about "democracy," "freedom," justice," etc., in the mouths of men who perpetrate and justify the most brutal acts of tyranny. The Kaiser isn't the only despot who adds a perfectly needless hypocrisy to his other vices.

Police Magistrate Denison is an anachronism. If he had only lived two or three centuries ago he might have had the pleasure of hanging sheep-stealers, burning witches, and sentencing petty thieves and vagrants to be flogged at the cart's tail. And his name might have gone into history as a worthy compeer of the illustrious Judge Jeffries of the Bloody Assize.

No man can have a million dollars without forcing thousands to live in poverty.

What would be said of a man who sold his children's bread and clothing and spent the money on plate and jewels. But is not that just what the ruling class do and the result is poverty.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Correspondence—

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THE CANADIAN FORWARD,
363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



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April 10th, 1918

A NATIONAL LABOR PARTY.

Considerable space has been given to the consideration of the above stated proposition in this journal, both pro and con—and while we do not take upon ourselves the business of deciding the policy of the S.D.P., we may be permitted a few words on this important question without compromising the organization. We can justly claim to have carried out the wishes of the National Executive in presenting an open field for discussion upon this important matter, which we may add has done much in assisting our members to form an opinion as to the advisability of taking part in the formation of a Labor party. To express an editorial viewpoint, therefore, should not be taken in this instance as representing the attitude of the party, as this will ultimately be decided by convention—or by referendum vote. We make this statement in contravention of Local Kitchener No. 4 of Ontario's attitude "That the National Executive were compromising the attitude of the party," a statement that is absolutely baseless. Notwithstanding this wrong impression we regret very much that one of our locals should resign from the party on these supposed grounds. The views of the writer are precisely those accepted by the British Socialist party, and whose attitude is ably championed by J. Fineberg, a reprint of which is contained in the next issue of "Forward" under the heading of "Marxism and the Labor Party."

A Working Class Party.

There is tremendous power in the political, industrial and co-operative organizations of this country, and if properly directed could shake the whole fabric of capitalist society. With complete autonomy granted to each section of the federation we have little fear that the Socialist movement would lose its revolutionary character.

It is not organization that is lacking in the working class movement, it is the ability rightly and effectively to use it. The great trade unions frequently fritter away their power in protracted contests for halfpenny rises when the same effort could secure really valuable concessions from the master class. It is just like using a battery of artillery to kill a sparrow. By patient effort and sacrifice, by numberless strikes and struggles, the workers have built up their various organizations, so that to-day their mighty power overshadows society. The workers, however, seem too timid to utilize this power to the full in their own interests. Surely in these days of great changes and revolutions the workers ought not to rest satisfied with snatching a crumb here and a miserable exemption there. The whole country and all its resources is at their disposal if they will it. Their destiny is entirely in their own hands.

Abolition of Capitalism.

The power they possess, if rightly and intelligently exercised, would easily be the means of completely emancipating them from the tyranny of the capitalist class.

Their organizations ought to be frankly recognized as instruments for securing economic and social freedom, and not ends in themselves or means whereby the masters can keep them fettered. The three huge branches of the working class movement are subject to constant change. They are, each in their particular realm, reflexes of the present stage of economic development. They each have their particular functions to perform, and before each stretches a broad vista of usefulness. It is a mistake to neglect either, or to over-emphasize the importance of one to the detriment of the others. In the main they are so constituted as to provide expression for the rank and file, and it is possible for the workers to make them much more potent than they are at present. **The prime necessity is to concentrate them unitedly upon the definite task of overthrowing Capitalism, and substituting in its place the social democratic control and organization of the means of life.** It is Socialist knowledge, leading and inspiration which is needed. The requisite organization is here; all that is required is that it be conscientiously utilized for the purpose of accomplishing the Socialist objective. The mass of the working class require lifting out of the rut of petty compromises with Capitalism. The time is pregnant with formidable cataclysms and awakenings. To-day is the day of vital issues and views. The workers must resolve to break their shackles, to lift up their eyes and look out upon the world and realize how fine and fair it might be for them and theirs, and to play their part with boldness and determination in the stern and revivifying and ennobling revolution.

It is the conception of the Social Revolution which has vitalized the working class movement since its inception. **"The domination of one class," said Jaures, "is an attempt to degrade humanity"; and time after time humanity has made revolutionary endeavors to remove this degradation. Only in proportion as the movement kept its revolutionary origin in view has it progressed. For many years it has dragged and suffered in this country because it has been lacking in revolutionary inspiration. Its idealism has been lost amidst the fogs of petty compromise and capitalist conceptions of life. Now the workers must use their organizations to secure their complete emancipation.**

Poverty is no more necessary for the well-being of humanity than fleas are necessary for the well-being of a dog.

