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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.

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(Continued)

A VISIT TO THE ARMY.

(In his article last issue John Reid described the new democratic organizations which sprang up to take charge of the Russian army under the Revolution. In this article he tells of the workings of democracy in the rank and file.)

In the Iskosol automobile, painted war-gray, we slipped down the hill out of Venden, through its German-looking medieval streets, thronged with masses of soldiers, past a long train of bullock-carts coming back empty from the direction of the front. At the edge of the village a regiment was swinging up, headed by its band playing the Russian "Marseillaise," and a great flag all red, with gold letters, "Peace and Liberty". The soldiers were coming out of the bloody trenches. They had marched thirty miles through mud. To the great sweep of the revolutionary music they tramped stiffly, arms swinging with the peculiar motion of the Russian infantry heads thrown up and back, grey, gaunt faces strained and stern. A forest of tall bayonets swayed above them, and they choked the narrow street—a torrent of mud-colored humanity. The coats of several were in rags—some were walking in bare feet. The window in a house wall high-up swung open, and a yellow-haired girl leaned out, laughed and waved.

It rained, as it had rained steadily, monotonously, for days; as it would probably go on raining for weeks... The Jewish lieutenant who went with us was pouring out scraps, odds and ends of interesting information. He told how the Jews had always been forced to serve in the ranks, but that since the Revolution thousands had become officers... although many preferred to stay in the ranks because shoulder-straps are distrusted by the soldiers. Before the Revolution the soldiers only received 65 kopeks (now about thirteen cents), per month—but now they got seven and a half roubles (a dollar and a half), every thirty days; and out of that they often had to buy food... Then there was the question of decorations, the

various degrees of the Orders of St. Ann, St. Vladimir, and St. George, the last of which carry with them certain small money payments. Before the Revolution these crosses were bestowed by a council of superior officers, as emanating from the Emperor; now they were given by acclamation by an assembly of the soldiers. These were only slight details indicating the profound change that had taken place in all the relations of military life.

He also spoke of the retreat from Riga, adding to the sinister story the events he himself had witnessed. "In the rout," he said, "the army hadn't the least idea what to do. The staff completely lost its head, as it did at Tarnopol. For three days it disappeared, leaving only general orders to retreat, and scattered along the roads, each officer for himself. It was the Iskosol which decided to defend our main positions, and we set up headquarters here in Venden and organized the military resistance on our own responsibility. It was bad enough before," he went on, "but since Riga the soldiers refuse to obey any general staff orders unless counter-signed by us... But it works not badly."

Now we were humping along the wide, bleak Pskov chaussee, originally paved with cobbles, but pitted and torn by the passage of armies, and deep in mud. Straight and powerful it plunged directly southwest, to the lines—and beyond to Riga—over the rolling country. Peasants, mostly kerchiefed women who grinned cheerfully as we passed, were carelessly dumping stones and dirt on the broken placés. An endless succession of trucks and wagon-trains went by, cavalry with long lances and rifles slung cross-wise on their backs, squads of infantry straggling along, single soldiers. One drew a cow, on which he had hung his rifle and a sack of carrots. There were wounded men, with arms tied in bloody rags. Many were barefoot in the cold ooze. Almost all bore upon their uniforms somewhat a spot of red; and everyone seemed to have a newspaper in his pocket or his hand.

We turned south off the main highway for a few miles over a road built of tree-trunks laid side by side, corduroy, through deep pine forests to

the little village where the Stab Corps has its headquarters. In the datchia of some long-vanished landowner the officers of the staff welcomed us, but after glancing at our Socialist credentials, they cooled perceptibly, and did not even offer a glass of tea—which is about as near an insult as a Russian can get. However, the twenty-two year old captain who went with us soon began to talk with Russian expansiveness, telling many things he doubtless should not have told.

"Between ourselves," he said "we all think that there was treason in the fall of Riga. Of course we were terribly overweighted by the German heavy artillery and the army was torn by all sorts of bad feeling between men and officers. But even then... You remember at the Moscow Conference when General Kornilov said: "Must we lose Riga to awaken the country to a sense of peril?" Well, the retreat from Riga began at the same time as the Kornilov attempt.

"After the first withdrawal of the 186th Division beyond the Dvina, all the army received general orders to retreat—not to any particular point, but simply to retreat. Then the staff disappeared for days. There was a panic. The Iskosol was trying to stop the flight. On the Pskov chaussee just north of here I came upon disorganized fragments of the Seventh Division in disorder. An officer showed me the written orders from the staff—simply this—"Go north and turn to the left."

In the deep woods muddy soldiers were digging pits and building log huts half underground, covering the roofs with dirt and branches—for winter quarters. All through this back country soldiers swarmed. Each patch of forest was full of artillery-limbers and horses, squadrons of cavalry bivouacked under the trees, and in the sullen downpour thin curls of blue smoke mounted straight up into the cold, quiet air. Again we were speeding along the great Pskov road, through the rich, fertile country of the Estland barons—those powerful German landowners, the most reactionary in all Russia. Great estates extended on both sides of the road, solid miles of fields lately plowed or yellow-green with abandoned crops; forests, deep green pines or flaming birches; lakes, pools, rivers; and the ample farmhouse of rich peasants, or chateaux of the local lords. Occasionally soldiers would be working in the fields. The Association of Zemstovs had plowed and planted all the Baltic provinces so that this year's harvest would feed the army and leave a million poods over—now almost fallen into German hands.

Whole acres of cabbages were rotting yellow, untouched and fields of beets and carrots were washed out by the rain. The ostentatious country houses stood roofless, burnt; the peasant homesteads had their windows smashed, and trails of loot led in all directions. And over the silent

country waste and empty, only immense flocks of rooks whirled screaming in the rain, the throbbing matter of far-off battle sounded, and the only human life was the hysterical life of an army in battle.

Off to the right a quarter-mile across the plain, the village of Ziege-wald was being bombarded. Unseen, unheralded except by the muffled boom of cannons miles away, the shells came whining down out of the gray sky, and house after house heaved up and burst apart in splinters and black smoke. Our automobile turned in and entered the village. Only a block away some unseen thing roared suddenly and tore a building apart—the air was full of bricks. Down the street some peasants stood at the door of their hut, a bearded man and a woman with a baby in her arms, quietly watching. A few soldiers went nonchalantly across the fields, hands in pockets, more interested in us than the shelling. Almost into it we drove, and then turned to the left. The captain was laughing. Right behind us, where we had passed, a jagged pit opened in the road. Shrapnel began to burst.

Along a deserted road, only used at night—for it was in sight of the enemy—we crept beside a cedar hedge, while over our heads the hurtling shells went whistling, high up. Half a mile behind, over to the right, a Russian six-inch battery fired methodically at some unseen target, so far away that the explosions were barely audible. Through a farm we went, between a big house and a stone barn, both roofless and peopled with soldiers and field-kitchens; and along an open field to the wooded heights above the river. Ah, where lay the Russian first-line trenches.

Like grotesque, mud-colored monsters the Russian soldiers crawled from their bomb-proofs to look us over—gaunt, drab-faced creatures, dressed in outlandish combinations of odds and ends of military and civilian cloths, their feet wrapped in rags. Since we were with officers they were sullenly suspicious, and demanded papers. Through the trees we could see the opposite bluffs, where the Germans lay hidden—but it was still raining steadily, drearily and there seemed to be a tacit agreement.

A bearded soldier came up, wearing the red arm-band of the soldiers' committee.

"Any news from Petrograd?" he asked the captain, without saluting. All the others crowded around. The captain answered that he himself had not seen the papers. "Huh," grunted the other, and turned slowly to us. "If these are Americans," he went on, "ask them why their country refused to endorse the Russian peace terms. Tell them that this is prolonging the war; that thousands of Russian men are dying because of it."

Half a mile further along we stood in front of the company commander's dug-out while he spoke to the captain

(Continued on page four)

The Aims of Labor.

(By Right Hon. Arthur Henderson,

WORLD SECURITY.

