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FOR THE
WORKERS

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PROLETARIAT

THE REVOLUTION MUST FIRST ARISE

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UNTO
LABOR
IT SHOULD
BELONG

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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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II

(Continued)

A VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN ARMY

Very early in the morning we awoke, stiff and numb. The sun sparkled through the frosty windows. A small boy came through with tea-chocolate candy in place of sugar. The train was poking down across rich Estland, through white birch forests glorious with yellow autumn foliage like bright flame; sometimes clumps of sombre pines, with the birch leaves breaking through as if the whole woods were on fire; long gently-rolling waves of opulent farm-land, yellow wheat stubble, emerald green grass still, and the pale blue-green of miles of cabbages; and immense farm-houses set in the midst of barns, the whole covered with one great thatched roof, on which thick moss was growing. On the slow rises of country, huge gray-stone windmills, weathered and mossy, whirled their agitated sails. Along the track marched a new roadbed with the ties in place at many points, and piles of rails.

Before the revolution no effort had been made to construct this badly-needed track—since March, however, the Russians had completed twenty-six versts of it; but the Germans, in the one month since the fall of Riga, had built more than thirty miles.

Soldiers began to thicken, at all stations in barns and farm-houses far seen; gigantic bearded men in dun coats, boots, peaked caps or shaggy shapkas, almost always with a touch of red somewhere about them. Patrols of Cossacks rode along the roads deep in black mud. Military trains, all box-cars with masses of men on top and inside, clanked past with broken echoes of mass-singing. The Red Cross flag made its appearance. At Valk an excited sub-officer said we must go up in the town and get passes before proceeding further. The conductor announced that the train would leave in three minutes.

"You will be arrested! You will be arrested!" cried the sub-officer, shaking his finger at me. But we sat still, and no one ever again spoke of passes.

At Venden, beyond which no trains

go, we disembarked in a swirling mob of soldiers going home. A sentry at the door was tired of examining passes, and just motioned us wearily through. No one seemed to know where the Staff headquarters was; finally an officer, after some thought, said he thought the Staff had retired to Valk. "But you don't want the Staff," he added, "the Iskosol is in charge of things here." And he pointed to the town's entrance building, formerly the Convention of Justices of the Peace, where sat the "Iskosol," or Central Executive of the Soldiers' Deputies.

In a large bare room on the second floor, amid the clack of busy stenographers and the come-and-go of couriers' deputations, functioned the nerve-center of the Twelfth Army, the spontaneous democratic organization created by the soldiers at the outbreak of the Revolution. A handsome young lieutenant, with Jewish features, stood behind a table, running his hand through his gray-streaked hair worriedly, while a torrent of agitated complaint beat upon him. Four delegations from the regiments in the trenches, mostly soldiers, with a couple of officers mixed in, were appealing to the Iskosol all at once; one regiment was almost without boots—the Iskosol had promised six hundred pairs and had only delivered sixty; a very ragged private spokesman for another committee, complained that the artillery had been given their winter fur coats, but the cavalry was still in summer uniform. One sub-officer, a mere boy, kept shouting angrily that the Iskosol buzzed around a good deal, but nothing seemed to be accomplished.

"Da da" responded the officer vaguely, "Yes, yes. S chass, s chass. I will write immediately to the Commissariat. . . ."

On a little table were piled heaps of pamphlets and newspapers, among which I noticed Elisee Reclus' "Anarchy and the Church." A soldier sat in a broken chair nearby, reading aloud the *Isvestia*—official organ of the Petrograd Executive Committee of the all-Russian Soviets—about the formation of the new government; and as he declaimed the names of the Cadet ministers, the listeners gave vent to laughter and ironical

"hoorah's." Near the window stood Voitinsky, assistant Commissar of the Twelfth Army, with his semi-military coat buttoned up to his chin—a little man whose blue eyes snapped behind thick glasses, with bristling red hair and beard; he who was a famous exile in Siberia, and the author of "Smertniki," a book more terrible than "Seven Who Were Hanged. . . ."

These Commissars are civilians, suggested by the revolutionary Commissars of the French revolutionary government in 1793; chief representatives of the Provisional Government at the front, appointed by the Government with the approval of the Soviets.

In precise, short sentences Voitinsky explained that military operations were not his province, unless he was consulted; but he had just that day come to Venden at the request of a general to decide a question of tactics.

"My job," he said, "is to build a military machine which will retake Riga. But conditions here are desperate. The army lacks everything—food, clothes, boots, munitions. The roads are awful, and it has been raining steadily for two weeks. The horses of the transport are underfed and worn out, and it is all they can do to haul enough bread to keep us from starving. But the most serious lack at the front, more serious than the lack of food & clothes, is the lack of boots, pamphlets and newspapers. You see, since the revolution the army has absorbed tons of literature, propaganda, and has a permit, but encourage the importation of all kinds of literature in the army—it is necessary in order to keep up the spirits of the troops. Since the Kornilov affair, and especially since the Democratic Congress, the soldiers have been very uneasy. Yes, many have simply laid down their arms and gone home. The Russian army is sick of war. . . ."

Voitinsky had had no sleep for thirty-six hours. Yet he fairly radiated quick energy as he saluted and ran down the steps to his mud-covered automobile—bound on a forty-mile ride through the deep mud, in the shadow of the coming rain-storm to judge a dispute between officers and soldiers. . . .

Growling and grumbling the regimental delegations went their way and the Jewish subaltern, whose name was Tumarkin, led us into another room and passed around cigarettes, while he recounted the history of the Iskosol.

It was the first revolutionary organization of soldiers in active service.

"You see," said Tumarkin, "the row in Petrograd took us by surprise. Of course we knew that sooner or later. . . . but it came all of a sudden, as such things do. There were a crowd of us revolutionists in the army—I myself was a political exile in France when the war broke out.

"Well, in the revolution of 1905 there was established a Soviet of

Workmen in Petrograd, and we tried to make one in the army, at various places. But the masses of the soldiers were ignorant of Socialist ideas and indifferent—so we failed then. Afterward we realized our mistake, and began to work on the army; but in February, 1917, when things broke loose in Peter, we were scared. We thought they might send us to suppress the revolution. So we hastily met, about a dozen of us, and started to win over the army. . . .

"News from Petrograd was rare and contradictory. Our own staff officers were hostile. We didn't know if the revolution was winning or not. . . . For a week we hurried from place to place, holding soldiers' meetings explaining, arguing; and at every meeting we made the men pass a resolution swearing that they would face death for the revolution.

"On March 9, just eleven days after the outbreak in the capital, we got together a Soviet of the army in Riga—one delegate from each company, battery and squadron—three thousand in all. They elected an Executive Committee of sixty men, which began to establish communications with other revolutionary military organizations. Most of the time we didn't know even if there were any other bodies like ours, but simply telegraphed to 'Revolutionary Soldiers, Fourth Army'—like that. And for signature we made a code-word of the first three syllables of our organization's name—"Is-ko-sol." All the other Executive Committees call themselves "Armikom."

"Three days after organizing we began to publish our paper, **Russki Front**. What job it was, to educate, to organize! The officers didn't understand the revolution—they had been trained to a caste apart; but there was no killing of officers in this army. Only expulsions. . . . Before we left Riga the **Russki Front** had a circulation of 25,000 among the soldiers, and 5,000 in the city; to support it we proclaimed a Contribution Day for the Soldiers' Press, and raised 58,000 roubles. . . ."

The Iskosol is only one typical manifestation of the immense fertility of representative organization, a thousand times duplicated, which prevades Russian military and civil life now. It is primarily the organ by which the soldiers of the Twelfth Army take part in the furious new political life of the country; but in the chaos left by the break-down of the old regime, it has been forced to assume extraordinary functions. For example: The Iskosol fulfills the duties of commissariat department; it attempts to reconcile differences between officers and men; conducts primary and secondary schools among all bodies of troops in repose or reserve; and in certain cases like the retreat from Riga, where the commanding staff was utterly demoralized, takes actual command of the troops. Its members are scattered throughout the army, sent from place

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The Aims of Labor.

(By Right Hon. Arthur Henderson,

SOLIDARITY.