BERGER POLLS BIG VOTE IN STATE; HOAN RE-ELECTED AS MILWAUKEE MAYOR, WITH INCREASED MAJORITY.

Milwaukee, April 3.—Victor Berger, Socialist candidate for the United States Senate against Irvine L. Lenroot, Republican, and Joseph E. Davies, Democrat, has polled between 70,000 and 80,000 votes, it is estimated—the most remarkable vote ever cast for the Socialist ticket in this State.

Lenroot is elected over Davies, the administrative candidate, who had the active support of Vice-President Marshall during the last days of the campaign, by a plurality between 10,000 and 20,000.

The election was marked by the most outrageous intimidation at the polls, large employers setting guards in front of the polls in order to prevent their employes from voting for the Socialist ticket.

Socialists Sweep Milwaukee.

In Milwaukee the entire Socialist city ticket was swept into office, with Dan Hoan, as mayor, going back into office with an increased vote. A large number of aldermen were elected.

All through the State the business interests sent out vigilant squads, telling citizens how they should vote. The richer element placed their motor cars at the disposal of their agents in order to stem the tide that was setting in in Berger's favor.

As a last effort, the Milwaukee Leader, the Socialist office, issued an extra, which contained the final words of Berger on the election, as follows:

"The people of Milwaukee and Wisconsin to-day will express their will—whether it is to be for autocracy or democracy, laws for the suppression of free speech, the iron heel or constitutional rights, a long war or an early general and lasting peace"

Big Socialist Gains.

The Socialists made startling gains everywhere. They carried Milwaukee, Dodge, Sheboygan, Manitowoc and Wausau for Berger, and registered heavily in all the lake counties. It is estimated that 325,000 votes were cast, the largest in many years, of which Lenroot got 130,000; Davies 110,000, and Berger, 85,000.

The soldier vote was negligible, only 937 men casting ballots. There were only 2,100 eligible, the great percentage not having full citizenship.

COMING EVENTS.

Many well known Socialist writers and lecturers will contribute to the "May Day" issue of the Forward. All locals and sympathizers should order special bundles of this issue. In addition to the special writers a number of new features will appear in the way of heading designs—drawn by a Comrade in the movement, and presented to the Forward gratis as his contribution to the 5,000 drive. The special features are contributed by J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. The noted International Socialist, Phillip Snowden, Socialist M. P. Sylvia Pankhurst, Editor "Woman's Dreadnought," and noted suffragist, George Lansbury, Editor of "Herald." Dr. Scott Nearing, Rand School Lecturer. Mrs. G. Richardson, President of the Manitoba Woman's Suffrage Association. Fred Flatman, Lecturer, Hamilton, Ont. E. C. Fairchild, English Lecturer.

Eugene Debs and Morris Hillquit will also subscribe.

WOMAN'S COLUMN

A LETTER TO WOMEN.

I am sure the women who are interested in the women's crusade will be glad to know that our membership is rapidly growing.

I have recently visited Winnipeg, where I was invited by the president of the Women's Labor League to speak in the Labor Temple. My remarks were kindly received, many leaflets were signed at the close, and we organized for active work. Rev. William Gens and Mr. L. J. Dixon, M.P., also spoke.

In England and Scotland the work is going forward by leaps and bounds.

Is it not needed? My brother, of whom I have often told you, has just received a fourth court-martial sentence. This time it is "Two years' hard labor." His previous sentences have been 112 days, 6 months and 18 months, the latter commuted to 12 months. He is unconquered and unconquerable!

In Winnipeg David Wells was sentenced to two years imprisonment as a C.O. He died at Selkirk Asylum within a month of his arrest, driven mad by cruelty. Many other boys are being imprisoned. Many more will be.

And how little we are doing to preserve the ideal of liberty and freedom of conscience!

Once more I appeal to the mother-hearts. Please come forward and help; there is so much to do. If you are afraid—and I know the obstacles, just be brave and arise in the strength of loving womanhood and the way will all be clear. Not only is that my experience, but it is the experience of all who follow the inward light.

The poor suffering boys in the trenches, in the ambulance wagons, in the hospitals, and lying untended on the field of woe and death, cry to you—the boys in the prisons, brutally treated, starved, insulted, chained—cry to you; the poor boys in the asylums, driven mad by war, cry to you. Will you not answer?