President Wilson's famous declaration that the supreme inspiration of the military efforts of the Allies against the Central Powers is the desire to make the world safe for democracy will remain for all time one of the classic utterances of real statesmanship. It crystallises in a brief sentence the spiritual yearnings and idealist sentiments of all free peoples. The war itself has exercised a purifying influence on the souls of men and women, has stirred them to the depths of their being, and quickened and intensified their powers of insight and discrimination. The outlook of the individual has been broadened and his sense of real values has become keener and more accurate. He is no longer satisfied by a general recognition of his right to earn the means of existence; he now demands to be guaranteed the right to live in peace and security. He wishes neither to oppress nor to be oppressed. The war, by the frightful ravages and cruel sacrifices which it has entailed, has shown him, perhaps more clearly and brutally than anything else could do, how nearly his own life and domestic happiness are linked up with the national life and welfare of his country. He has learned by keen suffering and bitter experience that the immoral and unscrupulous policy of one nation may plunge the whole world into the lowest depths of misery and desolation. He has realised from the example of Germany that a citizen may be called upon personally to expiate the crimes and follies of his Government. And as a direct consequence of this new and fuller comprehension of his liability as a citizen, he has determined to take a more practical and effectual part in the direction and control of national and international affairs.

In the past, British Governments decided when the nation should make war and afterwards determined the terms that should bring about its settlement. To-day, it is the British people who are at war and the people must decide the terms of peace. Despite the prolonged period of hostilities and military disappointments, they remain steadfast in their determination to defeat the ambitious schemes of aggressive German militarism, and they will not relax their efforts until their war aims are capable of achievement. Speaking of our War ideals, Mr. Asquith said, in his Dublin speech, on Sept. 25th, 1915:

Forty-four years ago, at the time of the war of 1870, Mr. Gladstone used these words. He said: "The greatest triumph of our time will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics . . ." The idea of public right—what does it mean when translated into concrete terms? It means first and foremost the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the relation of States and of the future moulding of the European world. It means, next, that room must be found and kept for the independent existence and the free development of the smaller nationalities, each with a corporate consciousness of its own. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Greece, and the Bal-

kan States,—they must be recognised as having as good a title as their powerful neighbours—more powerful in strength and wealth—to a place in the sun. And it means finally, or it ought to mean, perhaps by a slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal rights and established and enforced by a common will.

These are the ideals for which the people of this and the other Allied countries are fighting. It is not against the German people as individuals that their wrath and hostility are directed, but against Germany's policy of aggression and oppression. They do not desire to exterminate the German people, but they are determined to exterminate the policy of military, political, and economic domination which has been and still is a standing menace to the security and freedom of humanity. The power they are fighting against is the set of false ideals which are "the ruthless master of the German people." It is the ambition to world domination, the worship of militarism, and the belief in brute force as a proper instrument of policy. But security will not be obtained by this soulless policy merely changing its nationality from German to British or French or that of any other of the Allies. The idol of rampant and aggressive militarism must be shattered beyond repair, and the faith of all nations in its power and efficacy must be utterly destroyed. Such a policy by whatever nation it might be pursued would inevitably lead to a similar world catastrophe. The British soldiers and the British people are not fighting for British domination or French domination or domination by any of the Allies. The idea of world domination was not "made in Germany" it is as old as world-history itself. Germany is merely the latest nation to be deluded by these impossible dreams, which in the past have ended in defeat, ruin, and disillusionment. The end will be in no wise different for Germany.

It should be quite apparent, therefore, that world security cannot be guaranteed simply by the defeat of Germany's ambitious schemes, but only by the kind of peace settlement which is made after she has been completely frustrated. Peace terms must be based upon principles and justice, and not governed by expediency or selfish national ambition. It must secure restitution of forcibly annexed territory, reparation for all the wanton destruction and wrongs consequent upon Germany's military aggression, full recognition of the rights of all peoples, and guarantees for the security of world peace.

The people have made war in defence of high ideals; they must see to it that when peace comes it shall be governed by wise principles. As President Wilson has courageously declared:—

The treaties and agreements which bring the war to an end must embody terms that will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the

nations engaged.

The first step towards making the world safe for all peoples is the establishment of a stable peace founded on the inalienable rights of mankind; a peace which will assuage all legitimate grievances and causes of friction between one nation and another; a peace that will offer a real prospect of the nations living together in amity and concord.

The question which then presents itself for answer is: When such a peace shall have been agreed upon, by what means can its permanency be guaranteed? This is a matter of primary importance, for the hopes of all peoples are centred on security for the future. They are more anxious about this than about anything else: that when this war is terminated the world shall be maintained in peace and tranquillity. This is no new problem which confronts statesmanship. First alliances, then groupings, and finally the system of balance of power, all had for their object security. And each in turn failed lamentably. But if there is not to be a return to the dangerous, sensitive, and ever-fluctuating balance of power what alternative has statesmanship to offer in its place? One thing is certain, namely, that the people will not easily tolerate a return to the precarious conditions of pre-war days. They recognise that the old methods have all ended in disaster and they will readily turn to any practical solution of the problem which may be propounded if for no other reason than that if the worst comes to the worst, it could hardly plunge the world into greater agony and distress than the previous attempts to secure international peace.

At the present moment there is only one proposition which can be regarded as practical and concrete and which contains the essence of real statesmanship, and that is the proposal to form a League of Nations to guarantee the peace and security of the world. It is a reasoned, intelligent, and scientific attempt to construct international machinery to administer justice between nations with a view to disposing of all points of friction which may arise. In reality it will be an International Court of Justice to which all disputes between adhering nations which cannot be settled by diplomatic means must be referred to arbitration. Such disputes may be either justiciable, i.e., disputes which are capable of being decided by recognised international law; or non-justiciable disputes, i.e., disputes which cannot be covered by international jurisprudence but which can be settled by moral law, provided the nations concerned are disposed to accept moral law as being on at least as high a plane as law made by man.

But even this method of maintaining world peace may not be fully satisfactory and successful unless it has the full sanction of the peoples behind it. The spirit of the nation partners must be behind such a League and their moral support must be supplemented by a joint organised power—military, economic, and commercial—capable of enforcing the decisions of the League on any recalcitrant member, and of defending any member which may be attacked by a non-adhering nation that may refuse to refer the dispute between them for settlement by pacific means.

A PEOPLE'S PEACE.

The war has clearly demonstrated the extraordinary power invested in

free peoples. Take the case of the United States. For several months President Wilson had recognised that his country must eventually intervene in the war on the side of the Allies and in the defence of the great principles of freedom and liberty, but it was not until the American people were convinced beyond all doubt of the righteousness of this course that he was empowered to organise his country for war. In Britain the publication of Lord Lansdowne's letter was almost sensational in its effects, inasmuch as it compelled statesmen to recognise that the question of peace terms so vitally concerned the people that its consideration could not be postponed until the close of hostilities but demanded immediate discussion and definition. Hitherto the nation has been more or less content to remain in ignorance of the details of our peace terms: they have been satisfied with general references which were mainly confined to the statement of broad principles. Now they are aware that while there may be universal agreement on general principles, the method of the application of those principles may differ very materially according to the interpretation of each nation, and it is only by a comparison of the explicit and concrete peace terms of each of the belligerent groups that the world can judge what now constitutes the obstacles to a real and lasting peace. The people have their own ideas of peace, and they are only concerned with the difficulties to be surmounted before that peace can be obtained; they do not care what obstacles prevent the attainment of a Government's peace unless that peace is in strict harmony with their own ideals. They have no sympathy with selfish national interests or ambitions; they are shouldering the oppressive and painful burdens of the war with courage, fortitude, and determination, not merely to overthrow German tyranny and her scheme for world domination, but more especially in order to secure as will permit all the peoples of the world to live together, under conditions of freedom, equality, and security. They realise that there can be no national safety without international security, that the national development and happiness of a people are indissolubly linked up with international tranquillity and goodwill. They appreciate more than ever that nationalism is not the final stage of a nation's development, but that it is only an intermediate step to complete world internationalism. The effects of the war have been felt by the whole world; there have been no national barriers to the pain, suffering and sacrifices of the great Armageddon. The whole of humanity has been crucified. And humanity, bleeding and torn, cries out for a radical and complete solution of all the factors which contributed to the present world-catastrophe.

