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THE CANADIAN FORWARD

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PROLETARIAT

THE REVOLUTION MUST FIRST ARISE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

LABOR PRODUCES ALL WEALTH UNTO LABOR IT SHOULD BELONG

TORONTO CANADA

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KARL MARX CENTENARY EDITION

MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM MANY LANDS

A VINDICATION OF KARL MARX.

(By F. J. Flatman, Hamilton, Ont.)

Robert Emmet, facing his judge on September 19th, 1803, said: "Let no man write my epitaph; for, as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in security and peace; my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain unscrubbed until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place amongst the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written."

Here, then, just one century after the birth of Karl Marx, when the international proletariat in its growing strength and organization, its ever-spreading influence and power, is reaping the harvest of the seed sown by his sacrificial life, with the Russian Bolsheviks having given his concept of International Socialism its place amid the world's forms of society, I will attempt to vindicate his motives. Karl Marx was born at Treves on the 5th day of May, 1818, his father was a Jewish lawyer in the German civil service. He was educated at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin, and became a contributor to the "Rhenish Gazette" of Cologne, of which he became editor in 1842.

This paper being suppressed one year later by the Prussian Government, young Marx journeyed to Paris, where he became associated with Arnold Reige of the "Deutsche Franzosische Jahrbucher," in which was published his famous articles upon the "Hegelian Philosophy of Right," and "The Jewish Question."

In 1844 he was expelled from France and removed to Brussels, where in 1847 he wrote his "Misere de la Philosophie," replying to Proudhons' "Philosophie de la Misere." In 1836 there had been founded at Paris an organization, the object of which was the dissemination of communism. This organization in 1847, then called the "Communist League," requested Karl Marx to collaborate with Frederick Engels and draw up for them a new programme. The result of this collaboration was destined to become

the most historic document of working class history, and had Marx never placed ink to paper in any shape or in any form except in this the "Communist Manifesto," he would have justified the name conferred upon him by H. M. Hyndman, viz., "The Father of Scientific Socialism." In this Communist Manifesto he traced the history of the Class Struggle from its earliest form of chattel slavery through serfdom, villenage, to the earliest

Social value of the work performed, there could be but one class of useful workers and but one interest, the interest of the working class.

To understand and appreciate to the full the services rendered to the world's working class by Marx one has but to visualize the position of the Socialist movement previous to his arrival.

The Socialism that was proposed by such men as Owen, Fourier, Rousseau, etc., was of a Utopian order

lished where a few choice spirits could gather together and demonstrate its advantages.

These schemes we know were usually the schemes of some middle class philanthropists anxious for the regeneration of society, and therefore lacked that vitality that can only come from a conscious movement of the oppressed.

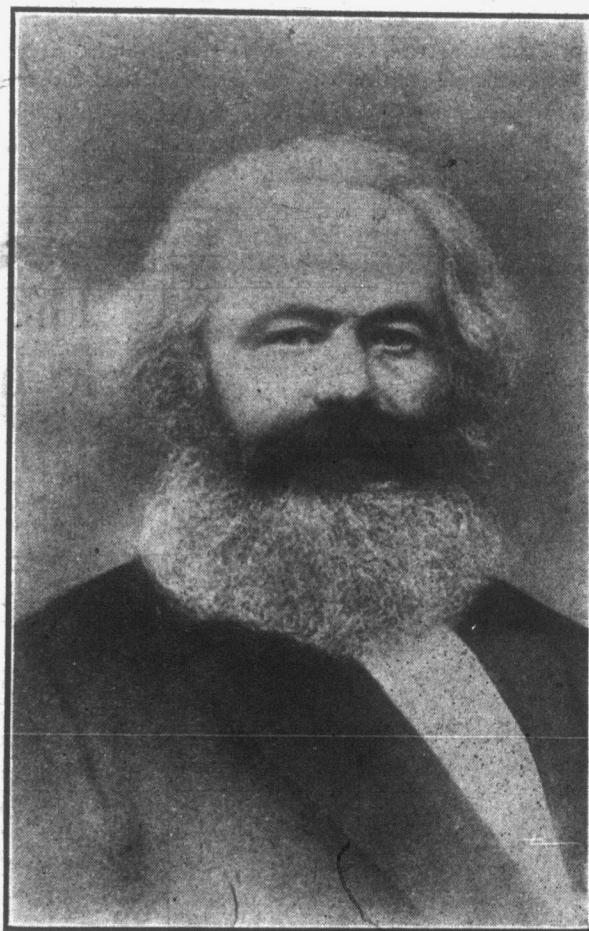
But Marx changed all this by devoting his entire life to the gathering and compilation of data which he finally gave to the world in his three volumes (two of which he left in M.S.S.) of his "Das Capital," a fitting monument to a harassed life, sacred to the cause of the working class. It will perhaps help my readers to appreciate the magnitude of the task he had set himself in writing this magnificent work, to know that in the course of compiling the first volume only, which he lived to see published, he had actually examined and quoted 417 standard works written in eleven different languages.