In the holy name of motherhood, I appeal!

Gertrude Richardson.
Swan River.

Autocracy in Canada and Germany.

(T. A. Stevenson, Secretary Trades and Labor Council, Toronto.)

We must see that the masters do not divide us at this time, and the workers and soldiers should be united. The master class know that with the soldiers and workmen united Russian autocracy was overthrown. . . . Let the soldiers come with us and we can overthrow autocracy in Canada or Germany.

Speaking in the German Reichstag Herr Vogtherr, Independent Socialist, said: "We are not allowed to know the truth. The Fatherland Party is pursuing a bloodthirsty propaganda against foreign countries. We are sold body and soul to the military caste. We are pursuing an infamous war policy."

Yet there are some ardent stay-at-home patriots who are fond of saying to Socialists and others who oppose the war policy: "If you were to talk that way in Germany you would be shot." Shooting does not seem to have much terror for German Socialists. But suppose any Canadian had spoken his mind after the same fashion in the Ottawa Parliament, what would have happened?

Social Democrats Hold Convention

Report of Proceedings of the Manitoba Provincial Convention of the Social-Democratic Party.

(By the Secretary.)

The Social-Democratic Party in Manitoba held a very successful convention on Sunday, March 3rd. The convention took place in the Liberty Temple, the headquarters of the party in Winnipeg. The volume of business transacted, as well as the number of locals represented at this gathering, marks a record in the history of the party in this province.

D. Metlin occupied the chair during the whole time the convention was in session, which lasted from 2.30 in the afternoon till 8.30 in the evening. Great unanimity prevailed during the discussions on the various resolutions that were submitted and a remarkable determination was evidenced by every speaker to carry the gospel of Socialism among the masses in spite of the adverse and difficult times for educational work.

One of the most important resolutions adopted by the convention by an unanimous vote had regard to the Zimmerwalde Conference, and read as follows:

"That this convention, regarding the Zimmerwalde Conference as the nucleus of the Third International and as expressing the views of the Social Democratic Party of Canada ask the Dominion executive of the party to take the necessary steps to affiliate this party with the Zimmerwalde Conference."

The New Labor Party.

The attitude of the party to the newly formed Labor party of Canada was defined in the following resolution, which was passed by an overwhelming majority:

"The Manitoba Provincial convention of the Social Democratic Party of Canada in session assembled on the 3rd day of March, 1918, after having given careful consideration to the invitation of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to affiliate with the Labor Party of Canada, which is now in formation, declares its stand on this question as follows:

"Whereas the Labor Party of Canada cannot at present be considered as a Dominion organization and has not yet declared its principles and constitution, which would enable the Social Democratic Party to form an opinion about the Labor Party;

"Be it resolved that the Social Democratic Party in the Province of Manitoba leaves in abeyance its decision in regard to the above said invitation to affiliate with the Labor Party until such time when the latter will have adopted a platform and constitution.

"Be it further resolved that no member of the Social Democratic Party in Manitoba shall join the Labor Party or accept the nomination of this party for any public office or organize for this party.

"Be it further resolved that the Social Democratic Party in Manitoba does not consider it contrary to its constitution or the spirit of this resolution for its members to lecture under the auspices of the Labor party, provided they speak in harmony with the principles of the Social Democratic Party."

Endorse Bolsheviki.

In regard to the struggle of the Russian revolutionary proletariat with its capitalist class and the capitalist class of other countries, the following resolution was introduced and carried unanimously:

"The Manitoba Provincial Convention of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, in session assembled on the 3rd day of March, 1918, rejoicing over the overthrow of the capitalist class in Russia by the Russian proletariat under the leadership of the revolutionary wing of the Social Democratic Party of Russia—the Bolsheviki—resolves as follows:

"That this convention send greetings to the Peoples' Commissioners of Russia and the Russian revolutionary proletariat.

"And further we declare:

"Whereas the Government of Germany is now waging a relentless war against the Social Democracy of Russia, a war which is unsurpassed in its brutality and which has as its object the crushing of the Russian revolution;

"And whereas the Social Democratic Party of Germany has so far not made the slightest attempt to create a revolt against this dastardly action of the German Government;

"Be it resolved that this convention unreservedly condemns the majority faction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and regards them the Judas of the international working class.

"And further we declare:

"That we feel grave apprehensions lest other capitalist nations will lend Germany a helping hand in its action to destroy the Russian revolution."

