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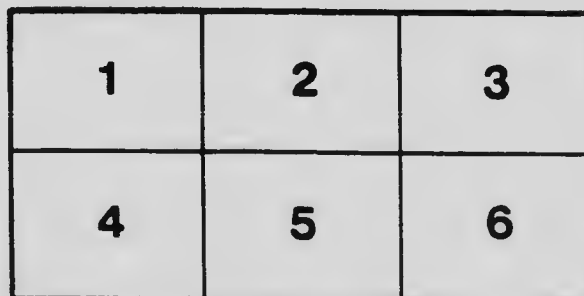
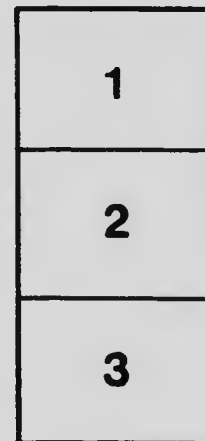
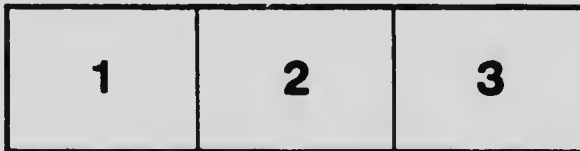
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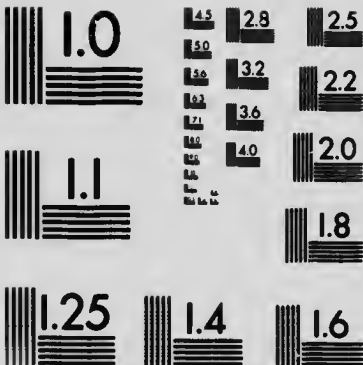
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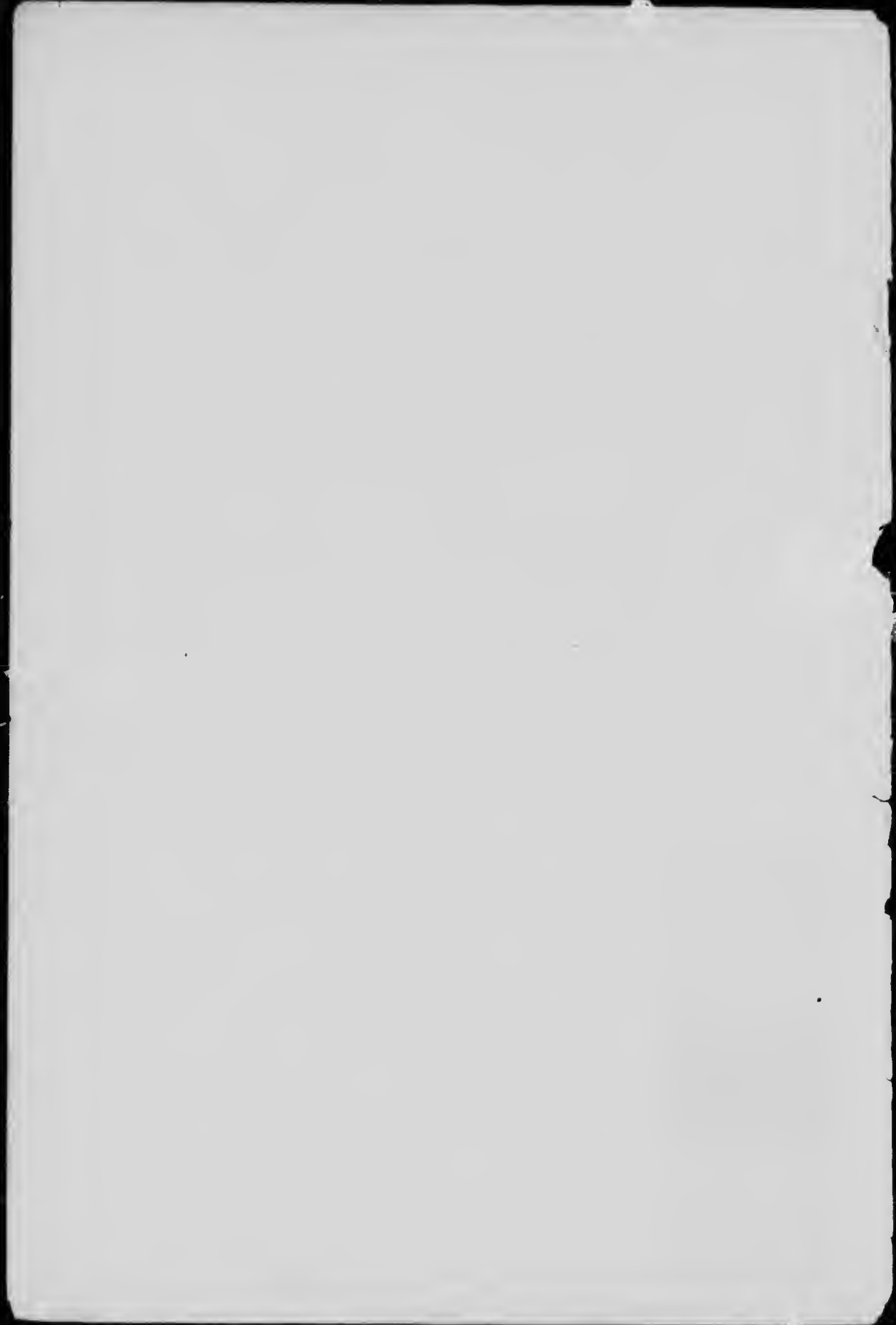
# SOCIALISTIC PROPAGANDA IN CANADA

Its Purposes, Results and Remedies

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## **Socialistic Propaganda in Canada; its Purposes, Results and Remedies**

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY C. H. CAHAN, K.C., BEFORE ST. JAMES LITERARY SOCIETY, MONTREAL, ON DECEMBER 12th, 1918

The Socialistic propaganda at present being carried on in Canada has several sources, all, however, directly or indirectly, of German origin:

In Germany itself, Socialism is based on the doctrines of Karl Marx, who published there in 1867 the first volume of "Capital," in which he enunciated that the power to work or labor is itself a commodity, which the laborer sells to the capitalist who employs him, under conditions whereby the surplus value produced by the laborer accrues to the capitalist alone.

The Socialism of Germany overspread its borders and soon pervaded France, England, Austria, Italy and Russia, becoming most revolutionary in its character in those countries in which autocratic governments then obtained; from these European countries it has reacted upon the polygot peoples who inhabit the United States of America.

Their propaganda, which has been carried on for the past twenty years in the United States, by the International Socialists of that country, is organized by various associations known as The Socialist Party, The Socialist Labor Party, The Industrial Workers of the World, and the like; and, for several years prior to the outbreak of the war, these organizations had pread across the border into every industrial district of Canada.

Since 1890, the literature of International Socialism, composed chiefly of translations into English from German and other European writers, chiefly and essentially German, however, has been

disseminated by the millions of copies from one end to the other of this continent. Since the commencement of the war, innumerable copies of pamphlets in the English, Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Ruthenian and the Finnish languages have been distributed in Canada alone.

The advocates of International Socialism assume that, under the conditions in which organized society now subsists, there is inevitably a state of war existing between the workers, or wage earning class, and the capitalists or profit-receiving class; that the wage earners are in a condition of industrial slavery, quite as oppressive as the system of human slavery which at one time or another has existed in almost every country of the world. Their rallying cry is: "Workers of the World Unite; You have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains, and a World to Gain." As an incentive to this organization as a class, they vividly portray all the evils that are associated with war, poverty, sickness and toil as directly resulting from the tyranny and oppression of the capitalists or property owning class; and thereby they seek to arouse, in the minds of the workers, a class consciousness, which finds its chief expression in envy and hatred of all who have acquired property of any kind whatsoever.

To remedy existing social evils, they propose to substitute for the existing industrial system, based on private ownership of capital, individual enterprise and personal responsibility for the maintenance of the family, the collective ownership of all material instruments or means of production and distribution, public enterprise and social responsibility for the maintenance of all persons born into the world.

The Socialist recognizes no political or constitutional system of government, no political or State boundaries, no National objects or aims, no international rights or obligations, except the right and obligation of all members of the working class, of every race and language throughout the civilized world, to unite in a revolutionary movement which shall eradicate the existing political and social systems and establish a new social order, in which the collective social capital of the world shall be administered by the workers of the world for the benefit of the workers, and for no other existing classes or members of society.

