

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD  
UNITE!  
THE WORLD  
FOR THE  
WORKERS



LABOR  
PRODUCES  
ALL WEALTH  
UNTO  
LABOR  
IT SHOULD  
BELONG

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TORONTO

CANADA

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## THE MAIN PROBLEM OF OUR DAYS.

By N. LENINE

Mother-Russia:  
Thou art poor, and thou art rich  
Thou art mighty, and thou art weak.  
Nekrassoff.

The history of mankind is today recording one of the greatest and most difficult crises which has an infinite, —we can say without the least exaggeration, world-wide liberating significance. We are turning from war to peace; from war between beasts of prey who are sending to slaughter millions of exploited toilers in order to establish a new system of division of the booty amassed by the strongest robbers,—to a war of the oppressed against the oppressors for the emancipation from the yoke of capitalism; from an abyss of suffering, tortures, hunger and barbarity to the bright future of communist society of universal prosperity and a secure peace. It is not surprising that at the most difficult points of such a crisis when everywhere around us the old order is crumbling and falling apart with an awful tumult and crash, and at the same time a new order is being born in indescribable torments,—it is not surprising that some are getting dizzy, some become victims of despair, and some to escape from the, at times, too bitter reality, taking cover behind beautiful and enchanting phrases.

We were forced, however, to observe most clearly, and to pass through the sharp and painful experience of the most difficult crisis of history which turns the world from imperialism towards communist revolution. In a few days we destroyed one of the oldest, most powerful, barbarous and cruel monarchies. In a few months we passed through a number of stages of compromise with the bourgeoisie and got over the petty bourgeois illusions, in the grip of which other countries have spent decades. In a few weeks we have overthrown the bourgeoisie and crushed her open resistance in civil war. We passed in a victorious and triumphal procession of Bolshevism from one end of an enormous country to the other. We aroused to freedom and independence and the most humble sections of the toiling masses oppressed by czarism and the bourgeoisie. We introduced and firmly established the Soviet republic—a new type of State—ininitely higher and more democratic, than the best of the bourgeois-parliamentary republic. We established the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the poorest peasantry, and have inaugurated a comprehensively planned system of socialist reform. We awakened self-confidence and

lit the fire of enthusiasm in the hearts of millions upon millions of workers of all countries. We sent broadcast the clarion call of the international working class revolution. We challenged the imperialistic plunderers of all countries.

And in a few days an imperialistic brigand knocked us down, attacking those who had no arms. He forced us to sign an incredibly oppressive and humiliating peace—a penalty for the daring to break away, even for as short a time as possible, from the iron grip of the imperialistic war. And the more threateningly the spectre of a working class revolution in his own country is rising before the brigand, the more furiously is he oppressing and strangling and tearing Russia to pieces.

We were compelled to sign a "Tilsitz" peace. We must not deceive ourselves. We must have courage to face the unadorned bitter truth. We must size up in full, to the very bottom, the abyss of defeat, partition, enslavement and humiliation into which we have been thrown. The clearer we shall understand this, the firmer, the more hardened and inflexible will become our will for liberation, our desire to rise a new from enslavement to independence, our firm determination to see at all costs, that Russia cease to be poor and weak, that she become truly powerful and abundant.

She can become such, for we still have left sufficient expense and natural resources to supply all and everyone, if not with abundant, at least with sufficient means of subsistence. We have the material in the natural resources, in the supply of human energy, and in the splendid impetus which the creative spirit of the people received through the great revolution to create a really mighty and abundant Russia.

Russia will become such, provided she frees herself of all dejection and phrase-mongering; provided she strains her every nerve and every muscle; provided she comes to understand that salvation is possible only on the road of the international socialist revolution, which we have chosen. To move forward along this road, not becoming dejected in case of defeats, to lay stone after stone, the firm foundation of a socialist society, to work tirelessly to create discipline and self-discipline, to strengthen everywhere organization, order, efficiency, the harmo-

nious cooperation of all the people's forces, universal accounting and control over production and distribution of products—such is the road towards the creation of military power and socialist power.

It is unworthy of a true socialist, if badly defeated, either to deny that fact or to become despondent. It is not true that we have no way out and that we can only choose between a "disgraceful" (from the standpoint of a feudal knight) death, which an oppressive peace is, and a "glorious" death in a hopeless battle. It is not true that we have betrayed our ideals or our friends when we signed the "Tilsitz" peace. We have betrayed nothing and nobody, we have not sanctioned or covered any lie, we have not refused to aid any friend and comrade in misfortune in any way we could, or by any means at our disposal. A commander who leads into the interior the remnants of an army which is defeated or disorganized by a disorderly fight and who, if necessary, protects this retreat by a most oppressive and humiliating peace, is not betraying those parts of the army which he cannot help and which are cut off by the enemy. Such a commander is only doing his duty, he is choosing the only way to save what can still be saved, he is scorning adventures, telling the people the bitter truth, "yielding territory in order to win time," utilizing any, even the shortest, respite in order to reorganize his forces, and to give the army, which is affected by disintegration and demoralization, a chance to rest and to recover.

We have signed a "Tilsitz" peace. When Napoleon I forced Prussia in 1807 to accept the "Tilsitz" peace, the conqueror had defeated all the German armies, occupied the capital and all the large cities, established his police, compelled the conquered to give him auxiliary corps in order to wage new wars of plunder by the conquerors, dismembered Germany, forming an alliance with some of the German States against other German States. And nevertheless, even after such a peace the German people were not subdued; they managed to recover, to rise and to win the right to freedom and independence.

To anyone person willing and able to think the example of the "Tilsitz" peace (which was only one of many oppressive and humiliating treaties forced upon the Germans in that epoch) shows clearly how childish naive is the thought that an oppressive peace is, under all circumstances ruinous, and war the road of valor and salvation. The war epochs teach us that peace has in many cases in history served as a respite to gather strength for new battles. The Peace of Tilsitz was the greatest humiliation of Germany and at the same time a turning point to the greatest national awakening. At that time the historical environment offered only one outlet for this awakening—a bourgeois state. At that time, over a hundred years ago, history

was made by a handful of noblemen and small groups of bourgeois intellectuals, while the masses of workers and peasants were inactive and inert. Owing to this, history at that time could crawl only with awful slowness.

Now capitalism has considerably raised the level of culture in general and of the culture of the masses in particular. The war aroused the masses awakened them by the unheard of horrors and sufferings. The war has given impetus to history and now she is speeding along with the speed of a locomotive. History is now being independently made by millions and tens of millions of people. Capitalism has now become ripe for Socialism.

Thus, if Russia now moves—and it cannot be denied that she does move from a "Tilsitz" peace to national awakening and a great war for the fatherland, the outlet of such an awakening leads not to the bourgeois state but to an international socialist revolution. We are "resistants" since October 25, 1917. We are for the "defense of our fatherland", but the war for the fatherland towards which we are moving is a war for a socialist fatherland, for socialism as a part of the universal army of socialism.

"Hate the Germans, kill them"—such was and remained the slogan of the ordinary bourgeois patriotism. But we will say: "Hate the imperialistic plunderer, hate capitalism, death to capitalism", and at the same time: "Take a lesson from the Germans: Remain faithful to the fraternal union with the German workers. They are late in coming to our aid. We shall win time, we shall await them, they will come to our aid."

operation on the basis of the newest "Yes, take a lesson from the Germans: History moves in zig-zags and in roundabout paths. It so happened that it is the German who alongside with bestial imperialism, is the incarnation of the principles of discipline, organizations, harmonious cooperation on the basis of the newest machine industry and strictest accounting and control.

And this is just what we lack. This is just what we must learn. This is precisely what our great revolution lacks to come from a victorious beginning, through many severe trials, to a victorious end. This is precisely what the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic needs that she may cease to be poor and weak, that she may irreversibly become mighty and prosperous.

We herewith present to our readers a declaration by N. Lenine with reference to the internal problems of the Soviet Republic. It explains much with respect to the causes that made the Brest-Litovsk treaty necessary. We publish this article for the edification of our readers but do not hold ourselves responsible for any of the ideas that are herein presented. The article is translated from "Pravda", Moscow dated April 1918. Ed.