Another motion of importance which the convention accepted was the following: "That this convention express its willingness to unite with the Socialist Party of Canada on the basis of the Bolsheviki programme."

To Boost "Canadian Forward."

In regard to the "Canadian Forward," the official organ of the party, the provincial executive and the central committee were instructed to undertake energetic action to enlarge the circulation of this paper in Manitoba, and further the locals were recommended to regularly secure bundles of the "Canadian Forward" for distribution.

A motion was made that the provincial executive be instructed to elaborate a course of studies for the members of the party and all efforts be made to induce them to take up such a course. The motion was accepted.

The question of carrying the message of Socialism into the rural districts of the province was then taken up. It was pointed out by the provincial secretary that the finances at the disposal of the executive would not permit the engagement of an organizer at this time, and finally it was decided that the executive carry on propagandist work in rural districts by means of literature.

The convention was informed that the central committee of Winnipeg intended to issue a manifesto on the first of May and the convention decided to recommend to the out of town locals to get in touch with the central committee and secure bun-

Gleanings by the way

SAM. GOMPERS THE GREATEST BUGBEAR OF THE AGE.

So Says B.C. Federationist.

The great man, S. Gompers, Esq., president of the American Federation of Labor, is not altogether unknown in this western land. The distinguished and much self-touted notable is also president of a creation that proclaims itself the "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy." This precious "Alliance" has evidently been set up by the doughty Samuel, for the purpose of adding to his notoriety and ill-fame as the biggest humbug of the age, and the most impudent and unsufferable reactionary that the world has ever known. This "Alliance" expends good money, obtained, no one outside of Sam knows how, for the purpose of furnishing the reactionary and unstable press with a class of matter for its columns, that for low-down falsehood, vilification and vile abuse heaped upon those movements and individuals in human society that stand for anything in line with progress and social and economic decency and advancement, has the rotten and vicious prostitute press outclassed and outdistanced. Through the dissemination of this vile stuff, chiefly the product of the diseased brain and filthy imagination of a small staff of intellectual procurers and literary courtesans, herculean attempts are put forth to befoul every movement and besmirch the character of every person that is capable of rising above the dull and vulgar level of the compost heap of brutal reaction and the moral and ethical level of the intellectual maggots that revel in it and greedily devour its filth.

Vulgar Vilification.

And when the ubiquitous Gompers had the audacity to send to the Russian Congress of Soviets a grandiloquent message of sympathy and loquacious approval and commendation of the objects and aims of the revolution, he certainly pulled off the most notable exhibition of pure and unadulterated impudence ever staged since time began. His "Alliance" literature has reked and still reeks with vilest falsehoods in regard to the Russian revolutionists imaginable. The coarsest and most vulgar vilification and abuse is heaped upon the heads of the Lenines and Trotskys, and for still greater measure there is continually thrown in the most vicious and lying attacks upon the Bergers, the Hillquits, and many others among the well-known and

dles of this manifesto for distribution in their respective localities.

The principal executive was also instructed to do all that is possible to build up a strong Young Socialist movement as well as women's organizations.

After the close of the convention the delegates and a large gathering of local members of the party had an enjoyable evening in the Liberty Temple. The women's local served some refreshments. A good musical programme was provided and was keenly enjoyed by all present.

Favor Dominion Convention.

A motion favoring a party Dominion convention being held was also passed. Locals to take convention stamps proportionate to their numbers.

universally respected—outside of maggot circles—socialists and radicals of this continent. To the everlasting credit of the Russian revolutionists, they completely ignored the impudent message sent them by the impudent and egotistic Samuel G. They replied courteously to the message of President Wilson, the master. They ignored the mimic yap, yap, of the vassal. And also to the everlasting credit of the Labor press of the western continent, let it be said, that few, very few, of the Labor papers have as yet fallen so low as to run any of the scurrilous stuff so impudently provided by Mr. Samuel Gompers' "Alliance," and its staff of shameless denizens of the intellectual and moral redlight district.

The Hon. Geo. H. Roberts (ex-Lab.), interviewed by the Paris Journal, the organ that Bolo made notorious, says: "Every day we ask of them (the trade unions) new sacrifices and every day they consent." Analyze and parse the word "we." He (George from Norwich) has also declared his opinion that Alsace-Lorraine must be handed back to France "without a plebiscite."

* * *

The Illustrated Sunday Herald says the ex-Czar "is not allowed to have servants or teachers for the Czarevitch, and their furs have been taken away from them." Will Thorne should be told about this.

