

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE!
THE WORLD
FOR THE
WORKERS



LABOR
PRODUCES
ALL WEALTH
-UNTO
LABOR
IT SHOULD
BELONG

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TORONTO TRADES COUNCIL UNANIMOUSLY DEMAND BAINBRIDGE'S RELEASE.

Pass Strong Resolution, and All Delegates Sign Petition.

In this issue of the Forward you will find a detailed statement of the Bainbridge case written by himself in the form of an appeal to the labor unions and Socialist locals of Canada. It was written just before he was sentenced after receiving notice to appear before Judge Latchford. We are glad to report that this appeal is being responded to unanimously so far as it has reached the workers at this writing. The Toronto District Trades and Labor Council at its meeting last Thursday night, unanimously passed the following resolution, and every delegate signed the petition referred to in the resolution before he left the hall. Many of the delegates are not Socialists in any sense of the word, but they all realize the class nature of the Bainbridge persecution, miscalled prosecution. Readers of the Forward may rest assured that no stone will be left unturned in the endeavor to get Comrade Bainbridge released and restored to his family without delay.

Resolved, That the Toronto District Trades and Labor Council, representing 25,000 men, having heard read the petition to be presented to the Honorable J. C. Doherty, K.C., LL.D., praying for a release or pardon of Isaac Bainbridge, now at the Jail Farm in the County of York, be endorsed and approved, and that the President and Secretary be instructed to sign and seal the same on behalf of the said Council.

Attorney Harding, who so successfully conducted the previous Bainbridge case in the Appellate Court, will go to Ottawa Thursday, June 13th, to lay this petition and resolution before Attorney-General Guthery, to which all cases of this nature have now been transferred from the Minister of Justice by a recent Order-in-Council. He will be supported by a delegation of the most prominent labor men in Canada.

A. CONN, President
Signed, T. A. STEVENSON, Secretary

FARMERS ALSO DEMAND BAINBRIDGE'S RELEASE. Pass Resolution and Sign Petition.

The United Farmers of Ontario at their Convention held in Toronto last week also passed a resolution similar to the one adopted by the Toronto District Trades Council printed above. After A. W. Mance had explained the situation to the Delegates, they not only unanimously passed the resolution, but gladly signed the petition which goes forward to Ottawa Thurs. June 13.

"The Powers That Be" have Bainbridge in jail, but the class struggle, of which this is only a symptom, is still at large. The stupid aggregation in power at Ottawa that inflicted this unjust punishment upon him and his wife and children evidently mistook Bainbridge for the class struggle.

LABOR PARTY PROTESTS.

The Mount Hamilton branch of the Independent Labor Party has written to James Simpson, secretary of the Ontario section of the Canadian Labor Party, protesting against the recent imprisonment of Isaac Bainbridge, editor of the Canadian Forward, and voicing the opinion that Mr. Bainbridge is being persecuted. They ask that action be taken to secure the release of Mr. Bainbridge through the Department of Justice at Ottawa.

HOW THE SUPPRESSERS ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM.

Private Capitalism Going—Individual State Looming Up.

In Canada the powers that be have Bainbridge in jail. Over the line the same powers are attempting to put Professor Scott Nearing in jail under somewhat similar circumstances

to which they "got" Bainbridge. Speaking in New York, Nearing, in commenting on the present outlook for the cause of Socialism, said:

Far from being a refrain of regret, the speech of Scott Nearing at the Central Opera House dinner for his defence, where he rededicated himself to his work, proved a paean of rejoicing.

What he said will recur to the minds of the American people in later years, for the words, from the lips of a sociological expert with a keen mind and broad vision, appeared in the light of a prophecy.

"Private capitalism is disappearing for good; state capitalism is appearing for a time; the industrial state is coming up; the 'laissez faire' policy is disappearing and Scientific Socialism is appearing at breakneck speed," he said.

Economic Revolution Here.

"Socialism has reached a critical stage. Who would have supposed a year ago that in the United States the Government would be fixing the prices of coal, steel and copper, levying war profits, the wool jobbers' records becoming an open book to it, and assuming control of transportation?"

"Yet this thing has happened. We are witnessing an economic revolution. That is the explanation."

"The American people," he said, "get their liberties second and third hand. Many even now are laboring under the delusion that they are free. American people stand in awe of jails and of the police. Why, we hail the heroes of the revolution of 1776 almost as demigods. We have not yet learned to think in revolutionary terms. We have not yet learned the technique of revolution. Sacrifice of liberty even of life is merely incidental to this majestic world struggle."

Continuing in the same strain, Nearing predicted that thousands and thousands would go to jail for the sake of liberty.

"Don't think it is over, or that it will be over in the after-the-war period," he said.

Nearing not only dedicated himself to the continuation of his work, but in a way, dedicated the youth of the nation, who he said, will do the real work.

"I was to have given my second lecture in the Bronx," he said. "My first was given in an orderly, quiet, legal manner. My second was not, for a line of police barred the door to the hall. The lecture could not be given. The young people had to go home. Do you think, however, that these young people did not learn? Why, they learned more that night than if I had given a thousand lectures."

BIG LABOR VICTORY IN WINNIPEG.

Evidence has come to hand that the strike of the Civic Employees of Winnipeg and the subsequent sympathetic strikes of workers of other crafts and callings, was a complete victory for the workers. This news is arriving in the mails, but even before the private letters arrived giving details of the victory, it did not take a very penetrating mind to know that the workers had won. The capitalist press barely announced that the strike had been settled and then sealed their columns against all news on the subject. Had the conclusion of the strike been unfavorable to the workers, there would have been big headlines and front page feature stories over labor's defeat. The demonstration of class solidarity exhibited by the Winnipeg toilers has never been equalled by anything on the American continent up to date. The workers of Winnipeg have pointed the way to the toilers of other industrial centres. It is more than likely that a repetition of the Winnipeg demonstration will not be unnecessary

in other centres. Although the capitalist press suppressed the news of the great victory of the toilers, the authorities in other cities are no doubt aware of what happened at that point and will think twice before precipitating a like struggle in other Canadian cities.

During the Winnipeg strike a news despatch, which was spread on the front page of one of the capitalist papers, announced that the entire press of the city and all the churches were lined up solidly against the strikers. This was no doubt true concerning the men who owned the newspapers, but we will wager a days pay that 99 per cent. of the men and women whose labor produced the newspapers were with the strikers. It is the thoughts of the owners of the capitalist press that find expression in their columns and not those of the men and women who produce the papers. We not be surprised at the attitude of the capitalist owned press, but when the weekly "Winnipeg Voice" arrived and we found that it had also turned its guns in the rear, we were more than amazed, as the Voice had always appealed to us as one of the ablest advocates of labor's great cause. Instead of taking its place as the intellectual battling ram for the toilers of Winnipeg, they were compelled to improvise a press to give the people the real news of the strike. The action of the Voice in this struggle is hard to understand.

THE TORONTO POSTMASTER-SHIP.

The vacancy of the Postmastership of Toronto will give the Union Government a splendid chance to demonstrate its sincerity on the subject of civil service reform and the abolition of patronage. If the Toronto Postmastership goes to a non political employe of experience, it will be evidence that civil service reform is not all camouflage, but if the appointment goes to some politician as a reward for campaign services, whose only knowledge of the intricate business of running a post office is confined to his past experience of licking a postage stamp and shoving a letter in the mail box, it will be good evidence, that the promise of civil service reform was on a par with the promises made to the farmers not to conscript their sons. There are many men in the Toronto Post Office who know every detail of the business from a messenger boy up, for the government to choose from.

How history repeats itself. In ancient Rome under the despotic rule

Every reader of this paper should immediately send a contribution to the Bainbridge Defence Fund and also write a letter to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa, demanding his immediate release. Send all contributions to H. Perkins, Treasurer of the Bainbridge Defence Fund, 397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ont.

IT NEVER CAN HAPPEN AGAIN

By Julia Dawson.

When I peeped through the vines that straggle across my cottage windows at 8 a.m. and saw two laborers bedecked, not only in their Sunday best, but with red and green streamers fluttering from their hats, I knew that something was up.