# The Aims of Labor.

(By Right Hon. Arthur Henderson,

## CHAPTER VII.

### REVOLUTION OR COMPROMISE?

Revolution is a word of evil omen. It calls up a vision of barricades in the streets and blood in the gutters. No responsible person, however determined he or she may be to effect a complete transformation of society, can contemplate such a possibility without horror. It is impossible to say what the future holds, but many of us believe that mankind is so weary of violence and bloodshed that if the coming social revolution necessarily involved armed insurrection it would find no general sanction. To the British people in particular the prospect of a period of convulsive effort of this character is wholly without appeal. Revolution in this sense is alien to the British character. Only in the last resort and as a final desperate expedient have the people of this country consented to employ force to attain their ends. There have been times, of course, when the active opposition or dead inertia of the ruling classes have not been overcome until the people have shown that they were bent on obtaining their ends even at the cost of bloodshed. These occasions have not been numerous. They have been more in the nature of spontaneous popular uprisings than of deliberately planned insurrections. The British people have no aptitude for conspiracy. They are capable of vigorous action, of persistent and steady agitation year in and year out, of stubborn and resolute pressure against which nothing can stand; they have their moods of anger which may find expression in sporadic revolts; but they do not organise revolutions or plot the seizure of power by a sudden coup d'etat. The growth of political democracy among us has been marked by few violent crises. Successive extensions of the franchise have been won mainly by agitations of a peaceful kind, accompanied in only a few cases by rioting, and organised revolution in the continental sense, for political or social ends, has been exceedingly rare in our history.

It would be idle, however, to deny that the temper of democracy after the war will not be so placable as it has hitherto been. Whether we like it or fear it, we have to recognise that in the course of the last three and a half years people have become habituated to thoughts of violence. They have seen force employed on an unprecedented scale as an instrument of policy. Unless we are very careful these ideas will rule the thoughts of masses of the people in the post-war period of reconstruction. The idea that by forceful methods the organised democracy can find a short cut to the attainment of its aims will have its attractions for men of unstable temperament, impatient of the inevitable set-backs which we are bound to encounter if we work along constitutional lines. Let that idea stand unchallenged by the leaders of democracy, and we shall be faced with graver perils than any that have confronted us in past times. Never before have we had such vast numbers of the population skilled in the use of arms, disciplined, inured to danger, accustomed to act together under orders. When the

war ends this country and every other will be flooded with hardy veterans of the great campaigns. Among them will be thousands of men who have exercised authority over their fellows in actual warfare, and who will be capable of assuming leadership again if insurrectionary movements come into existence. We may be warned by a perception of these facts that if barricades are indeed likely to be erected in our streets they will be manned by men who have learned how to fight and not by ill-disciplined mobs unversed in the use of modern weapons, likely to be easily overcome by trained troops. Revolution, if revolution is indeed to be forced upon democracy, will be veritable civil war.

The prospect of social convulsions on this scale is enough to appal the stoutest heart. Yet this is the alternative that unmistakably confronts us, if we turn aside from the path of ordered social change by constitutional methods. The natural bias of organised Labour lies in the direction of smooth, orderly progress. When a deadlock is reached, as often happens in industrial disputes, the first appeal is always to the weapons of conciliation and arbitration. Negotiations usually end in a compromise; but the compromise generally represents a step forward. Labour is sometimes pictured as a blind giant, but unlike Samson it has sufficient wisdom to realise that in pulling down the pillars of the temple it may be crushed beneath the ruins along with its enemies. When the leaders of democracy speak of Revolution—thereby causing much alarm to ladies like Mrs. Humphrey Ward—they do not therefore contemplate any act of blind violence comparable to the brave stupidity of the Philistines' captive; they intend simply to warn the dominant classes that any attempt to keep democracy fettered and subordinate is foredoomed to failure. By peaceable methods, or by direct assault, society is going to be brought under democratic control. And the choice of method does not primarily rest with democracy: it lies rather with the classes who own the machinery of production and control the machinery of the State to decide whether necessary changes are to be peaceably introduced on the basis of willing co-operation, or resisted to the last ditch. Conflicts will inevitably arise between the privileged classes and the great mass of the people as to whether this or that specific reform is opportune or expedient at a given moment. All that I am concerned with for the moment is the temper in which these reforms are to be approached—whether with a disposition to agree after full and frank discussion of the interests involved and the purpose to be achieved, or in a mood of sullen resistance hardening into a stupid refusal to discuss the question of reform at all. The latter mood will be fatal to our hopes of effecting a great and beneficent reconstruction of society by political methods.

It must not be forgotten that before the war there was a visible tendency on the part of a section of the people to resent the slow working of the machinery of Parliament. The war has not entirely obliterated our memory of the feverish industrial

unrest which was such a significant feature of the situation in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war. There were many causes for it. But no one will deny that much of the trouble arose from the belief sedulously fostered by an active group of propagandists in the industrial arena that it was hopeless to expect Parliament to take any interest in the workers' grievances. Political action by the workers themselves was systematically discredited and discounted. The mass of the organised working class movement never lost faith in the Labour Party, and made full allowance for the difficulties under which their Parliamentary representatives worked. It is nevertheless true that the propaganda of "direct action" among the workers tended seriously to undermine belief in the efficacy of political methods. The opportunity of the anti-parliamentarian propagandists will recur if in the immediate future the Labour Party, by reason of its own weakness or the stubborn resistance of other parties and classes, is unable to fulfil the expectations of its followers. One good reason for beginning now to build up a strong democratic party in Parliament, with a programme of social and economic reforms carefully thought out in advance, is that such a party, having the confidence of the organised movement and conscious of its strength, will be able to prove that political methods are effective, and that Parliament can be made to legislate for the good of the people as a whole rather than for the benefit of particular classes. The Labour Party can rehabilitate Parliament in the eyes of the people who have been wearied by the unreal strife of the orthodox parties, and by the cumbrous working of the Parliamentary machine in dealing with pressing and urgent questions of reform. The Labour Party sets out to prove by actual experiment and achievement that the Democratic State of to-morrow can be established without an intervening period of violent upheaval and dislocation.

The Revolution which the Labour Party seeks to bring about in this country will not be effected by means of bombs and bayonets. It will be, however, quite as thorough-going in its results as any violent convulsion involving the use of armed force can possibly be. It means a radical change in the attitude of Parliament towards questions of social reform, a speeding up of the legislative machine, a resolute independence on the part of the Labor Party in Parliament. It means further a complete overhauling of the administrative machine. Experience has shown us that the great administrative services, swathed in red tape, hampered by tradition, conservative by instinct, saturated with class prejudice, are a more effective check upon the reforming impulse than even a Parliament dominated by aristocratic and capitalist influences. We have no use for the Circumlocution Office. We want to see the Civil Service democratised. The Diplomatic Service, in particular, is an aristocratic preserve which offers no opportunity for a career to any man unless he possesses a private income of at least £400 a year, however well qualified he may otherwise be. The abolition of such a barrier is a democratic duty. In addition, we desire to bring the Foreign Office more directly under the control of Parliament, and to give the peoples' representatives larger powers of critic-

ism in regard to foreign policy. So also with other Government Departments: we believe that their efficiency, energy, and enthusiasm for the public welfare will be greatly increased by an infusion of the spirit of democracy. Labour's aim is to establish democratic control over all the machinery of State. It can be done without a violent break with the past. Labour desires to make a swift and smooth transition to the new order, working along constitutional lines, not seeking to introduce innovations for the sake of novelty, but solely for the purpose of promoting political and social liberty and putting an end to oligarchical government and the domination of one class by another. To effect this transformation of the legislative and administrative machine it will not be necessary to spill blood.

Next issue—"Freedom."

### THE EMIGRATION INSULT — A SOLDIER'S PROTEST

It is a waste of time and effort to draw up a scheme of emigration for soldiers after the war. It is also something of an insult. There is a popular war-time song about Blighty and the emigration schemers ought to hear the soldiers sing it.

Why, in the name of reason, are we handing over the future of our defenders to men who don't understand the meaning of home? After a hero has come through hell he is to be assisted to leave the place that is his heaven. The best men are to be helped out of the country. Where are we? Is there no room in England, no opening in England, for a man who has helped to save his country from the Hun?