Such a solution can only be found in a peace which will remove all old grievances, prevent the imposition of new injustices, establish a world recognition and practice of the principle of the right of self-determination and of free development of all peoples, great and small. It must offer guarantees for the security of world peace in the future. Security is the greatest of all questions for humanity, but whatever provisions may be made with a view to establishing means for the maintenance of world peace, they will surely prove

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Petrograd Soviet Elections

The full returns of the elections to the Petrograd Soviet are not yet to hand, but the Bolsheviks have won an overwhelming victory. The results to June 21st show the return of 212 Bolsheviks, 21 Socialist Revolutionaries of the Left (who work with the Bolsheviks), 3 Socialist Revolutionaries of the Right, and 1 Menshevik.

This is in Petrograd, where starvation is rampant. And we are told by our Press that the Bolsheviks are ruling at the point of the bayonet!

Manifesto of the German Minority.

The following is the manifesto issued May 27th by the German Minority. We take it from the French Socialist Press:—

"On the threshold of the fifth year of war the Parliaments are about to reassemble. The hopes placed in them by large circles of the population have been radically deceived. War, misery, and the absence of freedom still continue. Every day new victims disappear in their tombs. In the East the sword of the conqueror has imposed a peace which has provoked immense ill-feeling and created new germs of conflict. In the struggle of the Russian people for liberty against Tsardom, German and Austrian bayonets have intervened in favour of counter-revolution.

"The armed alliance established a short time ago in Central Europe will also in the future divide the States into two enemy camps armed to the teeth. The coalition of one side with a view to developing the maintenance of military power is bound to have as a consequence a similar coalition on the other side. We are seriously menaced by the danger of a renewed struggle by all the Imperialist forces, after a short rest, for world-supremacy. So long as the international proletariat does not make a stand against the representatives of such a policy of violence and thirst for conquest we cannot dream of a general durable peace of the peoples."

The manifesto then points out the reactionary regime at home, and proceeds:—"The proletariat must defend its interests as a class against the avowed reactionary interests of the capitalist and landowning classes. The struggle against reaction at home is at the same time a struggle for a durable peace of the peoples. For the internal enemies of the people are also the prophets of a foreign policy based on force."

After describing the sufferings of the German people, the manifesto thus exhorts the workers: "Condemn the reactionary policy of the Government and of the bourgeois parties! Protest wherever and whenever you can, at all public meetings, against the deprivation of your political rights! Urge on the indifferent and apathetic, influence the public political conscience to become more a comprehensive, and strengthen our organisation! Make a stand against the aggravation of the conditions of life! Spread knowledge of the real reasons for the diminution of the

bread ration and of the true causes of the misery of the people during the war at all meetings and in intimate circles! Support with all your force the struggle for peace, liberty, and bread carried on in Parliament by the Independent Socialist Democratic Party!

"Workers, comrades, and citizens! Hence with all despondency, all cowardice, all disaffection! Let us arm the proletariat for the inevitable struggle for a brighter future! Let us remain faithful to the principles of International Socialism!"

Italian Socialists and the Offensive.

We have received the following resolution voted by the Italian Parliamentary Socialist Group meeting on June 17th, 1918:—"In view of the manoeuvres of certain political groups, desiring to preserve themselves and their misrepresentation of Turati's speech on Sunday, June 16th, in the Italian Chamber, specially by those factions who are described by Turati as the 'internal enemies' of the proletariat and the country observing how they ignore the unchanged political attitude of the party against the war, the repeated refusal to accept any responsibility for its continuation, and the reiterated lack of confidence in the Government; whilst in agreement with the sentiments expressed so eloquently by comrade Turati, which inspire the conduct of the Socialists, although this is not recognised by malicious opponents:

"The Italian Parliamentary Socialist Group therefore unanimously declares that Turati's pronouncement does not modify the ideals or the reasons derived from the struggle of classes, which animates the Socialist Party, causing it to remain firmly united; further, that Turati's sentiments are not in opposition to, but in perfect agreement with, the Party's irreducible opposition to the war, which explains the repudiation of any 'sacred union' having the aim of extracting from this war a new incentive to war, an addition to the oppression of peoples, and the consolidation of the capitalistic system, against which there will rise tomorrow—owing to the terrible lesson of facts—the true Revolutionary International of the Workers.

"The Italian Parliamentary Socialist Group expresses once again its profound sense of solidarity with all the victims of all countries and its indissoluble fraternity with all who suffer from the internal reaction that is born of war."

The Norwegian Socialist Party.

For some time there has been a keen struggle between the left and right wings of the Norwegian Socialist Party, and at the last conference the Left won a decided victory.

The Right presented a motion declaring that since the organisation of society must depend on the will of the majority in the country they cannot recognise rule by force, whether of the upper or the working class. The motion further disapproved of a general strike or of any revolu-

tionary action of the masses in their struggle against the high cost of living or as a means of helping a military strike for the abolition of militarism. Finally, the motion called on the workers to join their trade unions and to perfect their organisations for the purpose of winning a majority at the Storthing (Parliament) at the next elections.

The Minority resolution, on the other hand, refused to recognise the right of the possessing classes to the economic exploitation of the workers, even though this exploitation is supported by a majority in Parliament. The Labour Party of Norway must therefore retain for itself the right of employing any mass or revolutionary action in its struggle for the emancipation of the working class. The motion also greets with joy the formation of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

On the direct question of anti-military strikes the Right called on the workers to rally round the Norwegian Party in its demand for the legal abolition of armaments, and strongly disapproved of military strikes for the attainment of this end. The Left called on the workers to extend their organisations throughout the country for strikes against militarism and against compulsory military service.

After four hours' discussion the Left (hitherto Minority) resolution was adopted by 158 votes against 127. A further resolution declaring strikes within the army as being in accord with the principles of Socialism was adopted by 167 votes against 119. As a first result of this change of policy within the party the old Executive (Majority) has been replaced by an entirely Left Executive, with Tranmoel, Grepp, and Stang at its head.

It is interesting to note that side by side with the growth of the Left (Minority) wing the party as a whole has grown considerably. Last year the party membership increased by over 10,000, so that now such a small country as Norway counts 80,000 regular paying members.

The Recent Swiss Referendum.

C. Naine, writing in "Le Populaire," claims the recent vote on the question of a direct Federal income tax as really a great victory for the Swiss Socialist Party.

The figures were 310,000 against the Socialist motion and 270,000 for it; it was thus defeated by only 40,000, which he considers will swing round to the Socialist in another couple of years. At any rate, the formidable minority has already had one good result, that the bourgeois majority of the Swiss Parliament itself is relegating indirect taxation to a back place, whilst themselves proposing to institute a temporary Federal tax.

A second result of the referendum has been to show how far capital is concentrated in few hands. Thus the national capital of Switzerland is estimated to be 35-38 milliards. Of this, those (comprising the majority of the nation) possessing less than 20,000 francs (about £750) only possess between them little more than 4 milliards, leaving 31-33 milliards for the small minority.

There have been demonstrations in various parts of Switzerland demanding the more equitable rationing of food.

In Germany.

Quoting from "Vorwaerts," "Le Populaire" gives the following inte-

resting facts. In Saxony in 1914, the Socialist Party had 177,000 members. Now, however, the membership has fallen to 23,000 members. This fall is not due merely to mobilisations. No. 62,000 members in six electoral districts have left the old party to join or form the minority—the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. In addition, of course, in those districts which as a whole have remained faithful to the old party, many thousands of members have joined the Independents individually.

The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" (minority) shares with "The Call" the honour of having its national frontiers closed against it.

The Call England

BRITISH LABOR PARTY BREAKS WITH GOVERNMENT.

The British Labor Party has at last decided to sever its connection with the government. The resolution to break the truce was introduced by Mr. Henderson and which reads as follows:—

"That this Conference of the Labor Party accepts the recommendation of the Party Executive that the existence of the political truce should no longer be recognised."

Then the vote was taken after a little demur. A Card Vote: 1,704,000 for the resolution and 951,000 against. It was a beginning of the breakaway. Let those who have resisted it look out for the land-slide.

BOLSHEVIK MAJORITY.