The organised workers have displayed a wonderful spirit of loyalty and remarkable fortitude, courage, and determination throughout the period of the war, but from now onwards the need for practical and effective solidarity will become more and more increasingly evident and insistent. The tremendous sacrifices of the present are a blood-offering for the security of the future, and a grave responsibility will rest upon the representatives of the several nations concerned if, from any unworthy motive they fail to arrange such a peace settlement as will afford the peoples of the world a reasonable prospect of security, freedom and progress. If such a peace is not realised, it will mean that the most vital object of our participation in the present greivous and devastating conflict has not been attained, and that the military failure of Germany has not proved to be a victory for the Allied Cause.

Co-operation Between People's

It is imperative that the workers of the world should realise that they are too intimately concerned in the proper adjustment of all the great issues to allow them to be settled in any other than a just honorable way. Moreover, immense problems of political, social, and material reconstruction will present themselves for solution immediately peace is declared. These problems will not be confined to any one nation, but will, be international in character scope and effect; and if they are to be solved successfully joint action and close co-operation between all people's will be essential.

The defeat of aggressive Militarism and Autocracy will not dispose of all the great difficulties confronting Democracy; it will only mean, in the event of an honorable and lasting peace, that the peoples will be free to concentrate all their energies, their creative and constructive genius, on the consideration and solution of these common difficulties. Democracy has in its hands the necessary power to arrange the future destiny of the world. If the democratic forces are to be successful, it is of essential importance that they shall combine with singleness of aim firm determination, and complete unity under the banner of Freedom, Peace and Progress.

Society of Nations.

There is ample evidence that the workers of this country have not yet formed a just appreciation of the vital importance of all the forces of democracy uniting with one will and common purpose to secure in the peace settlement and the subsequent national and international reconstruction the essential conditions of "a new heaven and a new earth". It is time they intend that the new Society of Nations shall be built on the solid rocks of justice, honor and humanity, instead of being rebuilt on the shifting sands of oppression, conquest and international jealousy. They intend that brute force and all other barriers to "Peace on Earth, Goodwill among men" shall be done away with and that the conclusion of

this terrible struggle shall inaugurate a new era in which moral force shall hold complete and unquestioned sway. And it must be obvious that anything short of this would mean that the present golden opportunity had been missed and would give a new lease of life to the forces of reaction and militarism throughout the whole world. The only power that can save the present and future generations from a repetition of the present ruthless struggle, is a united Democracy.

Organise With Unity.

But if full advantage is to be taken of this opportunity to ensure that the destiny of the world shall be at the complete disposal of the people themselves, it will require of a Democracy all the best qualities of real statesmanship. It is not sufficient that the nations shall have a clear vision of the new world which they desire to dwell in; they must organise with unity and strength of purpose and use their power to lay the foundations true and firm and afterwards to complete the whole edifice on right and noble lines.

Peoples International.

A real People's international, which shall give concrete and practical expression to the spiritual aspirations, social ideals and moral passion of humanity, must be founded on an unshakable faith of the nations in the spirit of democracy, and the recognition by all peoples not only of their national rights and privileges but of their international obligations and responsibilities. Freedom at home and domination abroad are incompatible with the ideals of democracy. If the German people are sincere in their professions of faith in democracy and the principles of equality among all nations, large and small, strong and weak, they must begin to establish in their own country a constitutional system of democratic government. It is not a matter that needs to be postponed for consideration after the war. Russia, the latest addition to the league of Democracies, did not neglect to strive for internal freedom during the progress of hostilities, and if the peoples of the world are to be responsible for arranging the terms of a democratic and stable peace the German nation will need to establish popular control over its own national affairs. And until this is done it will be impossible to build a completely successful and effectual People's International.

"A Solid Foundation".

In the past Democracy has been far too ready and content to contract-out the vitally important work of national and International construction, with the inevitable result that the jerry-built structure erected was too frail to stand when the storm clouds of war burst over Europe with such terrible effect in 1914. There must be an end of this policy. The peoples must shoulder their own responsibilities, and must see to it that the new world edifice which is to be built on the ruins of the old shall be capable of resisting all international storms that may threaten

humanity in the future.

If Democracy is to co-operate effectively and successfully in international affairs, it is altogether essential that the democratic forces shall be united and solid at home. It may safely be said that hitherto too much prominence has been given to differences of opinion regarding tactics and methods, to the incalculable advantage of the reactionary and opposing forces. Surely past experiences must have proved beyond all shadow of a doubt the necessity of all sections of the movement inspired by the same high ideals combining to enforce their common will. We cannot afford to fritter away our strength by internal wrangling on issues which after all, are not of vital importance and are only secondary to the main aims we have in view.

United We Stand Divided We Fall.

Whatever may have been the causes of past differences of opinion and however acute may have been the disagreements regarding the causes of the war and the methods employed to bring it to a successful conclusion, there can be no substantial difference among the various sections of the great democratic army regarding the kind of peace which will make the world safe for democracy, or as to the need of a comprehensive and effective policy of reconstruction. Of this we may be assured, the future will only be democracy's if democracy concentrates all its powers into one channel and seeks to enforce its will by united action. Concentration of its strength can only be achieved by complete unity of purpose and action. What is most urgently required is breadth of vision to focus in broad outline the great aims of democracy, and courage, power, and tenacity to strive to attain those ideals. There is little divergence among the various so far as aims and objects are concerned; but if we are to attain a reasonable measure of co-operation, there will have to be a greater disposition on all sides to seek accommodation re the methods by which our aims and ideals may be achieved. "United we stand, divided we fall" is a significant phrase, and the various forces of reaction have long since learnt to give it full recognition and to stand together in face of the common enemy of democracy. Self preservation has compelled them to work in unison, but only the lack of cohesion and co-operation on the part of the democratic forces has enabled them to stand together so long and to exert so great an influence on the destiny of the people.

(To be continued)

Capitalism dies hard. But there is one satisfaction—it will be a long time dead.

Life insurance under Socialism will be the kind that you won't have to die to get.

Approach Socialism through the road of prejudice and you land in the swamp of ignorance.

When a workingman has a wooden leg he finds it hard to get along, but he seems to get along all right with a wooden head.

Socialism is what a real Christian would like to practice but cannot under present conditions.



GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF SLAVERY.

By Charles Kingsley.

During the few too brief years in which many of us workers went to school we became a little bit familiar with history. We learned something of the History of Great Britain and something of the early settlement and subsequent organization of the Federal Government of Canada. The impression left with us by these early studies was that — "The History of a Country is the History of its Great Men." Basking in the immortal glory of kings and generals we felt the first yearnings of that hero-worship which in later years was destined to make us good citizens in the sense of entertaining orthodox feelings of reverence and humility in the presence of our "betters" and causing us eagerly to acquiesce in the wise decree of providence in placing masters and rulers over us.

The writing of a History is, naturally, a task for the wisest of men. It is a matter which requires not only a vast knowledge of facts but also a mind discerning in method of arranging such facts that their true significance may be disclosed. This is the essential function of History, — the correct statement and the correct interpretation of facts in connection with the life of a nation.

We are well aware that there has been something lacking in the majority of histories hitherto published. This lack has arisen from the position taken by the average historian. These writers have assumed that the fortunes of duly anointed royalties is the one important theme not to be overlooked, the fortunes of the common people being worthy only of incidental mention. So it happens that the average person knows that Henry VIII of England had several matrimonial adventures and perhaps also that he had a difference of opinion with the Pope, but of the conditions affecting the lives of the poor of that time there is not such general knowledge.

Whether this characteristic of histories, particularly of our public school texts, has been consciously effected or not it has served an admirable purpose from the viewpoint of those whose interests are exercised in ruling and reaping the earth. That is to say, in our tender years we have been properly started out in reverential and obsequious training.

As a valuable addition to Socialist literature we now have Comrade Kingsley's "Genesis and Evolution of Slavery". We have prefaced our remarks by a reference to History because this little work is mainly historical, — History from the view point that concerns you and me and all workers whatsoever. Beginning with the early exploitation of the laboring masses by an owning and ruling class Comrade Kingsley traces the development of Society through various forms down to the present shewing in his powerful and inimitable style that our boasted freedom so much heard of, is more apparent than real; that Business for Profit on which our modern commercialism rests is only

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FRANCE.