The thing is monstrous, and the soldiers who are not cursing the idea are laughing it to scorn. They mean to plant their feet down very firmly after the war, not in a strange land, but in the homeland they have fought for. Who questions the soldier's right to do this?

Let the officials who are mad on emigration emigrate themselves. They are ignorant of their country's possibilities, and of human nature. They cannot see the great army of waiting wives and children and sweethearts. They know nothing of those simple, wonderful tales told in the homely scrawl that raises a lump in the throat of a man "out there," and conjures up visions of a white-scrubbed dresser, and the children praying for dad at their mother's knee.

Yes, there is more in this war than beating the Hun. There is the desire to come back home. Wash out the emigration idea, you who have conceived it, or soon you will be washed out yourselves. Men have not bled for a country simply that they may be invited to leave it. Get to work on small holdings and the destruction of the slum. Make the soldier realize that his sacrifice has been worth while. Penalize the employer who seeks to prey upon a hero's pension in order to cheapen labor.

There will not be too many men in England after the war; there will be a saddening shortage. And among the few we shall be able to spare will be, not the soldiers, but the impudent inefficients who don't know what Blighty means to our fighting men, and what our fighting men mean to Blighty.

JAMES SHERLIKER  
Western Labor News





## FRENCH SOC. CONVENTION.

By J. R. Macdonald, M.P.  
In Glasgow Forward

My first thoughts this week—unhindered by Passport offices or deluded seamen—to Paris to congratulate Longuet and his friends, and also the whole French Socialist Party, on their victory for Socialism and the International. Our papers have of course, minimised the significance of the vote. Loviot, the irreconcilable, got 152 votes for a Keimthal policy, Renaudel 1,172 for a support the Government; but from the top of the fence declaration, the Longuet section mustered 1,544.

So far, so good. That shows that the Socialist movement in France is waking up to the realities of the position and to the need of a working class policy. Upon this vote, if the French Socialists had notions of democratic representation, which found no place for minority opinion, there would be no Thomas, no Renaudel, and no Government pro-war French delegates at the next International.

That by the way, however; though I hope the Independent Labour Party will now address the French Socialists on the subject of that unfortunately mischievous Prussian vote at the Central Hall which excluded minorities from Stockholm. The significance of the French vote does not rest in the figures alone. It is greatly enhanced by an explanation of the figures.

The Longuet majority included the votes of every considerable industrial section, some of the most important of them having minorities so small that on their system of minority representation the opposition could not muster a single vote. This was the case with Lyons, Marseilles, St. Etienne, Nantes, Brgeat, Limoges, Rouen, Toulon, and some other centres which cast a solid vote.

On the other hand the Renaudel 1,172 included 700 votes cast by the Federation du Nord, which in reality does not exist, but the votes of which are in the hands of a few unrepresentative refugees. On a most liberal estimate, not more than 600 genuine were made up largely of minorities votes supported Renaudel, and they from the Puy-de-Dome, Herault, and such districts. The minority is to appeal to a special conference of the Party. We need not doubt the result. The policy of Socialist impotence is weakening everywhere, and I do not believe that any Socialist conference of any country will put Humpty Dumpty on the wall again.

## FRANCE.

## The Death of Louis Jaures.

All the French Socialist papers have had paragraphs expressing reverent sympathy with Madame Jaures whose son Louis, after two years hard fighting, has been killed at the Front. He was not twenty years old! We are sure that our readers' sympathy will go out with that of our French comrades to the stricken mother, the wife of Jean Jaures, who lived so grandly and finally was

struck down so foully for his faith in the International, which shall yet save the human race.

## The Bank of France.

By 338 votes against 173 (the Socialists voting solidly against it) the charter of the Bank of France has been renewed for 25 years. Humanite has published several interesting articles explaining the terms of the agreement, which deals largely with the bank's financial operations on behalf of the State during the war. According to an article by Barthe, the Bank of France has made out of the State no less than four and a half millions sterling a year since the war began—and it has made this profit by pledging not its own, but the people's credit. The bank, moreover, on the ground that its finances may be endangered by the situation after the war, has been exempted from the excess profits tax on condition that certain sums are laid aside on reserves, and not immediately distributed as dividends. The financial interests in the French Chamber are, however, far too strong for the Socialists and the few Radicals who support their views on the subject.

## GERMANY.

## "Down with the War."

In the final session of the Reichstag on July 12, Geyer, the Independent Socialist, made a bitter attack on the German Government's militarist policy, especially in Russia and Rumania, and concluded:

"The boundless distress of the people increases to an unbearable degree. Hunger and misery destroy all that the war does not claim in human lives. We say 'Down with the war!'"

Apparently Troelstra's invitation to Haas and Ledebour to meet him in Holland was held back by the German censor until after the British Labour Party Congress. The German censor need not have troubled to do this—the British Government would have kept back Haase's declaration if he had made one.

## BULGARIA.

"With regard to the general questions, the unity of Socialists is complete. The memorandum of the Entete comrades is a serious basis for discussion. . . . We, too, regard with favour a League of Nations, which Socialism will transform into an International Labour organisation, excluding all motives of armed conflict. We, too, have always desired the institution of arbitration and disarmament. We, too, support complete democratisation in all countries, and the abolition of secret diplomacy. We, too, are opposed to the traffic and exchange of peoples." Regarding the concrete proposals, it is argued that since "the rivalry of the Great Powers on the Colonial question has produced the war of to-day, Socialism ought to broaden the rule proposed for Tropical Africa and adopt it for all the colonies: that is to say, all the colonies ought to be placed

under the League of Nations, and thus become a free arena for all peoples." Further, it is urged that conquest by France should not precede a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine; and that Macedonia, instead of being handed over to Serbia, should be given a provisional autonomy as a first step to obtaining the decision of the population. "The transmission of the Inter-Allied Memorandum to us Socialists of the Central Powers constitutes a remarkable event, which may have great consequences for Inter-Socialist relations."

## RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

Reprinted from  
Halifax Evening Mail, Aug. 26-18)

Ed. Note:—This is what the "Mail" terms "The Trotsky-Lenine"—"Mad Constitution"—presumably because all power is given to the wealth producers and in opposition to the profiteers and land-grabbers.

A "Declaration of Rights" and the draft of a constitution have been drawn up for adoption by the fifth Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets of workmen's soldiers' and peasants' delegates by a special commission working with the council of people's commissioners—which is the official designation chosen for itself by the Lenine government. The document has been printed in the "Pravda," of Moscow, which is the official organ of that government, and a German translation of the more important parts has been made accessible to the outside world by the "Vossische Zeitung," of Berlin. A translation of this German version follows:

## Declaration of Rights and Duties of Laboring Humanity.

Approved by the Commission of the central committee for drafting the Constitution of the Soviets.

WE, the laboring people of Russia, workmen, peasants, cossacks, soldiers and sailors, united in the councils of the workmen's, soldiers', peasants' and cossacks' delegates, declare in the persons of our plenipotentiary representatives, who have assembled at the Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets, the following rights and duties of the working and despoiled people:

The economic subjection of the laboring classes by the possessors of the means and instruments of production, of the soil, machines, factories, railways and raw materials—those basic sources of life—appears as the cause of all sorts of political oppression, economic spoliation, intellectual and moral enslavement of the laboring masses.

The economic liberation of the working classes from the yoke of capitalism represents therefore the greatest task of our time and must be accomplished at all cost.

THE liberation of the working classes must and can be the work of those classes themselves, who must unite for that purpose in the Soviets of the workmen's soldiers, peasants' and cossacks' delegates. **IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO EVERY ILL THAT OPPRESSES HUMANITY** and in order to secure to labor all the rights belonging to it, we recognize that **IT IS NECESSARY TO DESTROY THE EXISTING SOCIAL STRUCTURE**, which rests upon private property in the soil and the means of production, in the spoliation and oppression of the laboring masses, and to substitute for it a socialistic structure. Then the whole

earth, its surface and its depths, and all the means and instruments of production, created by the toil of the laboring classes, will belong by right of common property to the whole people, who are united in a fraternal association of laborers.

ONLY by giving society a socialistic structure can the division of it into hostile classes be destroyed, only so can we put an end to the spoliation and oppression of men by men, of class by class; and all men—placed upon an equality as to rights and duties—will contribute to the welfare of society according to their strength and capacities, and will receive from society according to their requirements.