Shanghai, July 31.—The Bolshevik faction has secured a majority in the municipal elections at Vladivostok, a despatch from that city reports. This gives them the right to nominate the mayor.

Herr Maximilian Harden is a plain spoken, brilliant and clear sighted, but somewhat erratic German journalist. Both he and his paper, Die Zukunft, have had varied careers. Harden exposed before the war some of the inner, vicious life of the high military and political circles. During the war he has been generally critical of the government and his activities have been, on occasion, temporarily curtailed. Nevertheless he continues to say true and unpleasant things about the Kaiser and the Pan-Germans with an impunity which is somewhat astonishing.

(Winnipeg Free Press.)

When any one in this country criticizes the war policy of the government and says some unpleasant things about them. Somebody is pretty sure to reply "If you said that in Germany you'd be stood against a brick wall and shot". Harden is only one of many Germans whose continued existence and immunity goes to show that there is more freedom of speech in Germany than in Canada or the United States.

Isn't it the irony of fate that Dr. Cody, high priest of Moloch and advocate of war to the bitter end, should be opposed by a returned soldier?

How the newspaper pimps of capitalism do keep on lying about the Bolsheviks! No wonder. Imperialists can never forgive them for the publication of Secret Treaties which exposed the hypocrisy of Allied pretence.

"What's for breakfast, Bill?"

"Well, if we 'ad heggs we might 've 'am and heggs, except we ain't got no 'am!"

Litvinoff Answers Kerensky.

The Chairman of the Labour Party Conference has withheld from me the opportunity of conveying to the delegates the greetings of the Russian working classes and their representative body, the Government of the Russian Socialist Republic. He has, moreover, deemed it fair and just to allow Mr. Kerensky to make a calumnious attack on this Republic, without permitting me, as its accredited representative, to reply to his charges, in spite of my own request and that of many delegates. I therefore consider it my duty to endeavour to throw some light on the Russian situation, over which a fresh attempt was made by Mr. Kerensky yesterday to throw an obscuring mist.

Whom Does Kerensky Represent ?

Whom does Mr. Kerensky represent Asked by so many delegates, this was not an idle question, for it is natural to suppose that delegates or visitors, officially invited to Labour Conferences, should represent the interests of Labour. Does Mr. Kerensky now represent these interests? Does he even pretend to represent them? Mr. Kerensky, in his speech, made no mention of the working classes; he was honest enough not to pretend to speak on their behalf, but appealed on behalf of the intellectuals, on behalf of officers, on behalf of "Russia." It should be remembered that the Russian Revolution was not merely a political revolution—it was, and is, also, a social revolution. And as such it necessarily sharpens the class struggle, which has now reached its extreme point, having divided the country into two opposing completely irreconcilable camps—the factory worker, the impoverished peasant, the unemployed, the disinherited, the despised and rejected—in fact, about 85 per cent. of the population—in one camp; and a small minority—the capitalist, the landlord, the banker, the stockbroker, the general, the bureaucrat of the Tsar's regime, the middle-class layer, the journalist, etc. in the other. The different shades of political opinions and parties faded into insignificance, leaving on the political arena two parties—supporters and opponents of the Soviets (Councils of Workers' and Peasants' Delegates).

Labour's Right to Control.

I maintain that Labour, whether in or out of power, is more than any other class entitled to speak on behalf of its country. And this is especially true of Russia, where the labouring masses are in full and indisputable control of the State apparatus, themselves forming the local and central government of their country. And when anyone speaks in the name of Russia he must be asked point blank whether he speaks in the name of those who, after eight months of the bitterest struggles, have defeated their enemies, consolidated their power, and are now the only guardians of the political and social gains of the great Russian Revolution, or whether he speaks in the name of those who, having used the foulest means at their disposal to overthrow the authority of the workers, have failed to achieve any success in Russia itself, and are now invoking the aid of foreign Powers, looking for support now to Germany, now to the Allies.

Mr. Kerensky, like our other opponents, makes the bold statement

that the Soviet Government does not represent the bulk of the population, but when faced with the pertinent question: "How then has the Government maintained its power if it be against the will of the people?"—he finds no reply. The continuance of a Government in time of revolution for eight months, without a standing army except voluntary detachments, inconsiderable in proportion to Russia's area, without police, without Press censorship, indeed with a greater liberty of speech and Press than exists in any other country (the repeatedly made, and as repeatedly disproved, allegations to the contrary notwithstanding), struggling against internal and external difficulties greater than any which have ever before confronted a Government in the history of mankind, can only be explained by the unlimited enthusiastic support of the great majority of the people.

An Absurd Assumption.

To obscure this striking truth, Kerensky was only able to make misty allusions to Germany's desire to tolerate the Soviet regime. This absurd assumption may or may not explain why Germany has not yet overrun the whole of Russia, but it certainly does not explain why the Russians themselves, who could free themselves from the strongly entrenched Tsarist regime and from the Kerensky Government with its many millions strong army, have not yet been able to overthrow the Soviets, if they desire to. As a matter of fact, all attempts to do this have utterly failed— attempts which have been carried out by Generals, officers, and so-called "White Guards" formed from the capitalist and middle-class youngsters and some well-to-do Cossacks. (Even the capitalist class had to admit that Captain Semenov in Siberia was able to enlist only about 500 Buriats (a primitive Siberian tribe), completing his detachments.) General Krasnov is advancing on the Don with the aid of German troops, and on the top of this now comes the latest revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks (Austrian prisoners of war), headed by Russian counter-revolutionary officers. But the most striking reply to Kerensky's false allegation as to the unpopularity of the Soviet regime comes in a message from Russia, telling us that at the elections of this month to the Petrograd Soviet 233 supporters of the Soviets (221 Bolsheviks and 12 Social Revolutionaries of the left wing) and only 5 anti-Soviet candidates were returned. And this in Petrograd, in the most famine stricken city in Russia, where dissatisfaction might have naturally reached its climax.

The Real Purpose of Intervention.

When Mr. Kerensky promises in exchange for this intervention in Russian internal affairs to re-create a Russian army for the resumption of the war on a large scale, I take it upon myself to declare that this is the merest political charlatanism, for he promises what he knows full well that neither he nor any anti-Soviet party can perform. Anyone even slightly acquainted with Russian affairs will understand the emptiness of such promises.

No! The re-creation of the Russian front is not the purpose of the much-talked-of Japanese or Allied intervention. The real object is, of

course, the crushing of the Workers' Government and of the Revolution, the spread of whose influence to other countries is a standing menace to International Capitalism. Intervention is advocated by ex-officials and ambassadors of the Tsar's regime living abroad and supported by French bankers and international Shylocks who hope thus to be able to extract from the impoverished Russian people their pound of flesh, the interest on the loans contracted by the ex-Tsar.

Do not allow yourself to be misled by the presumption that Kerensky pleaded for one Labour Party in Russia against another. The overthrow of the Bolsheviks cannot mean that any other Socialist or even Democratic party will take over the power. The Soviet Government, if overthrown at the present juncture, can only be superseded by the most brutal and barbaric military dictatorship, resting on foreign bayonets, with the inevitable subsequent restoration of Tsarism. Is British Labour going to be a party to these dark schemes? Is the British proletariat prepared to take upon itself the responsibility before history for the crushing of the great Russian Proletarian Revolution?

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
Plenipotentiary Representative of
the Russian Federative Socialist
Republic of Soviets.

RED RUSSIA

(Continued from page one.)

in low tones of the desperate situation. The soldiers had been saying that soon they would go home; regiments of four thousand men had been reduced to one thousand; there was not enough food, clothes, boots; they did not trust their officers.

"Tell them in America," cried a soldier, "that we are not cowards! We did not run away from Riga without fighting. Three-quarters of us are dead."

"True."

"True: True!" muttered others, crowding around. A voice shouted, "Riga was betrayed!" There was silence.

Now the rain had at last ceased, in the western sky the towering clouds moved and broke through to blue gold. The rich green land steamed. Birds sang. A group of soldiers stood looking up to heaven with haggard and apprehensive faces; for with good weather the firing begins. Indeed, almost immediately came the faint high drone of an aeroplane, like a wasp, and we saw it slowly circling up above the trees. All around us the soldiers began scattering to their trenches. Rifles cracked. Behind us the Russian batteries gave tongue, and on the pale sunny flowered shrapnel.