There is not often anything up in our village, which is mostly inhabited by folk who are down, and I felt excited. After breakfast, hearing unwonted tramp of feet, I looked out and beheld still other men clad in pompous cloth instead of corduroy going down the lane, trying with more or less success to look as if they didn't know they had gay rosettes in their buttonholes and long streamers of red and green ribbons dangling down their backs. Towards noon, when from the village green there came the jolly noisy sound of drums and trumpets, I sallied out to see.

The village green (which divides the two straggling rows of medieval houses which we call our street, and which swells into a lump in the middle, there to show off the oldest, queerest little house of all), usually given over to the lazy sports of dogs and ducks, was all abustle with people. At least six men in musty uniforms were blowing big noises from brass instruments. These were surrounded by an admiring crowd of more men, 25, per haps, or even 27, middle-aged and old, whose sombre Sunday clothes were all brightened by rosettes and streamers of red and green.

Curious they looked, the old nigh bent double with rheumatism, and not even the youngest able to quite straighten his back. Long years of plowing, sowing, reaping, mowing, and weeding heavy clay soil, not to speak of cattle tending, in all weathers, at all hours, bends backs up more than a bit.

Nor were the red and green ribbons all. Five or six of the gnarled and wrinkled old pairs of hands tremblingly bore aloft what had been most magnificent banners. Most of the mottoes had got obliterated by age. But "Friendship and Unity" and "Peace and Plenty" were easy to read on the two that headed the little procession which moved up the green and into the church.

Looking across the road, adown the long garden to "The Jolly Plowman," I saw one straggler with a banner, "Brotherly Love." The drink he was after did not delay the procession more than a minute.

At a quarter to twelve precisely we were all seated in the quiet church. A strange little company of perhaps 40 all told. But what we lacked in numbers we made up in dignity and determination, and that blissful sense of satisfaction which is only born of the knowledge that one is doing the right thing at the right moment. There had always been a special church service for that club on its club day, and there always would be.

First, the little band of choir boys walked up the aisle in clean white surplices, followed by a large and stately vicar, the immaculate whiteness of whose gown was decorated by a gold embroidered stole.

The men did not turn their heads. They knew he was doing his business, as he had always done it, just as they were doing theirs, and there

was no need to look. By this time a few wives had humbly entered and quietly seated themselves near their men. When the proper prayers were said and psalms sung, the wives were kept busy finding the right places in the prayer books, and putting them into their husbands' hands, pointing out the exact lines with stubby fingers. This the men took as a matter of course, also. But, though their keen eyes would find and follow a lost sheep strangling itself in a brier bush a mile away, they could make nothing of the little fiddling type in the little fiddling prayer books and so they stood or sat patiently till the moment should come when the sermon was done, and they were liberated for the great day in the big field, the merry-go-rounds and the cocoa-nut shies, and the glorious, devil-may-care way in which they would spend all the pennies of the whole shilling they had saved up since last year's club. By George!

The saving of that shilling, which in one or two pockets might have run to eighteen pence, had meant some pinching. Not one of the men had ever earned more than 15 shillings a week, and some were rearing big families on that wage. The "old" men—of 50 and more—got only 12 shillings a week, and worked like slaves all the time.

When psalms, hymns and prayers had all had their turn, the vicar floated gently up into the pulpit like a white balloon. His face was rosy red, without a wrinkle. His bald head shone with righteousness—and soap. The full sleeves of his surplice—which some overworked woman had so beautifully washed and ironed—opened out like wings; and in his exquisitely manicured hands (with pointed and polished nails like claws) he carried his carefully prepared sermon, bound in black morocco and stamped with a golden cross.

Majestically he moved up the steps of his pulpit, and not one of the congregation dared to sit down till he had reached the top of his pedestal, there to stand and preach.

O how he preached! Without moving a muscle of his face, or shifting his hard blue eyes a second from their fixed start on the stony walls (the poor old men and women in the pews were utterly beneath his gaze), he dwelt on the necessity for loving the law of God. It might seem a strange law sometimes, might mean humiliations, hardships, poverty, sickness, scorn, contempt and misery, but it must be loved. When the body was most wounded the soul was most mended. The harder the lot here below on earth, the softer the seat in heaven by and bye. The cross must be carried even to the edge of the grave, and no complaint made. To gain peace in heaven one must have strife on earth.

It was wrong to indulge self. One must not over eat or over drink or over amuse. The cross must be heavy to carry for the crown to be bright to wear. Only by self-denial could anyone reach the road to righteousness.

Thus the priest, who lived in idleness and luxury, spoke to the people who slaved and starved on every day in the year save that one club day.

In the great luxurious vicarage, whose velvet lawns sloped down to



(By Phillips Thompson, Oakville.)
"Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

The Czechs, the Slovenes, the Serbo-Croats, and the other non-Teutonic races in Austria are united in a perfect hatred of Germany and the Germans.—Globe.

And these are the people who have been interned, hounded out of their jobs and subjected to persecution as "alien enemies" by Canadian loyalists and super-zealous officials.

Poor Ireland! A perverse and malignant fate has dogged her footsteps for centuries.—Globe.

Yes—a perverse and malignant government!

Pretty soon if the courts keep on sentencing men to imprisonment for being true to their religious faith, the Burwash Jail Farm will become the most important centre of Christian thought and influence in Canada.

The farmers who supported Union Government got what they voted for when their sons were refused exemption. And now the working men are likely to get theirs in the shape of an influx of Chinese labor for which the big corporations have for some time been bringing pressure to bear upon the government. The Edmonton Bulletin says:

Apparently it is not considered unfitting that while Canadian men are fighting overseas to maintain the Canadian standard of life, the protected interests who are grinding the faces of their dependents at home should still further enlarge their dividends by importing Coolie labor and depressing wages.

Some readers have got the impression that I am opposed to the organization of a Canadian Labor Party because I think it would be a mistake for Socialists to fuse with it. Not at all. I would be very glad to see a strong labor party organized even on merely reform lines. But there can be no satisfactory co-operation between men who accept the revolutionary principles of Socialism and those whose aims are limited to lopping off a few branches of the tree of capitalism instead of destroying the system, root and branch. Don't haul down the Red Flag!

The shooting of Edith Cavell, though strictly in accordance with rules of "civilized" warfare, was a brutal, cowardly murder, and was rightly condemned as such by the press of Canada. It has never been the churchyard, he lived alone, with neither wife nor child, with plenty to gratify his every whim and wish. Yet without a blush, without moving a muscle (if muscles there were), of his red, fat face, he calmly and coldly preached self-denial to those hard-working men and women, living in damp, rotten houses, and feeding and clothing big families, on a week's wages which would not pay for the wine he drank at a single meal.

That was on the 6th of May, 1914, and . . . it never can happen again!

forgotten, and will probably pass into history as an example of German fiendishness. The other day in an obscure corner of a newspaper appeared the following item:

Nantes, France, May 6.—Two women spies, Josephine Alvarez and Victorine Faucher, condemned to death by court martial on Jan. 25th, were executed this morning.

So far as I have seen, not a single Canadian newspaper, preacher, or public speaker has had a word to say in denunciation of this Hun-like action of our chivalrous French allies.

My dog Tony has no more sense than a Hun or a Jingo. He is continually getting into scraps with the other dogs without any apparent reason. I hate to see Tony get the worst of it, but I rather hesitate about asking God to interfere and help him to lick the other dog. I am afraid that God might take it as an insult.

The prostitute press of Canada and the United States blame the Socialists of Germany as being equally guilty with the rest of the people in supporting the Kaiser's war policy. No doubt the Germans are told by their press and public men that the Socialists of England, the United States and Canada are equally opposed to peace negotiations as the governments of their respective countries. The fact is that in all the belligerent countries Socialists have been denied the opportunity of expressing their opinions. Their newspapers have been suppressed, their prominent writers and speakers imprisoned, and their meetings prohibited. And prominence has been given to the utterances of a few renegades once posing as Socialists, who have been bribed or terrorized into howling with the wolves and clamoring for war to the bitter end.