A Trade Union Congress Resolution.

The Congress of the French Trade Unions has adopted a resolution demanding the admission of representatives of the working classes to the preliminary peace conference; also the establishment of a Society of Nations.

The League of Nations : All Not Allied.

The Union of Postal and Telegraph Workers on June 6 passed a resolution demanding the extension to its members of the "family bonus" which is paid, in many other branches of labor, to employees with dependents also demanding an additional bonus of two francs per day in view of the increased cost of living.

Demands for Peace.

The demands for a clear statement of Allied terms of peace continue to appear in most of the French papers, capitalist as well as Socialist. There is almost complete agreement that any new German offer of peace must not be bluntly rejected. Robert Dell's striking articles in the **Manchester Guardian** and in last week's **Herald** has shown the strength of the movement for peace in France among the workers; a movement that the members of the French Chamber of Deputies have now begun to appreciate.

RUSSIA.

It is stated that an armistice has been agreed upon between Russia and the Ukraine, but it does not appear what significance this has. On the other hand, the peasants in the Ukraine are still vigorously resisting the Skoropadsky authorities, and it is generally recognised in Germany and Austria that the Ukraine will bring very little relief to the food situation in those countries.

Famine.

The counter-revolutionary movements are being successful in adding to the miseries of the Russian population and in Petrograd the plight of the inhabitants is desperate. The Bolshevik Government is doing all it can to relieve the situation, but the main lines of supply from Siberia and the south-east have been cut by the reactionary forces. Fortunately we learn that President Wilson is really making good his word to help Russia: several hundreds of American specialists have arrived in Russia "to take part in a special conference to facilitate transport and to re-organise the whole Russian railways." This material testimony to the truth of President Wilson's professions of loyalty to Russia absolutely disproves the statements carefully circulated by the Allied jingo press that the Allies intend to oppose the Bolsheviks with armed force: as the **Nation** observes, one does not send help to the enemy just before making

The Plight of Finland.

Reaction of the blackest type would seem to be following the "White Guards" of Finland. Press and even letter censorship of the worst description prevails: all freedom of meeting and association has been suppressed. A threat has gone out that all Socialists are to be banished — and that when more than half the adult population voted Socialist at the last general election. All the property of workmen's associations of every description, Trade Union and Co-operative, is to be sequestered, and even the municipal properties where those municipalities have shown themselves "sympathetic with rebellion." Special courts for the trial of "offenders" are to be set up. There are 80,000 of them. Only the suppression of the French Commune can show any parallel to what is going forward in free Finland to-day.

Italy and the Steel Trust.

The danger of the Money Trust, another form to-day all over the world apparently of the Iron Hand or Mailed fist of the Steel Trust and so of the Armaments' Rings, is being clearly recognised in Italy.

According to "A Deputy" writing in the **Giornale d'Italia**, the country has to face the possibility that . . .

certain manufacturing interests, i.e., the steel magnates may obtain a mastery over the private banks, wherein the national wealth is concentrated, and so place the smaller industries and other commercial interests at their mercy; while they also, by holding the Press in their hands and by placing themselves in a privileged and commanding position, may dispose of an unshakable influence over Parliament and the Government.

We advise our readers to cut out that sentence and paste it in their note books. It is a succinct statement of the form which Twentieth Century Slave Holding is gradually taking all over the world.

Christian Pacifists in Germany.

In November of last year, German Protestants were called upon to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation, and a little later, to judge by a report in the **Neue Wege** for February, a number of Berlin and Hanoverian clergy issued the following proclamation, which was endorsed by many hundreds of influential men in other parts of Germany. We are glad to hear that it has been laid before the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches in this country and hope that they may soon issue a worthy response. Only very slowly, and mainly by the help of International Socialists and Pacifists are any signs of good in Germany allowed to reach this country, whereas three telegraph agencies and

the whole war press of the Allies is at work to spread knowledge of the evil that is there and to exaggerate even that.

We German Protestants' conscious of the Christian principles and aims, heartily stretch out a brotherly hand to all co-religionists, including those of enemy countries.

We recognise as the deepest causes of the war the anti-Christian Powers dominating the lives of the peoples, e. g., suspicion, idolatry of force and covetousness; therefore a peace based on mutual understanding and reconciliation is in our opinion the peace that must be brought about.

We believe that the chief obstacle to an honest agreement among nations is the pernicious rule of lies and phrases, through which truth is silenced or distorted, only spreading delusion and folly, and we call on all in every country who wish for peace to stand up and resolutely combat this obstacle.

Faced by this terrible war we feel it to be a conscientious duty to strive henceforth in the name of Christianity with all determination to eradicate war from the world as a means of setting differences among nations.

Above the country stands, embracing all nations, the Kingdom of God, whose gospel says: Justice, Peace, Love. For this it is the elemental duty of our service to stand against the greed of gold and sham culture which have had their share in the the making of this war. We are happy to notice similar Christian and moral demands in neutral and enemy countries, and are confident that this new, though eternally old Spirit of the Kingdom of God, will break its way through every barrier, thus bringing the various peoples a future of justice and happiness.

AUSTRIA.

There is still another political crisis in Austria. On the eve of the re-assembly of the Reichsrath Count Toggenburg, the Minister of the Interior, who would seem to have some honest beliefs in Parliamentary government, has resigned. Every "nationalist" movement in the Austrian Empire is at fever heat, and all of them are definitely hostile to Prussian dominance and its aggressive designs in Eastern Europe, though they have no will to play into the hands of Italian or Russian, or indeed any Allied Imperialism either.

Various rumours of far-reaching revolutionary movements in Austria-Hungary are being circulated by the Allied agencies. It is impossible to gauge the truth of the statements, but there is little doubt that the workers are in extreme want owing to the shortage of food, which has been hardly affected at all by the small quantities of provisions which have been so far obtained from the Ukraine. Popular discontent will not be less in consequence of the offensive against Italy: for months the popular cry has been that Austria might have peace were it not for Germany's aggressive designs of the Allies.

Austrian Women and Peace.

From Geneva significant telegrams have come quoting from a long memorandum issued by the Austrian Women's Democratic League, which

would seem to follow the splendid lead of the Women's International, whose resolutions passed at the Hague on the basis of permanent peace in the first year of the war have never been surpassed even by the International Socialists with whom indeed they were in practical agreement in all fundamentals. The Austrian women's demands are (1) The immediate opening of peace negotiations in a neutral country; (2) the democratisation of the Austrian Constitution; (3) sympathetic consideration of the claims advanced by various lesser nationalities in Austria-Hungary.

"An early peace," the document says, "can alone avert the collapse of our beloved country."

Labor Leader, England

NEWS FROM THE PACIFIC VANCOUVER, B.C.

Ye Cannot Serve God and Mammon

By W. J. Curry.

There never was a time in human history when correct analysis and constructive criticism were so essential as now.

There are evidences on all sides that what we term civilization is soon to go into the melting pot, and pass through the furnace of economic and political strife and convulsions. What the resultant of these conflicting forces will be none can tell but one thing is sure, the world will never be the same again, in spite of that ostrich-like optimism displayed by the public press.

Unfortunately for our race, the more reactionary and bestial types of men still dominate human society. The law of the jungle still prevails; not social righteousness, but the longest fangs and sharpest claws, the deadliest poison, are still the ambition of nations. We still hear the cry of the human wolf-pack "Not this man Jesus, but Barabbas, the robber".

Some of the blind guides who pose as our spiritual lights can see no further than the slaughter of the "mad dogs" of Germany and the Christianity represented by reeking bayonets and the roar of cannon, an Imperialistic victory which will surely mean a military despotism and the basis of a still more horrible war.

But it is not entirely dark. There are rays of light coming even from the conventional Church and it seems that a cleavage in official Christianity is not far distant.

Last Monday's papers reported a most unusual sermon delivered in one of our west end Churches, and I can but congratulate the man who was brave enough to defy the money changers who control the temple and who had the courage to speak in the interest of the toiler of democracy.