* * *

More news of the Great Struggle for Liberty. The following facts can be set to music—they can be whistled to the air of "Making the World Safe for Democracy."

You will get all the facts in Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's speech in the House of Commons (Hansard Report 27-2-18).

* * *

(1) M. Kameneff, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Russian Government to Paris, arrives at Aberdeen. He is willing and anxious to give the British Government first hand information of what happened at Brest-Litovsk, where he was one of the Russian representatives facing the Germans.

(2) His passports are all in order. But

(3) His luggage is seized, his personal belongings are seized. His valise with his official documents are seized. His money is pinched. A cheque is taken. His matches are taken from him (lest he set light to his indignation). A Russian Bible is seized.

* * *

Kameneff was heavily defeated on the British front by stalwart British police, and having the good sense to know when he was beaten, he is going back to Russia troling songs of his own manufacture about British liberty.

* * *

The organ will now play the Dead Marx and there must be no ribald laughter in the penny seats. Look!—Forward, Glasgow.

* * *

TO PROPAGATE DEMOCRACY.

Three "noble lords" have been selected by the British Government to propagate democratic ideas, and to pillory the wickedness of the Prussian aristocratic and military system. The anxieties of war do not seem to have deprived Lloyd George and his colleagues of their sense of humor.

* * *

Under Capitalism the rich are rich because the poor are poor.

LABOR and the NEW SOCIAL ORDER

It behooves the Labor party, in formulating its own programme for reconstruction after the war and in criticizing the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasize the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

THE END OF CIVILIZATION.

We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labor party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. The individual worker, or for that matter the individual statesman, immersed in daily routine—like the individual soldier in a battle—easily fails to understand the magnitude and far-reaching importance of what is taking place around him. How does it fit together as a whole? How does it look from a distance? Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe, declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilization. Just as in the past the civilization of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage and the great Roman Empire have been successively destroyed, so, in the judgment of this detached observer, the civilization of all Europe is even now receiving its death blow. We of the Labor party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labor party.

What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood and the lives of millions of innocent families, and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretense of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must insure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation of power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not, of course,

THE BRITISH LABOR PROGRAMME.

The programme, now under consideration by the Labor Board of Great Britain, reproduced herewith, is a document worthy of patient and painstaking examination by every Canadian. It has been drafted by the executive, but not yet formally adopted by the British Labor party. It is a programme of reconstruction designed to create a new social order in Great Britain. It shows a breadth of vision and humanitarian viewpoint altogether new in political programmes. The Labor party of Britain is very powerful. The new

Franchise Act passed in the last few months gives the vote to millions of men and women in Britain who never before voted. The probability of a general election within a few months is strong. It is quite within the range of possibility that the election will place a Labor government in power, or if not, the Labor party in almost certain to hold the balance of power. In the light of these facts, the political programme of the Labor party becomes doubly significant and much more worthy of study.

pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "reconstruction." What the Labor party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

THE PILLARS OF THE HOUSE.

We need not here recapitulate, one by one, the different items in the Labor party's programme, which successive party conferences have adopted. These proposals, some of them in various publications worked out in practical detail, are often carelessly derided as impracticable, even by the politicians who steal them piecemeal from us! The members of the Labor party, themselves actually working by hand or by brain, in close contact with the facts, have perhaps at all times a more accurate appreciation of what is practicable, in industry as in politics, than those who depend solely on the academic instruction or are biased by great possessions. But to-day no man dares to say that anything is impracticable. The war which has scared the old political parties right out of their dogmas, has taught every statesman and every government official, to his enduring surprise, how very much more can be done along the lines that we have laid down than he had ever before thought possible. What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition or for office, is not merely this or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought out, systematic, and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The four pillars of the house that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed:

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry;
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance; and
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

THE UNIVERSAL ENFORCEMENT OF A NATIONAL MINIMUM.

The first principle of the Labor party—in significant contrast with those of the capitalist system, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative party—is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able the well born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a "class" proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death, is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful co-operation as it is to successful combination; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the standard of life which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected. We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest, is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the corner-stone of the faith of Labor. It will be the guiding principle of any Labor government.

THE LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT.