Anyhow, the number of Socialists in Germany has been greatly exaggerated. It has been estimated as high as 4,000,000. That number of votes may have been cast for Socialist candidates but anyone who knows anything of politics can understand how deceptive this mode of reckoning may be. The Socialist vote of Germany, like that of the United States, has been mainly a protest vote cast by people who wished merely to register their dissatisfaction with existing conditions, but with no clear idea of the aims or principles of Socialism. When a real crisis arises these uninstructed, temporary adherents of Socialism are swept away like straws in the torrent of popular agitation. We need not go outside of Toronto for an illustration of how exaggerated ideas as to the number of Socialists get afloat. It is not so many years since some 8,000 votes were cast for a Socialist candidate for the Mayoralty, the late James Lindala, running against an unpopular opponent. Of course, all Socialists understood that this was mainly a protest vote cast by those who had little or no sympathy with Socialism. But no doubt the news went all over the continent that there were 8,000 Socialists in Toronto.

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MOONEY AGAIN SENTENCED TO HANG.

San Francisco, — Judge Griffin has resentenced Tom Mooney to the gallows. He is, to hang within 90 days and not less than 60 days from this date, according to Griffin's judgment. The court did not comment on the case and confined its remarks to the bare legal phrases, handing Mooney over to the state hangman.

After judgment had been passed Mooney issued a statement in the shape of a telegram to Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. After thanking organized labor for its efforts in his behalf, Mooney stated:

"The spirit of prejudice and ignorance may succeed in encompassing my death and the ruin of my character for the time being, but the mighty power of truth and fact, as expressed in those mute photographs of the roof of my home, showing Mrs. Mooney and myself a mile and a half away from the scene of the tragedy cannot be answered.

"The Oxman prejuring letters and the evidence of the Oakland police impeaching the very foundation of the prosecution's case can never be erased, and they stand silently awaiting the hour of temperate and reasonable judgment.

"Against this bulwark of truth and fact, District Attorney Fickert and his co-conspirators may for a time prevail, but with the unrelenting uncertainty of destiny itself their day of judgment by an unprejudiced people is coming.

"In urging you to place this whole matter before the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor I am mindful that in this hour of worldwide titanic struggle a life of a mere bubble in the vast ocean. But nevertheless, I feel that a great fundamental right of democracy is at stake, namely, the right of every citizen to a fair and impartial trial with honest evidence, and this principle is of immeasurably more value than my life.

"I wish to state again that I cannot or will not conciliate the idea of imprisonment on commutation with the consciousness of innocence, and if this farce tragedy must have its victim to save the faces of the powers behind the scene, then let my life be the sacrifice.

"May I ask you as president of the American Federation of Labor to again urge President Wilson to use all powers at his command, to the end that the authorities in California comply with the recommendation made by his mediation commission."

Governor Stephens has given no indication of what action he intends taking in the matter. All the facts and evidence in the case are now before him and are being examined carefully by the governor's executive secretary. District Attorney Fickert has again threatened that he will become a candidate for the governorship, if Stephens commutes Mooney's sentence to anything less than life imprisonment.

Mooney was convicted of murder in connection with the preparedness day bomb explosion here in 1916.

Today's developments take from the courts a case which has consumed much time for the last two years and has attracted international attention. Organizations as far distant as Russia have sought to intervene in Mooney's behalf.

Mooney's fate now rests with Governor Stephens, who has a pardon petition before him and a request from President Wilson for executive clemency, based on findings of a federal commission that questioned testimony which contributed to Mooney's conviction.

Mooney was convicted in February 1917. An earlier death sentence was nullified because an appeal was pending when the date set for his execution arrived.

IMPERIALISTIC EXPLOITATION.

It would seem that there is in Great Britain a group of influential men who are excogitating plans for the more effective exploitation after the war of the native populations of the tropical portions of the British Empire, and in the middle of this "war for Democracy," are openly urging that after the war the State should lend its assistance to private capitalists for the purpose of intensified exploitation of native races; the inducement held out to the State being that the payment of its war debts will be facilitated. We quote without comment from an address delivered some time ago at the Royal Society of Arts, England, by Mr. H. Wilson Fox, who, we believe, is the secretary of the Empire Resources Development Committee. The chairman on the occasion of this address was the Earl of Selborne, late High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. The chairman strongly commended Mr. Wilson Fox's views.

"The native population of our tropical possessions may properly be included in any review of our undeveloped national assets. The problem of civilization in new territories is to convert the indigenous native into a useful human being, to improve his value to himself and to the world at large. From the point of view of self-interest, we cannot afford to neglect these matters. At great sacrifice of life and treasure we have given to millions of natives in Africa security of life and property. We can fairly claim that the natives shall in return bear their share of the Imperial burden.

"There are territories of which details are given in the table to which I previously referred: Nigeria, the East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, the Gold Coast Colony, Nyassaland, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The aggregate area of these territories is 811,452 square miles; they are inhabited by 10,956 Europeans and 27,277,794 natives, and their external trade is £34,374,697, of which by far the larger proportion is carried on with the United Kingdom. Now compare their position with that of Egypt, where there is a total area of 363,461 square miles, a cultivated area of not more than 1,200 square miles, a native population of about 12,000,000,

and an external trade of about £62,000,000. It is true that this population has been trained in habits of industry for generations. Is it not however, obvious that the opportunities for a rapid expansion of wealth in the other territories which I have mentioned are extraordinarily encouraging, bearing in mind their numerous mineral and agricultural resources!

"The development of each of these territories has as yet hardly begun, and it is quite impossible to forecast what their future value to the Empire's trade may become, when their resources have been further investigated, and their available manpower has been better trained and organized. It must be remembered that every producer is also a consumer, and that if means be found to increase the purchasing power of the native inhabitants of our African and other tropical territories, a very valuable and expanding market will be secured for our manufacturers and merchants.

"What then are we to expect of German East Africa when this great and partly developed territory has become, as I trust it may in its entirety, part of the Dominions of the Crown? In this wealthy tropical region there are, I believe, upwards of 10,000,000 native inhabitants. Its soil and climate are known to be suitable for the production of varied and valuable tropical products."

Mr. Alfred Bigland, M.P., a member of the same group as that to which Mr. Wilson Fox belongs, remarked in the discussion which followed the address: "The question of Socialism must be looked at in a new sense. He had always been an Individualist, and had dreaded the idea of Socialism as ordinarily understood. Under the new State Socialism, however, we were not going to steal something from somebody, but were going to create wealth."

(That is to say: State Socialism would provide a more efficient instrument for the exploitation of the many by the few.)

G. S. W.

"ANTI-SINGLE TAXERS" OF CALIFORNIA GET BLUE FUNK.

The Forward is in receipt of a communication sent out by the Anti-Single Tax League, appealing to all land speculators and profiteers in general. We insert the communication in full for the benefit of our readers, and suggest that there is probably more in the single tax theory than is usually credited by Socialists—at least the land owners think so, and anything they oppose is usually worthy of support by intelligent working men. The flattering reference to the single tax war chest is very congratulatory to the single taxers. Their bank balance on April 1st was \$78.93, no doubt this looks like \$100,000 to the antis. Last year the land owners spent upwards of \$1,000,000 as against \$1,100 by the single taxers in California. Communication is as follows:

Dear Sir:—

Do you know there is grave danger of a single tax being adopted at the next general election, unless our property owners wake up to a serious situation?

Do you also know that the Single Taxers have a fund said to be in excess of \$100,000, with which they are extending their propaganda throughout the State of California?

Do you know that the opponents of Single Tax are circulating their initiative petition in your city and throughout the State and that they

have already secured many thousands of signatures of voters? Their claim is that they can carry California by switching only 70,000 voters in the last election.

YOU DO KNOW doubtless, that in the event the Single Taxers are successful, property values will be so impaired in California that they will be practically worthless, and your property will probably suffer confiscation.