Out of the hundreds of men claiming to represent the Prince of Peace and human progress, this gentleman is, as far as we know, the third in Canada who sees beyond this bloody scramble for territory in the name of culture or democracy and who has a social vision in line with true Christianity and real progress. The balance stay with the flesh pots of plutocracy, either because of their ignorance or because they lack the moral courage to brave the fiery furnace and the lions den.

Two of the three have already been economically scourged by the Chief Priests and financial pillars of

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to place during engagements, encouraging, inspiring, leading. . . .

Beneath it is an intricate system of committees—in each company, regiment, brigade, division, corps—half political, half military, and all elected by the soldiers, with representatives in each higher committee—the whole finally culminating in the Little Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, one delegate from each regiment, which meets about once a month—and the Big Soviet, five from each regiment, whose sessions are less frequent and whose Executive Committee, elected every three months, forms the Iskosol. The Iskosol has three delegates in the Central Committee of the All-Russian Soviets at Petrograd, and one man attached to the Army Staff.

But that is not all. The passion for democratic expression and the swiftness of revolutionary events has given birth to other organizations. Three months ago, when the Iskosol was elected, there was very little bolshevik sentiment in the Twelfth Army; but since the Kornilov affair the masses of soldiers are largely bolshevik. Now the Iskosol has no bolshevik members, and the Iskosol is predominantly *abaronetz*—in favor of continuing the war to victory. So forty-three regiments have formed a new central body of bolshevik delegates, called the Left Bloc, which also has representatives in Petrograd.

And then there are the Letts. There are nine Lettish regiments in the army, the most desperate fighters—since they are fighting for their own homes, and the great majority of these are revolutionary social democrats. Although represented in the Iskosol, they have their own central body also the "Iskolostreel," or Central Committee of the Lettish "Streelniki"—Sharp-Shooters. Over the Iskolostreel is still a higher body, the "Iskolat"—Central Committee of the Lettish Soviet of Soldiers, Workers, and Landless Farm-workers. As all over Russia this district or province Soviet is fed by innumerable small Soviets in every village, town and city and has his delegates in the All-Russian Central body at Petrograd. The landless farm-laborers, however, who are a real agricultural proletariat, in Estland replace the peasants of the other Russian provinces; and the Russian Soviet of the district is composed only of soldiers; as there are neither Russian workmen nor Russian peasants in Livonia.

There is still another organization, called the Nationalist Bloc, composed of Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Finns and various others of the fifty-seven peoples of Russia whose purpose is to agitate for separation of various degrees. . . .

And it is a characteristic of this extraordinary complex multiple system of elective organizations, working feverishly and often at cross-purposes, that it throws off among its other forms of expression a prodigious amount of literature. The Iskosol publishes *Ruski Front*, the Soviet another paper called *Bulletin of the Soldiers' Delegates*; from the Left Bloc comes *Golos XII Armia*; the Nationalist Bloc has its own organ; the Iskolostreel runs the daily *Latwju Strehneeks*; and before the fall of Riga there were besides three papers of as many Social Democrat factions, one of the Socialist Revolutionists, and a fifth of the

Populist party—besides all the regular pre-revolutionary journals of Riga; and most of these have again sprung up in the little Lettish towns among the gun positions. Added to all these are the Petrograd papers, especially Gorky's *Novata Zhisn* and the Bolshevik *Soldat* and *Rabotchi Poot*, and all the others whose endless names escape me, which are poured into the army zone by the hundreds of millions.

And all this terrible eagerness for self-government and for self-expression is working as much in all the Russian armies everywhere along a thousand miles of front, among twelve million men suddenly free from tyranny. . . .

Iskosol sent its own delegates to Riga. Rarkin was telling us how the Baku for oil, to the Volga to buy or commandeer wheat, up into Archangelsk Government for timber and how it ordered guns and ammunition from the big munitions works in Petrograd. Just then the door opened and a frowzled head pecked in, followed by a dirty, bearded face. "I am lost!" groaned Tumarin. Immediately the room seemed full of sullen-looking soldiers; spokesmen of delegations began.

"I represent," said he of the face, "the cooks of the 26th Division. We haven't any more wood—the soldiers want us to tear down the farmhouses to make fires for cooking their meals—"

The next soldier elbowed his way to the front, spurs clinking. The horses of the cavalry were dying of hunger. No hay. . . . Tears welled upon his eyes; he had seen his own horse fall down in the road. . . .

"Here!" cried the unhappy Tumarin, holding out a paper to us. "This is a proclamation we printed in the Soldiers' Press the day Riga fell. The shells were bursting around the office while we set type. Volunteers pasted it up on the walls and posts all over the city—" And he was swallowed up.

The proclamation was in German. "The Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies of the Twelfth Army to the German Soldiers.

"German Soldiers!

"The Russian soldiers of the Twelfth Army draw your attention to the fact that you are carrying on a war for autocracy against revolution, freedom and justice. The victory of Wilhelm will be death to democracy and freedom. We withdraw from Riga, but we know that the forces of the revolution will ultimately prove themselves more powerful than the force of cannons. We know that in the long run your conscience will overcome everything, and that the German soldiers, with the Russian revolutionary army, will march to the victory of freedom. You are at present stronger than we are, but yours is only the victory of the brute force. The moral force is on our side. History will tell that the German proletarians went against their revolutionary brothers, and they forgot the international working-class solidarity. This crime you can expiate only by one means. You must understand your own and at the same time the universal interests, and strain all your immense power against imperialism and go hand in hand with us—toward life and freedom."

Outside it was raining, and the mud of the streets had been tracked on the sidewalks by thousands of boots until it was difficult to walk. The city was darkened against hostile aeroplanes; only chinks of light

gleamed from shutters, and blinds glowed dull red. The narrow street made unexpected turns. In the dark we hurried incessant passing soldiers spangled with cigarette-lights. Close by passed a series of great trucks, some army-transport, rushing down in the black gloom with a noise like thunder, and a fan-like spray of ooze. Right before me someone scratched a match, and I saw a soldier pasting a white paper on a wall. Our guide, one of the Iskosol, gave an exclamation and ran up, flashing an electric torch. We read:

"Comrade soldiers!
"The Venden Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies has arranged for Thursday, September 28, at 4 o'clock in the park, a MEETING. Tavaristch Peters, of the Central Committee of the Lettish Social Democratic party, will speak on:

"The Democratic Congress and the Crisis of Power."

The Iskosol man was sputtering. "That meeting is forbidden," he cried. "The commandant has forbidden it!" The other man spat. "The commandant is a damn bourgeois," he remarked. "This Peters is bolshevik," argued our friend. "Meetings are not allowed in the zone of war. That is the rule. The Iskosol has forbidden this meeting." But the soldier only grinned maliciously. "The Iskosol too is bourgeois," he answered, and turned away. "We want to hear about this democratic Congress"

At the little hotel the proprietor, half hostile, half greedy-frightened, said that there were no rooms.

"How about that room?" asked our friend, pointing.

"That is the commandant's room," he replied, gruffly.

"The Iskosol takes it," said the other. We got it.

It was an old Lettish peasant woman who brought us tea, and peered at us out of her bleary eyes, rubbing her hand and babbling German. "You are foreigners," she said, "glory to God. These Russians are dirty folk, and they do not pay." She leaned down and hoarsely whispered: "Oh, if the Germans would only hurry. We respectable folk all want the Germans to come here!"

And through the shut wooden blinds, as we settled down to sleep, we could hear the far-off thud-booming of the German cannon hammering on the thin, ill-clad, underfed Russian lines, torn by doubts, fears, distrust, dying and rotting out there in the rain because they were told that the Revolution would be saved thereby. . . .

(Note.—The second part of this article, which will appear next issue, carries on the story of this eager and spontaneous self-government, showing it at work in the rank-and-file of the army. We see those "thin, ill-clad, underfed Russian lines," striving to understand their situation, and trying, in the face of many impossibilities, to save the Revolution.)

They tell us that we must have rich and poor in order that there shall be an incentive for the poor to work. A flea on a dog is an incentive for the dog to scratch, but the flea is of no benefit to the dog.

UNFORTUNATE.

Housewife—If you love work, as you say, why don't you find it?

Hobo—Love is blind, you know, mum.

When everybody works there will be less work for everybody to do.