Under the hoped-for Socialistic regime, the State, as we understand it, is to be abolished; and all factories, farms and mines, all



railroads, steamships, telegraphs, cables, telephones, or other agencies of transportation and communication, all banks, or other financial institutions, mercantile establishments, or other agencies or means of carrying on trade and commerce, are to be owned and operated by a co-operative commonwealth, in which the workers shall alone participate, and under which the former members of the Capitalistic class, stripped of their property rights, shall again become workers, or be extinguished by starvation.

As a recent critic not unfairly states the Socialistic program: "They would appropriate the world and all that it contains for their own class, and let the Devil take the rest of us."

They also claim to establish an international comradeship, to have a monopoly of the brotherhood of man, which recognizes no existing state and no national boundaries. They plan, in the meantime until all national governments are overthrown, to establish their inner government within the national government, and to arrange that their inner government shall hold international relationships with similarly constituted inner governments in all other countries, and thereby consider, discuss and decide all so-called international questions.

It is on this basis that the Socialists of Russia or of Germany propose to negotiate with the Socialists of England or of France, as to the terms on which all international strife shall be adjusted and settled; in fact, as to the terms on which Peace shall now be established.

So soon as Great Britain entered into the war with France against Germany, the Socialists of the United States of America, who had obtained their literature and derived their inspiration chiefly from German sources, increased their activities with the two-fold object of hindering Great Britain and France in the prosecution of the war, and of preventing the participation of the United States in the war on the side of the Allied Governments.

Although their philosophy, and teachings, and, in fact, all Socialistic activities, are based on the alleged existence of a state of war, within the country, between the wage earning and the capitalistic classes, they immediately manifested extreme pacifist tendencies, and sought by every means in their power to paralyze the efforts

of the Allied Nations in carrying on the war; and naturally their own activities, encouraged and assisted by German agents and German money in the United States, were at once extended into Canada, where their propaganda has been conducted, more or less secretly, with an energy and vehemence that was for a long time not even suspected by the Government nor by the people of this country, who, inspired by their recognition of the vital interests at stake, have sought to utilize to the uttermost our national resources in order to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

In Canada, the Socialists have organized chiefly under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Toronto, and with branches in nearly every industrial centre from Montreal, through a chain of Ontario towns to the Sudbury and Porcupine mining districts, in Fort William and Port Arthur at the head of lake navigation, into Manitoba, and through other similar associations into the Prairie Provinces and into British Columbia.

To assist in this propaganda, printing establishments for publishing socialistic, pacifist and revolutionary literature in Russian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Finnish and other foreign languages, were created in several Canadian cities, such as Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. Among the alien elements of our population, branches of the Social Democratic Party appeared in ever increasing numbers; and book stores for the distribution of socialistic books, pamphlets and leaflets in Ukrainian, Russian, Ruthenian, Finnish and other foreign languages sprang up as if by magic.

The platform of the Social Democratic Party, which was distributed in several of the languages mentioned, stilted and perhaps more or less innocuous, reads, in English, as follows:

#### “ PLATFORM

“ Social-Democratic Party of Canada.

“ We, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of, the International Socialistic Movement.

“ By virtue of the ownership of the means of production and distribution (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) all wealth the workers produce, accrues into the hands

of the capitalist class. This property the capitalist defends by means of the state (the army, the navy, the judiciary).

"The object of the Social-Democratic Party is to educate the workers of Canada to a consciousness of their class position in society, their economic servitude to the owners of capital, and to organize them into a political party to seize the reins of government and transform all capitalistic property into the collective property of the working class. This social transformation means the liberation not only of the proletariat, but of the whole human race. Only the working class, however, can bring it about. All other classes maintain their existence by supporting the present social order.

"The struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation produces a constant state of warfare between these two forces for the control of political and economic power.

"As a means of preparing the minds of the working class for the inauguration of the co-operative Commonwealth, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada will support any measure that will tend to better conditions under capitalism, such as:

- (1) Reduction of hours of labor.
- (2) The elimination of child labor.
- (3) Universal adult suffrage without distinction of sex or regard to property qualifications; and
- (4) The Initiative, Referendum, and right of Recall."

But this platform only served to camouflagé the pacifist propaganda of the party, which was otherwise expressed in a more insidious form. Take for example the following manifesto recently issued by the Social-Democratic Party to the workers of Canada:

#### " MANIFESTO

" SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF CANADA

(Typographical Union Label, Galt, Ont.)

" TO THE WORKERS OF CANADA

"Ever since the war terror began its march through Europe, the capitalist press of Canada, acting on behalf of the capitalist class, has done its utmost to create the war spirit and arouse a patriotic cry, calling upon the workers of Canada to go forth and shed their blood in the interests of the MASTER CLASS.

" We desire to emphasize the fact that this war, as all modern wars, is being waged between international capitalists, representing as it does a struggle to secure markets for the disposal of the stolen products of labor, it can, therefore, be of no real interest to the working class.

" Since capitalism is based upon wage-labor and capital, the working class receiving in the shape of wages but sufficient to maintain a bare existence and the ever increasing surplus product taken from labor, strengthening as it does the position of the capitalist as a social parasite, we appeal to the workers of Canada to refrain from lending any assistance in this war. Let the MASTERS fight their own battles.

" We further wish to emphasize the fact that the present is an opportune time of getting a larger measure of knowledge as to your true class position in society. This is being pointed out everywhere by the Socialists, on the street corner, in hall and through the party press. This knowledge is of vital interest, it will unfold to you the difference between social existence and social progress.

" Yours in the revolution,

"EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY."

At the foot of this manifesto there is also printed the following:

#### " THEY HAVE OPENED HELL

" The rude god of war gallops across the world in a saddle of steel and sneers and laughs in savage glee. He wades in blood. His own sweet music is the rattle of rifles and a million sobs and groans from broken hearts. Brute force rules supreme, and, to the roar of Christian cannon, thrusts brotherhood off the stage. Morally, capitalist civilization stands ragged, bankrupt before the world, mockingly mumbles a prayer for help and grinds its sword for the throat of labor.

" The Hague Peace Conference is a drooling, strutting bankrupt. The Christian church is palsied, staggering in its poverty of influence to stop the blood gushing from a million wounds, while Christian cannon are battering down the Christian spires and altars of Europe. Capitalism wallows in the stinking filth of its own chaos. Aptly may we sneer at the pomp and parade called civilization now in sudden and shameful collapse.

“ These are the saddest and the bitterest hours in all the tragic upward climb of the human family from savagery to the dawn of the NEW TIME. A few millions of the proletariat (workers) scorning creed, color, race and national boundaries, in this sublime new day, were learning to utter a cry, an international call, “ Comrade. ”

“ These are indeed the saddest and most shameful days in human history. Jealous groups of greedy parasites in Europe are quarreling fiercely, ferociously quarreling—to hold stolen lands, to get more lands, to have more subjects, to have more creators of wealth, to secure more wage slaves, to secure more markets, to get more profits, to get more honors, more wealth, more power, place and plunder.

“ Crowned ruffians and greedy Caesars of Industry have given the order, the foul and cruel order. Millions are in arms for the honor and enrichment and fattening of these jealous groups of social parasites. Millions more are steeling their souls for the carnage. Millions are shaking the earth with their heavy tread as they rush across the world in ferocious lust of blood.

“ What shall we do ?

“ These are awful hours and at such a time the supreme question is: What shall we do ? We must not sit in dumb silence and in stupid selfishness. Never was the public mind so wide as it is Now. Never were the average working man and woman more easily approachable and reachable than Now. Never was the worker more eager for interpretation of the meaning of war and militarism.

“ Let the Socialists everywhere hold street meetings and hall meetings. Unfold to the workers the true meaning of war.

“ LET THOSE WHO MAKE WAR—GO TO WAR.”

Take another example, “ The Good Soldier,” which appeared in Canada, in English and in Finnish, and probably in other languages, and which, though not now acknowledged at the headquarters of the Social-Democratic Party at Toronto, was distributed in many industrial centres of Canada by its branches and by its adherents:—

“ THE GOOD SOLDIER ”

“ By Jack London ”

“ Young men: The lowest aim in your life is to become a soldier. The good soldier never tries to distinguish right from

wrong. He never thinks; never reasons; he only obeys. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street when the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys and sees the grey hairs of age stained with red and the lifetide gushing from the breasts of women, feeling neither remorse nor sympathy. If he is ordered off as a firing squad to execute a hero or a benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast.

“A good soldier, is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man, he is not a brute, for brutes only kill in self-defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that constitutes the man has been sworn away when he took the enlistment roll. His mind, his conscience, aye, his very soul, are in the keeping of his officer.