"Useless!" The captain shrugged. "We have no anti-aircraft guns, no aeroplanes. The Twelfth Army is blind."

Overhead the thing soared low, running along the lines, and on its painted armor the sun glanced dully. Guns roared now all over the country; shells burst before and behind it, but it glided on lightly, contemptuously. From the woods they shouted hoarse insults and fired.

"Come on," said the captain. "Let's get out of here. They are going to shell this place."

We had got up the hill behind the gutted farmhouse when it began—the far thud-thud-thud of German three-inch guns, followed by sharp explosions in groups of three, over the place where we had stood. Rifle

fire began pricking along the nervous miles. Batteries far and near, concealed in copses, behind old walls, spoke to each other and replied. Invisible missiles wove in the sky a tapestry of deadly sound. The aeroplane swooped and circled alone, humming.

Behind us as we went, all the west turned swiftly golden-red, pouring sunset up the sky, and the clouds piled up in ruins like a city on fire. In the clear yellow-green between a star began to burn, and below it a sausage-shaped German observation balloon crawled slowly up and hung there, sinister, like an eye.

Night fell. The fire freshened, pricking and crashing everywhere. Birds sang sleepy songs. A flock of rooks wheeled around a windmill wrecked by artillery. From far-off came the feverish stutter of a machine-gun.

Back through Ziegwald, in the quiet dusk filled again with vague human shapes which moved among the ruins, and along the Pskov road through the blasted country, so empty and yet so full of unnatural life. The stars were out. It was cold. Behind us the battle fell away. Fires twinkled over the plain, in the woods-fires of soldiers, fires of refugees who camped there, many of them without blankets, because the towns were crowded. Echoes of great choruses floated to us, of songs about home, and love, and peace, and harvest—and Revolution. Our headlights picked out details of the miserable interminable procession—the homeless, the wounded, the weary, those with naked feet, patrols, reliefs....

The captain was giving concise details about the state of things. Every regiment had lost at least 60 per cent. of its strength. Companies normally of 250 men had now less than 100. Battalion commanders of divisions; he himself, nominally the captain of a company now commanded a battalion. He had been gravely wounded four times.

As for politics, the captain laughingly protested that he had none. He was just an amused onlooker, he said. "What will come will come. To me, a philosopher, life is always the same. Nitchevo. After all, external events do not matter."

BACK IN VENDEN.

Back in Venden.... The day before we had seen a notice of a bolshevik meeting. Tavaristch Peters was to speak. The commandant had forbidden it. But we learned that it had taken place after all. The Iskolsent word that it must not be held, but the Iskolsent was disregarded. The commandant of the town sent dragoons to the meeting—but the dragoons stayed to the meeting.

The open market-place was thronged with soldiers, and with the few peasants who still remained in the surrounding country. The peasants had cabbages, apples, cheese and some rare belts of home-made cloth to sell; and the soldiers had loot—chiefly worn silver watches such as the peasants carry, with here and there a ring. The wide cobbled place was thick with moving masses of dun-colored soldiers, often in rags sometimes without boots. Bits of leather capable of being made into a shoe sole brought fifty roubles; aluminum shaving dishes were highly prized and accordions. I saw a broken suspender bid in for ten roubles. Next Issue "THE DEATH MARCH".

Every dollar made in profits adds to the world's poverty and misery.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Correspondence—

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THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

1918



SOLDIERS BREAK LOOSE IN TORONTO.

Pandemonium, Sabotage, Mob Rule, these are some of the terms most frequently heard in these strenuous times in Toronto. The cause of all the commotion is attributed by — Tomie Church the mayor — and the "Daily Mail" to the effect of Socialist agitation. It might be advisable to advise these fool scribes, that the tactics of direct action as applied to the soldiers is a natural corollary to the capitalist method of settling disputes as exemplified by the European War, in the practice at which the returned soldiers are past masters. It is not remarkable that this imputation should be laid at the door of the Socialists, as we have so often stated that we are responsible "even" for Sun-spots.

From this course of reasoning we are responsible for organizing the soldiers in order to break up our meetings some two years ago in the city of Toronto, Guelph, and Winnipeg, and didn't the capitalist press go into hysterical eulogies over these acts of violence. — Just so long as the soldiers restricted their actions to supporting the designing political reactionaries who were using them for their own nefarious purposes it was a patriotic duty. —

Now that the boot is on the other foot they howl about the sacredness of property etc. etc. Well, so far as we are concerned they can stew in their own fat. They are responsible for the outbreak in giving moral sanction to the principle of direct action in the first place. The plea of the "Alien Enemy" wont work in this instance as the premises attacked are the property of Allied subjects—being Greeks, it is therefore quite natural that in order to cloak their own misdeeds that the responsibility should be laid upon the wicked Socialists.

The Soldiers are getting pretty well used to this lying camouflage and will sooner or later realize that their interests are directly in alliance with those who compose the rank and file of our movement.

SUPPORT WORKING CLASS CANDIDATES.

Our movement has always sought to achieve its object by peaceable means. It is a record of congress proceedings that wherever there is a constitutional means at the disposal of the workers to accomplish their desires, that constitutional means should be applied. We do not hold ourselves responsible for every hooligan outrage committed by the workers, whether they are uniformed or otherwise. Our movement has provided an exemplary character during the course of the war—no charges of rioting or destruction of property having been laid against any of our members during the past four years. The worst for which we have been charged has been expression of opinions which did not coincide with the views of the Political and Judi-

cial administration of the country. If the returned soldiers will take our advice, we would suggest that the election of "Will Varley" to the provincial legislature would do more to remove the injustices from which they suffer than any number of violent acts they might choose to engage in. To strike terror to the heart of the ruling class, shear them of their power — to Rob, Exploit, and Fool the working class. However, there will be a nice bill for the city to pay — and the worst is yet to come.

SOCIALIST POLICY.

To the Editor, the Canadian Forward Comrade,

I should like to offer a few considerations on the questions which are suggested by Eugene Debs' article, "Socialists must change war policy", printed in the issue of the "Forward" from July 10th. I should like, particularly, to make a more judicial view of the position than that expressed in the article just alluded to.

It is easy enough to point to shortcomings in the behaviour of the German Socialist Party. But would it not be easy to do the same in the cases of the French and the English sections of the International? The German and the Austrian sections of the International have not cut heroic figures during the war. But can it be said that the French and the English sections have done so? In all these countries the majority section of the International entered into a **union sacre** with its ruling class and in all cases similar consequences have flowed from the union.

Not much good, I feel, will come from indulging in the luxury of denunciation and positive harm will be done if the denunciation is directed only to the behaviour of "enemy" Socialists. To confine denunciation to enemy Socialists is almost inevitably to play into the hands of reaction and imperialism at home. Much better is it, I feel, to try to educate some spirit of reasonableness and degree of understanding through which the International can be reconstructed and the war brought to an end.

For to end the war is the one really effective way of helping revolutionary Russia — do not let us lose sight of that. We know that the German Socialists have not saved Russia, and it appears from what information is available that they have not opposed the Russian Peace as vigorously as could have been hoped. But we also know that the French Socialist Party and the English Labor Party, for their part, failed to make any vigorous effort to send their own governments to the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and so bring an end to the war and security of the Russian Revolution. And it may be doubted whether this was not a more shameful failure than the failure of the German Socialists to secure better terms for Russia; for

at least it can be pleaded that the Russian settlement is, on the German Government's own admission (vide von Kuhlman's speech), not final and is open to revision, whereas the Brest opportunity for negotiations on the Russian formula is past and gone and has been followed by fresh sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of lives.

We know that the German and Austrian Socialists have sometimes been shamefully acquiescent in or only weakly opposed to the schemes of their ruling classes. But do we not know the same, to a greater or less extent, of the French Socialists and the English Labor Party? Are these last now offering any effective opposition to the plans for Japanese intervention in Russia to crush the Bolsheviki and restore "order"? Have we any reason for hoping that, if the Entete governments decide to invade Russia and aid counter-revolution, their people will refuse to acquiesce in such action, or that French and English (and, we might add American) soldiers will refuse to participate in it?