The complete liberation of the laboring classes from spoliation and oppression appears as a problem not locally or nationally limited, but as a world problem, and it can be carried out to its end only through the united exertion of workingmen of all lands. Therefore, the sacred duty rests upon the working class of every country to come to the assistance of the working men of other countries who have risen against the capitalistic structure of society.

THE working class of Russia, true to the legacy of the Internationale, overthrew their bourgeoisie in October, 1917, and, with the help of the poorest peasantry, seized the powers of government. In establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry the working class resolved to wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to unite all the means of production in the hands of the socialistic state and thus to increase as rapidly as possible the mass of productive forces.

The first steps in that direction were:

1. Abolition of property in land, declaration of the entire soil to be National property, and the distribution of it to the workmen without purchase money, upon the principle of equality in utilizing it.
2. Declaration as national property of all forests, treasures of the earth and waters, of general public utility, and all the belongings, whether animals or things, of the model farms and agricultural undertakings.
3. Introduction of a law for the control of workmen, and for the Nationalization of a number of branches of industry.
4. Nationalization of the banks, which heretofore were one of the mightiest instruments for the spoliation of society capital.
5. Repudiation of the loans which were contracted by the Czar's government upon account of the Russian people, thereby to deal a blow to international capital as one of the factors chiefly responsible for the war.
6. Arming of the laborers and peasants and Disarming of the propertied classes.
7. Besides all this, the introduction of a universal obligation to work for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society, is planned.

AS soon as production shall have been consolidated in the hands of the working masses, united in a gigantic association, in which the development of every single individual will appear as the condition for the development of all men; as soon as the old bourgeois state, with its classes and class hatred, is definitely su-

(Continued on Page 8)





### KIRKPATRICK'S THINK OR SURRENDER

The "New Thought" movement insists most emphatically on the precept that,—"As a man thinketh so is he." The new school of psychology gives scientific support, and, wishing to be absolved from any attempt at sacrilege, we might say that the Christian Scientist furnishes the religious halo.

It is not meant, in sooth, that if anyone thinketh he is a millionaire he immediately becometh one. The process is more subtle. Thinking oneself wealthy will only set up psychological currents towards the desired objective, creating motives and initiating actions which, if persisted in will place one in competition with the venerable John D.

Comrade Kirkpatrick, the author of the little book "Think or Surrender" is not responsible for the foregoing which has been dug up out of the writer's mental basement. There is however a pertinent application. Too long we have been reconciled to bondage. Following the example of these adventurers into psychologic realms referred to above, most of whom, by the way, are members of the cultured (?) classes, let us now think FREEDOM for a generation or so and see what happens. Levity aside, however, such a course for the workers is sound common sense in the light of recent investigation into the action of the mind.

Apologizing to Comrade Kirkpatrick for thus running into strange paths let us now say that his book,—"Think or Surrender" is one well calculated to make the reader sit up and take notice." From beginning to end it holds one enthralled as propositions to think about succeed each other on its attractively typed pages.

Comrade Kirkpatrick in this work is "Bearing the Torch"—no little puny rush light at that, but a regular old-fashioned Pine Knot like we used to preserve hidden under the barn for state occasions in the days of our boyhood. The invitation is open to all kindle their particular torches in this radiation. The importance of studying our personal position in Society is insisted on. We, many of us, are sleeping in bondage, not aware of the shackles that limit our divine birthright of freedom. This book waves the torch before our sleep-laden eyes in a whole souled attempt to awaken us to class consciousness, to a realization that we are bound, and to a realization also of the fact that the duration of our bondage is strictly up to us.

The reader of this little work is shown clearly that his vague and inarticulate desires, yes, and his vivid and expressed ones also, for more of the better things of life,—the comfort and the culture,—are not possible of realization while "Business for Profit" directs the stage of events.

That the ownership and control of the materials and instruments of production by our masters of today gives them also the virtual possession of the workers, who must always remain attached to the soil from whence comes their daily bread; and that our only way of salvation is through political action whereby it is possible for us to take the control of the world's affairs away from these dishonest and faithless stew-

## Gleanings by the Way

### MINISTRY OF INFORMATION.

According to the Westminster Gazette the composition of the Ministry of information is ponderously capitalistic. The Minister himself is Bonar Law's Canadian pal, Lord Beaverbrook, better known as Max Aitken the cement boss and owner of the Daily Express, which is strongly Jingo with an editor called Blumenfeld. The official secretary to the Minister is a financier called Snagge, the director of five rubber companies—he is also a bank director.

The director of Information in Scandinavia and Spain is a financier called Hambro, a railway investment and insurance director in his mode of earning a living.

The director of information for Switzerland is an honest financier called Guinness. He is interested in Anglo-American debentures, British Mannesmann tubes, St. Petersburg Waterworks, three British Insurance companies, two railway trusts and a pullman car business. This worthy is representing our war aims in Switzerland.

Then for Asia and the far east we get, representing us the deputy chairman of the British American Tobacco Trust. The director of administration is an ex-Canadian lumber king. The late London editor for the Hearst newspapers and a late private secretary to Lord Northcliffe also have posts.

The Glasgow Forward criticises the Ministry of Information, prefixing the word information with mal. They state—"the mugs—that is, you and I, gentle reader, pay that team. There is literally thousands of the tribe battenning upon us; and never a day but as the tallow candle of our civilization burns lower to its socket, the sucker moths fly to the flame in ever increasing swarms; hotels by the hundreds are commandeered as offices, and a new crowd of uncles and cousins of some successful place hunter settle themselves down at least for the duration—and, please God, they hope—for a long time

With reference to suckers it states that one M. P. had been receiving \$150.00 per month for his unspecified expenses; others have got army commissions or Whitehall jobs in addition to their \$2000.00 per annum as M.P.'s. It is claimed that twelve of these gentlemen visited Dublin, which cost the public \$155.00 on booze and smokes. The Forward wittingly concludes the dialogue by asking for the names of the twelve gentlemen who cost the public \$155.00 in two days? Granted that it's thirsty work supplying information about our war aims to Ireland, still \$6.00 per throat per diem for booze is rather over doing it. The article appears under

ards reorganizing society on the basis of Production for Use and not for Profit.

Read this book. The style is classic. The book is very attractively printed. There is much food for thought. A mine of ideas to pass along to your fellow-worker who is not yet a member of the Socialist Party. Price only 15c. Any Capitalist would readily dig up \$15.00 to have it suppressed.

St. Jean.

the caption "News from the Capitalist Bureaucratic Front".

### SEVEN SOCIALISTS ARRESTED. IN SUDBURY.

#### SENTENCED

LEON MAHNEWICK, to serve a term of 3 years, or pay a fine of \$3,000.

PAUL WEBAGY, to serve a term of 2 years, or pay a fine of 2,000.

#### INTERNEED

NICHOLAS YAWNAY.  
PETE STEFANEFF.

JOSEPH HARRISON.

#### DISMISSED

N. TOUCHENKO.  
PETE RUDAYZUK.

Before Police Magistrate Brodie in today's police court Leon Mahnewick was sentenced to three years' penal servitude, or the payment of a three thousand dollar fine, for having in his possession objectionable literature contrary to the order-in-Council respecting censorship. On a similar charge before Police Magistrate Stoddart at Copper Cliff yesterday afternoon Paul Webagy was sentenced to serve two years or pay a fine of 2,000. Magistrate Stoddart ordered Nicholas Yawnay, Pete Stefaneff and Joseph Harrison interned for the duration of the war and dismissed N. Touchenko and Pete Rudayzuk.

In Mahnewick's possession was also found a charter for Sudbury Ukrainian Local No. 137 of the Social Democrat Party of Canada on which appear flaming red flags lettered "socialism" and which urge "Workers of the World Unite"—"you have nothing but your chains to lose and a world to gain." The purpose of the organization is given as "the mission of the Social-Democrat Party of Canada 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."

The prosecutions, however, were strictly upon translations of literature seized in the possession of the defendants, commenting upon the conduct of the war and Great Britain's participation in it, calling all men who go to war fools and such-like trash, both dangerous and seditious. The book was entitled "Komu Petribaa Vina" (Who Needs War). It is the kind of propaganda that would make the Kaiser gloat.