“No man can fall lower than a soldier—it is a depth beneath which we cannot go. Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell.

“Down with the army and the navy. We don't need killing institutions. We need life giving institutions.”

There is also a leaflet, entitled “The Price We Pay,” written by Irwin St. John Tucker, which was first printed in English, in June, 1917, at the office of the Arbeiter-Zeitung of Chicago, and distributed in thousands of copies. Then it was republished at Toronto, at the office of The Canadian Forward, the official organ of The Social-Democratic Party of Canada, of which Isaac Bainbridge, the chief executive of that party, is also the editor; and by the Social-Democratic Party of Canada it was distributed in thousands throughout Canada. “Why We Should Fight,” another leaflet by Tucker, of the same tenor, was also distributed, but whether by the Social-Democratic Party I do not know.

The Social-Democratic Party of Canada, which is responsible for a large part of this propaganda in Canada, was declared an unlawful association by an Order in Council passed under the War Measures Act, on September 25th, 1918; but subsequently it procured an amendment to that Order on November 13th, 1918, excluding the Social-Democratic Party of Canada from the provisions of the Order; and now it is reasserting itself with all its former vigor.

## THE I.W.W.

The Industrial Workers of the World, commonly known as the I.W.W., is an organization first established at a secret conference held in Chicago in 1905, consisting of 203 delegates from 34 national, state, district and local associations representing 144,000 members, who espoused radical and revolutionary doctrines.

The I.W.W. preamble reads as follows:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The following was one of the resolutions adopted at the first I.W.W. convention:

“Whereas, the present form of capitalism is increasing organized violence to perpetuate the spirit of despotism; and

“Whereas, the result of this spirit will be the further degradation and oppression of the working class: Therefore be it

“RESOLVED, That we condemn militarism in all its forms and functions, which are jeopardizing our constitutional rights and privileges in the struggle between capital and labor; and be it further

“RESOLVED, That any person joining the militia or accepting position under sheriffs and police powers, or as members of detective agencies, or employers' hirelings in times of industrial disturbances, shall be forever denied the privilege of membership in this organization.”

The membership is limited to wage earners; no member of the military, naval or police services is eligible for membership. The organization has twelve weekly and two bi-weekly publications; in English three, and one each in French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Polish, Slavish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Swedish and Jewish, and there are also affiliated with the organization a Spanish, an Italian and a Russian weekly and a Finnish daily paper. It issues scores of booklets, pamphlets and leaflets, which are distributed throughout the entire country disseminating its teachings and advocating its doctrines.

It recognizes no laws which the organization is bound to observe. It advocates the solidarity of the working class, and insists upon resistance and revolt as the approved methods of attaining its declared purposes. It is opposed to wage agreements between employers and employees. “There is only one bargain,” declares the I.W.W., “that we will make with the employing class: Complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers.” No committees of workmen are permitted to meet committees of employers. Its unions adopt wage scales and post them on bulletins, and for them, these bulletins are the law. “We look forward,” says the I.W.W., “to the time when the organized proletariat will meet in their union the world over, and decide how long they will work, and how much of the wealth they will give to the boss.” It boldly proclaims that it is a government within a government, a law unto itself. For every striker killed by the military or police



forces, it demands a life for a life. At a strike of the employees of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rock, Pennsylvania, in 1909, fifty strikers were killed; in retaliation the I.W.W. killed fifty police, and wounded fifty others.

Pamphlets have been published by the I.W.W. and circulated in Canada, advocating the "general strike" as one of the most effective weapons in the hands of the workers. There are three phases of a "General Strike," says William D. Haywood, the Chief Executive of the I.W.W., in his work on this subject, viz.:

- "A general strike in an industry;
- "A general strike in a community; or
- "A general national strike.

He says: "I believe that we can agree that we should unite in a great organization—big enough to take in the children that are working; big enough to take in the black man; the white man; big enough to take in all nationalities—an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate State boundaries, to obliterate national boundaries, and one that will become the great industrial force of the working class of the world."

He advocates an organization, and such is the aim of the I.W.W., as will include all producers, all employees of roads and other means of transportation, and in fact, of every branch of industry, such as will enable the workers, of all classes and conditions, to paralyze all the activities of the nation and of every nation by merely ceasing to work, until such times as their demands are fully and effectually conceded.

"That," he says, "is what I want to urge upon the working class; to become so organized on the economic field that they can take and hold the industries in which they are employed. Can you conceive of such a thing? Is it possible? What are the forces that prevent you from doing so? You have all the industries in your own hands at the present time. There is this justification for political action, and that is, to control the forces of the capitalists that they use against us; to be in a position to control the power of Government so as to make the work of the army ineffective, so as to abolish totally the secret service and the force of detectives . . . . . So the general strike is a fighting weapon as well as a constructive weapon."

But not only does the I.W.W. advocate the general strike, and the use of "direct action" or force, but it and other agencies have circulated throughout Canada, pamphlets advocating the employment of "Sabotage," and instructing workmen in the various ways that Sabotage can be employed, from its milder forms of "Slowing down upon the Job," to its more violent forms of destruction of the machinery of production.

The works circulated in this country include those of Emile Pouget, Walker C. Smith, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others.

"I am not going to justify Sabotage on moral grounds" writes Miss Flynn. "If workers consider that Sabotage is necessary, that in itself makes Sabotage moral. Its necessity is its excuse for its existence. And for us to discuss the morality of Sabotage would be as absurd as to discuss the morality of the strike or the morality of the class struggle itself. In order to understand Sabotage or to accept it at all it is necessary to accept the concept of the class struggle . . . . Sabotage is to this class struggle what guerilla warfare is to the battle. The strike is the open battle of the class struggle, Sabotage is the guerilla warfare, the day by day warfare between two opposing classes."

I may add a few excerpts from the work of Walker C. Smith:  
"For poor wages—bad work."

"Working Class Sabotage is right because it aids the workers."

"Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect."

"Why expect those who have no stake in society, as it is now constituted, to continue to contribute to its support?"

"The question is not, Is sabotage immoral?—but, Does Sabotage get the Goods?"

"You are destroying civilization is likewise hurled against us, to which we reply in the language of the street: We Should Worry!  
"Civilization is a lie. A civilization that is builded upon the bended backs of toiling babes; a civilization that is reared upon the sweating, starving, struggling mass of mankind; a civilization whose very existence depends upon a constant army of hungry, servile and law-abiding unemployed, is scarcely worthy of consideration at the hands of those whom it has so brutally outraged.  
"The saboteur carries on his work in order to hasten the day of working class victory, when for the first time in human history, we shall have a civilization that is worthy of the name."

“Law is a thing in which the wage slaves play no part, but industry is the place where the employers are impotent when the workers decide to act.”

“Every toiler in the industries has sabotage at his command. Let the masters know that henceforth they must deal with industrial mutiny. Labor produces all wealth— all wealth belongs to labor.”

“For Sabotage or slavery—which?”

The works mentioned contain illustrative examples of many forms of Sabotage; slowing up work, while keeping on the job; putting preparations in steam boilers to prevent their efficient operation; sand and emery dust in machinery to make it slow down or cease running. Sabotage they term “Labor’s Winning Weapon,” “Putting the machinery on strike,” “Letting the gold dust twins, do the work,” referring to the use of emery dust or fine sand in machinery, to impede or to prevent its operation.

“In case of wars,” writes Smith, “which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murders of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so forceful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two warring countries. SABOTAGE WILL PUT A STOP TO WAR AND REVOLUTIONS; PARLIAMENTARY APPEALS AND EVEN A CALL FOR GENERAL REFUSAL TO SERVE ARE IMPOTENT. But, as stated before, Sabotage is but a phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must also be carried on.”

The I.W.W. had been quite active in Canada prior to the outbreak of the war; but no sooner was war declared than its anti-military agitation, both in the United States and Canada, became more violent and reactionary. It sought to prevent the sending of supplies from the United States to the Allies. It attempted, through agitation among the farm laborers of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, to prevent the harvesting of grain crops. It organized the lumber camps to limit the output of timber required for aeroplane construction. For a time, it practically paralyzed the production of lead, copper, zinc, and other basic metals required in the production of munitions of war. The circulation of its literature vastly increased its membership, which reached its zenith just after the United States entered the war.