THE WORKERS COMPARED TO GADARENE SWINE.

By Rose Henderson.

The aeroplane a magazine circulating among manufacturers of Aeroplanes, who are piling up huge fortunes out of the war, on January the 30th published an article entitled "On the Gaderene Swine", which throws an interesting light upon the manner in which the workers are regarded by their prosperous employers. When they are docile and patient the writer of the article infers that they are like harmless pigs, but when they attempt to improve their conditions, they appear to him as swine possessed by devils. However here are the writers own words judge for yourself.

"In his proper place the pig is a useful and even likeable animal. The devil of lunacy which affected our politicians, before and early in the war, seems now to have possessed a large portion of working men of this nation, with the result that the whole herd seems to be on the point of rushing down and perishing in the waters of anarchy. It remains to be seen whether the harmless necessary pigs are to find a saviour who will cast out the devils and save them as much as the lunatics. A few weeks of military discipline would soon exercise the devils of anarchy which possess these people. The country may be conquered by the British Army or the country may be conquered by the German Army, that depends entirely on whether the working classes do their duty or not.

"The Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie have already done all that and more than the country has any right to expect of them. Either form of conquest would be better than the fate of the Gaderene Swine. Germany's policy is evidently to stir up the forces of anarchy among the allied nations and so end the war, then when their enemies were thus broken up the German politico-military aristocracy would step in and govern Europe helped by the better class people of what are now the allied countries, who would naturally prefer German government to mob rule as exhibited in Russia to-day."

The writer in "The Aeroplane" makes it clear that in his view at least, and he assumes in the view of all the better class people, government by German autocracy would be preferable to Government by the working classes. The workers should carefully note this fact. "The Workers Dreadnought" London, England This is on a par with the remark of Lord Hugh Cecil who was speaking the other day on "After War problems". He said Labor is quite unfit mentally and by training to deal with questions that will come under discussion, "in fact" added his Lordship "I would as soon send a child of three up in an aeroplane, as let the Labor men take part in the terms of peace".

Mr. Balfour is another dignitary in high position who holds similar view regarding labor's intelligence and ability. He says that the people should be excluded from all share in foreign politics or that diplomacy or the intercourse of nations should be confined within the narrow channels of bureaucratic precedent. Horatio Bottomly in "John Bull."

The workers are good enough for the battle fields, sweat shops, munition shops and factories but not to consult in a matter which vitally concerns their life or death.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Correspondence—

All correspondence should be addressed to

THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



APOLOGY AND APPRECIATION.

In our last issue we promised to give a detailed statement with reference to the editors imprisonment and release. We find however, that publication of this matter at the present time would take up much valuable space that can be used to better advantage in the present crisis by giving as much foreign news as possible. We read so much these days as to "what's so and what isn't" that we may invariably reverse the order morning and evening and be quite in line with capitalist conceptions of truth—that we are again led to advise our readers not to believe anything that comes through the ordinary "Press dispatches". They are invariably manifestations of the political necessity of those who desire to control, in order to achieve their own purposes. We tender our hearty thanks and appreciation for the generous response to the "Bainbridge Defence" and promise to give a full report in the near future.

REFERENDUM BALLOT.

On Labor Party Affiliation.

The National Executive Committee has decided to take a referendum vote of party membership in order to settle this important question, and to give status to the party's position. We take this action after much delay.—necessary delay in our judgment, as the membership has now had ample opportunity of deliberating and discussing this question and forming mature judgment upon this important matter. We have had Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan provinces in-convention to take this matter up—and many of our locals have taken the matter up with the local labor party bodies in their respective districts; consequently the time is due for us to decide.

Ballots have been sent out to all locals. Language locals being supplied through their Executive secretaries. In order that language sections should be fully informed we have directed insertion to be made in their language "Official papers" giving all necessary and detailed information upon the general question involved. The charge has been laid against your executive by one of our retiring locals that we have attempted to influence the party membership toward affiliation. We repudiate any innuend of this character as a base fabrication, and call upon all members to give a conscientious expression of opinion upon this matter. Bearing in mind the state of flux through which all organizations are passing at the present time owing to the abnormal conditions arising out of war, the imperative necessity of some practical form of working-class cohesion by which we shall not sacrifice our identity as a socialist body but still advance the mass movement of labor toward its Indust-

rial Political and Social emancipation; bearing in mind the combination of our historic enemies—the propertied class, and their political jobbers—The "Conservative" and "Liberal" parties, it behooves every advocate of the workers cause to strive for unity and co-operation in the ranks of labor in order to defeat the forces of re-action. Your vote will decide this matter so far as the S.D.P. is concerned. Voting will take place by local, and number of votes tabulated. Local secretaries are requested to return all ballot papers to headquarters as early as possible.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ON TRIAL.

At the time of going to press I am in receipt of a letter from Cook County Jail, Chicago, Ill. The writer of this letter is an old member of the Socialist Party in Canada. This is the second letter I have received from this Comrade—whose name I may not mention for obvious reasons. Complaint is made that we have not given due publicity to the imprisonment of these Brothers and Comrades and I beg to state in reply that this omission is entirely due to my own imprisonment. Socialists of all parties in Canada are deeply interested in the trials and persecutions that the members of the I. W. W. have suffered, and although we may differ some with respect to their "tactics", we have the deepest admiration for their courage and sacrifices, and sincerely hope that their activities may result in advancing the cause of labor and hastening the fall of "Wage Slavery" and the abolition of all forms of Capitalist oppression. I gladly make insertion of information (re) "British Labors Attitude" to the trial which is now taking place in Chicago and would, if possible, all they can render all possible assistance—Financial, Moral and in any other way they think best.

Union Railway Men of England demand that Trial be Fair.

The latest aid to be extended the I. W. W. members now on trial at Chicago comes from England. The British National Union of Railwaymen are determined that the I. W. W. shall have a fair trial. It is this international support that is daily spelling **v-i-c-t-o-r-y** for the workers. The solidarity of labor knows no defeat.

This letter speaks eloquently of the determination of the British workers that we shall secure all the protection which they can give. The letter reads:

"BRITISH CONSULATE GENERAL
CHICAGO

806 Pullman Building
Telephone Wabash 8546

June 29, 1918

"Dear Sir,

"I learned from the District Attorney that you are representing the defendants in the I. W. W. trial and I therefore venture to give you below

the substance of a communication which I have received from the National Union of Railwaymen, 13 Cecil Street, Hawthorne Avenue, Hull, England:

"The Hull District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen have had brought to their notice at a meeting held on June 2nd, 1918, the fact that several British subjects have been placed in prison in Chicago and district on various charges of conspiracy, etc. I am instructed by the members of my council to request you as the British Consul to look after the interests of these British subjects at their forthcoming trial, the names of whom are as follows:

"Ted Fraser, Richard Brazier, Charles Ashley, George Hardy, Bert Lorton, Harry Lloyd, Sam Scarlett, Archie Sinclair, Herbert Mahler, Peter McEvey, James H. Manning, Joseph Oates, C. L. Lambert, Donald Sheridan and Wm. Moran."

"I shall feel grateful if you will be kind enough to let me know whether the names mentioned are those of your clients and whether you are actually defending them in their trial.

"I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

LEWIS G. BERNAY,

British Vice-Consul.

"Geo. F. Vanderveer, Esq.,

9th Floor,

19 S. LaSalle Street,
Chicago."

IS THERE A CLASS STRUGGLE?

Many ill informed people assume that the class struggle of which we speak is merely an attempt on the part of the Socialists to create "Class Antagonism". Let it be said here that this is not so as we socialists merely point out the economic causes of class Antagonism.—We do not create them.

The industrial strife that is rampant from one end of the country to the other at the present time is a proof of our promise. No person fit to be outside a "Lunatic Asylum" (and there are many such) will suggest that the socialists are the cause of the present social discontent. There is very little difference between socialists and non-socialists in the degree of discontent manifested, although we do claim to better understand the cause.