The Single Taxers have raised a cry of "Open California's Twenty Million Idle Acres to Raising Food, Mines and Oil Wells to Use, Feed and Equip the Allies, Win the War." Their cry is being heeded by thousands of thoughtless people throughout the State, who are leaning toward this seemingly patriotic, but immeasurably false appeal. They are making the supreme effort of their lives in this State, by enlisting the aid of their entire national organization, and they say they are going to win at any cost.

The People's Anti-Single Tax League is conducting the campaign against this iniquitous measure throughout California, and is sending out literature and working up sentiment all over the State against this proposed law which menaces prosperity in California.

We need money and we need it badly to carry on a campaign of education NOW. The people of California must be aroused to the danger that confronts them, and if we would defeat the proposed Single Tax Measure, the work must be done long in advance of the election. It is estimated that our campaign will cost between \$5,000 and \$50,000, and we must raise funds at once.

For your own protection we ask you to send us \$10 by return mail for this cause, and also to call at this office and help with your suggestions or otherwise. Make check payable to People's Anti-Single Tax League, and mail to 624 Citizens National Bank Building

Yours very truly,

Phillip D. Wilson,

Secretary.

WOMEN AND ECONOMICS.

(By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.)

Recognizing her intense feeling on moral lines, and seeing in her the rigidly preserved virtues of faith, submission, and self-sacrifice—qualities which in the dark ages were held to be the first of virtues—we have agreed of late years to call woman the moral superior of man. But the ceaseless growth of human life, social life, has developed in him new virtues, later, higher, more needful; and the moral nature of woman, as maintained in this rudimentary stage by her economic dependence, is a continual check to the progress of the human soul. The main feature of her life—the restriction of her range and duty to the love and service of her own immediate family—acts upon us continually as a retarding influence, hindering the expansion of the spirit of social love and service, on which our very lives depend. It keeps the moral standard of the patriarchal era still before us, and blinds our eyes to the full duty of man.

CREATING A PRECEDENT FOR US.

Compensation to liquor dealers is refused on the ground of the millions they have made in the last few months by selling their wares at abnormal prices.—The Press.

RED RUSSIA

(By John Reid.—By Permission of Liberator.)

(Thousands of dollars have been offered for these stories of the greatest event in the world, by the greatest correspondent on the American Continent.

The Canadian Forward has been fortunate enough to get permission from the author to publish this story which is also appearing

in the "Liberator." Don't miss reading it.

Mr. John Reid is the Russian Consul for New York State for the Russian People's Government.

Tell your friends and get them to send in a subscription to-day, \$1.00 per year.)

(Continued from last issue.)

"An Interview With Trotzky."

That very day Trotzky gave me an interview about the projects of the new power—the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—which Volodarski had described to me as being in form of "a loose government, sensitive to popular will, giving local forces full play." He said:

"The Provisional Government is absolutely powerless. The bourgeoisie is in control, but this control is masked by a fictitious coalition with the moderate parties. Now, during the revolution, one sees revolts of peasants who are tired of waiting for their promised land, and all over the country, in all the toiling classes, the same disgust is evident. The domination of the bourgeoisie is only possible by civil war. The Kornilov method is the only way by which the bourgeoisie can dominate. But it is force which the bourgeoisie lacks. . . . The army is with us. The conciliators and pacificators, Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks, have lost all authority—because the struggle between the peasants and the landlords, between the workers and the bankers, between the soldiers and the Kornilovist officers, has become more bitter, more irreconcilable than ever. Only by the struggle of this popular mass, only by the victory of the proletarian dictatorship, can the revolution be achieved and the people saved! The Soviets are the most perfect representatives of the people perfect in their revolutionary experience, in their ideas and objects. Based directly on the army in the trenches, the workers in the factories, and the peasants in the fields, they are the backbone of the Revolution.

"They have tried to create a power disdaining the Soviets, and they have created only powerlessness. Counter-revolutionary schemes of all sorts organize now in the corridors of the Council of the Russian Republic. The Cadet party represents the counter-revolution militant. On the other side, the Soviets represent the cause of the people. Between the two camps there are no serious groups. It is the inevitable lutte finale. The bourgeoisie counter-revolution organizes all its forces and waits for a moment to attack us. Our answer will be decisive. We will finish the work scarcely begun in February, and advanced during the Kornilov affair. . . ."

He described to me how the new government would be composed; instead of a ministry, the different departments of the state would be directed by a series of collegia, headed by titular commissars, who would be responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets—the new parliament. I asked about the new government's foreign policy.

"Our first act," said Trotzky, "will be to call for an immediate armistice on all fronts, and a conference of the peoples to discuss democratic peace terms. The quantity of democracy we get in the peace settlement depends upon the quantity of revolutionary response there is in Europe. If we create here a government of the Soviets, that will be a powerful factor for immediate peace in Europe; for this government will address itself immediately and directly to the peoples, over the heads of their governments, proposing an armistice. At the moment of the conclusion of peace the pressure of the Russian Revolution will be in the direction of: no annexations, no indemnities, the rights of peoples to dispose of themselves, and a Federated Republic of Europe.

"At the end of this war I see Europe recreated, not by diplomats, but by the proletariat. The Federated Republic of Europe—the United States of Europe—that is what must be. National autonomy no longer suffices. Economic evolution demands the abolition of national frontiers. If Europe is to remain in national groups, then Imperialism will recommence its work. Only a Federated Republic can give peace to Europe—and to the world." He smiled, that singularly fine and somewhat melancholy smile of his. "But without the action of the European masses, these ends cannot be realized—now."

It is fashionable among the bourgeoisie to speak of the Bolshevik coup d'etat as an "adventure." Adventure it is, and one of the most splendid mankind ever embarked on, sweeping into history at the head of the toiling masses, and staking everything on their vast and simple desires. Peace, land, bread. Why not? Already the machinery was created by which the land of the great estates could be taken over and distributed to the peasants, each according to his powers. Already the factory shop committees were ready to put into operation workmen's control of industry. The different nationalities of Russia were all ready for months to assume the administration of their own people. In every village, town, city, district and government, Soviets of Workmen, Soldiers and Peasants' Delegates were prepared to assume the local powers of government. Liberate the local forces of Russia—how simple, and how tremendous! As for peace—well, unless all signs lied, the peoples of the world were sick of and disillusioned with the war. . . . What it meant was simply the liberation of the local forces of the world.

If the Bolsheviks Had Not Won.

At the same meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, on October 17th, some soldiers, workmen and peasants spoke, revealing very clearly the

feeling of the masses, and some officers, members of the Army Central Committees, the Central Committee of Soviets, etc., opposed them. As for these last, suffice it to say that they opposed with all their might "All power to the Soviets"—and there was not a proletarian among them, just as there were no bourgeois among the representatives of the masses. The division was clean.

The peasant described the agrarian disorders in Kaluga Government, which he said were caused by the government's arresting members of the Land Committees who were trying to distribute the uncultivated fields of the local great estates. "This Kerensky is nothing but a comrade to the pomiestchiks (landlords)," he cried. "And they know we will take the land anyway at the Constituent Assembly, so they are trying to destroy the Constituent Assembly."

A workman from the Obukovsky avod, a government shop, described how the superintendents and managers were trying to close down certain departments one by one, complaining of lack of material, of fuel, etc., and how the shop committee had discovered that there was no real necessity for closing down. "They are trying to drive the revolutionary Petrograd workers out of the city," he declared. "It is provocation—they want to starve us to death, or drive us to violence. . . ."

Among the soldiers one began, "Comrades! I bring you greetings from the spot where men are digging their own graves and call them trenches! We must have peace!"

Another man told of the electoral campaign now being waged in the Fifth Army of the Constituent Assembly. "The officers, and especially the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, are trying deliberately to cripple the Bolshevik campaign. Our papers are not allowed to go to the trenches. Our speakers are arrested. Our mail is censored."

"Why don't you speak about the lack of bread?" cried a voice. "They are sabotaging the food supply. They want to starve Red Petrograd!"

And so it went. Now is there any truth in the accusation that the bourgeoisie were trying to wreck the Revolution? I happened, barely two weeks before, to have an exceedingly significant talk with one of the great Russian capitalists, Stepan Georgevitch Lianosov—"the Russian Rocketeller," as he is called.