In Canada the I.W.W. has been active in the lumber camps and mining districts, and particularly so in Northern Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

In September, 1917, 166 members of the I.W.W. were indicted in the United States District Court of Chicago, Illinois; among them were twenty-nine Englishmen and two Canadians. Of these ninety-five were found guilty in August last. The two Canadians, Herbert Mahler and Archie Sinclair, were both convicted; the former being sentenced to imprisonment for five years and fined \$25,000.00; the latter to imprisonment for ten years and fined \$35,000.00. Of the Englishmen convicted, James Rowan, who, in 1914, was Secretary of Local No. 82 of the I.W.W. at Edmonton, was sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years and fined \$20,000; and George Hardy, who formerly resided in British Columbia, was sentenced to imprisonment for a year and a day and fined \$30,000.

Prior to the trial of these members of the I.W.W., appeals were made throughout Canada for funds to assist in their defence and thousands of dollars were contributed by residents in Canada for this purpose.

One of the counts in this indictment was the circulation of Emile Pouget's work entitled "Sabotage," which also circulates in Canada; others were for publishing and circulating "Solidarity," and other press publications of the I.W.W., which have also been circulated in large numbers among the workers in Canadian industries.

In December 1917, Irwin St. John Tucker and others were also indicted in the District Court of the United States, for publishing and circulating "The Price We Pay," "Why You Should Fight," and other publications, some of which have also been circulated by the thousands in Canada. These men are being tried in the United States court at Chicago during the present month.

Representatives of the United States Department of Justice frankly admit that they are alarmed by the insidious and pernicious propaganda being carried on in that country, and especially by the efforts of Socialistic and Revolutionary Associations to create dissatisfaction and discontent in the minds of their returning soldiers; and, therefore, they have taken and are taking most careful efforts to eradicate this propaganda, and to punish those responsible for it.

## THE BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

The Bolshevik propaganda in Russia and in Finland was undoubtedly most actively supported by German agents and by German money. "Bolshevik" in the Russian language means "the majority"; and "Menshevik" means the minority; and as the majority of the Socialists of Russia adopted a revolutionary policy, they were termed the Bolsheviks.

But no sooner had Kerensky been raised to power at Petrograd, than the Socialistic agitators and I.W.W. workers in the United States flocked back to Russia, and profiting by the experience in organization which they gained in the United States, they soon assumed direction and control of the Bolshevik movement. Trotzky, Shatoff, Martoff, Volodarski and other leaders from the United States are members of the Council of the People's Commissars, at Petrograd and at Moscow, and have become the most forceful dictators of destruction.

The leaders of the Red Guard, or the revolutionary movement in Finland, were chiefly recruited from the I.W.W. organizations of the United States and Canada; and thousands of dollars have been contributed by the unions of the United States and Canada to support this revolutionary movement in Finland.

Publications of Lenine and other Russian propagandists have been circulated almost as widely in Canada as in Russia itself. Pamphlets in Finnish which have circulated among the Finns of Canada, contain not only obscene and irreligious, but seditious and disloyal matter, unfit for publication.

Among the milder forms of propaganda is the song in Finnish, "My Country" to be sung to the tune of "God Save the King," of which the following is a translation into English:

" This mighty country,  
" With reputation for liberty,  
" Is still a land of slavery;  
" A land of rich men's might,  
" A land of graft, by trusts,  
" Of might and gold; where  
" Honour and justice are unobtainable."

Children of Finns, resident in Canada are taught to sing this song in Finnish, when "God Save the King" is sung by others in English.

A Finnish publication, printed on May 1st, 1918, circulated throughout the Finnish Settlement of Canada under a title, of which the English translation is "An Exhibition of the Most Dangerous Beasts," depicts a group of English kings, confined in a cage, in charge of a keeper, who announces their kingly virtues thus:—

"In England, the king has been a puppet. He has seldom exercised real power. The English being very practical, consider it necessary to have a person who embodies their goodness as well as their badness. The people, who are always supposed to have despised everything impractical, did not consider it worth while to dethrone him, since they never obeyed their king.

"The last descendant of the English rulers did not possess sufficient personal merit to justify exhibiting him.

"The history of the English kings is, in reality, history of English lords, for the latter have, for centuries treated the former arbitrarily, making of them (i.e. the Kings), sometimes great rascals, as Shakespeare depicts them, and sometimes mere puppets who smilingly sign everything presented by the lords.

"The work of the king consists in eating, drinking, sleeping and bringing up royal children, in accordance with court etiquette as prescribed by the lords."

"The history of the English kings is, above all, a history of conspiracy of the English lords and is the most flagrant history of conspiracy in the world.

"In what way did the government of lords work the Colonies? Consult history and consider how the English lords have used their power in East India to bring that nation of three hundred million people to its present state of civilization.

"All capitalistic governments have two aims,—first, to oppress the conquered people in order to rob them, and, second, to produce a slavish spirit of submission.

"Both of these principles were realized in India, by the English lords, and with cruel success. In the beginning the people in India could not be subdued by the capitalistic robbing system. The English lords and their guests literally hounded the natives, and when they thought that such behaviour might, in the end, prove dangerous, they invented better means to enable them to destroy these people, still quicker.

“ The people in India perished because they were deprived of  
“ their former means of existence, without having anything offered  
“ in its stead.

“ Under the English rule, India has had many famines, but the  
“ English in power were merely onlookers with tears in their eyes,  
“ while the people were dying in great numbers from starvation.

“ They did not even try to help the starving people. Just the  
“ contrary, they did everything to help increase the starvation and  
“ death-rate of the natives,—for example, here is a crowd of natives,  
“ moving along on all fours, a few feet a day, wasting away because  
“ of starvation, and, with bleeding fingers, trying to find some grains  
“ of rice to eat.

“ Remorselessly the English lords exported the rice to their  
“ own markets, before the very eyes of the starving people.

“ What a picture of human life! Parents gone crazy from  
“ starvation, eating their own children.

“ At the same time, the English lords were feasting in their  
“ palaces and delivering splendid speeches on how to civilize the  
“ natives of India, ignoring entirely the awful agony that com-  
“ pelled parents to eat their own children.

“ Naturally, the Indians applied to the English Government,  
“ but the Government of lords answered by sending Scotch whiskey  
“ and gold to the officials and soldiers in India, and bullets for the  
“ starving natives. When some humanitarians asked why the  
“ English Government treated the Indians so unscrupulously, the  
“ puppet government, acting on the suggestion of the lords, put a  
“ counter-question to the enquirers: Would it be better to humour  
“ these rebels with titles and gifts?”

Thus is English history taught to the thousands of Finns, and  
their children. They have made their homes in Canada, with the  
result that there is now as much disaffection and discontent among  
the Finns in Canada as in any other class of aliens resident in this  
country.

#### THE RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA

The difficulties of sending Socialistic literature from Germany  
and Russia, in large quantities, into Canada have been so great that  
copies have been smuggled in and reprinted in presses established for  
that purpose in the chief Canadian cities. I have copies of a pamph-  
let published in the Ruthenian language in Montreal, and distributed  
from Montreal, entitled “ Mountains of Bodies and Seas of Blood  
and Tears,” from a translation of which I make a few characteristic  
excerpts:—

“Twenty-three millions of the most beautiful bloom of humanity, are led out on to the battlefield to be slaughtered—to unavoidable death. These millions are for the second year already killing each other to amuse the crowned kingly heads, to satisfy the blood-drinking capitalists: Germans, English, Austrians, Russians, French and other nations.

“The soldiers are piercing one another’s chests and removing heads for new overseas markets for their exploiting masters and kings, for new crowns and thrones, for honours of generals, for happiness of devils. To worry the gods, the working man and populations of the nations of all Europe, are murdering one another,—they who have never quarrelled with one another.

“The whole battlefield is spread, not with thousands but with millions of human bodies; millions of wounded ones, in terrible agony are expecting death. The hoofs of horses are cracking millions of skulls and are mixing brains with earth. The cannon balls are tearing people and carrying them along the ground. The blood of the human flesh and bones evaporates into the atmosphere and falls to the ground like rain. Before it and around it, millions of old men, widows and orphans, wander and moisten the ground with their tears. Lean and dark, they die of starvation; they have nothing to eat and nowhere to put their heads; everything is destroyed; every second death looks into the eyes of millions, and millions die like flies in the autumn. Millions are left without fathers’ care, and those, who do not die of starvation and who are spared by disease, will wail over these bitter hours to the end of their lives.

“The cripples who will return from the war,—what a terrible picture. How horrid it is to think of them! They will return without arms, without legs, eyes, without health and many without mind—deaf, blind, etc., these unfortunates will be carrying about the curses of war till death.