He passed away in exile at London, on March 14, 1883, leaving us a splendid legacy, for to his exhaustive research we owe that clear grasp of historic tendencies and economic forces that fills the Socialist of today with so much confidence and hope, for these unconscious forces are seen to be making for that point towards which he consciously strives. Socialism as the legacy of Karl Marx, ceased to be a Utopian dream out of all relation to the facts of life, and became a logical consummation of the tendencies which he revealed. In paying this tribute to him we are not guilty of hero-worship. Rather let us accept that legacy of the ages, clarified by him, and let us realize that our duty is to go forward with our work of preaching the gospel of Economic discontent, of educating, agitating and organizing the working class to the end that they realize their position on the economic field, then power on the political field, use that position and power to become masters of the whole material means of wealth production and enjoy unmolested the product of their toil. Then, comrades, we will write Karl Marx's epitaph.

Workers of
the World
Unite.

You have no-
thing to lose
but chains.

You have a
World to
Gain.



KARL MARX

development of modern wage slavery, and clearly, definitely and concisely demonstrated the fact that the exploitation of the workers was the common basis of all these systems. Here let me point out he did not invent this class struggle, he merely pointed out its existence. When Sir Isaac Newton discovered the force of gravity he did not invent it, it was there before his time. He merely discovered it. In like manner Marx and his exponents of today simply wish to make the working class conscious of this class struggle only that they may put an end to it, for with a total reorganization of society, as suggested by Marx, where the remuneration would be determined by the

characteristic of the method of thought in vogue before the diffusion of evolutionary ideas. Little or no attention was paid to the action of economic forces in the shaping of the social life, or perception of the co-relation of historical events. Not until Karl Marx enunciated the "Marxian Philosophy" was Socialism conceived of as something to be obtained by a conscious guidance and a development of social tendencies.

Previously it has been conceived of as some kind of a ready-made system, all planned out in detail, a system that could be put into operation almost anywhere, regardless of existing conditions. Little experimental heavens were to be estab-

THE WAR AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

(By Eugene V. Debs.)

These are trial days for the labor movement. Each passing hour has its test for the organized workers.

On our side there are more than two thousand of our most loyal comrades and fellow-workers in jail on trumped-up charges. Disloyalty is the offence with which they are charged. It is a convenient subterfuge. It covers everything. Upon this charge the victim may be held indefinitely pending trial which may never take place.

It is not at all strange to those who understand the present system that those most loyal to the working class are charged with disloyalty to the Government. Loyalty to labor is always disloyalty to labor's exploiters and oppressors.

This accounts for the conviction and sentence of your valiant editor, Comrade Isaac Bainbridge. All honor to him. He is paying the penalty of his loyalty to his fellow-workers. He might have gone to Parliament. He preferred to go to jail. In Parliament as a "loyalist" he would have been the betrayer of his cause; in jail he is the faithful representative of his class.

How blind and stupid the ruling capitalists and their menials and mercenaries really are! They chortle with self-congratulation that Isaac Bainbridge and men and women of his type are in jail. It does not occur to them that the jail is the incubator of revolutionary leadership and that when these persecuted victims of Capitalist misrule have served their time they will speak with a more commanding voice than ever before and be fitted and tempered as they could not have been otherwise to lead in the struggle for the overthrow of their despotic masters.

The class character of modern governments has been brought into bold relief since the war was declared. Everywhere, in a republic as in a monarchy, the ruling class is supreme and the workers are in subjection.

The war was declared, conscription enacted, and repressive measures adopted by the capitalist masters. To refuse obedience or even to question their authority was disloyalty and punished accordingly.

But the war will now run its course and the important matter is that the workers shall profit by its lessons. Never before was the crying need so great for the international solidarity of the working class.

Hitherto the workers, after having fought the battles and furnished the victims, have had nothing to do with arranging the terms of peace. This has been left entirely to the representatives of their masters.

There must be a radical departure from this rule at the close of the present war. The organized workers of the several nations must insist upon being fully represented and upon having a commanding voice in determining the conditions of peace. This and this alone will insure a democratic and permanent peace and safeguard the world against a repetition of the appalling catastrophe which is now drenching the earth

with the blood of innocent millions.

To you, comrades across the border, we of this side extend the hand of fraternal greeting. We are with you in your struggle, as we know you to be with us in ours. We are of the same exploited class and the same red blood. We are in truth brothers and comrades and henceforth we are to make common cause in the international struggle for the freedom of labor and the democracy of the world.