Our opponents have not even the logic of Professor Jevons when he advanced the theory that "Poverty" was due to Sun spots. We have been held responsible for most things. First the German Socialists were responsible for the war they could not prevent. The Russian Bolsheviks are now held responsible for the deferred Allied Victory. "Jimmie Simpson" is responsible for the Scavengers strike in Toronto and is therefore responsible for the increased tax rate.—notwithstanding the fact that he took no part whatever in the dispute. Of course we appreciate the tribute so ungraciously tendered, and only regret that the administration of our political affairs has not been placed in such able hands, we might even have prevented an increase in the cost of living, or at least have alleviated the overburdened taxpayer with a generous use of the German gold we are supposed to be receiving. Even in these tactics the capitalist press merely demonstrates its acceptance of German philosophy. It was the old German professor Kopenick who, in advising his students how to debate said:—"If you are debating with an opponent more powerful than

yourself, make as many charges as possible against him in order that the greater part of his time will be taken up in defending himself—rather than attacking you". (quotation from memory):

All social disturbances generally, primarily, and fundamentally arise from economic causes. The present disturbance is due to the disunity of economic interests. The antagonism of classes is but the reflex of the competition for property rights, in the products of human labor—as Kautsky states.

"The elevation of the working-class is a necessary and inevitable process. But it is neither peaceful nor regular. The tendency of the capitalist system is to degrade the proletariat ever more and more. The moral regeneration of the working class is possible only in opposition to this tendency and its representatives, the capitalists. It cannot come about except through the new tendency developed in the working-class by the modern conditions of labor. But the two tendencies, the one upward and the other downward vary constantly in different places and at different periods. They depend on the condition of the market, the organization of industry, the development of machinery, the insight of the capitalists and workers, etc., etc. All of these conditions vary from year to year in all the numerous branches of industry.

But fortunately for human development there comes a time in the history of every section of the proletariat when the elevating tendencies gain the upper hand. And when they have once awakened full class-consciousness in any group of workers, the consciousness of solidarity with all the members of the working-class, the consciousness of the strength that is born of union; as soon as any group has recognized that it is essential to society and that it dare hope for better things in the future,—then it is well nigh impossible to shove that group back into the degenerate mass of beings whose opposition to the system under which they suffer takes no other form than of unreasoned hate."

Until such time that the workers receive their social value in the products of their own labor the struggle between the possessors and dispossessed must, and will go on.

This year's excess profits and income taxes in the United States will yield \$3,200,000,000, which is more than the entire cost of the Civil War to the Northern States.—Toronto Globe.

The Globe will be the last to inform its readers that this vast sum must first be taken out of the bodies of the toilers by the capitalists before the Government can take it away from the exploiters.

The Toronto Globe suggests that the reason the contribution to the Prisoners of War Fund by the churches was so small was because the rich members were mostly out motoring that fine Sunday. No wonder the joy killers are attempting to stop the sale of gasoline on Sunday. The working people have about ceased to listen to the voice of the church because it no longer has a living message for them. If the sky pilots now lose their grip on the rich formalists, that institution will be in a bad way. The church will soon have to choose between Good and Evil (God and Mammon).

He serves himself best who serves humanity first.

THE TRUTH ABOUT TROELSTRA.

From Glasgow Forward.

A fortnight ago I drew attention to the vilification of M. Troelstra, the Dutch Socialist leader that was going on steadily in the London Times. It was quite apparent that a desperate effort was to be made to prevent him coming to the Labour Conference in London; he knows too much of the inner secrets of European diplomacy, and it was very undesirable that he should be allowed to contaminate British Labour with the truth about war aims and the possibilities of an immediate peace upon a reasonable basis.

The vilification spread mysteriously to the other great Capitalist organs, hints began about the possibility of a refusal of passports; it was announced on Wednesday night that a stool pigeon called Wil' Thorne, M. P., would ask that passports be refused to Troelstra; and then on Thursday morning the Glasgow Herald intimated that the British Government

"will refuse to allow Dr. Troelstra, the Dutch Labour leader, to come to London for next week's Labour Conference. The Dutchman's well known German sympathies would not of themselves have been regarded as a bar to the granting of passports, but his recent association with Herr Scheidemann, the German Socialist, from whom he is said to have received a message to be communicated to the Labour Conference, was an incident which the British Government could not disregard."

And a Reuter cable from Amsterdam put it with due diplomatic delicacy that

"It is learned from a British official source that M. Troelstra's proposed visit to England has been postponed, because it is not considered desirable to run the risk of a possible incident which would be disagreeable for himself and his wife were they to desire to take passage on a British ship."

Scheidemann had journeyed specially from Germany to meet Troelstra and give him the German Socialist reply to the Allied Labour War Aims Memorandum, and Troelstra was specially invited by the British Labour Party, so that they might get some direct account of the attitude of the German Socialists. The arrival of Troelstra in London with Scheidemann's reply might have meant peace this summer.

The refusal to allow M. Troelstra to land here — and the Manchester Guardian (21/6/18) hints that the refusal was in direct opposition to the wishes of our Foreign Office — had no military value to the Allies: no one suggests that he is a spy: no one suggests that he is personally an "undesirable".

All that the British Government's refusal indicates is that the allied Governments are hostile to a working class peace, and that their war aims are such that they cannot expect organised Labour to support them, once they are fully known.

And this cant about Troelstra's "pro-Germanism" ought to be drop-

ped at once. The Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, M. Camille Huysmans, himself Belgian and pro-Ally, writes in last week's London Herald in explanation of Troelstra's neutrality:

"If Holland inclined too much to the right the Allies protested. If Holland inclined too the left the Central Powers threatened. It was a dangerous position, and I do not hesitate to congratulate the Dutchman for their prudent policy. We have nothing to gain by a German invasion in Holland. Nothing! And I shall never forget how the Belgian flying people — ceived by our neighbours, kindly and fraternally.

I do not agree with all that I have neither desired his criticism nor his praise. But the intention been under the influence of the German Government, as he never will be the tool of an Allied Government.

But, notwithstanding Troelstra has shown that neutrality is not cowardice. This man, who has been attacked so basely by a Belgian irresponsible journalist whose writing has found such friendly reception in some reactionary circles, this man was the first who drafted an international resolution against the violation of Belgian independence. It was the famous international Labour resolution of Copenhagen (January, 1917); and later, when the Belgian working men were deported, who organised with me the International Labour action against this crime of Germany? Troelstra, and the documents containing this policy are signed by his name. And still later, when complaints arose about the starvation of food organisation in my country, who was the man who in the Dutch Parliament said that Holland had to support the Belgian population even if Holland suffered itself? It was Troelstra.

I have lived during 16 months in Holland during the war, and, at this time, I was one of the members of the official food committee for Belgium. In such a capacity I have known difficulties and troubles, but I must say, openly, when all was lost, when no issue seemed possible when we had knocked at all doors without result, the last hope was always Troelstra. For he is, in Holland, the iron arm which strikes hard, and I have always found in Troelstra, a firm help and support. And politically Troelstra made himself responsible for the peace proposal of the Stockholm neutrals, including complete independence and re-establishment of Belgium at the expense of Germany, an agreement about Alsace-Lorraine, the restoration of Serbia with access to the sea, the independence of Armenia, etc., etc. And for the general questions the same solution as the Inter-Allied Memorandum.

I am convinced that if Germany made such a proposal to-day, the Allied Powers would accept it as a basis of discussion, and I am sure that the Allied Powers would not be treated as pro-Germans for having stated the same moderate views.

When recently Troelstra came from Stockholm he found that the

German Majority Socialists had voted a resolution against any compromise in the Alsace-Lorraine question, and, being on the spot, in face of the German Government he declared openly in an interview, which created a sensation, that Germany, in the interest of mankind, ought to consider the Alsace-Lorraine question as a general European question, for which a satisfactory solution is to be found.

I do not think that a 'pro-German' would have spoken so!"

But there's something more than meets the eye in all this. In the Northcliffe Daily Mail (21/6/18) forty-eight hours after the refusal of M. Troelstra's passports, we get an excited leading article headed:

"WATCH LANSDOWNE — AND OTHERS."

The article goes on to suggest that the German Government is prepared with another offer regarding Alsace-Lorraine, and it is whispered that the Marquis of Lansdowne has another letter ready with which to back the German offer.

"... the frightened Marquis is confident of success this time, because he has (Daily Mail's italics) the private support of influential members of the Government."