"We manufacturers," he said, among other things, "will never consent to allow the workmen, through their unions or any other way, any voice whatsoever in the administration or control of production in our business. In the government which is to come there will be no coalition with the democratic parties—an all-Cadet ministry. . . ."

"How will this new government come into being? I will explain. The Bolsheviks threaten to make an insurrection on the twentieth of October. We are prepared. This uprising will be crushed by military force, and from this military force will come the new government. . . . Kornilov is not dead yet; he failed, but he still has enough support among the people to succeed. . . . And if the Bolsheviks do not rise, the propertied class will make a coup d'etat at the Constituent Assembly! No, we do not fear the Bolsheviks. They are cowards, and will run at the first few shots of the troops. They will be suppressed by the military. . . . There are the Cossacks several guard regiments and the junkers. That will be more than enough. . . . It is

my personal opinion that the republic will not last long in Russia. There will be a monarchy."

At the last meeting of the Council of the Russian Republic, I was wandering around the corridors, and chanced upon Professor Shatsky, a little, mean-faced, dapper man, who is influential in the councils of the Cadet party. I asked what he thought of the much-talked-of Bolshevik vis-tuplennie. He shrugged, sneering:

"They are cattle—canaille," he answered. "They will not dare, or if they dare they will soon be sent flying. From our point of view it will not be bad, for then they will ruin themselves and have no power in the Constituent Assembly. . . . But, my dear sir, allow me to outline to you my plan for a form of government to be submitted to the Constituent Assembly. You see, I am chairman of a commission appointed from this body, in conjunction with the government, to work out a constitutional project. We will have a legislative body of two chambers, much as you have in the United States. In the lower chamber will be territorial representatives, and in the upper, representatives of the liberal professions, Zemstvos, trades unions, co-operatives."

On October 16th a special commission of the Council of the Russian Republic and the Ministry hurriedly hammered out two projects for giving the land temporarily to the peasants and for pushing an energetic foreign policy of peace. "On the seventeenth Kerensky suspended the death penalty in the army. Too late. I went over to the Cirque Moderne to one of the Bolshevik meetings, which grew more and more numerous every day. The bare, gloomy wooden amphitheater, with its five tiny lights hanging from a thin wire, was packed from the ring up the steep sweep of grimy benches to the very roof—soldiers, sailors, workmen, women, listening as if their lives depended upon it, and roaring applause. A soldier was speaking—from the 548th Division, whatever and wherever that is:

"Comrades!" he cried, and there was real anguish in his drawn face and despairing gestures. "The people at the head of things are always appealing to us to sacrifice more, sacrifice more, while those who have everything are left unmolested. We are at war with Germany, and we wouldn't invite German Generals to serve on our staff. Well, we're at war with the capitalists, and yet we invite capitalists into our government. The soldier says, 'Show me what I am fighting for. Is it the Dardanelles, or is it free Russia? Is it the democracy, or is it the capitalists? If you can prove to me that I am fighting for the Revolution, then I'll go out and fight with capital punishment.'

"When the land is to the peasants, and the mills to the workers, and the power to the Soviets, then we'll know we have something to fight for and we'll fight for it!"

The Last Days.

Under date of October 16, I find entered in my notebook the following news culled from different newspapers:

Mogilev (Staff Headquarters).—Concentration here of Cossacks, the "Savage Division," several guard regiments, and the "Death Battalions"—for action against the Bolsheviks.

The Junker regiments from the officers' schools of Pavlovsk, Tsarkov, Selo, Peterhof, ordered by the gov-

(Continued on Page 7).

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Correspondence—

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MARX AND REFORM.

"The movement for electoral reform here in England which the General Council of the International has created, and set in motion, is growing bigger every day, and it is now irresistible."—Karl Marx (in a letter to a friend October 9, 1866).

MARX AND BROTHERHOOD.

"To establish a general practical brotherhood, a general unity of aims among workmen of all nations, that points to the dawning of a new era which will cancel inequalities, compulsory ignorance and the present wage system, and to the substitution of equalities and equal rights for all. May your union last for ever."—Karl Marx to Italian Section, January 7, 1865.

FREE PRESS.

To say that the newspaper press represents public opinion is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors and railway directors. Can we expect the truth through channels of falsehood, light from regions of darkness or fairness from those whose business is to calumniate, pervert and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the need of an organ that should be beyond taint of corruption, invulnerable against attacks and inspired by men who feel it their mission to teach the truth they have acquired by hard toil and bitter sufferings.—Karl Marx, Sept. 16, 1865.

A PRACTICAL PROGRAMME.

On the questions of the day the "Workers Advocate" will have a pronounced opinion. With a view to promoting the complete political and social enfranchisement of the toiling millions, it will energetically support manhood suffrage; vote by ballot, representation based upon numbers, direct taxation, the nationalization of land, the development of co-operative self-employment to national proportions, the reduction of the number of working hours, the Saturday half holiday movement, political and trade international associations, and everything that tends to advance the cause of progress. Enrolling among its literary associates some of the brightest intellects in all countries, its articles on foreign affairs will be the matured opinions of profound thinkers and from its close association with the International Working Men's Association, which has correspondents in all parts of the world.—Karl Marx, Sept. 16, 1865.

NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PROGRESS

There is no substitute for progress. And no antidote. It must occur.

Czarism seemed to go down in a sudden crush. But its vitals had been eaten away by time and revolutionary thought long before the shell collapsed.

Throughout the world the same process is going on today. Behind the fires of rebellion are concealed, but not put out.

To postpone a revolt an offensive is launched. The offensive dies. The revolt lives to torment and terrorize its foes. Another volley is fired; another, and still another. The smoke lifts. The specter of revolution has advanced a step nearer.

If freedom were a mortal thing she would have perished ages ago. History is a story of the blood that has gushed from freedom's arteries. And of the immortality she draws from the cross where tyrants nail her.

You fret at the delay? The clock of Time has scarcely ticked since Nicholas fell. It may not tick twice before the spinning ball of Bolshevism goes hurtling among the crowned ten-pins of central Europe.

The setup is prepared. The player, in sandals and blouse, mops his brow and stoops for the effort. Stand back!

(New York Call)

THE ETHICS OF CAPITALISM.

H. M. Hyndman has said that capitalism has no ethics. The following extract from H. G. Creel's "Fact and Fraud," well illustrates the hideousness of capitalism considered from the ethical viewpoint. "Suppose a great, big, lazy hulk of a man who would not work for a living moved into a town and married a girl you had known all her life. She was nothing to you more than a former schoolmate; but a sweet, lovable girl of whom you knew nothing but good. And suppose, after the marriage, this lazy duffer refused to go to work and bought a wash tub and wash board and went among the neighbors soliciting washing for his wife to do. You know what you would do. A number of you would form a committee, call on that man and tell him that unless he quit that sort of thing you would run him out of town. You would not stand for it. The idea of a brute of a man living off the earnings of a woman! Shame on him! And if he belonged to a church in town they would throw him out. They would not have such a man in the congregation. And they would be right. But if this man had just half sense, after you had told him what he must do, he would go down town; he would buy ten wash tubs; he would purchase ten wash boards, he would rent a store room, hire ten women and start a laundry. Are you so used to it that that makes no impression? Don't you see that this man would be a "scoundrel" living off the earnings of one woman and a "business man" living off the earnings of ten women? And you would not throw him out of church. You would make him a deacon! And you would not run him out of town at all. You would make him president of your local Board of Trade! You would be up in arms against this fellow for living off the earnings of a girl who was nothing more to you than a good friend, a girl whom you had known since childhood. But if your own sister were one of the ten women of whom he lived you would say, "Yep, Sal's got a good job at the laundry." Wouldn't you?"

HIS RETIREMENT PAST DUE.

In the House of Commons last week, D. D. McKenzie, M.P., said the country believed that it was the hydraulic pressure of Sir Joseph Flavelle which had lifted the late Cost of Living Commissioner out of his office.