The Germans are considered docile and spiritless, but at least there have been strikes and mutinies in Germany and Austria against the continuance of the war. Have there been any corresponding phenomena in France or England? It appears that there were some mutinous outbreaks in the French army last year. In England so far as we know, there have been neither strikes nor mutinies against the war; although, it should be mentioned, there have been some threats of strikes.

Then, again, did the documentary evidence as to the character of the war aims of the Entete which publication of the secret treaties supplied lead to any heroic or even vigorous action on the part of the English and French sections of the International? It should also be recalled that the English and the French have acquiesced in their governments refusing passports for a meeting of the International and more recently in the refusal of the English government to allow Dr. Troelstra to land in England; that time after time they have acquiesced in the rejection by their governments of peace overtures (The Stuttgart resolution specifically proclaims that, should war break out, it shall be the duty of each section of the International to direct its efforts to bringing the war to an end as speedily as possible); that the French Socialists have seen their government vote money to the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian Rada that there is now a considerable section of declared jingoes in the French parliamentary group; that only three Socialists in the French chamber have generally voted against the war credits, and that in England even the Labor members who are also members of the I.L.P. (a body to whose idealism I pay profound homage) have not voted against the war credits.

I mention all these facts neither to excuse nor to condemn the majority sections of the International in France, Germany, England, and Austria, but rather to suggest that we shall be doing a disservice to the cause of humanity and peace, and thus to the cause of our Russian brothers, if we divert our activities from trying to bring the governments to peace negotiations on a democratic formula to denouncing the failure of any section of the International to live up to our hopes. I mention them in order that we may make a fair estimate of the facts and hence have

that measure of charity and, above all, that degree of understanding, which will enable us, in the first place to assist in making the International a strong force for early peace, and, in the second place, will enable the revived International to arm itself at what the war has shown to be vulnerable points, so as to prevent the peoples ever again being drawn into the sad and tragic circle of war.

Instead of railing at the shortcomings of the majority sections of the International, let us recognise that all these shortcomings are part of the same diabolical process which, once war has been declared, enables the rulers to keep the peoples pitted against one another. Once the people have joined with their rulers in might almost say, once war, no matter how it has arisen, is a fait accompli, and invasion is a possibility—each people finds itself caught in the net of its own fears. (The work of the newspapers is largely to stimulate these fears by displaying the enemy's intentions as sinister and by exciting hate and distrust of him.)

The people of each state is held by the fear that, if, to put an end to the sacrifice of their lives in the hell of war, they were to revolt against their ruling class, the enemy states would merely take advantage of the military weakness which the revolt would almost inevitably produce in their own organisation. It is asked that the German people, say, should revolt against their rulers. But, suppose they did so: can we feel assured that the English or the American people would act similarly and would not allow their rulers to force undesirable terms of peace on Germany? We cannot feel thus assured. And it is the fears which such lack of assurance (itself the result of fears sedulously cultivated by rulers and their press) produce that largely explain the seemingly helpless way in which the bleeding peoples are kept chained to the chariot of war.

Within each nation, too, the effects of a similar diabolical fate can be seen securing "national unity". Is a strike proposed with the object of forcing the rulers to adopt reasonable peace terms? The cry is at once raised that a strike would weaken the military organisation and so assist the enemy state to achieve its sinister designs; and, distrustful of the enemy, the men usually abandon the strike. It is declared that the strike would be treachery to the soldiers in the trenches. And the later, in their distrust of the enemy, would be ready to shoot the strikers; despite the fact that many of them might perhaps feel that their own lives and the lives of millions of their fellow-soldiers would probably be saved if their government could be forced to adopt more reasonable peace terms.

Truly the situation is pathetic. What is wanted to avoid it in the future? Firstly: moral courage; secondly: organization. But I cannot discuss that aspect of the matter at length now.

23 July.

S. Whitby

"You can't tell 'bout a display of authority," said Uncle Eben. "Many a man thinks he's doin' a fine job o' mule-drivin' when the mule is jes' hurryin' to get home." Washington Star.

"Young gabber made quite a long speech at the local last night."
"What was he talking about?"
"He didn't say."



THE KINGDOM OF SELF RESPECT

By Harriell Dunlop Prenter

The fact that food, and how to get enough to eat is so great a problem to-day may account for the other fact that the producers of food are for the first time in human memory accounted of great importance—the war can scarcely be the cause of this new attitude, because the poor fools have gone off to kill each other too often and too cheerfully in the past century, to bring them any special attention, the only consideration they have received hitherto, was just before the election, and the effect of this was all that could be desired—from the ruling class view point—like a glass of strong liquor on an empty stomach it turned the head—also the vote.

But just now, this focusing of public notice on the common people begins to look serious—it appears that “the Kings of the earth have set themselves” to do things for us, and nothing seems surer than that “the Gobelins will get us, if we don’t watch out” and the “Gobelins” of philanthropy are a dangerous species, under the name of “reconstruction” certain “housing schemes” are in the air’ also many other plans of the patchwork quilt order, and we must step lively, lest some of these atrocities settle down on us.

For many ages the working class might be compared to a great giant—a Samson with blinded eyes and dulled brain—an “articulate implement” he was called by historians, but evolution and education are doing their work and already the eyes are opened and even now the dulled brain is awakening and the giant is no longer either grateful or submissive, he no longer wants things done for him, now that he can see to do for himself, he is discovering his own value, he is coming into his own Kingdom “The Kingdom of Self Respect”. At last he is learning why it is that things have commanded a higher price than Man and he suspects that the reason why “bread should be so dear and flesh and blood so cheap” is because the working class brain had not understood the infinite value of the worker’s flesh and blood.

There is no eye opener like Self-respect, nothing which will so quickly stir up intelligent unrest, an unrest which will not spend itself in useless ragings for “reprisals”, but which is ever now setting itself to the discovery and application of the law of Social Justice.

It is—for instance—no longer possible to preach to the enlightened worker about the glories of another world, he is not interested—he knows he should get a fair share of the blessings en route—he wants his own roof tree while he is here, and ‘the house not made with hands’ will keep till the time comes.

And in all this, our self respecting worker is not an unspiritual person—“Democracy has a religious root”—there never was a more fundamental Democrat than the Carpenter of Galilee, if he had been a patch work reformer he would never have been crucified, and today the social and red blooded doctrine of self respect, which he preached is being redis-

covered—outside the churches, the toilers realizing that they are in truth “the salt of the earth” and not an unsavoury thing fit only to be trodden underfoot.

Visitors to any part of the world have thought it quite natural that the slum and the squalid quarter should be pointed out as “the place where our working people live”—very few of either the church-goers or the privileged class have seen any inconsistency in this arrangement, and the fact of poverty and starvation in the midst of great abundance rarely raised a question—no wonder that Mark Twain said “Man is the only animal that blushes—or that needs to”.

It remains for the self respecting worker to change all this absurdity, the task is heavy, but this type is equal to it, and in a land of plenty he will no longer grind corn for the Philistines while his own children go hungry: he is always the best agitator against a vicious social system, because he thinks as well as feels and nothing but justice will ever satisfy him—he despises and spurns the “uplifters” and their “schemes”, realizing that philanthropy “hardens him who gives, and softens him who takes”.

It is true that there are yet many workers outside this “Kingdom of Self-respect”, this fact is made clear from time to time: here in Canada where we have much of the equipment for the perfecting of a new social order, where all adult men and women hold in their hands that “tool of civilization”—the ballot,—we still find working class people declaring by their use of this power that they actually believe themselves to be incapable of self government—that they are still in the ancient bondage:

This is what Henry Dub says of himself every time he votes in favor of a representative of privilege or wealth, and every time he allows his “Lodge” to dictate his decision—he simply proclaims aloud that he is a member of the great army of feeble minded’ to be sure Mrs. Dub is a sinner too, but in lesser degree, and we have great hopes of her, she has not been gathered into so many “Lodges” and she is more inquisitive than Henry—more apt to find out things for herself.