With their removal it is generally conceded the Nickel district and Canada is rid of dangerous propagandists. Ottawa officials personally watched the progress of the trials and the prosecutions were of considerable national import.

The work of the district police in has been disseminated here for months, has been most favorably commented upon.

The cases are being appealed.

A Fund has been opened for the defence of these comrades, make remittance payable to I. Bainbridge, 392 Spadina Ave.

### UNFORTUNATELY.

The Toronto Mail, Bulletin (Conservative) states that "N. Lenin has been assassinated he will not die—unfortunately". How they love anarchy when it stands to preserve the robbery of the workers.

### JOHN BURNS, M.P. COMING BACK

According to the latest reports, John Burns is about to resume his active parliamentary career. He quit the British Cabinet on the war issue and has been trouncing the profiteers in his recent addresses in the house of commons. It is considered probable that he will fall in line with the B.L.P. and get back some of his lost prestige which resulted from taking a Cabinet position and in opposing the Labor Party at last election. John recently referred to Mr. Neville, M.P. as "the hon. member for Brantford Gas Works", his company having raised the cost of gas to the London consumers by \$2000.00.

### WINNIPEG TRADES COUNCIL

#### Resolves the Industrial Unionism.

Delegate Russel moved urging that the Congress take steps to take a referendum as to the reorganization of the labor organization on an industrial instead of a craft basis. Labor should act as a body instead of by individual crafts.

Carried.

### JAMES CONNOLLY.

A flame that leaped from out the gloom,  
A sword that flashed a vengeful light,  
A voice that spoke the tyrant's doom  
And challenged him in all his might.

Firm as the adamantine rock,  
Fiercely brave, heroically just:  
He dared Oppression's power to mock  
And level the monster in the dust.  
GEORGE A. LYONS.  
In "The Voice of Labor"

### Competing with Ananias.

You remember the delegates from the American Federation of Labour (Gompers' organisation) who were recently over here giving us lectures upon patriotism! Well, they are back home again, as we learn from the *New York Call* (13/6/18) telling the tale of their adventures, giving Ananias a hard run for the world's belt. James Wilson of the Patternmakers' testifies:

#### The Forward Glasgow

Socialism means that all things upon which the people in common depend shall, by the people in common, be owned and administered. It means that the tools shall belong to their creators and users, that all production shall be for the direct use of the producer, that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end, that we shall all be workers together and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

## Labor and the New Social Order

We have reproduced this labor program for the benefit of our readers. Its great significance at the present moment cannot be over-estimated, especially to the working class. In order to familiarize the Canadian workers with the contents of this declaration.

We are prepared to supply orders at the following rates:

Single copies, 3c	Bundles of 10 25c
Bundles of 50	\$1.10
" 100	2.00

Postage paid.

Order from Literature Dept.

397 Spadina Ave. Toronto



# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

## Correspondence—

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THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

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397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



## TOWARD INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The passage of a resolution favoring Industrial Unionism to the old craft form of organization by Winnipeg Trades Council is a very encouraging sign of the times. The form of Labor organization must necessarily change with the changing economic structure of Society, as social structures themselves collapse as a result of the changes brought about by the evolution of industry. The workers have been very slow to acknowledge this scientific fact—and omission which is mainly due to the reactionary influence of the Capitalistic press and misleaders in their own ranks — when otherwise the course of reason and common sense had dictated other methods. Fortunately the influence of Economic factors are greater than the Ideological influences, and while old traditions and institutions die a slow death they ultimately fall to the causes of Industrial Revolution.

The direction of the Social forces is so great that even "great men" are readily moved out of the way by failing to follow and understand the economic bearings of the social forces of today, and many of them are due to be laid upon the scrap-heap with the order of things they stand to support and perpetuate. The industrial forces know no leaders, and they who fail to understand will be swept into the abyss of forgotten things. Craft unionism has fulfilled a useful purpose in the past, but its great achievements were relative to the time and condition prevailing before the gigantic corporation came into being—which also is a product of the industrial system which carries with it the whole ethical, juridical, political and ideological conditions of the age. All of those things which are in harmony with the economic forces will be destroyed. The Craft Unions have fulfilled their function,— they must now give place to Union by Industry, it is time for the barnacles to be removed whether they exist in craft union form, or paid agents with Craft Union-Minds.

## THE CHEAP LABOR PERIL.

Speaking at Glace Bay recently Mr. Carvell said:—"The Miners are receiving such high wages that they only work three parts of their time, as a consequence Canada is facing a fuel famine." He advocated the importation of 10,000 Chinese in order to make up the deficit in output, and further, would place them in construction gangs, coal mines and steel plants. The nifty ones say that the important feature of his project is to reduce the white man to the level of the chink—in wages. The speech has cheap labor, cheap labor, cheap labor written all over it. He advocates the work or fight alternative but is apparently quite content to get a good living without either. We have no antipathy to John Chinaman

as a social unit, but have strenuous objections to John becoming a tool in the hands of exploiters to further degrade Canadian labor, this argument applies to competitive labor and has nothing to do with colour or race. We are opposed to any kind of immigration policy that has for its purpose the flooding of the labor mart to the advantage of exploiters and the disadvantage of the workers. So long as Capitalism lasts—prey God it won't be long, we shall have the competitive struggle for existence and consequently being compelled to accept this as a fact it is incumbent upon us to fight against the encroachments of the ruling class—but bearing in mind that this is only an incident of capitalist democracy and we hope in the near future to attend to its internment; it is the duty of organized labor to bring about this transformation as quickly peaceably, we may add, — and constitutionally as possible in order to develop principles of working class democracy—which is very different from that which is exfolled by the Carvell democratic bunch of cheap labor skates.

## WILLIAM O'BRIEN'S CALL TO ACTION.

In "The Voice of Labor".

We print here the concluding and most significant portion of President O'Brien's memorable address to the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.

It is a declaration of war on the wages system, an assertion of the moral right of the working class to all the fruits of its labours, and at the same time it is an eloquent tribute to Ireland's first prophet of Revolutionary Unionism.

To meet the tremendous rise in the cost of living we have all of us been clamouring for more wages, and some of us have been winning for our member increases nominally equivalent to the increase in the cost of living. But with every increase in nominal wages we find that real wages remain stationary, or else depreciate, that as wages are increased the cost of living rises often out of all proportion to the rise in wages, that the value of money is decreasing, that the pound sterling does not buy as much as ten shillings four years ago. We go on in an unending and vicious circle, and even the living wage is not a way out of our difficulty. A living wage, a real living and not a mere subsistence wage, may be fixed to-day, but to-morrow it must be raised for the cost of living, so long as present conditions prevail, will be once more raised and again out of all proportion to the purchasing power of the living wage. The living wage of to-day simply becomes the subsistence wage of to-morrow.

To attempt to level up wages is a futile policy, a mere temporary expedient, and as a makeshift I have

shown its futility. The only real and genuine remedy is to be found in the control of industry in the interest of the community by the working class. I need not elaborate the arguments which make this conclusion inevitable in logic and in fact, and to do so would be to anticipate the debate to take place on what is, in principle, the most important and revolutionary proposal before this Congress. Let me just add that when we speak of the control of industry we mean the control of industry, of all industries, agricultural and manufacturing, the control and management in every sense of each industry by the workers in that industry, and of each and all in the common interest of the whole community, the people, the nation.

The proposal, as I say, is important and revolutionary. But it is the only proposal which can ultimately satisfy the conditions of the new social order which we all want to supersede the present system of wage slavery, under which the worker is a mere peace of goods, a commodity, dehumanised and degraded, in the hell of labour's chattel market.

Out of that hell it is Labour's aim and purpose and intention to lift the workers of Ireland. It was Connolly's ideal; it is our ideal. It is the greatest and noblest ideal any movement in our or any time has set before itself, a flaming torch pointing the way to freedom and happiness and all the joys and sweets of life. For this brave men and brave women, the countless thousands of the pioneers and fighters of the toiling and battling working class, have worked and suffered, bled and died, and counted weary labours and great sacrifices and life itself as nothing beside the glory that should one day rest upon the world's proletariat and crown it with the victory of freedom. This, I say, was Connolly's ideal; and it is our ideal. For it we shall fight on, for it we shall toil on, for it, if need be, we shall give up our comfort, our personal property, and our lives. By it we shall stand or fall. It means toil and trouble, suffering and sacrifice, hardship, and often reverse and defeat, unending conflict and unceasing and unwearying labor.