“Up till now, we have one sign of the war; mountains of bodies and a sea of blood and tears—of our brothers and sisters,—of our relatives.”

Another extract from the same pamphlet will suffice to indicate the intention of the author:

“All the profit of the war which has been gotten through loss of human blood, goes to the hands of capitalists only.

“Yell, you tyrants! Yell, and you, who got drunk on the blood of the people, be happy and forge new chains! Mad



ones—already the black ravens are crowing about the bodies of our brothers. There will be a time of settlement, a time of reckoning and judgment, and the Proletariat will end the war. He will use his own arms which you gave him, against his tyrants and destroyers. By one move of the working class, the thrones will fall and the crowns will be thrown from the heads, and other inhuman creatures and the ancient bloody system will disappear off the face of the earth. Over the heads of the imprisoned ones, a red flag of brotherhood and freedom will wave, and all will be happy and equal in the new powers of Socialism.

“This is the aim to which the present suffering people are striving, and which will certainly come in the semblance of a great holy war, named, Social Revolution.”

Another pamphlet in the Ukrainian language, published in and distributed from the City of Montreal, reviles both religion and war. A few excerpts will serve to indicate its teachings:

“The Eagle (representing War) tears the human body; and the priest the human soul.”

“As to flags there are only two real ones in the war; the red flag of Socialism and the black flag of Capitalism; therefore there are also two warring camps, the camp of the Proletariat and the camp of Capitalism.”

“The Capitalists know well what they are fighting for; they know that the victor will receive rich soil, cheap labor and a larger market to dispose of their wares, while the Proletariat spills his blood for the Capitalist,” etc.

A considerable number of similar pamphlets have been published in Russian in the City of Toronto, in a series entitled “Workers of the World Unite Together.” One of these pamphlets from which I now quote is entitled “Who Needs the War?” This chapter treats of the Hero, returning from the war:

“The ‘Hero’ will return to his native country, to his native village or town and he will not believe his own eyes; instead of ‘honour’ and joy, new worry, sufferings and disappointments are awaiting him. In the village, turmoil,—famine. The peasants were driven out to the war, the cattle taken from them. The taxes must be paid; and nobody to work. The women do not feel their feet. They become lean. Worn out, they have shed their tears. The crippled heroes are rambling about the village.

Some have one cross, and others two. And the whole honour therein that his own family is scolding: 'You are an idler, you are eating somebody else's bread.' And the bread is counted! It is not well for the 'Hero' when he returns to his native town, or to the village. They meet him, perhaps, with honours; the mother will weep, out of worry and joy; her eagle has survived at least; her old motherly eyes have seen him. His wife will be delighted. One day, another, they will wait on him, and then . . . . .

"How can the working people have time or opportunity to nurse the cripple. Everybody has his work, his trouble; and the times are different. Living is getting more expensive every day. War! The children are suffering from diseases; epidemics are inseparable from war. The wife is worrying. She must work for herself and her employer. And the King's pension for the 'Hero'? Is it big? It is sufficient only for one boot for the lame legi . . . . .

"Officers, wounded generals, these of course will be taken care of according to rank, but the private soldier, the former workingman, peasant, skilled labouring man, who will take care of him? Who will be the guardian of his fate? The authority in the empire is not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of landlords, manufacturers, lords and owners. The finances of the empire are managed not by these 'soldier-heroes,' who in thousands and millions are dying in the battlefields, but by those lords, manufacturers, bureaucrats and the servants of the lords.

"At first, while the memory is not yet extinguished, while the guns at the front are not silent, the 'hero-soldier' will be remembered. They will be given help in money by different aid societies and by the 'Red Cross.' But one year will pass another. The peaceful times come. The nations will be living, as before their troublesome life; but what then will become of the 'heroes'?

"Wounded colonels and generals will enjoy rides in their automobiles; they have insured themselves for after wartime; they have robbed money, filled their pockets with soldiers' pay. And 'hero-soldiers,' crippled and with crosses, what will be their fate?

"Will they not go to the footsteps of the church, and keep company with the beggars?

"The fate of the Hero, the saviour of the country, will not be sweet, nor joyful, though he might be decorated even with ten

crosses . . . . . The Imperial Government will not think of him, will not worry about him . . . . . The heart of landlords, manufacturers and owners will not feel any pain for the cripples. What are they to them? It is not their brother who is suffering, rambling about the world, condemning his own fate . . . . . He is not a 'lord's son!' Peasant! And the peasant, laborer, skilled laborman—is born into this world to serve the lords, to shed his blood for them and as reward—to die from hunger . . . . . As long as the people themselves will not protect 'heroes,' as long as they will not take the rule into their hands, as long as the people will not begin to rule the state, until that time the 'crippled heroes' will not be able to improve their lives."

Again in a chapter of the same pamphlet, entitled "The Country in Danger" I find the following:

"The capitalists are setting on the workingmen of one country against the workingmen of another country, in order to strengthen their power against the workingmen of the whole world. The capitalists are conducting war for conquests and for the weakening of workingmen by means of disrupting them. Therefore, they are lying, those who are talking about defence of freedom and Fatherland in this war. In order to defend the freedom and right, to defend the interests of working class in this war, there is only one way; accord between the workingmen of all countries and their common struggle against capitalists, the struggle for establishing socialistic society."

After dealing at length with the causes of the war, with a covert commendation of German education and German conditions of life, the writer asks, "What can we do to end the war?"

". . . . . How can we end the bloody butchery? How prevent the people in the future from new collisions and quarrels of the capitalists, from the new wars?"

"First then to find answers to these questions, one has to explain to oneself one thing: as long as capitalism is existing; as long as the private ownership of the lands, factories, and enterprises will be existing; as long as the citizens will be divided into the possessing and the non-possessing, into capitalists holding the rule in the empire, and the lawless, hired laborers; as long as the capitalists will for the sake of their profit fight each other in the world market—until then wars are unavoidable.

“ Wars will end only, when the authority of capitalists shall be broken, when the possibility to harm the people, to throw them upon the road of bloody struggles—shall be taken away from the expropriators and exploiters. The war is born of the unjust, incorrect, capitalistic construction of human society. In order to end wars—it is necessary to transform the social order. In order to end wars, it is necessary to take away from the lords—capitalists, all factories, and all industrial enterprises; it is necessary to seize lands from the landlords, to seize mines from private owners, bankers—capitalists, and to subordinate all these riches to one communistic national authority.

“ In order to end wars, it is necessary for the people, for the working class to establish a new, more just, socialistic world.”

And in closing the writer says:—

“ If the Russian, German, and the workingmen of all warring nations say so, then there will be no more power in the world, which will permit the bloodshed to continue, then peace will come from itself.

“ It is necessary only that each soldier at the war, every workingman in the factory would explain to himself, he is not my enemy, who like myself, in his country, is destitute of rights, who is oppressed by capital, whose life is a struggle for daily bread.

“ My enemy is in my own country. And this enemy—is common with the workingman of all the countries. This enemy—capitalism, this enemy, the greedy, grafting class government. this lawless enemy of the working class.

“ Comrade-workingman, the private of the enemy’s army, I know that you are not my adversary. Shake hands, comrade ! We are both victims of slander and oppression. Our common chief enemy is behind our back. Let us turn the barrels of our carbines and guns against our true, our common enemies . . . .

“ And then will flee away from us, all our brave war commanders, field marshals and generals . . . . .

“ Let us, everyone in his country, fight our oppressors ! Let us clear our Fatherland from the true enemies of the people, Czars, Kings, Emperors . . . . . and then, when the authority will be in our hands, we shall conclude our peace, above the heads of the defeated capitalists.

“ This is the way for those, who want to fight for the eternal peace among nations, for the victory of workingmen’s interests.

for the change of capitalistic society, for just a better world of socialistic brotherhood of the workingmen of all countries.

“ Upon this way we are calling you, comrades, the organized, conscious workingmen—socialists of Russia, Germany, England, France, Italy, Bulgaria and other countries, those socialists who remained faithful to the workingmen’s interests, who did not forget the great workingman’s slogan; workingmen of all countries unite together !

“ Hasten under the red banner of the revolutionary workingman’s organization !

“ To work, comrades, to deeds !

“ Enough victims for the glory of capital ! Our common enemy is behind us. Down with the guilty ones of the war ! Down with capitalists and Czars ! Let us go to fight for the freedom of our Fatherland for the eternal peace !

“ Long live the desired socialistic revolution !