Looking Forward

Stafford Whitby.

We, who look forward to a new society, this year greet May Day at a time when the world is experiencing what must surely be the last, as it is certainly the most terrible and degrading, blood-shedding of the old society. May Day, the day on which, especially our hopes, look towards the vision of a new and finer civilization, finds us standing aghast at the culminating cruelty of the old civilization, which, with barbarities that of scientific knowledge could have rendered possible, is mowing down the youth of the world, snapping off short the lives of millions of youths before they have tasted life's sweetness or experienced its richness. We witness the indecency of the professed disciples of Jesus of Nazareth everywhere, with the rarest of exceptions, distorting, with blasphemous dialect, the principles of that pure and noble spirit whom they presume to call Master. We, who have long seen through the illusions and hypocrisies of our undemocratic modern civilization, yet stand appalled by the unconcern with which the ruling classes, exploiting alike the best and the worst sentiments of the people, are not ashamed to use the lives of the masses as their pawns.

Our brothers, as under some devilish hypnotism, are destroying one another. And yet, despite the tragic spectacle which the world presents to-day, we are full of hope, for the spectacle has served to reveal so nakedly the fundamental wrongness of modern civilization that vast and increasing numbers of men are becoming convinced that a fundamental reconstruction of society must be made, and have determined that they, though perhaps for the moment are caught in the meshes of the old civilization, will assist in bringing a new civilization.

Men in increasing numbers are grasping the fact that the way of peace is none other than the way of justice and humanity; that if in times of "peace" your society is not just and humane the poison of its injustice and inhumanity will sooner or later issue forth in the virulent disease of war. They are coming to see that this devastating strife is of a piece with a society founded upon strife instead of brotherliness.

Men in increasing numbers are

coming to see that, though our rulers speak never so persuasively of justice, democracy, brotherhood and freedom, the conditions for these things are not present in modern society. Without the fundamental justice—the equal right of every man with every other man to the full development of his human possibilities—there can be no real democracy; there can be at most only a pretence of democracy directed to securing privileges that are undemocratic. And how, under a vicious system of competition in which a few hold control over the means of life and thus over the life of the many, can there be this fundamental justice and the brotherliness which must accompany it?

Only in the radical transformation of society, increasing numbers are coming to see, from a society founded upon privilege and strife to a society founded upon brotherhood can bring lasting peace to the world. "The brotherhood of man!" The words are glibly uttered by those clerical apologists for war and the present day order, who give such bitter point to Nietzsche's apothegm "The only Christian died on the Cross." Truly comprehended, they imply the entire transformation of a system of society in which men are exploited by their fellows and by the very economic machine which should be their servant: a system under which humanity can never attain its full stature or experience its full measure of joyousness.

Comrades, our hopes are justly high. Men are sickening of the pretence, the lies, and the ignominy of modern civilization. It is our part to proclaim the unflinching truth and to uphold the pure ideal.

The Challenge to Imperialism

(By James Simpson.)

The national antagonisms, intensified by the terrible war that has been shaking the economic foundations of the belligerent nations, has not killed the spirit of the international working class movement, and May 1st, 1918, will have more significance for the toilers than the same date in any previous year. British Imperialism was dealt a staggering blow when the united political and economic power of the workers of Great Britain expressed itself in a ringing declaration in favor of "Internationalism." Canadian Imperialism must accept the ringing challenge of the Socialist Parties in this country when they know that their desire for the development of "Internationalism" is no less intense than the demand made by the comrades and fellow workers across the Atlantic. Russian despotism has surrendered to Russian Industrial Democracy. German militarism and imperialism must eventually surrender to that "International Spirit" which has been temporarily crushed to serve the ambition of those who have profited by the existing industrial and social order. The "Ripening Capitalism" of the United States, shocked by the intensified demand for the new social order, will totter and fall before the coming industrial democracy. Repressive censorship, imprisonments of prominent radicals, curtailment of free speech, and other reactionary meas-

Take Courage

(John W. Bruce.)

With the advent of a new season and its breath of sweet flowers showing renewed life and color, dawns another May Day, that great anniversary day of the class-conscious workers, whose souls are inspired with hope of their own emancipation.

We are conscious of all that our forebears and comrades in all lands have had to undergo in privations and sufferings spreading the light and teaching the truth of our doctrines, with the hope that the workers would some day arise fortified with the knowledge of their power, and destroy the cursed Capitalist system.

What that suffering has been no one will ever know, but the truth of their teachings is now reaching out to millions of souls who never dreamed in their wildest imaginative dreams that we would see the dawn of a new era.