But it means much more; it means the glory of battle for the right, the satisfaction of the good deed against the ill. The high and sure and certain hope of the full and complete emancipation of Labour, the social, economic and political freedom from bondage of that great, heroic, unconquered and unconquerable working class of James Connolly's love. Ay, it is well worth all we have and hold dear, for it is liberty through the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Workers' Republic, the building of which on this Irish soil is the sacred trust and legacy handed down to us by the great saints and martyrs and soldiers of Labour who have gone before us, and greatest of them all, of him who sanctified it with his life's blood, James Connolly.

"And by their graves we swear this year of story,

To battle side by side,  
Till Freedom crowns with immemorial glory,  
The cause for which they died."

## LOST OPPORTUNITIES.

By J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.

One of the hardest things for a nation at war to understand is that war, like a Parliamentary debate, is a political method. Instead of arguing with people you kill them, but

the end is the same—the settlement of some disputed point or the removal of some suspicion or misunderstanding in such a way that everybody concerned accepts the settlement, and upon it begins life anew. War, however, obscures its own purpose, and victory rather than settlement becomes its justification. When victory becomes an end in itself, allies are sought for and in consequence, bargains made, which set aside all chance of a settlement and change the issues for which the war was begun. In this respect, all great continental wars have the same history.

Thus it is that when the history of this war comes to be written, it will be seen that during it several opportunities for making peace were rejected because the military position was plainly unfavorable to one side, or because one side or the other believed that continued fighting would give it a greater measure of victory. Judging by events, which are of more importance than declarations, the war aims of all the belligerents can be summed up in the single word "Victory," and the end for which they strive is an ideal line drawn upon the map of Europe showing the position of army fronts.

This elementary fact regarding war is the explanation of our diplomacy—or want of diplomacy. It is literally true that the war mind honestly believes that whoever thinks of political means being employed during a war to aid the war in its political object, is guilty of "defeatist" methods. The two minds are alien, because the two aims are mutually exclusive. It is as true of the British Liberal and Labor Parties as it is of the German Social Democratic Party, that military victory has become identified with political victory, and that both judge the issues from their own national point of view. From this point of view every peace offensive becomes a peace plot, because with the Germans we are suspect, and both of us come to these conclusions upon information—limited as much as possible to what makes the conclusions inevitable. Von Jagow explains Lichnovsky in terms of existing German emotion and passion, and only the small voice of Bernstein gives the facts; Mr. Lloyd George explains the German offensive in terms of existing British anxiety, and only the small voice of Pansby reminds us of the actual course of events. The delusion is all the greater because victory is regarded as essential to the political aim, whereas it is not necessarily so, and history shows that it generally defeats the political aim and continues the unsettlement.

Everything is tragically simple. On nine well defined occasions since December, 1916, diplomacy and statesmanship had a chance of acting, but refused to act because the people were trusting to something else and the war aims had ceased to be political aims. Today, the nations still gaze in imagination upon the map of Europe scored by those ideal lines of Army Fronts and in that frame of mind can see no way out but a refusal of every opportunity to negotiate, accompanied by a rigid and merciless draft upon material and human resources to go on with the fighting. Europe can only be saved when the people return to the first principles of war and begin to face their problems by understanding what the real function of war is.



# RED RUSSIA

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

## GOOD TRAINING.

A youth with a bright, happy face and towed hair was the chairman. He told us how the Lettish regiments had been in the front ranks for six months without rest, and they had sent word to the Ministry of War in Petrograd that if they were not relieved by October first, they would simply leave the trenches. One regiment had been reduced from four thousand men to seven, and all were without adequate food or clothing.

"How can the men stand it?" I asked.

"The officers say it is good training," he answered, and everybody laughed. A soldier near the door cried, "You don't see my officers going barefoot." And again they laughed.

The Committee seemed highly amused at the officer's accusations.

"They say we are jealous of the workmen in the cities. But we are ourselves workmen, and we will share the short hours and high wages they have won for us, when we return to the cities after the war. Most of us are union men. . . There are no bolsheviks in the army? Well, this committee in this brigade is bolshevik. We are not illiterate; on the contrary, less than two per cent, cannot read and write. The Letts all go to school. As for interfering with military matters, we have nothing to do with them whatever, except in the case of mass movement of troops, which are always arranged beforehand."

## REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNALS.

There had been no killing of reactionary officers in this Brigade, even in the Kornilov days — although Colonel Kruskin went around at that time openly praying for the success of the counter-revolution. Several brutal officers had, however, been forced to retire, and one was brought before a revolutionary tribunal for beating a soldier; but he died in battle before the judgment.

Courts martial in the Twelfth Army had been replaced by revolutionary military courts. Each company had a petty court of five elected members—soldiers or officers; above that was the full regimental court, composed of 28 soldiers and 14 officers, elected by the full regiment; and a presidium of six chosen by this assembly sat permanently for the trial of minor offenses — such as stealing. If the soldiers were dissatisfied with their officers, they appealed first to the Commissar of the Army, and if he did nothing, to the Central Executive Army Committee.

"We know," said the chairman, "which officers are for us and which are against us. We know that Riga was betrayed. On the first of August we had aeroplanes, heavy artillery; but when the Germans attacked all those things had been sent away." He shrugged. "But what can we do? We must defend the Revolution and Petrograd. We must watch them, and make them fight."

They showed us copies of all orders of the staff, kept carefully on file

here; the chart of location of all troops of the brigade, which had been quartered by the committee; requisitions and purchases of food, clothing, shells, guns; and the record of the political transactions of the soldier party-groups with the Soviets and with the Government.

"We're the Ministry of War," said one member, jocularly.

"The Ministry of War? We're the whole government . . ."

## "NOBODY LEFT IN SIBERIA."

In the loft of the barn were quartered several batteries of light artillery, part of a Siberian regiment which had just arrived from Irkutsk. With their enormous grey wool shapkas, boots made from wild beast hides with the fur outside, new blouses and ruddy faces, they looked like another race. They complained bitterly about their food.

My companion picked out a boy who looked about thirteen. "Aren't you too young to be a soldier? Why, you're only just big enough to have a girl."

"If I am old enough to be in love, I'm old enough to fight," answered the boy. "When the war broke out, I was only fifteen, but now I'm a man."

"Aren't you afraid somebody will steal your girl while you are away?"

The boy shrugged. "There's nobody left in Siberia to steal her," he said simply.

Russia's losses in the war are already more than seven millions at the front — twice that in the rear. Four years. Children have grown up to manhood, put on uniform, gone to the trenches. . . "There is nobody left in Siberia. . ."

## A MARKET FOR LOOT.

Sunday in Venden. A gusty heaven overhead, thin clouds opening in a washed blue sky, with a watery sun riding there. Underfoot, black mud, trampled by thousands of boots, townspeople and peasants, who had driven in for miles around, thronging the Lutheran church, with mingled Russian soldiers, very curious but respectful. In the open market place the bartering of odds and ends of loot was going full blast. Immensely high above the town an aeroplane drifted southwest, and all about it the firmament was splotted with white and black smoke-bursts. The sound of explosions and the hum of the motore came faintly. People looked up carelessly and said, "Niemtssy" (German).

Along about midday tables appeared in two corners of the square. Then the banners—the revolutionary banners, in every shade of red, with gold, silver and white letters on them moving bright and splendid through the great crowd. Speakers mounted the tables. It was a double mass-meeting, Russian in one corner, Lettish in another, forbidden by the Commandant & frowned upon by the Iskosol. All the town had turned out for it, and most of the fifteen thousand troops. And there was no doubt of the sentiments of that audience —

from the great flags behind the tables, one inscribed, "Power to the People: Long live Peace;" and the other, "Bread, Peace and Freedom;" to the thunderous roars that met the hot words of the speakers, denouncing the government for not forcing the peace conference, daring it to suppress the Soviets, and dwelling much upon the Imperialistic designs of the Allies in the war.