“ Long live the victory of the socialistic brotherhood of nations ! ”

Pamphlets of this kind have been printed in the Russian languages in the cities of Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, and distributed and read by the tens of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians and Ruthenians living in Canada during this great war. Is it any wonder that so many of them now sympathize with the Bolsheviki of Russia, or that they are enraged at the news that Canadian troops have been and are being despatched from Canada to take part in the campaign in Siberia against the Bolsheviki soldiers, who are laying middle Russia in ruins ?

I have in my possession lists recently compiled from the returns of the Canada Registration Board, giving the names and addresses of 63,784 Russians of the age of sixteen years and over, now resident in Canada. Of these about 11,000 are resident in the city of Montreal, 10,000 in the city of Toronto, 2,000 in the city of Hamilton, and about 3,000 elsewhere in towns of Ontario.

In Manitoba, there are 10,300, Saskatchewan 16,650; and in Alberta, 6,500, but there are comparatively few in the Maritime Provinces. Even among the Finns in Canada over sixty branches of the Social Democratic Party have been established; and, in even larger numbers, among the Ukrainians resident in Canada.

Of the Austro-Hungarians about 70,000 registered as enemy aliens; the cities of Montreal and Winnipeg containing the largest numbers.

There are few who are not affected by this propaganda, carried on in Canada in their native languages.

## INFLUENCE OF THIS PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

Perhaps I may best show that this revolutionary socialistic propaganda is having a considerable influence in America by referring to the proceedings at a mass meeting held at the Coliseum, in Chicago, on November 17th, last. A representative of the Public Safety Branch of the Canadian Department of Justice, was in Chicago, at the time, investigating the sources of Socialistic propaganda, which from Chicago, Detroit, and Seattle is flooding the industrial districts of Canada; and while in Chicago he attended this meeting, and, among other things, made a lengthy report of its proceedings for the information of the Canadian authorities. From this report, I have abstracted the following:

The meeting was attended by about 13,000 people.

The speakers closely skimmed a line bordering upon actual disloyalty to the United States Government and were enthusiastically cheered by those present. There were sneers and slurs for the American soldiers and sailors, and loud cheers greeted a denunciation of the Wilson administration. One speaker declared the Stars and Stripes to be a smaller flag than the red flag of "Internationalism." Every speaker had words of praise for the Russian Bolsheviks.

"Hail the International Soviet of the World!"

"Hail the World's Soviet Republic!"

"Long Live the Russian Soviets!"

"Long Live Bolshevism!"

were the cries heard from the platform, which was crowded with prominent socialists.

Red flags, red arm bands, red buttons, and large red signs were much in evidence. Among the signs displayed were the following:

### ROLL OF HONOR SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

RUSSIA

SIBERIA

BULGARIA

ROUMANIA

AUSTRIA

HUNGARY

GERMANY

HOLLAND

NEXT?

"SOCIALISM IS RAGING OVER EUROPE—MAKE SOCIALISM THE RAGE OF AMERICA."

"SOCIALISM OR SLAVERY."

"SOCIALISM WILL BRING UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD."

"SOCIALISM IS COMING NOW."

"SHALL AMERICA BE THE LAST STRONGHOLD OF CAPITALISM."

"WE DEMAND THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS."

"WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM RUSSIA AT ONCE."

"CHICAGO SOCIALISTS ARE WITH: LIEBKNECHT, LONGUET, LAZZARI, LENINE AND TROTSKY."

"HANDS OFF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC."

"SOCIALISM MEANS THE END OF ALL WARS."

"SOCIALISM WILL ABOLISH CAPITALISM AND MILITARISM."

"REPEAL THE ESPIONAGE ACT."

and others of like nature.

When the meeting opened, the assembly arose and sang the Socialist march and "The International," both in German. The Marseillaise was then sung in English. The American National Anthem was not rendered.

In calling the meeting to order, William Bruce Lloyd, the chairman, who, by the way, was a Socialist candidate for the Senate in the recent elections in the United States, gave credit to the Socialists for winning the war.

"The Socialist Party has gathered here to celebrate the overthrow of the Kaiser," he said. "Our comrades (Socialists) in Europe have broken the power of autoocracy; they have overthrown the power of the armies of autoocracy and saved this country many years of war. We meet to-day to give them congratulations of success, to pledge our fellowship with them, and to promise them we will do our share to overthrow all autoocrats wherever they are in this world."

Every time the speaker used the word "overthrow," the entire audience rose to their feet and cheered wildly.

Victor L. Berger, who was born in Austria, and who was a member of the U. S. Congress from 1912 to 1914, who was re-elected to Congress last month, and who is, at the present moment, being tried

by the Federal Courts at Chicago for violation of the U. S. "Espionage Act," said:

"They (the United States Government) are afraid of Bolshevism. All socialists are called pro-Bolshevik to-day. They are afraid that 2,000,000 soldier boys in Europe will be affected with Socialism."

Pointing to the "Honor Roll" containing the names of the Socialist Republics, he said:—

"Your list of new Socialist Soviet Republics is not complete. Sweden and Denmark were added to-day, since this list was made, and who knows how soon the United States, our own country, may be on the list. God only knows what may happen in this country in the next year or two. What we need, comrades, is education and organization. We have the same conditions they had in Germany and Russia. We have the same kind of stomachs. They cannot keep down this movement by tying up some of the leaders. They cannot do it if you stand by the colors—stand by the flag—stand by your ideas—and when I say flag, I mean the "International Flag."

Loud cheers and cries of "the red flag" interrupted the speaker.

"While I am in no way opposed to our national flag still the bigger of the two is the international flag, without any question," continued the speaker.

"The downfall of the Kaiser is good news. Why not work for the downfall of the Kaisers here? Join me in three cheers for the "International Socialistic Movement."

There was wild cheering and applause, amid which the speaker retired.

Alfred Dreifuss, after talking for a time in German, concluded his speech in English. "We know how Liebknecht, Lenine and Trotsky stand for the working class now," he said. "We know the principles they stand for, and reach our hands across and wish them success. Long live liberty, equality, fraternity! Long live international Socialism! Long live Socialism! Good luck, comrades, for Russia! Good luck for the Bolsheviki in Russia!"

William F. Kruse, who is also under indictment for violation of the "Espionage Act," said:

"Just over a little more than a year ago the world was electrified by seeing the worst autocracy on the face of the earth transformed—it seemed over night—into the most radical, freest of



“democracies. Since that time, the Russian Republic has fought  
“the combined capitalism of the entire world. Since that time it  
“has opposed armies and navies representing almost every country  
“of the entire world, and it has not been crushed, only because  
“its sole protection was an ideal, a great ideal. . . . Early in the  
“history of the Russian revolution the people adopted a banner  
“that was made up of only one color, and that banner was red.  
“And even before the success of the German revolution, the people  
“adopted the same banner, and that was red.

“If anything is needed to prove that this is the day of Socialism,  
“it is when the plutocrats begin to look for the variety of Socialists  
“that they can deal with. There are the good, respectable, nice  
“Socialists that get government jobs and passports and govern-  
“ment pay, to mislead the workers of other countries. That is  
“one kind, and then there is the bad, naughty, radical, revolutionary  
“red Socialists. I needn't ask the young people what kind of Social-  
“ists they are, if they are Socialists. If they are Socialists at all--  
“if they know why they are Socialists, then I know what kind of  
“Socialists they are . . . . I know what the workingmen stand  
“for!”

Alexander Stroklitsky, who spoke in Russian, was introduced  
by the chairman as follows:

“Just the other night a Chicago newspaper said the two great-  
“est statesmen in the world were Woodrow Wilson and Nikolai  
“Lenine. I am very sensitive myself. I think there is only one  
“great statesman in the world. The man I want to introduce you  
“to next is a follower of Nikolai Lenine— comrade Alexander  
“Stroklitsky, who will speak to you in Russian.”

“Action, not applause, is what we want,” said Stroklitsky in  
Russian, in response to loud cheers when he arose. “The war is  
“not over; this is just the beginning of the world's war.” Follow-  
ing his speech, three cheers were given for the Bolsheviks.

Irwin St. John Tucker, the author of “The Price We Pay,”  
who is also under indictment for violation of the “Espionage Act,”  
said.—

“Every time a soldier talks to a Socialist, the soldier becomes  
“a Socialist.” He then openly denounced the United War Work  
Campaign for the Y.M.C.A. and six other leading charities. He  
declared the purpose of the appeal for public funds for the overseas  
American soldiers was made to prevent the American troops from

imbibing Bolshevism. "They are saying so in the churches," he said. "The soldiers are to be kept so busy eating doughnuts and listening to gramophones that they will have no time to talk to the Socialists. The soldiers are in danger of becoming intelligent. These funds are openly intended to keep the soldiers foolish and ignorant. Let's match every dollar of theirs with ten dollars of ours to make the soldiers wise.