But hark! what is that cry, everywhere we hear the ringing sound and the sweet clarion note arising from millions of throats on this, our May Day, proclaiming this the dawn.

Millions who once lived in the darkness of despair, suffering poverty and hunger without hope, now see the clear visions of the new day appearing when the worker will enjoy more and more the fruits of his own labor, and relief from oppression and misery.

Time, we were taught, works many changes, and out of the terrible struggle in Europe to-day, men will learn the great lesson that it is better to live for national honor with high ideals, than die heroically in a terrible struggle upholding a system that robs the workers of the right to live.

And so on this, our great day, when our hearts are beating in unison and our thoughts running calmly along, teaching us the necessity of action, may we be strengthened and encouraged in our purpose by the glorious deeds and accomplishments of our comrades in other lands.

So to the comrades of this fair Dominion I say, take heart and have faith, for our hope of the future can only be realized by an active participation in the work of spreading the doctrine and organizing the workers. The fields are prepared, now is the time to go forth sowing the seed, knowing that the harvest is ours. When joy, peace, contentment, and love will reign, establishing a higher and a nobler life. The life we were destined to live.

Ingersoll described hope as a "universal liar. A cheerful liar, though, and one that encourages the sons of men to persevere most hopefully in their ages-old search for the truth.

ures introduced as war's necessities, have not strangled the life-emitting Socialist movement, but on the contrary, are increasing that great army of workers that will be satisfied with nothing less than the overthrow of capitalism and the enthronement of collectivism. Soldiers of the Grand Army of the Industrial Revolution, quit ye like men; be strong and of good courage, a better day is dawning.



THE RECENT SPANISH ELECTIONS.

In the Spanish elections the changes are not so great as people expected. The three liberal parties share about 160 seats, of which 90 belong to the Garcia Prieto party, 45 to that of Romanones and 22 to that of d'Alba. On the other hand the Conservatives, although holding more seats, do not offer the same cohesion. Dato and his party have about 100 seats against 33 of that of Maura and 30 belong to Ciervistes party. Money and other corrupt electoral means have played everywhere a greater part perhaps than ever. The Republicans will hold about 30 seats. As for the Socialists, they have scored six places in Parliament instead of one. Four of these deputies have just come out of prison, where they have been since the strikes in August. The deputies are Pablo Iglesias, Besteno, professor at Madrid, Prieto, a deputy from Bilbao, and Largo Caballero, Daniel Anguiano and Saborib, the president of the Young Socialists. These Socialists direct the action of the Left and play a considerable part in the direction of the general politics of Spain.

IRISH DEPUTY RECEIVED BY PRESIDENT WILSON.

We have received the following petition from America. It was presented on January 11th, 1918, by a leading Irishwoman to President Wilson. Very favorable Press notices were given in American papers, and we understand President Wilson granted a public reception to the bearer. The signatories include Countess Marckievitz.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND HOUSE OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We, the undersigned, representing a large body of Irish women whose President was condemned to death for her share in a struggle for the freedom of our country, make an appeal to you, and we base our appeal, first, on the generosity of the American Administration in all things affecting women's lives and welfare, and secondly, on your recognition, many times extended, of the justice of Ireland's demand for freedom.

For many lamentable generations the women of Ireland have had to bring up their children in a country in a perpetual state of economic and political disarray consequent on its being governed in the interest of another country. Your declaration concerning a war settlement, which has called into being and endowed with hope the spirit of Democracy in every country, has made us feel that a new era is opening for us. Our appeal now is to remind you of a cause which should not be overlooked when so many European nationalities are to be reconstructed in accordance with your declaration. Our country, having behind it twenty generations of repression, has, we believe, a profound claim upon those who have declared their will to make the world safe for Democracy. We appeal to you to recognize the politi-

cal independence of Ireland in the form of an Irish Republic, and encouraged by the knowledge that the States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, Montana, Oregon and New York, have granted full suffrage to women, we feel that your generous sympathy will be extended to the women of our country in our demand before the world for the recognition of an Irish Republic virtually in existence since April, 1916,—the only Republic which from its inauguration was prepared to give women their full place in the councils of their nation.

Signed on behalf of the CUMANN NA mBAN.

(The Irishwomen's Council).

Gleanings by the way

BOLSHEVIK TACTICS ADOPTED BY SCOTCH CROFTERS.

According to the Glasgow Forward the latest addition to Bolshevism is recorded in the north of Scotland amongst the crofters, who are now taking possession of their country without the consent of the land hogs. Legalism is getting some severe jolts these days.

SOLD OUT.