In making that statement, Mr. McKenzie hit the truth about as close to the bull's eye as could be imagined. Not only does the country believe that Sir Joseph Flavelle and his profiteering companions are responsible for Mr. O'Connor's removal, but each day, almost, something comes to light which adds to the corroborative evidence on that point.

The country concurs with Mr. McKenzie most thoroughly in the opinion that it is long past the time when Sir Joseph Flavelle should have been retired from public life.—Farmers' Telegram.

STUDIED CRIME IN JAIL.

It isn't often that a prisoner in the dock, and on the brink of a term in the penitentiary delivers a speech so filled with problematic truths as that given by Leonard Wintgens, the Belgian who recently broke out of Toronto Jail after committing a brutal assault with an iron bar upon Guard Charles Spanton. The prisoner had just pleaded guilty to four charges, wounding Spanton, carrying a loaded pistol, attempting to break into the grocery of A. G. Robertson, Queen street west, and stealing a watch, \$16 and a kodak from a business college on Yonge street.

"This man is a dangerous criminal, and is not long out of the penitentiary," said Crown Attorney Corley.

Asked if he wished to make a statement, the prisoner in fairly good English said:

"Many years ago I knew nothing about crime, and had no desire to commit crime. Then I was sent to jail. While there I learned much about crime, and never got a chance to get my parole. I was under the evil influence of the men I met there. They taught me all I know about crime. I wish to say, sir, that your penal institutions are criminal colleges. I ask clemency."

Mr. Corley shook his head, and expressed the fear that the prisoner's

description of our prisons was all too true.

Wintgens was committed to the penitentiary for four years.

A STUDY OF MASS PSYCHOLOGY

An interesting letter from a student in which he asks some interesting questions about the Y.W.V.A. and Y.M.C.A. controversy:

Every political "spellbinder" knows how easy it is, under favorable circumstances, to stampede an audience. A curious example of what is called "mass psychology" is presented in the contrast between the attitude of the Great War Veterans convention towards the Y.M.C.A. war service and the testimony publicly given in Toronto by many war veterans.

Without a dissenting voice or vote, veterans of the great war, assembled in convention here, adopted a resolution which condemned the Y.M.C.A. in unmeasured terms and expressed contempt for the organization and its services in military camps at the front. Last evening, in an address in Toronto, the famous English evangelist, "Gipsy" Smith, who has for years been doing work behind the lines, had only good words to say of the Y.M.C.A. He requested the returned soldiers in the audience to stand up. They did so. There were several scores of them. "Does the Y.M.C.A. treat you right?" asked the speaker. "Yes," was the unanimous reply of the soldiers. "Is there any grumbling at the front about the Y.M.C.A.?" The answer came in chorus, "No." "What do you think of the Y.M.C.A.?" "It's all right."

If these veterans who endorsed the Y.M.C.A. so heartily had been delegates to the G.W.V. convention here last week, would they have supported the resolution condemning the Y.M.C.A.? If the convention delegates who joined in the condemnation of the Y.M.C.A. had been in Gipsy Smith's audience last night, would they have declared that the Y.M.C.A. was "all right"? Probably so in both cases. Even intelligent men and women, when they get together in crowds, often resemble a flock of sheep, acting automatically as they are expected and directed to act.

THE BOOK SHELF.

Literature is a stimulant to the mind, just as food is a stimulant to the body. It is therefore necessary to have the best literature in order to get the best results.

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What Others Are Thinking

OPPOSES GOMPERS.

J. C. Watters, President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at Convention of Toronto Labor Party

SAYS SIMPSON WAS AT HIS BEST.

J. C. Watters, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, speaking at the second annual convention of the Toronto Labor Party on Saturday night, declared that, in his opinion, Lloyd George was the trickiest little politician on the face of the earth, and "that this last affair through General Maurice showed the truth of the statement."

"Three times," said Watters, "I cabled Lloyd George asking him to give instructions to Sir Joseph Flavelle, the devoted head of the Imperial Munitions Board to co-operate with the Dominion Trades Congress in the interests of the Canadian workers. We were turned down, and then, upon my advice and request, Premier Borden cabled twice. Again we were turned down. I have said that Lloyd George is the trickiest politician who ever masqueraded as a statesman, and I repeat it."

Origin of M.S.A.

"The policy of Lloyd George has a great deal to do with the conditions we are suffering now, and I know that the M.S.A. came from him, and the taking from us of various phases of liberty."

He had gone to Washington when Mr. Thomas and another "apologist" had come from England to tell the American workers what they were to do to win the war. Mr. Thomas painted a rosy picture of the conditions of workers in England, but "he did not tell them of the industrial slavery which prevented a worker from going across the street to accept an increase in wages."

If the German workingmen had been as strongly organized industrially as politically, this war would never have occurred.

Goes After Mackenzie, Too.

Watters also expressed a very decided opinion as to Sir William Mackenzie, and added that he had defied Sir William to take criminal action against him.

"The Privy Council is a myth," he continued, "and so far as our own Parliament is concerned, there is no government by Parliament at all. The Cabinet Council decides what shall be done and then introduces legislation, which is supported by the rank and file of the members of the party—those servile, abject, miserable specimens of humanity, those little, miserable politicians whose hands go up like so many manikins. They must support the measure introduced by the Cabinet Council." In the last analysis, he declared, Sir Clifford Sifton, Sir Joseph Flavelle and Mackenzie and Mann were the men behind the Cabinet Council.

Gompers and Simpson.

Referring to the meeting addressed by Samuel Gompers, of the A.F. of L., at Ottawa, Watters said that he took strenuous objection to his advice regarding the use of the political weapon. He said: "The night he was to speak J. Simpson was there. Simpson kept the audience there, and Gompers sat in the ante room ten minutes listening to him. Jimmy was not aware that Gompers was there, and he made one of the best trades union speeches I ever listened to, and

Gompers stayed out in the lobby when Jimmy advised the taking of political action as well as using their economic strength on the political, as well as the industrial field. That was enough for Sam. That constituted the whole topic of his address, and it was in opposition to what Jimmy had advised. The moment he finished he left by special train. I spoke and said I regretted very much that the president of the American Federation of Labor had left, but I had either to attack him by defending the policy of the Trades Union Congress or to sit back and allow that policy to be attacked without making any reply.

"While the most effective weapon the workers have is a trades union organization, that was no reason why they should not look to the political weapon and see what use they could make of it. The aspirations of labor should be to form the government in cities and in the Provincial and Federal Houses.

Can Paralyze Nation.

"The very fact that we are in a position to almost paralyze the industrial life of the nation will make any government hesitate in not giving us any measure we want," he said, claiming that the strong organization of the U.S. Railway Brotherhoods had prevented the eight-hour day from being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

"Until we are the Government we must not forget that the one weapon we have in our hands is the economic weapon of trades unionism," he asserted. He agreed that in the interests of the working class there should be closer co-operation between the Government and organized labor, "if only to fit them to assume the duties they will be called upon to perform. Until we fit ourselves to democratize industry let us leave industry and the guiding of the nation in the hands of the same people as now."

Getting a Training.

"I claim it is a wise move on the part of labor to accept the decisions of the different commissions, because it is giving them a training in these things for the time when the people will elect them to Parliament," he said.

Watters declared himself as a non-believer in compulsory arbitration, but an advocate of voluntary arbitration, and in compromising for all the party could get.—Toronto Telegram.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY PRESS

The Call (London), May 2, 1918, says: "The American Labor delegation which is over here to investigate war conditions in this country, have gone through the usual performances of 'seeing the sights' with feasts more or less elaborate thrown in. The functions have provided opportunities for our cousins to deliver orations which recall the speeches we learned here more than three years ago. Last week end they were entertained in the banquet hall of Whitehall Palace. The place was chosen, no doubt, to show in what high regard labor is held in this country. In the course of a speech, Mr. James Wilson, of the American Federation of Labor, said he would not agree to a peace conference with the enemy until Prussian militarism had withdrawn within its own boundaries. He also prated about the war being fought to enable the German people to free themselves. We

wonder what Mr. J. Wilson's idea of freedom is. The Prussian Junkers have not as much power or use it with less ruthlessness than the American trust magnates, and as for freedom of opinion, the wholesale arrest of American Socialists indicates how far that is considered worthy of respect. The American delegation has made little impression, notwithstanding all their promises of what America is going to do to keep the war going. They would do greater service to freedom and humanity if they went back and used their endeavor to bring the U. S. Labor movement to agree to the reconstruction of the Workers' International. If this crowd is a fair specimen the American Labor leaders badly need experience of what war really means."