"When the soldiers come back," said Tucker, "they are going to say 'Overseas they canned their Kaiser, let's see what we can do in the way of canning a few Kaisers here!'

"When the soldiers come home, they are going to either vote for militarism or socialism. Whichever way they vote the country goes.

"I want, now, to ask you to contribute to a fund for the education of the returned soldiers, to be conducted through the Socialist Party, through its various activities and meetings, to be conducted in the jury room, where socialists are being tried, to be conducted at the coming election—a campaign of education, so that the education they escaped in Europe, they will find awaiting them when they return.

"The choice is ours. We, here, are face to face with the parting road,—militarism, with all its oligarchic tyranny on the one hand, or Socialism on the other. When they discover what the Senate, and what the industrial and financial Kaisers in this country have been doing in their absence, then is their chance to make America join the great procession of Soviet republics, that will make the world safe for industrial democracy."

It was announced by the Chairman that there was "an Indian Socialist present at the meeting making a report of the meeting to send to our comrades in India."

S. A. Koppnagle, said: "Comrades, a little over a year ago, the 7th of November, 1917, the first torch of proletariat liberty and freedom was carried in Russia. The workingmen of Russia, the peasants and the soldiers, illiterate as they are, understand their class position, and have said to the autoocrats of Russia and the world: 'Till now you ruled, and from now on, the proletariat becomes the ruler'. And, when the Russian Socialist Soviet Federated Republic was established, the entire world of capitalism, tried to down them, but it didn't do it. They can imprison us. They can hang us, but they cannot stop, will not stop, the proletarian dictatorship.

“ Russia has set an example to the working class of the world, and almost all the European countries are following in the steps of the Russian Revolutionary International Republic. Germany now is next; Austria and the rest of the countries are with them, and I hope, comrades, that sooner or later, there will be no country where capitalism will rule.

“ Let us, then, comrades, do honor to those who gave their lives in Russia, and set an example to the world. Three cheers for the Russian Socialists.”

Among others, the following resolutions were passed:—

“ BE IT RESOLVED that we extend the hand of comradeship to the revolting working class of Europe; that we congratulate our Russian comrades upon the successful establishment of the proletarian state, and upon its first anniversary; and that we express our entire accord in the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, and in the efforts of our comrades in Finland, Austria, Bulgaria, Serbia, Holland, Sweden, and in other nations, to establish working class governments on the Russian model.

“ BE IT RESOLVED that we demand the immediate recognition by our government of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.

“ BE IT RESOLVED that we denounce the terrorist campaign, official and unofficial, against the free expression of political opinion, a campaign which is a perversion of the most vital principles upon which this republic was founded; and we demand the repeal of every legislative act directed against free speech, the free press and the right of free associations.

“ BE IT RESOLVED that we demand the stopping of all political prosecutions, and the immediate annulment of all sentences against the champions of the working class who have been subjected to trial and imprisonment under pretense of war necessity. We demand not only the immediate release of all class war prisoners, but also a special act of Congress under which reparation will be made to these prisoners in recognition that these prosecutions against Socialists, industrial unionists, and organizers of the Non-Partisan League, have been in perversion of the fundamental laws of American freedom.

“ BE IT RESOLVED that the American Socialist Party be given representation in the coming peace conference; and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge the holding

of the International Socialist and Labor Conference, composed of delegates from all nations, to meet at the same time and place as the peace conference.

"BE IT RESOLVED that we identify ourselves completely with our comrades in Europe, who are taking their stand on complete dominance by the working class, without compromising alliances with capitalism, and that we invite all workingmen and workingwomen of America to join with us on the basis of a social revolution, whereby there shall be government and industry only of the workers, by the workers and for the workers, and whereby there shall be a world peace founded upon the solid basis of the Socialist International."\*

### THE EFFECT IN CANADA

These same influences have been acting and reacting throughout the industrial districts of Canada. In leaflets, recently distributed, one particularly entitled "Peace and the Workers," which has been distributed by the thousands, insidious efforts have been made to create a comradeship between the Socialists, who kept out of the war, and the Canadian soldiers returning from the war. Doubtless, you know its contents, and I need not quote from it. It does not seem possible that in Canada such efforts can succeed; for here, as in the United States, the returning soldiers are not easily deceived by such sophistry.

But this I do say, deliberately, that there are populous industrial districts in Canada, in which this pernicious propaganda has made such head-way, that if the British arms had suffered a crushing defeat in the field, revolutionary socialism would there have shown itself as dominant and as exultant as, in any district of Russia or of Austria; and that, if this propaganda is permitted to continue in Canada unchecked, it will inevitably breed tumults and disorders, which the available police forces of the country will prove utterly inadequate to quell and control, without the assistance of the military forces at the command of the Government. So grave and threatening are these elements in some of the industrial districts of Canada, that managers of industry are even now forming vigilance committees of loyal and trusted employees, and, as in days that we have thought were passed forever, arming them with revolvers,

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\*The sentiments expressed and the resolutions passed at this meeting are similar to those of the Socialist meeting held at Montreal on the evening of Sunday, December 15th, 1918.

rifles, and, as I have been informed, contemplating the employment of even more forcible measures to protect life and property and to preserve public order.

## REMEDIES

There are evils which exist and which call for a remedy, festering, irritating evils, of which Socialism bitterly complains; there are other evils which create, in Canada, a fertile field for Socialistic propaganda, of which Socialism does not complain; for all of which the State must provide efficient remedies. Dealing with the last class first, there is the evil of the indiscriminate admission to Canada of foreign immigrants, without making adequate provision for the instruction and education of these polygot peoples, so that they may become acquainted with the political and social conditions of the country, and be inspired by our ideals of individual liberty and individual responsibility.

Upon the conclusion of peace, the foreign language newspaper press must again be tolerated as the only source of information and instruction for those alien elements of our population, who understand neither the English or French languages; but press publications in any language, other than English or French, should only be permitted on condition that all publications in a foreign language shall be correctly translated into English or French, and that such translation shall be published alongside the foreign text, so that all may be fully informed of the nature of the information and instruction given in the foreign press, and so that the reader in a foreign language may have opportunity to study the English or French text.

If private enterprise should fail to provide such a bi-lingual press, it should be the duty of the State to make such provision.

Schools must be provided, and the children of the foreign immigrant should be compelled to attend schools in which French or English is taught, so that the native born of foreign stock, at the close of at least one generation, shall have a practical knowledge of either the English or the French language, and thereby be enabled to acquire a clearer and less distorted insight into the social, political, and industrial conditions which prevail in this country.

It will be found impossible to transform the European immigrant into a good Canadian unless and until he shall become instructed in one of the official languages of this country; and unless he shall become a Canadian, in respect of his political and mental outlook, it would be far better that he were not admitted to live in Canada.

A fair acquaintance with either the English or French language should be made a condition precedent to full Canadian naturalization and to the right to exercise the political franchise in any Province of Canada.

Again, the labor question demands serious consideration. Experience has proved that the exercise, by the employees of industrial establishments, of the right of association and organization for the purpose of representing their grievances and presenting their claims for improved working conditions, rates of remuneration and the like, is, under existing industrial conditions, the only efficient means of securing public recognition of existing grievances and their effectual remedy. Such labor associations, whether representing individual trades, or those which are inter-related or allied, should be encouraged rather than repressed.

But their international relations and alliances should be restricted. If Canada is to develop as a Nation, and as a Nation it must develop, if at all, the administration of the political affairs of the country, whether internal or external, can only safely be vested in the elected representatives of the whole people. Neither the labour group, the Socialist group, nor any other minority group within the Nation, can be permitted to dominate the Government of the country, nor to form alliances with a similar inner group in any foreign country, for the purpose of thwarting any policy of the Government of Canada which expresses the will of the majority of the people of Canada. The teaching of these times is that internationalism, as it appears in the socialistic movement of the day, is inimicable to the material interests of the Canadian people; that it is destructive of the spirit of patriotism which is essential to the establishment and maintenance of a democratic government in this or any other country; and that it inevitably leads to national disruption and to political anarchy. The international relations of Canadian labor or socialistic associations must be carefully watched and closely restricted.