And this oracular sentence is added: "We know what we know."

We also "know what we know." Take the Northcliffe statement about the influential members of the Government, and put it beside the Manchester Guardian statement that the Foreign Office was not hostile to M. Troelstra's coming to Britain, and you arrive at the fair presumption that Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil are favorable to a "Lansdowne peace. But the Daily Mail says that members (plural) of the War Cabinet are suspect. Members! Who are the Members? Smuts? Not improperly. Milner and Curzon? Not improbably, especially if there is to be a joint Entente-Central Powers agreement to compel Russia to toe the financial line. Keep in mind the recent declaration by M. Clemenceau's organ in Paris that if the Germans would talk France would "listen"!

THE DOWLING PLOT EXPLODED

There seems to be no limit to what the Mugs — particularly the elderly and half educated mugs in this country will stand from the rulling classes.

When the new Man Power Bill was being introduced, it was sugared with protestations that if the British baldheads would only agree to be deemed to have enlisted, Conscription would be applied forthwith to Ireland. Mr. George on 9th April, declared

"it is not possible to justify any longer the exclusion of Ireland." And on 16th April the same sooth-sayer:

"It was only because we were driven by all the evidence we had to the conclusion that it would be impossible, without a deep sense of injustice and resentment in this country, to carry through these drastic measures without enforcing Conscription in Ireland

that we introduced this clause at all."

At the time some of us speculated upon the fancy excuses that would be devised later to explain to the

duped bald-heads, why, after all, Conscription would not be enforced upon Ireland and we confess we sided with those who held that Mr. George would issue a hint that President Wilson was having trouble with his Irish, and that in order to relieve things in the United States it had been decided not to put Mr. de Valera into the K.O.S.B. But now that the aged Anglo-Saxons, Scottish Kelts and mixed British breeds have been enticed into khaki, Lord Curzon announces in the House of Lords that Irish Conscription and Irish Home Rule have been dropped because in May the War Cabinet had discovered a Sinn-Fein German plot!!!

But bless our hearts, the alleged Sin-Fein German plot was "discovered" before Irish Home Rule and Conscription were promised by the Government. The man Dowling, who is alleged to have arrived in Ireland from a German submarine was in the Tower of London on 12th April, five days before Home Rule was promised. And Lord Wimborne, who was until a month ago Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, declares in the House of Lords (20/6/18) that:

The Government have alleged the existence of a German plot in Ireland. One would like to know a little more about it. It is somewhat strange, in view of the highly specialised means of obtaining information which have recently existed in Ireland, that neither I nor, as far as I am aware, any other member of the late Irish executive was aware of the existence of this plot until it was discovered by the British Government."

BORDEN'S INEFFICIENCY.

An entirely different policy is being observed in Great Britain and the United States. The latter government which came into the war only last year, has already adopted many measures and taken steps which have been under consideration in Canada almost since the war began. The United States has already put the telegraph and telephones of the country under the postmaster-general. The radio services are under the navy. Cables are left in corporation charge in conformity with contracts made with foreign powers but the government is in control. The railways were taken over and coordinated long ago. In Canada we are still muddling along with these great public utilities partly owned by the nation, partly controlled by the departments, but in a most unsatisfactory and unprofitable condition of partial ownership and control, by which efficiency is impossible.

A Fabian policy with regard to the Grand Trunk Railway is being followed and it is reported that two ministers are returning from London to tell the country that nothing has been arranged. It was thought that when the Canadian Government moved across the ocean all matters touching overseas policies would have been settled finally and forever. But the last word is that the government is beginning to return and affairs are just-as they were. If the government can do nothing in London to settle the railway situation it might have remained in Ottawa, where its representatives have been even less effective.

There has been a failure to organize the railroads, a failure to organize the fuel situation, a failure to organize agriculture for the harvest, a failure to organize our industrial resources, the full consequences of which are not immediately perceptible

Toront World

NEWS ITEMS FROM ALL PARTS

KERENSKY'S REPLY TO MRS. PANKHURST.

Her Savage Attacks on former Russian Premier Explained.

London, July 14. — Mrs. Pankhurst's savage attacks on Kerensky in America are amusingly explained in the Chronicle to-day. 'Twas in Petrograd Mrs. Pankhurst had been haranguing Kerensky, by whom she had been granted an appointment with great eloquence and at some length, when, suddenly, with a few impatient words, the revolutionary leader left the room. Mrs. Pankhurst scandalized by his abruptness, asked an interpreter what Kerensky had said. The latter at first refused to answer, but, being pressed, eventually replied: "You must promise not to be offended, but what Kerensky said was: 'Haven't I enough to do without listening to old ladies from England?'"

President Wilson To Aid Bolsheviki

Official recognition of the Bolsheviki by the government, as part of the American aid plan, is again being urged upon President Wilson.

Raymond Robins, of Chicago, former Bull Moose leader, recently back from Russia, where he had intimate knowledge of Lenine, Trotsky and other Bolsheviki leaders, is the chief proponent of this plan.

It is being preached by persons in President Wilson's confidence. Robins says that the Bolsheviki are far from disintegration. He contends they constitute the only government existing in Russia, and that their recognition would so stabilize them as to make possible the rehabilitation of Russia.

POLICE CHIEFS DISCUSS ALIENS AND THE UNIONS.

The Chiefs of the Dominion Police have been in Convention at Hamilton, Ont. The most important matters discussed were opposition to the formation of Policemen's Unions — and what is to do with the Alien Enemies, Pro-German Socialists, etc. Here is their resolution:

"That the government should make it an offense for any member of a police force or others responsible for the administration of the law, to belong to any trade union or any kindred organization, although recognizing the immense value such organizations are to the working man."

Chief Charles Slemir, of Brantford vice-president of the association, thanked the speakers for their welcome. In concluding, he said he hoped that the delegates would take up the important question of what to do with the alien enemies. Socialists and all pro-Germans.

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF HOURS.

Is sent to jail for One year.

Felix Cosanevitch a Russian of Brantford, Ontario has been sentenced to one year in prison with an option of a \$500.00 fine. The offence for which Cosanevitch has been sentenced is the advocacy of a four hour day in order to cope with the conditions arising after the war. We are of the opinion that the penalty imposed upon Cosanevitch is one of

the finest examples of persecution in the name of law that we have heard of during many months. In view of the actual strikes that are taking place at the present time and the general support of the labor movement in the interest of the strikers, it seems to us an imperative necessity that they should demand this man's liberation. All readers are therefore advised to send protests to the Minister of Justice and to bring the matter before their local union.

A DEFENCE OF "SOVIET DEMOCRACY."

The article "Bolshevism in Retrospect," in last week's Nation is an excellent statement of the principle of government by Soviet, and brings out the fact that a government is not necessarily undemocratic because it governs with a Parliament elected by a new method. The Constituent Assembly, the writer says,

"rested, of course, upon the traditional basis of territorial representation, which democracies took over from the feudal past. In spite of the adoption and survival of this basis the world over, one ought not to make a fetish of it, or to refuse to examine other possible systems. If one could start *de novo*, and ask what is the natural method of grouping citizens together for purposes of representation, the territorial system might not have the best of the argument. . . . The root idea of the Soviet system is that those who work together are the natural unit. All the hands in a given factory meet together to choose a delegate. All the peasants in a village do the same, and all the soldiers in a battalion. The unit of representation is, in short, a natural and familiar social organism. Men vote together who habitually associate together. The delegates chosen in this way by each group of workers from a local Council (urban or rural), and these Councils, in their turn send delegates to the National Soviet, which in its turn elects a Standing Executive."

THE BOLSHEVIKI PROBLEM THE PEASANTS AND THE CLASS WAR.

By N. Lenine

The social-democratic mass movement in Russia has been going on for twenty years (if we count from the great strikes of 1896). Throughout this interval, passing through the two great revolutions, there runs a veritable red thread of Russian political history, this great question: Shall the working class lead the peasantry forward to socialism, or shall the liberal bourgeoisie drag them back into a conciliation with capitalism.

"The revolutionary Social-Democratic Party (Bolsheviki) has all this time been fighting to remove the peasants from the influence of the cadets and has offered them, in place of the utopian middle class view of Socialism, only a revolutionary-proletarian path to Socialism.