The Christian Commonwealth's Labor correspondent, April 24, 1918, says: "If the first meeting of the American Labor delegation with the representatives of the organized workers of this country has not produced a miraculous change of heart on either side, it has certainly laid the foundation for a better understanding. In view of its bearings upon the peace policy the visit of the American delegates is of considerable importance. So much was evident at the gatherings in the House of Commons last Wednesday, where good-fellowship and the traditions of hospitality did not prevent the visitors hearing, apparently for the first time, and to their own manifest surprise, that British Labor has had a longer experience of war than the American workers, and is in a position to give, rather than to take, lessons from American Labor on the duties of the workers in war time. . . . In view of the fact that the present American delegation has no power to commit the American Federation of Labor to any new policy on war aims, it is not surprising if the visit is regarded here as delaying the policy of international understanding."

Forward Glasgow, May 11, 1918: "They came . . . with the idea that Labor could influence the peace settlement, if it met after the armistice was declared, and if Mr. Gompers sat with the plenipotentiaries with one or two of his lieutenants. I believe they now see that it will be too late, and I doubt if they will now reiterate the foolish pronouncement of the American Federation against an International meeting so soon as it can be arranged. . . .

"When they speak of the International they do not mean what we mean. They think merely of a trade union body. To them Trade Unionism and Labor Democracy are one and the same thing. That hope will be knocked out of their heads when they go to France. With it, the old international elements will never agree. . . .

"These conferences, however, whilst revealing the necessity of getting into direct contact with the organized labor movement of America, otherwise than by the kind of deputations sent over hitherto at the expense of the Government, have also shown the dangers which European Labor and Democracy run if they bind themselves to wait for American support before they take any action to carry out their own policy. We cannot afford to wait until the American Federation of Labor is converted, nor can we allow the A. F. of L. to set itself against the united policy of Inter-Allied Labor and

Socialism.

" . . . if this deputation could only be made to understand something of the Labor and Socialist movement on this side of the world, and would carry its knowledge back to America with it, the A.F. might turn over a new leaf, and American organized labor might bring itself up to date, and leave the mid-Victorian ruts in which it now finds itself. In any event, the delegates which our Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress are to send over to the convention in June will have a great chance of doing good work. The American Federation is a generation behind the times."

J. Ramsay Macdonald in **Liechester Pioneer**, May 3, 1918, writes: "I have seen a good deal of the American working class delegates this week, and I am somewhat depressed in consequence—and I venture to hope that they, too, are not so gay about fine phrases as they were. Questions were put to them which they apparently never had visualized. When they go back to America they will have much to tell their colleagues. The great misfortune is that in the meantime, the formulation and advancement of an active labor policy is retarded and Europe drifts into a situation which makes the prospects of peace appear more and more remote."

GO TO PRISON WITH A SONG.

Five Conscientious Objectors Leave for Burwash Amid Joyous Scenes.

A demonstration of a unique character, and the first of its kind that ever took place at the Union Station, was witnessed recently by passengers going to and from the trains. Five conscientious objectors en route to Burwash Prison to serve two-year terms for refusing to join the colors, handcuffed to a chain, stood on the platform and lustily sang, "We'll Never Say Good-bye in Heaven," their vocal efforts being reinforced by a large number of the followers of their faith, who were on hand to give them a rousing send-off.

"The first batch of prisoners I have ever met in my long career as a sheriff that were glad to go to prison," remarked Sheriff Ryan, who was in charge of the "chain gang." They were just as happy as if they were going to a picnic; they were anything but remorseful, and appeared to be thoroughly enjoying themselves. Their friends, likewise, displayed unbounded enthusiasm, and offered words of cheer, seldom noticeable at departures of this kind. "Cheer up, boys," and "Stick to your faith through thick and thin," could be heard on every side as the five men were led into the smoking compartment of one of the coaches of the C.P.R. train which pulled out at 10 o'clock for Sudbury.

As the train slowly moved out the party on the platform walked along singing hymns and waving their hats and handkerchiefs.—Toronto Globe.

'Tis only by the process of comparison that we arrive at perfection.

No one is well paid for his work who does not get the full social value of what his labor produces. When the workers get ready to demand this there will be no surplus value for the capitalist, and he will go out of business, just as did the robber barons of the middle ages.

ITEMS OF NEWS OF ALL PARTS

TO WOMEN.

Among the foremost workers in the Women's Peace Crusade in Great Britain are Mrs. Philip Snowden and Mrs. Despard (sister of Gen. French) Englan, and Mrs. Helen Crawford, Scotland.

Demonstrations are being planned for the month of June, to demand peace, by the Women's Crusades throughout Great Britain.

At a recent meeting in Leeds, England, four thousand five hundred women unanimously passed a resolution demand "peace by negotiation."

There is to be held shortly in Berne, Switzerland, an international conference of women.

Several English and American women have been invited but have been refused passports by their respective governments. The last members of our Crusade in Canada are from Weyburn, Sask.

The Christian Peace Crusade in England is uniting with the Women's Crusade for the June demonstrations.

The French working women have declared for peace.

There are more Socialist women than any others in our Women's Crusade in Canada. Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin are Germany's greatest women pacifists. Both are Socialists.

Socialist women! Come forward. Let our ranks be unbroken against militarism.

Will all who deplore our fast growing slavery be brave enough to stand against it? Literature and leaflets will be sent to any address on application.

Thank you all who have written to me. God bless the brave, true mother-hearts!

I saw a vision as the armies met
A woman stood with calm and fearless eyes.

Like the Madonna of the ancient art,
Gentle and strong, and in her loving, wise;

Yes, as the armies met she stood between

A vision of sublimest womanhood—
And looking down the future, Hope returned.

I was not dreaming—I had understood.

For so shall women stand
Command "Peace!"

And all Earth's strife and cruel war
shall cease.

Gertrude Richardson,
Swan River, Man.

HAMILTON NOTES.

Our Winter series of Sunday afternoon lectures is now concluded. The attendance was well maintained throughout, and from the addresses themselves, and from the large amount of literature disposed of, we confidently expect that much Socialist leaven has been set at work in Hamilton. We have nearly doubled in membership since the start of the meetings. Towards the end there was a little flutter in the local press over things supposed to have been said at our May Day meeting, and in an address of Comrade Cunningham's of Guelph, but three plain-clothesmen who attended our next meeting certified to our absolute respectability, and so allayed any fears of an immediate uprising of the Hamilton proletariat. During the summer we will have a lecture on the first Sunday in each month. An economic discussion class has been organized by Comrade Bruton to which non-members are invited. A commit-

tee has been formed to distribute Socialist literature at the different labor union meetings. This we conceive to be part of the function of the S.D.P. within the Labor Party.
J. A.

NEW LOCALS ORGANIZED.

Ratzburg, Ontario, chartered as Local No. 135, seventeen members have been enrolled. The chartering of Ratzburg local is a very encouraging sign of the times, all the members of this local are farmers, and their organization as a local of the S.D.P. is a sure indication that the farming population are moving rapidly toward the Socialist objective.

Local No. 1, Toronto, Ontario, re-organized. The re-organization of this local is very promising for the City of Toronto, and with the bright intellects that are now taking part in its formation it should be able to accomplish a very useful work. A preliminary discussion was responsible for outlining the educational programme that, if well executed will do much in providing the movement with good speakers in the days that are to come.

A man needs but three meals a day. Why should he be allowed to own and control a million?

REACTION IN FINLAND.

The Times reports that Finnish reactionaries, having vanquished the Socialists, are determined, in order to prevent the recrudescence of revolutionary Socialism, to transform the Finnish republic into a monarchy, to establish a Second Chamber with the right of veto, to deprive women of the vote and to limit the voting power of men. "Prussian methods," says The Times, "are needed to consolidate Prussian influence."