Incidentally one is reminded that in a few weeks from now, the Henry Dubs of Toronto will have a chance to join the ranks of self respecting people, and also incidentally, the very facts of this coming bye election are encouraging; it is not so long ago that the mere suggestion of a working man daring to oppose politically or otherwise one of the “big guns” of the church would be horrifying—but the joyous fact remains, and on August the 19th—we must choose the “Canon” or the common soldier as our own representative.

It will be an opportunity to quit us like men” and to prove that in spite of rich and well regulated party machinery, in spite of Churches and Lodges the workers in North East Toronto are self respecting human beings.

When the workers learn how to vote as they strike, they won’t need to strike.

The art of making some men rich also includes the art of making other men poor.

Socialism alone points out the cause of poverty and Socialism alone can remove the cause.

COMPULSORY LABOR.

By George Makela.

At present time there is much talk in Canada about industrial conscription which is nothing else but compulsory labor said in finer words. As industry and agriculture have become more active and as over four hundred thousand physically best fitted workers have been taken out of productive labor, it is only natural that industries feel the labor shortage, and our employers are therefore compelled to pay little higher wages than formerly, especially the days immediately preceding the outbreak of war.

Conditions, where employers can not get all the labor they want at the terms they offer, are not desirable to our bourgeois class. And moreover as the war conditions make it impossible for them to import laborers from European countries, as they formerly did, they have begun very loudly to demand maximum price for the labor power, such maximum price which will give unlimited profits to all kinds of employers and as meager an existence as possible to the laboring class.

These conditions have actuated our patriotic employers to demand compulsory labor. It began in the west where the great farmers have suffered perhaps most from the labor shortage and eastern industrial interests have repeated it as an echo. But they do not want compulsory labor for the whole working class of Canada; they want it only for the foreigners. As these workers thus far have been left out of the operation of the Military Service Act, the employers who are looking after their own interests hypocritically demand that these men must be compelled to serve the country, which have sheltered them, on industrial lines on such wages and in the service of such masters as the government sees fit to order. The employers are playing under cover. As usual they try to use the national prejudice to their own advantage. They hope that the organized workers, who are mostly English speaking men and women, will not defend their foreign brothers but leave them in helpless state into the clutches of capitalism.

The government has not made any public proclamation on this question but from the statements made by the private ministers we gather that this far reaching step is under consideration. We do not know if the intention is to include all foreigners in the scope of this act. But the knowledge of this is immaterial. No government has right to enact such laws. Even the intention must be condemned in the name of democracy and in the interest of workers. It must be denounced especially then, when it is contemplated by the government which has not done anything to lower the prices of the necessities of life or has even seriously tried to stop their increase.

Food controller Hanna has repeatedly said that he can not undo the scarcity of food by proclamations and prevent the “legitimate” increase of prices which is caused by the law of supply and demand. How then the same government, which in its own words, wants to be “impartial”, can prevent by proclamations the increase of wages. And the government which, again according to its own words, is defending the democracy, consistently can not place great numbers of wage workers into chattle slavery.

A Return To Slavery.

We are not yet sure if the government really intends to satisfy the demands of capitalists in this respect. If it intends to so satisfy, it will be more dangerous to our national life than the infamous War Time Election Act. A government which contemplates such action, by so doing, shows the whole world that it does not want to develop from this land a great country, where in some future time will live a free, happy and a great nation developing its own culture, but that it regards this country as a exploiting ground from which wealth will be exploited in shortest time possible and in which foreign labor will be used as means of exploitation. The exploited country will be left to our posterity as an inheritance and the whitened bones of cruelly exploited slaves as a remembrance.

Our national life will never be in so great a danger that it demands the return to slavery from which we have just emerged. And remember, only free men can defend their fatherland slaves have no fatherland to defend.

Labor Organizations Task

The organized labor of Canada will have a great task ahead. Those hundreds of thousands of foreign laborers, who live in Canada, hope that it will defend them in this imminent danger. Do they hope in vain? They have been slow in joining the labor movement, it must be admitted but there are many reasons for this, and the organized workers, who have not always sincerely welcomed the worker from across the sea, who does not speak their language, into the ranks of labor unions, are not altogether without the blame. But in no case they should not refuse their aid when the aid is sorely needed. If the organized workers consent to play nationalistic role according to dictation of their masters of bread, and if they regard the immigrants as the eaters of their daily bread, then they do not possess even the rudimentary knowledge of the need of the solidarity of labor and the great historical function of the labor movement. By that action they make the organizing the immigrants more difficult than it has been before. Foreigners however must be organized even if we do not take into the consideration the revolutionary aims of the labor movement. In this country there are and there will be hundreds of thousands foreigners. They form a considerable portion of our working class. Unorganized they are a continuous menace to the aspirations of the organized workers.

A gang of renegade American Socialists including Spargo, Russel, Simons and others who have been bribed and scared into supporting the war policy, are touring Europe posing as representatives of American Socialism. The genuine Socialists of the United States, like those of Germany, France and England are either in jail, or maintaining silence to preserve their liberty, for which they can hardly be blamed.

TRUTH.

Love truth, my child, love truth!
It will gladden thy morn of youth
And in the noon of life,
Though it cost thee pain and strife
To keep the truth in its brightness,
Still cleave to thy uprightness.

NEWS ITEMS FROM ALL PARTS

ALBERT GOODWIN SHOT AND KILLED BY POLICE OFFICER NEAR COMOX LAKE

Officer Later Arrested on Murder Charge.

News was received on Tuesday morning that Albert Goodwin, better known in Labor and Socialist circles as "Ginger" Goodwin, had been shot by a Dominion police officer in Cumberland district.

Albert Goodwin was vice-president of the B. C. Federation of Labor in 1917, and was at the same time secretary of the Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers Union at Trail, B. C.

Like all members of the executive of the Federation, he fought against conscription, taking part in the political campaign of December, last year, and at the annual convention voiced his opinions on the subject, as he did at the special convention in September, 1917.

Unlike most of the other officers of the Federation, Goodwin came under the first call under the Military Service Act, and followed out his previous opposition to conscription by evading the call to take up arms, and has been lost sight of for some time, and while various rumors have from time to time been heard as to his whereabouts, it was not known where he was until the news came of his being killed.

On receipt of the news, President McCallum and Secretary-Treasurer Wells, of the B. C. Federation of Labor, decided to phone to Cumberland for further information, as, knowing Goodwin's unoffensive nature, it was thought that there might be a possibility that he had not been given a chance to give himself up when called upon to do so, but had been shot on sight. No definite information, however, could be obtained, his body still being in the bush.

EDWARD PIESSA SENT TO PRISON.

For having in his possession a copy of "Sakenet"-Spark, a Finnish Socialist paper published in Pittsburg, U. S. A. Ed. Piessa, of Minda, Alta. has been sentenced to one year in prison. Strange to relate the copy of publication is dated 1916 and the publication has but recently been suppressed, the important question therefore arises out of this verdict as to whether the individual can be liable for having in his possession copy printed prior to date on which the paper was banned by the Canadian censor. The case is being appealed. All readers are requested to protest to the Minister of Justice.

FREE LARSON CHARGED WITH SEDITION.

Comrade Larson of Fanny Bay, B.C. has been having trouble with the police authorities. He was arrested on the 24th of April, held without bail, then sent to Cumberland Jail. He was then moved to the jail in Nanimo and later returned to Cumberland jail. Later he was moved from Cumberland to Nanimo again, then from there to O-Kalla Jail. He was tried in Nanimo and then sent to Vancouver and from thence back to Nanimo for the third time. After about one month's travelling at the government expense and counting in the tiers on the C.&R. he is again back home and

notes by the way that he has the finest crop of weeds ever grown in the West.

Comrade Larson has a family of ten children. From his prison experiences he will from now on take the count of 8 P.M. to see that the chickens are all a'bed. The enormity of his crime is summed up in writing to Premier Borden suggesting that a few million dollar bills be manufactured by the Government and thus save to the community twenty seven and a half millions a year which is at present being paid to shareholders of the Banking Institutions of this country. He has been a resident in this country for eighteen years, owns sixteen acres of land in addition to ten children, and is the happiest most good natured man in B. C.

GLASGOW PEACE CRUSADERS Demand Peace by Negotiations.