## A PEACE MEETING.

Surely never since history began has a fighting army held such a peace meeting in the midst of battle. The Russian soldiers have won freedom from the Tsar, they do not believe that there is any reason for continuing a war which they consider to have been imperialistic from the first, they are strongly impregnated with international Socialism — and yet they fight on.

Under the wintry sun the banners moved in a little wind, alive and glittering, and in thousands the dun-colored soldiers-masses stood listening, motionless, to any man who wanted to speak. The chairman of the Iskolostreel managed the meeting with a tiny white flag. Overhead always the aeroplanes passed and passed, sometimes circling nearby. From far rumbled the thunder of heavy artillery. — It was agitation around the church spire. And past the end of the square went unceasingly long trains of trucks and waggons.

There was too much noise. The speakers came near, there was an uneasy craning of necks — for the village had been bombed three times, and many people killed. The chairman of the two meetings signalled with their little flags, the speakers leaped down, tables rose upon shoulders, and great red banners dipped and moved. . . . First went the Letts, headed by a band of women singing the mournful, stark revolutionary songs of the country; then the banners with Lettish inscriptions; then the Russian banners, and after them all the thousands and thousands, pouring like a muddy river in flood along the narrow street. In at a great gate we went and past the baronial manor of the Siever family, lieg-lords of Venden. Here on a spur of rock rose the tremendous ruins of the Medieval castle of the Teutonic Knights, and below the ground fell steeply down, through ancient trees all yellow and crimson with autumn leaves, to a pond with lilies. From the window of the high keep one could see miles across the fertile, smiling country, woods, lakes, chateaux, fields, all chocolate brown or vivid green, foliage all shades from gold to blood-red, gorgeous.

Rushing down torrent-like through the trees the Lettish banners moved with wailing song to the hill under the castle, while the Russians paused midway down a steep slope and set their table under a great oak tree. Around the two tribunes the people packed themselves, hung in the trees, heaped on the roofs of some old sheds. . . . Speaker followed speaker, all through the long afternoon. Five hours the immense crowd stood there, intent, listening with all its ears, with all its soul. Like a glacier, patient, slow-moving, a mass of dun caps and brown faces carpeting the steep hillside. Spontaneous roars of applause, scattered angry cries burst from it. Almost all the speakers were bolsheviks, and their unbroken refrain was, "All the power to the Soviets, land for the peasants,

an immediate democratic peace."

Toward the last, someone undertook to deliver an old-fashioned "Patriotic" oration — but the fierce blasts of disapproval quickly drove him from the platform. Then a little professor with gold-rimmed spectacles tried to deliver on the Lettish national movement; but no one paid the least attention to him. . . .

## A RELIC OF THE DEAD PAST.

On a knoll over the water was a black marble tomb, lettered as follows:

"Dedicated to the memory of the creator of this park, Count Carl Sievers, by his tenderly-loving and high-regarding son, Oberofmeister Senator Count Emanuel Sievers, this memorial is erected on this little hill, which was named Carlsberg after his own name Carl. On this spot the, at that time the last-surviving lord of Castle-Wenden, together with the Duckernschen Peasants' Council and their wives, ate lunch, while the peasants' children danced on the nearby flat place."

"Thereby had he, with his own artistic sense, with his own creative talents, an idea to dig a large pit in the midst of a stream from the rich springs of Duckernschen, and to place here a great pool, by himself beautifully imagined, in which the noble ruins of the old Ordens-Schloss could reflect themselves."

A couple of soldiers came lounging up. One slowly spelled out the first words.

"Graf: Count!" he exclaimed, and spat. "Well, he's dead, like so many comrades. He was probably a good guy."

Around the monument the "great pool", across the rustic bridges and in and out of the artificial grottoes of the aristocratic old park, roamed hundreds of gaunt men in filthy uniforms. The ancient turf was torn to mud. Rags, papers, cigarette stubs littered the ground. Up the hillsides were banked the masses of the proletariat, under red banners of the social revolution. Surely in all its stirring history the Ordens-Schloss never looked down on any scene as strange as this.

Beyond the park music was going down the road toward the little Lutheran cemetery. They were burying three Lettish sharpshooters, killed in action yesterday. First came two carts, each with a soldier who strewed the road with evergreen boughs. At the gate of the cemetery one of the soldiers brushed off his hands, heaved a sigh, took out a cigarette and lighted it, and began to weep. The whole town was now streaming down along the road, peasant women in their Sunday kerchiefs, old men in rusty black soldiers. In their midst moved the military band, slowly playing that extraordinary Lettish death-march, which has such a triumphant, happy note. Then the white coffins, with aluminum plaques saying: "Eternal Peace."

Peace, peace—how many times you hear that word at the front. The revolution means peace, popular government means peace, and last of all bitterly, death means peace. No funeral has the poignant solemnity of a funeral at the front. Almost all these men and women have lost some men in the war; they know what it means death. And these hundreds of soldiers, with stiff, drawn faces; they know these three dead — perhaps

(Continued on Page 7)



## NEWS ITEMS FROM ALL PARTS

### DEBS INDICTED ON TREASON CHARGE.

#### Candidate on Four Occasions of U.S. Socialists for President to Stand Trial.

(Canadian Press Despatch.)  
Cleveland, Sept. 8.—Eugene V. Debs, four times candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist ticket, will go on trial in Federal Court here to-morrow morning charged with violation of the Espionage Act.

Debs was secretly indicted by the Federal Grand Jury on June 29 on an indictment of ten counts, and was arrested here June 30 as he was about to address a meeting of called Socialists. The charge against him is based on a speech delivered at the State convention of the Ohio Socialist Party at Canton, Ohio, June 16.

In the Canton speech Debs is alleged to have declared the purpose of the allies in the war to be the same as that of the Central powers; he urged his hearers to know that "they were fit for something better than cannon fodder;" he declared himself as guilty as Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, who was recently found guilty of violation of the Espionage Act; he praised the Bolsheviki and the I.W.W., and counselled his hearers not to worry over the charge of "treason to their masters."

If found guilty Debs faces a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine on each count.

### PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON ON MOB LAW.

"I have been much distressed, my fellow citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands; and I want to say to every man who does join such a Mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States."

A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to cooperate in any form of development of law and institution. And some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands."

### WAS KING CARSON THERE?

Mr. Dillon, M.P., asserts it to be a fact that Herr von Kuhlman was in Ulster on a secret visit in June, 1914 (Hansard, 29/7/18). Was it in connection with the supply of Krupp rifles to "King" Carson?

We have heard nothing for a long time about the secret meeting of financiers in Switzerland. Now we find this in the *British Columbia Federationist* for 5th July:—

"The Stockholm Conference had been prevented; but little mention had been made of the international conference which met at Berne, Switzerland, where, according to a letter to Kerensky from the Russian representative at Berne, the 'certain participants were: Jacques Stern (from the Netherlands

Bank, Paris) Tuchman (from the Paris branch of the Lloyd Bank), Furstenburg (director of the German Discount Gesellschaft, also a director of the "Deutsche Bank," and a director of the Austrian "Austro Bank"). Although the English denied that they participated in the consultations, however, on the 2nd September (1917) Head-director Bell, of the Lloyd Bank arrived here from London under the pretext of establishing a branch in Switzerland." This despatch has been reprinted among others by the *New York Evening Post*."

### A RECOGNIZED WRONG.

"According to Washington advices, the federal authorities responsible for war preparations in the industries are about to adopt new methods in dealing with "industrial unrest." The policy of charging all strikes against I.W.W. agitators is seen to be wrong, and there is to be a recognition of the fact that the real, underlying cause of the unrest is the failure of wages to keep pace with the rising cost of living."

Seattle Starr, Nov. 15.

### Governor Ernest Lister denies the "German Gold" Tales:

"It too often seemed that there must have been some such force at work behind some of the trouble—not all, mind you. But I must confess that on investigation I have never been able to find an appreciable trace of such a force."—From an address delivered in San Francisco on November 12.

### ENGLISH SCHOOL TEACHERS Demand Higher Wages.

Things are moving rapidly in the old land, sections of the working class that have hitherto been looked upon as conservative have shown a splendid lead in demanding better conditions, the latest of these is the Women Teachers National Federation, they have made a demand for equal pay with men teachers and intend to back it up by a strike in the event of their demand being turned down, a huge demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square in which 3000 teachers participated.