The current issue of the Star Weekly, Toronto, contains a number of interesting pictures with reference to the food situation in Britain, which we are led to assume are not paid advertisements. The pictures are indeed gruesome: starving half-clad children, haggard-looking young women, some of them according to the dispatch having stood in line for six hours in order to secure a little meat. Especially significant is the picture of the May Pole Dairy Company's store, the usual crowd, mostly women, some with babies, are here greeted with the laconic message "Sold Out"—no more to-day. There is but one defect in this tragic scene—by way of omission; we hasten to make perfect. The profits of May Pole Dairy Co. last year were \$3,736,000.00, and dividend to shareholders 225 per cent. on their capital. "Sold Out," yes, in more ways than one.

MR. J. H. THOMAS NOT YET READY TO FOLLOW RUSSIA.

Mr. J. H. Thomas is not yet ready to assent to the formula of our Russian Socialist Comrades: "No annexations, no indemnities, the right of the people to decide their own destiny." He wants to fight on till the Central Powers give a pledge to restore Belgium. Can any victory restore to Belgium the lives she has lost or make whole those who have been maimed? To continue fighting is to add to the damage which no power on earth can restore. He asked whether anyone could honestly say that it was possible to get a peace "made by and for the peoples" at the present time. Speeches such as this do not help to increase the possibility.—Workers' Dreadnought.



THE REVOLUTION.

(By Richard Wagner.)

(It is not generally recalled that the composer of the world's greatest music-dreams, 1813-1883, was an active revolutionist, who took part in street fighting in the German revolution of 1848, and escaped a long imprisonment by flight. The following is from his contributions to the Dresden Volksblatter.)

I am the secret of perpetual youth, the everlasting creator of life; where I am not, death rages. I am the comfort, the hope, the dream of the oppressed. I destroy what exists; but from the rock whereon I light new life begins to flow. I come to you to break all chains which bear you down; to free you from the embrace of death, and instill a new life into your veins. All that exists must perish; that is the eternal condition of life, and I, the all-destroying, fulfill that law to create a fresh,

DEAR WINSTON SEES THINGS.

Lord Winston Churchill has said recently:

"The inner significance of this war has to do with the emancipation of labor. * * * The probability of a social turnover that would paralyze the nation for the prosecution of the war is not unlikely to happen in Italy, France and even Great Britain, provided the war continues to drag on and on and no more reverse are experienced. The working classes have a potential and an economic power to-day far beyond the political power represented by their votes."

WINNIPEG SOCIALISTS TO CELEBRATE MARX CENTENARY.

The various branches of the Social-Democratic Party, together with other radical organizations in the city of Winnipeg, have decided to hold their annual May Day celebration on the 5th day of May. As the 5th of May, 1918, is the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, it is proposed that the celebration shall be of a dual character, embracing both events. A monster International mass meeting has been arranged for the evening of the 5th of May at which speakers representing different nationalities will give appropriate addresses. Speakers will also address the gathering on the 'Life of Karl Marx.' The meeting is to be held in Hebrew Free School, corner Charles and Flora, and it is hoped every member and friend of the S.D.P. will turn out for the occasion.

new existence. I will renovate to the very foundations the order of things in which I live, for it is the offspring of sin, whose blossom is misery and whose fruit is crime. The grain is ripe, and I am the reaper. I will dissipate every delusion which has mastery over the human race. I will destroy the authority of the one over the many; of the lifeless over the living; of the material over the spiritual. I will break into pieces the authority of the great; of the law of property. Let the will of each be master of mankind, one's own strength be one's own property, for the freeman is the sacred man, and there is nothing sublimer than he.

I will destroy the existing order of things which divides one humanity into hostile peoples, into strong and weak, into privileged and outlawed, into rich and poor; for that makes unfortunate creatures of one and all. I will destroy the order of things which makes millions the slaves of the few, and those few the slaves of their own power, of their own wealth. I will destroy the order of things which severs enjoyment from labor, which turns labor into a burden and enjoyment into a vice, which makes one man miserable through want and another miserable through superabundance. I will destroy the order of service of the dead, of inert matter, which sustains one part of mankind in idleness or useless activity, which forces thousands to devote their sturdy youth to the indolent pursuits of soldiery, officialism, speculation and usury, and the maintenance of such-like despicable conditions, while the other half, by excessive exertion and sacrifice of all the enjoyment of life, bears the burden of the whole infamous structure. I will destroy even the very memory and trace of this delirious order of things which, pieced together out of force, falsehood, trouble, tears, sorrow, suffering, need, deceit, hypocrisy and crime, is shut up in its own reeking atmosphere, and never receives a breath of pure air, to which no ray of pure joy ever penetrates.