The public meeting of Glasgow citizens views with horror the continued sacrifice of young life in this war, and the failure of the Government to take advantage of opportunities for Peace by Negotiation, and calls upon it to repudiate the Secret Treaties and enter into immediate negotiations for a just and permanent Peace.

Amsterdam. — According to the Turkish Socialist paper Yeni Dunya, the University of Constantinople has selected Lenin, the Bolsheviki leader, to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington is now in Liverpool "virtually a prisoner at large," but forbidden to enter Ireland. Captain Colthurst, the gentleman responsible for the shooting of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington and other two journalists, is now cured and free.

MONEY LOSING VALUE.

Predictions by some economist that the time may come if the war lasts much longer that money would cease to have any value are gradually coming true, they contend. They point out that shipping deals being made by both belligerents are virtually a return to the old system of bartering goods.

As an illustration the case is cited of the United States dickering with Japanese for tonnage to transport and maintain the 1,500,000 troops Secretary Baker expects to have in Europe by the end of this year. Ship plates for the Japanese have been held up in the United States for several months by withholding export licenses. If the United States can obtain the tonnage the Japanese may get the plates on the basis of about two tons of shipping for one ton of ship plates. In Germany the idea has been forced to a greater extent. In Erfurt and else where it has long been the practice of doctors, dentists and other professional men to insist on payment in kind.

AIMS OF LABOR.

(Continued from Page 2)

to be useless unless the other outstanding political, territorial, economic, and commercial problems are settled on just, honourable, and democratic lines.

So far as the British people are concerned they have no thoughts of territorial conquests; they do not

seek forcibly to annex any portion of the national possessions of any of the Central Powers or their Allies. They demand neither conquests nor war indemnities. But there will have to be certain restorations and reconstructions. Such necessary changes will be covered by the application of the principle of the right of self-determination of all peoples. Belgium must be restored to complete independence and compensated for the foul wrongs to which she has been subjected as a result of the German invasion of her territory. Luxembourg, Palestine, and the extension of Italy and Roumania to their natural boundaries, are all capable of being settled on this basis. Territories in Asia which have been freed from the oppressive rule of the Turks or the Germans ought not to be returned to their old rulers, nor can they be appropriated by any of the Allied Powers, in view of the very definite declaration that they are not fighting for "annexations." If these peoples are not capable of exercising their right of self-determination, the administration of their territories should be placed in the hands of an international commission acting under the direction and control of the proposed League of Nations.

The inhuman methods of the German towards subject races preclude or ought to preclude the return of the African colonies recently liberated from their control. Though the natives may not yet be in a position to exercise judiciously their right of self-determination, they have given very definite expression to their fears of the re-establishment of German rule. They may not know what sort of Government they want, but they certainly do know the kind of rule they do not want, and that is German rule. They must therefore be freed from German domination, and in order to conform with the Allies' declaration of "no annexations" there can be no question of the Allied countries appropriating them. The colonies of Tropical Africa, by whatever nation they are at present controlled, should be constituted an independent African State, the Administration of which should be placed in the hands of an International Commission acting under the direction and control of the proposed League of Nations. Any other territorial re-adjustments desired for strategic or other purposes are matters for negotiation at a Peace Conference and do not constitute questions affecting the continuation of hostilities.

The world must be completely and finally rid of aggressive militarism, the old costly and oppressive burden of armaments must be thrown off. This can best be attained by a common agreement between all the nations of the world having for its object the strict limitations of war machinery — human and material. If there is a return to the old competitive system of armaments it will lead to the inevitable issue—a world war even more terrible and destructive than the present war.

There can be no question of economic domination after the war by either group of belligerents. Economic aggression, like military aggression, is a menace to the peace of the world, and its effects inevitably fall most hardly upon the working classes. Free intercourse, international co-operation, and the removal of tariff barriers except for revenue purposes, should be the basis of international economic relations after the war.



By Phillips Thompson, Oakville

The Statesman, the new Liberal weekly, is unfortunate in its choice of a name the world has too long been cursed by statesmen.

They are talking of an Imperial preference system in trade matters as a fitting result of the Big Business War. But the Yankees won't stand for that by any means. The United States, instead of England, is getting to be the creditor nation of the world, and will have the final day when it comes to reconstructing trade relations. What else do you suppose the imperialists want?

If Hallam's dictum is sound that the liberty of the press consists in a strict sense, namely in an exemption from the superintendence of a licenser, then the press of Canada, as that of Great Britain, has not been free since the outbreak of the war — Montreal Gazette.

Treason! Seditious! Help! — Somebody stand this recreant Tory editor up against a wall and shoot him!

The prostitute press everywhere are taunting Socialists with the failure to put their principles into action, quite ignoring the fact that both in the acknowledged despotism of Europe and the sham democracies of England, the United States and Canada, any attempt to do so is punished with brutal severity. While thousands have suffered and are suffering for their principles, it is not surprising that many have fallen away. Supposing Toryism were under the ban how quickly the blatant loud-mouthed, loyalty-prating crew of editors and platform orators would sneak to cover.

Say, wasn't the 4th of July celebration in England, and the beslaving of the American with fulsome praise, a pretty bitter pill for Col. Denison and the rest of the U. E. Loyalist Outfit who hate yankees like hell? But they have to swallow it. Ha! Ha!

If we get a peace which removes all the old menaces to war, and settles the immediate problems arising from the present war, it will be necessary to establish machinery to guarantee the permanence of peace. More than for anything else the people yearn for security. This may be obtained by the setting up of a supernational body composed of all the nations of the world: a League of Nations with judicial powers to consider and dispose of all differences and disputes between two or more nations. This proposal means in effect the practice of arbitration in the domain of international affairs. Its success in practice would depend on the peoples who were members of the League; if they are genuine in their desire for world security, if they adhere to the League in the right spirit and continue firm in their determination to prevent future wars, the League of Nations will prove to be a real and effective guarantee of world peace and security. (Next issue "An Economic Boycott").



SIMONS' WASTING HUMAN LIFE

The prophets and priests of efficiency have these late days made themselves a good deal of a nuisance to the working class. Most of us have heard of them, — many of us have come directly under their influence. With economy and conservation this matter of efficiency has been preached in our long suffering ears till we have at last begun to take notice.

That we have taken notice however is not due to the preaching of our lords and masters. A great many of us have grown deaf to the orthodox appeal and have quit going to church. And many of us who have not forsaken the assembling of ourselves together, have imitated the praiseworthy manner of said lords and masters by sleeping through the sermon. However as the capitalistic press has not been silent and as such a general uproar has been made over this matter of efficiency we have been in a sense prepared for the appearance of "The nigger in the woodpile".

The African comes to light in the little work of Comrade Simons' entitled,—"Wasting Human Life." He is "Some coon" you may believe. Keeping on the conservative side to an alarming extent for the truth's welfare, Comrade Simons' shows by unanswerable argument supported by statistical information from the United States Census Reports, that the social waste under our present system of mismanagement (efficiency included) exceeds actual use in the United States as five to one.

A more serious indictment of capitalistic production would be hard to imagine, and the author states that his tabulations do not pretend to cover the whole of the facts but deal only with the larger and more noticeable items of waste. Obviously a system that wastes at least five times more than it uses, having now been found out, has outlasted its usefulness and shall have a can tied to its tail forthwith.

This little book is an 'Eye-Opener', causing the worker to do a little speculative thinking. The African is in plain view and once seen, grows continually more visible. It is quite natural that the worker should say,—"Well, if that's the how of it, why should not I who have so little get the benefit of this outrageous waste? Why not? Think it over.

This book should be read by every one. As one follows the author's ar-

gument in his piling up of methods and modes of waste one thinks that any capitalist reading this book should be "convicted of sin" and "go away straightway and hang himself." And if he have any sense of humor at all he must realize that, apart from his more sinister aspects, he is a

good deal of a joke.

Spend 10c. and get this little book. It will be the best investment you will have made for some time. Read it and pass it along to your uncovered friend. As a converting force it has the "Pains and terrors of Hell" skinned a mile. **St. Jean**

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Philip Snowden.

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The Ontario provincial executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of the month at 397 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.

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