(Continued from Page 4).

ernment to be ready to come to Petrograd. Oranienbaum Junkers arrived in the city.

Part of the Armored Car Division of the Petrograd Garrison stationed at the Winter Palace.

At a meeting of the City Militia of the low-litney district a resolution was passed demanding that all power be given to the Soviets.

Upon orders signed by Trotzky, several thousand rifles delivered by the Sestroretzk government arms factory. Petrograd workers being armed, and assigned in regiments. (This was the creation of the famous Red Guard.)

At Smolny, first meeting since Kornilov days of the committee to fight the counter-revolution.

At Smolny, meeting of representatives of the Petrograd garrison, and formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet.

This is just a fragmentary sample of the confused, violent happenings of those feverish days, when everybody sensed that something was going to happen, but no one knew just what. On Sunday, the 22nd, the Cossacks had planned a "Chrestni Chod"—Procession of the Cross—in honor of the Ikon of 1624, by whose virtue Napoleon was driven from Moscow. The Petrograd Soviet published broadcast a proclamation, headed, "Brothers—Cossacks!"

"You, Cossacks, are wanted to be up against us, workmen and sol-

diers. This plan of Cain is being put into operation by our common enemies—oppressors of the privileged classes, generals, bankers, landlords, former officials, former servants of the Czar. . . . We are hated by all grafters, rich men, princes, nobility, generals, including your Cossack generals. They are ready at any moment to destroy the Petrograd Council, and crush the Revolution. . . . On the 22nd of October somebody is organizing a Cossack religious procession. It is a question of the free consciousness of every individual whether he will or will not take part in this procession. We do not interfere in this matter and do not cause any obstruction to anybody. However, we warn you, Cossacks! Look out and see to it that under the pretext of a Chrestni Chod, your Kaledines do not instigate you against workmen, against soldiers. . . ."

The military commander of the Petrograd District hastily called off the procession. On the 19th all the newspapers and all the house-walls of Petrograd carried a government proclamation, signed by Polkovnikov, Commander of Petrograd, ordering the arrest of all persons inciting the soldiers to armed manifestations, forbidding all street meetings, demonstrations, and processions, and ordering the soldiers and the militia to prevent by military force all unauthorized arrests and searches in houses. As if by magic, the walls were covered with proclamations, appeals, warnings, from all the Central Committees, from the Executive Committees of the moderate and conservative parties, calling upon the workmen and soldiers not to come out, not to obey the Petrograd Soviet. For instance, this from the Military Section of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party:

"Again rumors are spreading round the town of an intended vistuplenie. What is the source of these rumors? What organization authorizes these agitators who talk of the insurrection? The Bolsheviks, to a question addressed to them in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, replied in the negative. . . . But these rumors themselves carry with them a great danger. It may easily happen that, not taking into consideration the state of mind of the majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants, the individuals hot-heads will call out part of the workmen and soldiers on the streets, ex-

citing them to rise. . . . In this terrible hard time which Revolutionary Russia is passing through, this insurrection can easily become civil war, and there can result from it the destruction of all organizations of the proletariat, founded with so much pains. . . . The counter revolutionary plotters are planning to take advantage of this insurrection to destroy the revolution, open the front to Wilhelm, and wreck the Constituent Assembly. . . . Stick stubbornly to your posts! Do not come out! . . ."

Meanwhile from all sides the situation was growing tenser day by day. The Bolshevik papers steadily counseled that the All-Russian Soviets should assume the power, end the war, give the land to the peasants. On the extreme right, such organs as Purishkevitch's "Narodny Tribun," the illegal monarchist paper—and the "Novaia Rus," "Jivoe Slovo," etc., openly advocated pogroms—massacres of the Jews, of the Soviets. Mysterious individuals circulated around the long lines of miserable people waiting in queue, long cold hours for bread and milk, whispering that the Jews had cornered the food supply—and that while the people starved, the Soviet members at Smolny lived luxuriously. But the Bolshevik papers spoke, and the masses listened, and were quiet—waiting.

(Continued in next issue)

A Picture of Petrograd.

A woman doesn't object to her sweetheart being untrue to the other woman!

The big boy who puts rocks in the snowballs of life eventually gets caught.

LABOR AND NEW SOCIAL ORDER

(Continued from last issue.)

THE SURPLUS FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

In the disposal of the surplus above the standard of life society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines the rental value of the lands superior to the margin of cultivation, the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by now to have made this Britain of ours immune from class poverty or from any widespread destitution—to be absorbed by individual proprietors; and then devoted very largely

(Continued on Page 8).

POVERTY and RICHES

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(Continued from Page 7).

to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class. Against this misappropriation of the wealth of the community, the Labor party—speaking in the interests, not of the wage-earners alone, but of every grade and section of producers by hand or by brain, not to mention also those of the generations that are to succeed us, and of the permanent welfare of the community—emphatically protests. **One main pillar of the house that the Labor party intends to build is the future appropriation of the surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good.** It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by nationalization and municipalization, and, on the other, by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury exacting financiers. It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents and of adults, in which the Labor party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production. It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

THE STREET OF TO-MORROW.

The house which the Labor party intends to build, the four pillars of which have now been described, does

not stand alone in the world. Where will it be in the street of to-morrow? If we repudiate, on the one hand, the imperialism that seeks to dominate other races, or to impose our own will on other parts of the British Empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular "non-interventionism," unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow citizens overseas; of the corporate duties of one nation to another; of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races, and of our own indebtedness to the world of which we are part. We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a continually expanding friendly co-operation among all the people of the world. With regard to that great commonwealth of all races, all colors, all religions and all degrees of civilization, that we call the British Empire, the Labor party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of local autonomy and "Home Rule All Round"; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its color, to all the democratic self-government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible co-operation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an empire in the old sense, but a Britannic Alliance.

We desire to maintain the most intimate relations with the Labor party overseas. Like them, we have no sympathy with the projects of "Imperial Federation," in so far as these imply the subjection to a common imperial legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing self-governing Dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of democratic self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the colonial dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate," either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy, or to enable the landlords and financiers of the mother country to unite in controlling the growing popular democracies overseas. The autonomy of each self-governing of the Empire must be intact.

What we look for, besides a constant progress in democratic self-government of every part of the Britannic alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other dependencies (perhaps by means of their own ministers specially resident in London for this purpose) in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as foreign policy and imperial affairs are concerned; and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council, representing all constituents of the Britannic alliance and all parties in their local legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an alliance of free nations. And we carry the idea further. As regards our relations to foreign countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to im-

poverish any other state or nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all protective customs tariffs, but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby. We would therefore put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of secret diplomacy and the formation of leagues against leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the treaty of peace with which the present war will end, of a universal league or society of nations, a supernational authority, with an international high court to try all justiciable issues between nations; an international legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an international council of mediation to endeavor to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make common cause against any one of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement. The world has suffered too much from war for the Labor party to have any other policy than that of lasting peace.

MORE LIGHT—BUT ALSO MORE WARMTH.

The Labor party is far, from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks, or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us. But we deem it important to ourselves, as well as to those who may, on the one hand, wish to join the party, or, on the other, to take up arms against it, to make quite clear and definite our aim and purpose. The Labor party wants that aim and purpose, as set forth in the preceding pages, with all its might. It calls for more warmth in politics, for much less apathetic acquiescence in the miseries that exist, for none of the cynicism that saps the life of leisure. On the other hand, the Labor party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by good will alone. Good will without knowledge is warmth without light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped science of society, the Labor party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labor party that has the duty of placing this advancement of science in the forefront of its political programme. **What the Labor party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, democratic co-operation; and co-operation involves a common purpose which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction.** An autocratic sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A plutocratic party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no Labor party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of

the best political science of its time; or to fulfill its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the purpose of the Labor party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its policy and its programme will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows, and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. If law is the mother of freedom, science, to the Labor party, must be the parent of law.

[Conclusion]

...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 Advt. in the Directory for the sum of \$3.00 per year.

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