Arise, then, ye people of the earth, arise, ye sorrow-stricken and oppressed. Ye, also who vainly struggle to clothe the inner desolation of your hearts, with the transient glory of riches, arise. Come and follow in my trace with the joyful crowd, for I know not how to make distinction between those who follow me. There are but two peoples from henceforth on earth—the one which follows me, and the one which resists me. The one I will lead to happiness, but the other I will crush in my progress. For I am the Revolution, I am the new creating force, I am the divinity which discerns all life, which embraces, revives and re-wards.

BOOKS BY MARX

Capital - Vol. 1. 2. 3.	\$5.00
Poverty of Philosophy.	1.00
Critique of Political Economy.	1.00
Eighteenth Brumaire.	.25
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Civil War in France.	.25
Communist Manifesto.	.10
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MARXISM AND THE LABOR PARTY

1.—(By J. Fineberg.)

"The genuine Socialist cannot fight against the working class. He must be with that class, even when it blunders."—Maxim Litvinoff.

From time to time in British working-class politics there is bound to arise the reconsideration of the relations of the Socialist bodies with the Labor Party. Some members of the British Socialist Party, for example, hold that a true Marxian and revolutionary policy demands separation from all non-Socialist organizations, even when of the working class. It is urged that as Socialists we cannot afford the time for the pettifogging issues that gain the attention of working-class bodies. We should carry on a propaganda that will bring the workers to see that capitalism must be overthrown. It is held that by association with the Labor Party we are hampered by the dead weight of reaction that we must carry, and because we must share responsibility for the crimes and failures of its leaders. We should be independent of such entangling alliances; we should concentrate on the effort to turn the workers from their worship of false gods and direct them towards the shining light of scientific Socialism.

Since that is the case that some Socialists seek to erect, we must inquire into the nature of the Marxian theory. The distinction between Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism is in the fact that the former is a desire for a better order of society, which springs from the sentiments, whilst the latter—Scientific Socialism—is the result of an examination of the forces that govern social development and of an understanding of the direction that social tendencies are taking. The changes society has undergone are due to the changes in the methods of producing and exchanging wealth. In every epoch the class commanding the means of production was the governing class. In the Middle Ages, before the manufacture of commodities, the land-owning barons were the dominant class. In this age of commodity production the owners of factories, machinery, raw materials, and banks, constitute the capitalist class which is the dominant class. As methods of production change, those interested in the new methods find their development restricted by the laws and customs framed by the ruling class. Gradually, the class that depends for its rise to power upon the development of the new methods of production grows in numbers and influence, and assumes definite opposition to the existing order. Ultimately the ruling class is driven from power, and the control of society passes into the hands of the class that represents the new methods of production. These reconstruct society in order to allow the free development of the system favorable to themselves. In this way the capitalist class gained power, overthrew the landed aristocracy and instituted constitutional government. The change may be rapid, as in the French Revolution, or slow as in England, where the struggle between the rising capital-

ist class and the landed aristocracy commenced with the Cromwellian Revolution, and did not terminate in the victory of the middle class until the passing of the Reform Act.

In each form of society there has developed certain antagonisms: the struggle of classes has arisen and created the movement for the overthrow of the existing order. The change does not come without, but from within, and as a result of conditions created in the old order. Modern capitalism is subject to the same laws as the preceding forms of society. The capitalists' exploitation of the propertyless worker engenders the class antagonism. The methods of production have changed from simple individualist manufacture to complex machinery production. Production is no longer individual, but co-operative. Already the foundations of the new order are laid. This superstructure will be raised when the passage from individual to co-operative production has been completed by the co-opera-

from social movement. There is only one working class to defeat the capitalist class. Whatever its faults, it is this working class alone that can take power and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. It must, of course, possess the necessary ardor before it can achieve this object; and a study of the working-class movement in Britain reveals a slow but steady progress in the revolutionary ideas that arise as the result of Labor's subservience to capital.

In this country the capitalist system was well into stride before the laws governing the development of capitalism were discovered. But economic laws, like the laws of Nature, operate whether they are known or unknown. Thus the antagonisms of classes were soon asserted. Without understanding the forces governing society the workers combined in organizations most effective at the time. They fought the capitalist class on its own ground, blindly, without an inkling of an idea of class solidarity. Yet these battles were an example of the workers' participation in the class struggle, as complete as the activities of the highly organized movement of the future will be. After generations of this warfare, fought without a conscious aim, but ever working towards a definite end,