"Only the proletariat, leading on the poorest peasants (the semi-proletariat, as they are called in our program) may terminate the war with a democratic peace, may heal its

wounds, and may undertake the steps toward Socialism that have become absolutely unavoidable and non-postponable. That is the clear demand of our class policy at present."

"The peasants want to retain their small holdings and to arrive at some place of equal distribution," he says, "So be it. No sensible socialist will quarrel with a pauper peasant on this ground. If the lands are confiscated, so long as the proletarians rule in the great centres and all political power is handed over to the proletariat, the rest will take care of itself, will be a natural outcome of the 'power of example'; practice itself will do the teaching here.

"The passing of political power to the proletariat, that is the whole thing. Then all the essential, fundamental, real points in the program of the 242 instructions become realities. And life will point out with what modifications this realization is to proceed. We should worry. We are not doctrinaires.

"We do not pretend that Marx or the Marxians know every detail of the road which leads to Socialism. That would be folly. We know the direction of the road, we know what class forces will lead to it, but the concrete, political details will appear in the experience of the millions when they tackle the job."

JERUSALEM THE GOLDEN.

Lipton has opened a tea shop in Jerusalem. Business is excellent. Prospects are good. The war of liberty is now bearing fruit. Pacifists can get ahead with the sackcloth and ashes any time. They have been discredited. The choir will now sing "Jerusalem, the golden with milk and honey blest," or perhaps more correctly (revised version) with tea and bacon blest. The New Jerusalem has arrived. Not the land of the prophets, but the land of the Profits. Hosanna! Hosanna!

(The Call, England)

BACK AT THE FRONT.

The German *communiqué* the other day announced that the Crown Prince advanced to the attack. A wicked independent Socialist M.P. called Herr Cohn says the *communiqué* is false, inasmuch as it was the German workers who advanced, the Crown Prince keeping his carcass safely 60 kilometres in the rear.

DEMOCRATS OF A SORT.

Toronto and Hamilton city councils have passed resolutions demanding the abolition of the Canadian Senate as being an undemocratic body. While we socialists can endorse their action it should be pointed out that if their democratic sentiment is of a genuine quality they could begin exercising it nearer home. Let them then get busy in an effort to remove the property qualification for municipal office. In these days when democracy is receiving so much lip service let us not forget that in municipal elections our choice of candidates is restricted to property owners and property holders. To this extent therefore, city councils are themselves undemocratic bodies. In the final analysis we will find that it is economic interests that determine the actions of a class. The senate represents the "big" interests, the large manufacturers, while the municipal councils represent the small fry, the storekeepers etc. The workers therefore must rely upon themselves

to obtain what they believe to be their rights by supporting in every way possible their own political and industrial organizations. Real democracy can exist only where all have interests in common, that is where all are workers and none exploiters. Let the goal of our political and economic activities therefore be the establishment of the socialist state industrial democracy.

MR. BILLING AND THE LEGAL MESMERISTS.

A New Version by Glasgow Forward

The Billing trial has greatly excited the capitalists and their press; they profess the greatest abhorrence of the slanders and sexual muck which featured the trial; they are fiercely incredulous of the existence of 47,000 highly placed degenerates. But there is some reason to believe that the real reason for their campaign against Mr. Pemberton Billing is the fact that he and his friends had courage and the ability to shatter the Mumbo-Jumbo superstition and oppression of the Law Courts. These alleged courts of justice are the last line of capitalist defence, and around them has been woven such an aura of sanctity as permits the medieval brutality of their practices to go on unchecked, uncriticized and even unnoticed. Here is a collection of frozen-faced, highly-paid lawyers, dealing out punishments to the weak, the unfortunate, the cursed from birth, the victims of evil surroundings; mystifying, terrorizing, mesmerizing the accused and their witnesses; their stock-in-trade an array of Latin learning about Rex and in re and verbun sap and Quis custodiet, and docks and turnkeys and trapdoors and policemen in helmets and themselves in ermine cloaks. And some poor worm being alternately scaled and impaled, not with a view to sympathetically understanding him, diagnosing his disease or prescribing conditions that might in future enable him to do well and not ill. But with a view to his punishment.

And into this bullies' cold storage enters Mr. Pemberton Billing and his troupe. The majesty of the law is suddenly smote in a sore place. The judge is denounced as a damned liar, a learned counsel is threatened with a thrashing, a mob in the galleries and in the streets, applauds each tug at the rags surrounding the Mumbo Jumbo; and lo and behold, Society awakes to the knowledge that a judge is but a common man, and that his criminal law has no necessary connection with justice. That is why the capitalist press is angry.

SORRY HE SPOKE

"I told Henrietta that I was proud to see her vote just like a man," said Mr. Meekton.

"Did that please her?"

"No. The choice of phrase was unfortunate. She said that if she couldn't vote better than a man there would have been no need of her troubling about the ballot in the first place." —Exchange.

Socialism will preserve the family instead of destroying it, as is the way with capitalism.

Socialism is simply an extension of the ownership of the means of life. They are now owned by a few. Socialism would have them owned by all the people collectively.

Capitalism is economic cannibalism.

HAMILTON NOTES.

We are keeping ourselves in working trim here by holding a lecture on the first Sunday of each month, using the intervening Sundays for business meetings and discussion class. For our last lecture we invited the recently formed Fabian Society of Hamilton to provide a speaker. They sent J. M. Counsell a prominent lawyer, who outlined the objects of the parent body in Britain and said his society intended working along similar lines here. If Mr. Counsell is typical of the other members (who include we understand one or two leading manufacturers) the movement at this stage should benefit from their work. His talk was followed by several questions and good discussion. We are all looking forward to the Ontario International Picnic at Wabasso, on August 3rd, when we hope to meet comrades from many points of the province.

J. A.

Hamilton Notes.

Resolved:— That this local is in favor of affiliation with the Ontario Section of the Canadian Labor Party but will abide by the decision of the membership of the Ontario Social-Democratic Party as determined by a referendum to be taken. Carried.

A JUVENILE CORRESPONDENT.

Dear Editor:—

I am twelve years old, I have a good home and I am very happy but feel sorry for those children who are not happy and are starving. I know why there are so many poor people, my mother and father have taught me the cause of poverty. My father and mother are socialists and I want to be one too. I want to work so that the war will stop, and that the nations will learn to love one another.

My mother and father come from Finland and over there the White Guards kill all the socialists they can get hold of. In Canada the person who speaks the truth is much hated. On July 1st the Toronto socialists had a picnic but there were not many present, I would like to see all nationalities represented at our picnic.

I write to the Finnish paper too.
Yours sincerely,
Harold Parkkonen

The prayer of Capitalism: Give us this day our daily dividends.

This war makes a fitting grand finale to that long-drawn-out tragedy called capitalism.

(Continued from Page 3) their Church and are now about to enter the Labor movement. What will be the fate of our friend here in Vancouver none can tell, but this rending of the veil is a most significant thing itself. The superstructure of so-fact. This is however, history repeated must ever change with the shifting of the economic basis.

The Bourgeois Revolution in which the commercial and industrial classes overthrew the feudal regime and in which capitalism was enthroned, had its mental reflex and its spi-

ritual transformation, expressed in the great Protestant Reformation, and today we have recently felt the first local shock of importance, representing the spiritual earthquake which will in due time shatter the tomb of theology and result in the real resurrection of Him who has been crucified by the ruling class priesthood for fifteen long agonizing Centuries.

You get your living either by working for it, begging it, or stealing it.

(Continued from page Two) made possible by exploitation of a subservient working slave class.

In a work of the modest size of Comrade Kingsley's of course only general outline of the development of a Society conceived in injustice and perpetuated by slavery can be given. This is given, and in forcible and striking language that one does not forget. Our Comrade has seen the Truth and bears witness thereto by favoring the workers of today with a text book on History of greater practical value than any massive volume on the subject hitherto published.

Every Socialist should read this book, and after reading pass it along to a friend not yet in the fold. For even the uninitiated will perceive that "here be truths" which have the authoritative sanction of that sound common sense which the long-suffering workers still possess in large degree, in spite of Capitalistic educational systems.

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

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