Thus it is that the Labor party to-day stands for the universal application of the policy of the national minimum, to which (as embodied in the successive elaborations of the Factory, Mines, Railways, Shops, Merchant Shipping and Truck Acts, the Public Health, Housing and Education Acts and the Minimum Wage Act—all of them aiming at the enforcement of at least the prescribed minimum of leisure, health, education and subsistence) the spokesmen of Labor have already gained the support of the enlightened statesmen and economists of the world. All these laws purporting to protect against extreme degradation of the standard of life need considerable improvement and extension, whilst their administration leaves much to be desired. For instance, the Workmen's Compensation Act fails shamefully, not merely to secure proper provision for all the victims of accident and industrial disease, but what is much more important, does not succeed in preventing their continual increase. The amendment and consolidation of the Factory and Workshops Acts, with their extension to all employed persons, is long overdue, and it will be the policy of Labor greatly to strengthen the staff of inspectors, especially by the addition of more men and women of actual experience of the workshop and the mine. The Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act must certainly be maintained in force, and suitably amended, so as both to ensure greater uniformity of conditions among the several districts, and to make the district minimum in all cases an effective reality. The same policy will, in the interests of the agricultural laborers, dictate the perpetuation of the legal wage clauses of the new Corn Law just passed for a term of five years, and the prompt amendment of any defects that may be revealed in their working. And, in view of the fact that many millions of wage-earners, notably women and the less skilled workmen in various occupations, are unable by combination to obtain wages adequate for decent maintenance in health, the Labor party intends to see to it that the Trade Boards Act is suitably amended and made to apply to all industrial employments in which any considerable number of those employed obtain less than 30s. per week (which will need revision according to the level of prices) ought to be the very lowest statutory base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation, in all parts of the United Kingdom.

THE ORGANIZATION OF DEMOBILIZATION.

But the coming industrial dislocation, which will inevitably follow the discharge from war service of half of all the working population, imposes new obligations upon the community. The demobilization and discharge of the eight million wage-earners now being paid from public funds, either for service with the colors or in munition work and other war trades, will bring to the whole wage-earning class grave peril of unemployment, reduction of wages, and a lasting degradation of the standard of life, which can be prevented only by deliberate national organization. The Labor party has repeatedly called upon the present government to formulate a plan, and to make in advance all arrangements necessary for coping with so unparalleled a dislocation. The policy to

which the Labor party commits itself is unhesitating and uncompromising. It is plain that regard should be had, in stopping government orders, reducing the staff of the national factories and demobilizing the army, to the actual state of employment in particular industries and in different districts, so as both to release first the kinds of labor most urgently required for the revival of peace production, and to prevent any congestion of the market. It is no less imperative that suitable provision against being turned suddenly adrift without resources should be made, not only for the soldiers, but also for the three million operatives in munition work and other war trades, who will be discharged long before most of the army can be disbanded. On this important point, which is the most urgent of all, the present government has, we believe, down to the present hour, formulated no plan, and come to no decision, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has apparently deigned the matter worthy of agitation. Any government which should allow the discharged soldier or munition worker to fall into the clutches of charity or the Poor Law would have to be instantly driven from office by an outburst of popular indignation. What every one will look for is a situation in accordance with his capacity.

SECURING EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL.

The Labor party insists—as no other political party has thought fit to do—that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women rests upon the government for the time being. The work of re-settling the disbanded soldiers and discharged munition workers into new situations is a national obligation; and the Labor party emphatically protests against its being regarded as a matter for private charity. It strongly objects to this public duty being handed over either to committees of philanthropists or benevolent societies, or to any of the military or recruiting authorities. The policy of the Labor party in this matter is to make the utmost use of the trade unions, and, equally for the brain workers, of the various professional associations. In view of the fact that, in any trade, the best organization for placing men in situations is a national trade union having local branches throughout the kingdom, every soldier should be allowed, if he chooses, to have a duplicate of his industrial discharge notice sent, one month before the date fixed for his discharge, to the secretary of the trade union to which he belongs or wishes to belong. Apart from this use of the trade union (and a corresponding use of the professional association) the government must, of course, avail itself of some such public machinery as that of the employment exchanges; but before the existing exchanges (which will need to be greatly extended) can receive the co-operation and support of the organized Labor movement, without which their operations can never be fully successful, it is imperative that they should be drastically reformed, on the lines laid down in the Demobilization Report of the "Labor After the War" Joint Committee; and, in particular, that each exchange should be placed under the supervision and control of a joint committee of employers and trade unionists in equal numbers.

The responsibility of the government, for the time being, in the grave industrial crisis that demobilization will produce, goes, however, far beyond the eight million men and women whom the various departments will suddenly discharge from their own service. The effect of this peremptory discharge on all the other workers has also to be taken into account. To the Labor party it will seem the supreme con-

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