THE GENIUS OF LIBERTY

By EUGENE V. DEBS

"It does not matter that the Creator has sown with stars the fields of ether and decked the earth with countless beauties for man's enjoyment. It does not matter that air and ocean teem with the wonders of innumerable forms of life to challenge man's admiration and investigation. It does not matter that nature spreads forth all her scenes of beauty and gladness and pours forth the melodies of her myriad-tongued voices for man's delectation. If liberty is ostracized and exiled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in space and whirls around the sun a gilded prison, a domed dungeon, and though painted in all the enchanting hues that infinite art could command, it must still stand forth a blotch amidst the shining spheres of the sidereal heavens, and those who cull from the vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their flashing phrases with which to apostrophize liberty, are engaged in perpetuating the most stupendous delusion the ages have known. Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle art the deed is done, the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime. Strike the fetters from the slave, give him liberty and he becomes an inhabitant of a new world. He looks abroad and beholds life and joy in all things around him. His soul expands beyond all boundaries. Emancipated by the genius of liberty, he aspires to communion with all that is noble and beautiful, and feels himself allied to all the higher order of intelligencies, and walks abroad, redeemed from animalism, ignorance and superstition, a new being throbbing with glorious life."

tive ownership of the means of production in place of private ownership. We waive individual exceptions and say that the only class—as a class—that is interested in this change is the working class. Socialism, therefore, must come through the medium of the working-class movement.

We have read all this in the textbooks, the reader may say, and because it is true we hold it to be wrong for the B.S.P. to remain in the Labor Party. To such, I answer, that they fail to apply the theories they study to the facts of life. Claiming to use the Marxian dialect, in reality they are hide-bound empiricists. Instead of regarding the Labor movement as a growth in development, they falsely conceive it to be unchanging, bound to remain as it is now. Claiming to be the only scientific Socialists, by endeavoring to establish a movement without roots in the groundwork of society, they prove themselves mere Utopians—the hopeless lumber of an outworn system of thought, divorced

the discoveries of Marx illumined the darkness in which the workers groped, and endowed them with a grand purpose. The more intelligent—we pay ourselves this compliment—see in his teachings a guide to our activities. But did Marx intend his message for a coterie of select disciples standing on an eminence and clad in the white mantle of purity, busily reproving the godless masses struggling in a welter of darkness and sin? Or did Marx view the working class as a whole? From his vast store of facts he deduced that the workers, by their gradual adoption of the principles he had enunciated, would fulfil his anticipations of the form of the working-class movement would ultimately take. To Marx, the workers when they become Socialists do not become different from the rest of the working class. Their change in thought is an evidence of gradual transformation in the working-class movement. They remain of the workers, struggling with them for emancipation.—"The Call," England (To be continued.)

MEMORANDUM ON THE STATUS, DE JURE AND DE FACTO, OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF FINLAND.

On behalf of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the People's Republic of Finland, I hereby respectfully beg to bring to the knowledge of the Government and the people of the United States the following facts with reference to the present status of the Government of the Finnish Republic:

On July 18, 1917, the Finnish Diet declared the independence of Finland. This declaration was subsequently, on September 14th, ratified at another session of the Diet, and later the independence was recognized by the present Government of the Russian Republic.

The preceding Provisional Government of Russia, however, in August, 1917, refused to recognize the Finnish Declaration of Independence and assumed to dissolve the Finnish Diet, which act, however, was entirely unauthorized and illegal. Following the alleged dissolution of the Diet new elections were ordered and a new government based on such election was formed. This is the "Government" now in control of the northern part of Finland and represented in this country by Dr. Julio Reuter.

On January 27, 1918, this "Government" was deposed by a revolutionary uprising of the people, and a new government was formed, known as the Provisional Government of the People's Republic of Finland, which I have the honor to represent in this country.

The motives of the revolution were political as well as social. The political and juridical relations between Finland and Russia were, according to interpretations of weighty authorities on international law, a personal union, the monarch of Russia being the Grand Duke of Finland, invested with the powers, and subject to the limitations enumerated in the Constitution of Sweden, as it stood at the time of Finland's annexation by Russia in 1809, and as amended from time to time by the Finnish Diet with the approval of the Russian Government. One of the provisions of the Constitution was that if the monarch should be dethroned or lose sovereignty for any reason the supreme power should automatically pass into the hands of the Diet.

Thus the effect of the Russian Revolution was to empower the Finnish Diet to take full charge of the government of the country. In accordance with that interpretation, the Finnish Diet, on July 18th, 1917, by a vote of 136 to 55, passed a bill proclaiming Finland's independence, of which the following is a literal translation:

CONSTITUTION OF THE DIET.

"Be it enacted:

"Whereas, the prerogatives of the Regent have been eliminated, the Finnish Diet resolves as follows:

"First, The Finnish Diet alone decides, enforces, and executes all the laws of Finland, including those concerning State economy, taxation, and customs.

"The power of the Diet is supreme also in all other Finnish matters in which the Czar and Grand Duke heretofore had the decisive vote.

"The provisions of this law do not include the foreign policies, the military statutes, or the military administration.