And while free associations of workers of all classes within Canada should not only be permitted but actively encouraged,

no such association should be allowed to trespass upon the rights of the individual worker and to exclude him from employment, except on condition that he shall become a member of some particular association or union. It cannot be tolerated that any free association of men in Canada shall arbitrarily and despotically deprive any individual of his right to earn an honest living in Canada for himself or his family in any employment for which he may be qualified, simply because he refuses to become a member of any particular trades-union or labor association.

Moreover, in respect of all grievances, real or imaginary, existing or alleged to exist between employees and their employer, it is absolutely essential that means should be created and maintained for securing a competent and thorough investigation of the facts, and an impartial arbitration or determination of the dispute.

It is certainly possible to obtain such an investigation and such a decision with respect to every condition of employment, whether it be hours of labor, rates of wages, costs of living, proper protection of health and life, or whatever may be the subject matter of the grievance expressed; and I can see no reason why such decisions should not command public respect and be enforced by public authority.

The right to strike, which labor unions so ardently uphold, is no more justifiable than the right of insurrection or revolution.

A strike involves:

(1) A demand by workmen upon their employer for increased wages or for the concession by the employer to the strikers or to others of other or better conditions of their employment; and

(2) A cessation of work by the workmen, by mutual understanding between themselves, as a means of enforcing compliance by the employer with such demand;

(3) Provided, however, that such cessation of work by the workmen is intended or designed to be merely temporary, continuing only until their demand is complied with, and not a definite abandonment of their employment.

Individual workmen have the right, and, under existing conditions, must have the right definitely to abandon their employment, upon notice, except in breach of the contracts of employment into

which they have freely entered. Breaches of contracts are matters within the jurisdiction of the law courts of the country.

But the conditions on which labor shall be employed demand more serious scientific investigation than has yet been provided. There must be investigation, by impartial experts, to establish the principles upon which rates of wages shall be established from time to time. A new jurisprudence must be developed for the guidance of the arbitration boards, or other judicial authorities to which such disputes shall be submitted for settlement. The doctrine that the workman is entitled to a living wage has become obsolete. He is entitled to that **plus**; and it is possible that the **plus** may best be determined as a portion or percentage of the profits which accrues to the employer, in part, at least, as the result of the work of his employees.

Strikes and lock-outs should both be included in the criminal offences, since both are harmful to the interests of the State, as well as to the individuals immediately and directly concerned. If the State shall establish the just principles upon which labor disputes shall be decided, and impartial tribunals to investigate the facts and to render decisions in accordance with such pre-established principles of justice, as I have suggested, then both strikes and lock-outs should be prohibited by law, and offenders against this law should, in the interests of the whole Nation, be subjected to severe penalties and punishments.

And in like manner, "striking on the job" which implies slowing down production, destruction of the machinery of production or injuring the articles produced, these and all other forms of sabotage should be absolutely prohibited, and included in the criminal offences for which severe penalties should be enacted.

But such proposals, which imply substantial reforms in our legal system, are not alone sufficient. Other reforms are vital to the success of our political and social system.

The health of the soldiers who enlisted for service in the present war has been made the supreme care of the State. The same care should be continued with respect to the health of the entire population. Free medical advice and medical attendance should be made available for every member of society; and free hospital service for all who require nursing and attendance as a means of restoration to health. The Nation which can raise and expend a billion dollars



for war, can well appropriate sufficient funds to eradicate tuberculosis, typhoid, pneumonia, syphilis, and all other preventable diseases, which in each and every generation claim more victims than war itself.

The Government must establish healthful conditions of living in Canada, even if additional taxes be levied upon industry for the attainment of that end. Accumulations of wealth are often commendable and always permissible as an incentive to increased individual activity, expertness, or inventiveness; but the amount of property that any single individual may be permitted to transmit to his heirs may hereafter be restricted in the public interest by the imposition of even heavier succession duties which should accrue to the State, so as to adjust and maintain an equilibrium between the rights of the individual and the rights of the State which protects the individual in the acquisition and enjoyment of his property.

The housing of the people in families, under conditions which ensure health and a certain degree of comfort and of intimate family life, is also a supreme concern of the State. The hovels which germinate and disseminate disease and death must be wiped out; and since private funds do not seek investment, in sufficient amounts, to provide homes for all, the State must intervene and supply the deficiencies. Work of this kind cannot be left to sympathy and the good offices of the philanthropists. Every Canadian child born into life has the right to such careful medical supervision, to such sanitary surroundings, and to such home comforts, as will best ensure his reaching a vigorous manhood, and acquiring such qualities of mind and heart as are necessary for performing the duties of Canadian citizenship.

Moreover, reforms or improvements are necessary in our educational systems. More money, and yet more, must be expended in providing adequate and efficient educational facilities. We are very backward in much of our educational work. Improvements in our educational system, especially in branches which must be provided to give special technical training, such as agriculture, mining, metallurgy, chemistry, engineering and the like, in all their practical applications, will cost money and require time to bring them to a high standard. But the demand must be met, and the money provided by the State and not left to the precarious generosity of individual contributors.

The revolutionary socialists would burn down the structure that civilization has reared, with all its slowly acquired values, for the purpose of obliterating its obvious defects; but the people of Canada, if they are wise in their day and generation, will devote the energies of Statesmen and of citizens alike to maintain on the old foundations the fabric which our fathers have built, with such new improvements as the health, the moral welfare, the material prosperity and the political and social advancement of our Nation obviously demand. Radical, revolutionary socialism, which is raising its hydra-head and threatening the obliteration of all that civilization has thus far accomplished, can only be stayed by such eternal vigilance as will enable us to discern and to eradicate social evils as they appear, without destroying all that is valuable in the Social System which we have so far developed, amid so much of toil and strife and suffering.

We must revert to the reign of law in this country. At present laws almost innumerable appear upon the Statute books, laws enacted by the several provincial legislatures, laws enacted by the federal parliament, and last, but not least, laws enacted by the Government sitting in Council.

But most of these laws remain as dead letters; they are never enforced; and the country is sadly deficient in the means for securing their enforcement; until now the laws of the country are treated with more or less of indifference and contempt.

The criminal laws of Canada are within the legislative jurisdiction of the parliament of Canada; and the parliament that enacts such laws is in duty bound to provide effective means for their enforcement, or else it should obliterate them from the Statute books, and not permit them longer to remain as objects of disdain and ridicule.

Unprejudiced and searching investigation of grievances, real or merely alleged; impartial and judicial determination of disputes and differences; provision by law against the offences of those who, pretending that they are above the law, attempt to administer laws, which they themselves have set up, by the employment of strikes, sabotage, boycotts, and the like; adequate provision by the provincial authority for the strict enforcement of provincial laws, and by federal authority for the strict enforcement of federal laws, are among the remedies which I would suggest, for many of the political, social and industrial difficulties which now beset this country.

## CONCLUSION

In the short time at my disposal, I have endeavoured to give you an idea of the milder forms of the propaganda, which has covertly been carried on throughout Canada, with the evident object of weakening the will of the Canadian people to carry on the war to a successful conclusion, and, more recently, to create difficulties and dissensions within Canada so as to hinder the attainment of a satisfactory peace. I say milder forms of propaganda advisedly; for, if I were to quote at length the quantities of obscene, profane and seditious pamphlets which have been circulated throughout Canada by the Social Revolutionists, it would only serve to excite your bitter animosity, and perhaps lay myself open to the charge of disseminating sedition, though merely repeating it for your information. Tens of thousands of dollars have been spent in Canada during the war in support of this propaganda, and these expenditures will no doubt be continued with the same object until peace is finally proclaimed, and then, the seeds of revolt having been sown, the country will for a long time reap harvests of discord and discontent.

It is your duty and mine to study the existing conditions, to assist in remedying all reasonable grievances, to ensure as far as we may that the social and industrial progress of Canada shall be based on the due recognition of the rights of all its citizens. Orderly progressive evolution will ensure security and prosperity for all; revolution will inevitably result in the wanton destruction of the very foundations of our National life. We are even now experiencing the ardently desired transition from the activities of war to the activities of peace, a change which will undoubtedly cause great anxiety and acute distress for thousands of war-wearied men returning home from the front, and for thousands more who, at home, have carried on the industries necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, all of whom must now seek other avocations and adjust themselves to new conditions of life. Their problems are not theirs alone; they are mine and yours as well; and it is only by mutual understanding and sympathy, by cordial co-operation and an abundance of good-will, that these problems can successfully be solved.

The invested capital of Canada represents its farms, mines, factories, its railways, telegraphs and shipping, its commercial and financial agencies of the country, the accumulations of a century of toil and struggle, which form the basis of all future progress and prosperity. We need more capital and still more to develop and