### SOLDIERS WIVES BREAK UP CONCIL MEETING IN DUNDEE-SCOTLAND.

Five thousand soldiers wives took part in a huge demonstration in Dundee, demanding higher separation allowances. They charged over the parapet into the Holy of Holies "The Council Chamber" and completely took the enemy by surprise. The poor petition was spurned by the Bourgeois element of the council and the meeting had to be adjourned without the usual ceremony. The workers councils in the city are taking up the fight on behalf of the veterans wives, and another much larger demonstration is being organized.

A mass meeting of discharged soldiers and sailors was held on Glasgow green on Sunday August 4th. The procession was headed by a soldier on horseback carrying an emblazoned demand for "Justice".

It is somewhat ironical to demand justice after fighting to defend De-

mocracy. There were 25,000 people at the meeting, the speakers being mainly Socialists, and resolutions demanding the release of John McLean and the restoration of the labor press (which was closed some time ago by order of the authorities) were passed.

### London Bobbies Get Increase.

The strike of policemen in London, England which involved the whole of the constabulary force approximating 22,000 has been decided in favor of the men, all their demands being granted.

The capitalist buys the labor power of the worker at the market price, and in doing so gives as little as possible for it and gets all that he can out of it.

The worker sells his labor power to the capitalist at the market price, and in doing so gets all that he can for it and does as little as possible. Hence the inevitable and continual class struggle.

### RED RUSSIA

(Continued from Page 6)

some of them even spoke with them, heard them laugh, joke, before the unseen whining shell fell out of the sky and tore them to bloody pieces. They realize well that perhaps next time it will be their turn.

To the quiet deepness of the pastor's voice and muffled sobbing everywhere, the coffins are lowered down, and thud, thud, drops the heavy wet earth, with a sound like cannon far away. The chairman of the Iskols-treel is making a revolutionary speech over the graves. The band plays, and a quavering hymn goes up. Nine times the rifles of the firing squad crash on the still air.

Overhead is the venomous buzz of an aeroplane. From the woods comes a faint roar of applause. Here death there life. And as we slowly disperse comes a committee to get the band, excited and eager. In the park they are still speaking, and the temporary chairman asks, "Is there anyone here who wants to say anything against the bolsheviks?" Silence. There appears to be no one. "The band will be here in a minute" — a great shout — "and then we'll make a demonstration through the town."

### ONE PEOPLE—FOR A MOMENT.

And now the band is coming down through the trees, still playing the death march. On the flat place near the pool it forms, strikes up suddenly the Marseillaise. All the dun-colored thousands are singing now, a thunderous great chorus that shakes the trees. The banners are coming together in front. The chairman waves his white flag. We start—at first slowly, feet rustling over the fallen leaves, then gathering volume, pouring swifter and swifter up through the trees, a wild flood roaring up, unstoppable. The band tries to play — there are snatches and rags of music, confused singinging.

Everybody is exalted; faces are a light — arm and arm we go — It is like what the first days of the Revolution must have been. It is the Revolution born again, as it is without ceasing, born again, braver, wiser after much suffering. Through all the streets and alleys of the town we rush impetuous, and the town is one people again for the moment, as Rus-

sia will again be one people — for a moment.

But only for a moment. It is Monday, and the Little Soviet is in closed session. When the doors are closed, lights are thrown into the faces of the crowds and outsiders expelled, protesting. One by one the delegates add to the gloomy picture of disaster. The scouts are in open revolt because their bread allowance has been cut; in another regiment the officers insist on carrying the full amount of their baggage, and had to leave the field telephones behind; in another part of the front the men refuse to build winter quarters, saying it is easier to seize the peasants' houses; the Soviet of the Fifth Division has passed a resolution favoring peace at any cost; here the soldiers have become apathetic, and even indifferent to politics; there they say, "Why should we defend the country? The country has forgotten us."

\* \* \*

As we sat on the platform waiting to figure on Wlsiaetao taoinunnnunu for the Petrograd train, it occurred to Williams that we might as well give away our superfluous cigarettes. Accordingly he sat down on a trunk and held out a big box, making generous sounds. There must have been several hundred soldiers around. A few came hesitantly and helped themselves, but the rest held aloof, and soon Williams sat alone in the midst of an overwidening circle. The soldiers were gathered in groups talking in low tones.

Suddenly he saw coming toward him a committee of three privates, carrying rifles with fixed bayonets, and looking dangerous. "Who are you?" the leader asked. "Why are you giving away cigarettes? Are you a German spy, trying to bribe the Russian revolutionary army?"

All over the platform the crowd followed, slowly packing itself around Williams and the committee, muttering angrily — ready to tear him to pieces.

We were packed into the train too tight to move. In compartments meant for six people twelve were jammed, and there was such a crowd in the aisles that no one could pass. On the roof of the car a hundred soldiers stamped their feet and sang skill songs in the freezing night air. Inside all the windows were shut, everybody smoked, there was universal conversation.

### MEANWHILE LIFE GOES ON AS USUAL.

At Valk some gay Red Cross nurses and young officers climbed in at the windows, with candy, bottles of vodka, cheese, sausages, and all the materials for a feast. By some miracle they wedged themselves among us and began to make merry. They grew amorous, kissing and fondling each other. In our compartment two couples fell to embracing, half lying upon the seats. Somebody pulled the black shade over the lights; another shut the door. It was a debauch, with the rest of us looking on.

In the upper berth lay a young captain, coughing incessantly and terribly. Every little while he lifted his wasted face and spat blood into a handkerchief. And over and over he cried "The Russians are animals." Above the roaring of the train, coughing, bacchic cries, quarrels, all through the night one could hear the feet of ragged soldiers pounding on the roof, rhythmically, and their nasal singing.



**RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC**

(Continued from Page 3)

perseded by a firmly established socialistic society, which rests upon universal labor, upon the application and distribution of all productive forces according to plan, and upon the solidarity of all its members, then, along with the disappearance of class, difference, will disappear also the necessity for the dictatorship of the working classes and for state power as the instrument of class domination.

These are the immediate internal problems of the Soviet Republic. In its relations to other Nations the Soviet Republic stands upon the principles of the first Internationale, which recognized truth, justice and morality as the foundation of its relations to all humanity, independent of race, religion or nationality.

THE Socialistic Soviet Republic recognizes that wherever one member of the family of humanity is oppressed all humanity is oppressed, and for that reason it proclaims and defends to the utmost the right of all Nations to "self-determination," and thereby to the free choice of their destiny. It accords that right to all Nations without exception, even to the hundreds of millions of laborers in Asia, Africa, in all colonies and the small countries who, down to the present day, have been oppressed and despoiled without pity by the ruling classes, by the so-called civilized nations.

The Soviet Republic has transformed into deeds the principles proclaimed before its existence. The right of Poland to "self-determination" having been reorganized in the first days of the March revolution, after the overturn in October the Soviet Republic proclaimed the full independence of Finland and the right of the Ukraine, of Armenia, of all the people's populating the territory of the former Russian Empire, to their full self-determination.

(Continued in next issue.)

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**Correspondence**

**DOVERCOURT LOCAL No. 71.**

At a recent meeting of Local No. 71 a discussion of the question of affiliating with the new Canadian Labor Party was carried on. Many questions as to our obligations under any agreement with the new body, were considered.

A resolution in favor was passed. The ballot will be taken before long and returned to the Dominion Executive Committee.

Tom Black gave a good address to the members and sympathizers of Local No. 71. He advocated a clear cut understanding of the problems of this present time. He emphasized the necessity of carrying the message to the workers in order that they may intelligently follow their real interests.

While immediate reforms may have their value, the real goal is the complete control of industry for the good of all the workers. The real success of any movement lies in the enthusiasm of the members belonging to the organization. The necessity of holding together was never more urgent than at present.

J. Cunningham, Sec.

If the workers are too industrious over-production is the result, and the soup kitchen follows. Great system, is it not ?

Many people want just what Socialists want, but they want it for themselves alone. What Socialists want they want for everybody because they know they cannot get what they want without getting it for all.

**...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS...**

The Dominion executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month at 397 Spadina Avenue. Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

The Ontario provincial executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of the month at 397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

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

F. G. Wetzel,  
Box 151, Vanguard, Sask.

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