(Continued on Page 8).

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

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TORONTO, CANADA

April 10th, 1918

MARX CENTENARY.

The 5th of May 1918 will record the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Marx. The keynote to an understanding of the historical development of the working class movement is spelt Marx-Read Marx, and learn has become a phrase that can only be excelled in significance by a knowledge of the works of Marx himself. The sands of time will be running mighty low when Marx's name falls off the scroll. We bare our heads to the memory of the noble dead. Wherever Capitalism reigns thy name is Sacred.

THE NEW OLD CENSORSHIP REGULATIONS.

The new ordinance—being an order in council, is the most drastic ukase that has ever been passed in the Dominion of Canada. The grandeur of the new old measure is its close association with the characteristics of Henry the Eighth—that splendid type of British democratic thought which was common with the British Ruling class in what historians call "The dark age." When poor men were hung for stealing sheep—and aristocrats honored for stealing a thousand acres of land and other men's wives—and when working men were deported for attempting the combination of workers. The regulation is as rich in its historical association of the past as it is likely to be popular in sending honest and courageous men to jail in the future. As a means of getting quick results "in jail terms" it is the best yet. As a means of helping to win the war, it is likely to prove a greater obstacle than the German army. In order to promote unity of action, it is essential to have unity of purpose and a frankness that will disarm suspicion. Suppression breeds the element of revolt. This measure or rather order, will not convert men to the necessity of destroying the German army but rather the Government's intention to destroy the remaining vestige of democracy at home. No doubt it will suit the pin-headed politicians down to the ground, as it provides a legalized means of hitting their political opponents (the writer has a keen scent of danger in this direction, having had some). It will be quite possible for the Government to suppress the fact that is disagreeable to it. Such action might be defended if the rulers were not ignorant and grossly stupid. The increase in the number of regulations can only have one result, i.e., a greater number of breaches of regulation. The regulation might just as easily have been compounded in some other place, the probable purpose of it is to eliminate the so-called obscure section of the press; and save the face of the Capitalist against the worker, as it

will probably make illegal any publication of "Secret Treaties" of which we are having a plethora at the present time. Perhaps the Prime Minister will be generous enough to inform us why the Creator endowed us with the means of expression, if that expression is to be denied by his orders? No just cause need fear criticism.

AN HISTORICAL EVENT IN IRELAND.

April the 21st, according to press reports, bids fair to become a landmark in Irish history. It is estimated that nine-tenths of the Roman-Catholic population will take the pledge to resist conscription by all means in their power. Whether or not this attitude is right or wrong from the Irish viewpoint, we must admit that it is a brave, courageous stand. Refusing to be awed into subjection by the—to them—"Alien Government"—in defence of Irish democracy, i.e., the right of the Irish alone to settle the question of compulsory military service for Ireland. A nation possessing the courage to do this will be honored by all free men, and generations yet unborn will doff the hat to Irish democracy.

FORWARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL.

Abandoned by the Allied Governments, the Russia of the Revolution—the Hope of Humanity—lies prostrate at the feet of the German Imperialists.

Vainly the Russian people sought a general peace founded upon equity and justice. Tied by secret and unholy pacts the Allied Governments closed their ears to the appeal. Desperate from external assaults and internal turmoil, the Russian people revealed to the workers of the world the predatory designs which have been, and continue to be, the chief obstacle to a cessation of the universal slaughter. For this they are to be punished. The Russia of the Revolution is sick unto death, and the capitalist vultures are gathered together.

Out of the East stretches a menacing hand. Mark it well, workers of Europe. Your children may rue the day when its shadows grew potent upon the horizon of war. Already in peace the poverty of toiling masses held in its ruthless grip, was beginning to darken your homes. Your Governments have now conjured its aid in their militarist schemes. They flatter themselves they can direct and circumscribe its growth. Their infatuation blinds them. To-day they invoke the mysterious fanaticisms and unfathomable power of the East into the European struggle. They know not and cannot know to what that force may lead. To-day the Russian people see their foe in the military strength of the Teuton—to-morrow they may in panje turn

to the Teuton as their only salvation.

Workers of Britain, only by a change of Government and a Negotiated Peace can this crowning peril be averted.

Forward to the International! It is Humanity's only hope.—Labor Leader.

ANOTHER SCRAP OF PAPER.

Our readers are aware of the disgraceful treatment meted out to Kameneff, who came here as the representative of the Russian Soviet Government. In view of this, the following report given by "Isvestia" of January 2nd, regarding the departure of Sir George Buchanan from Russia is doubly important. After describing the repeated desire of Sir G. Buchanan to go away on leave from Russia on account of his health, the report continues: Since then (the Bolshevik Revolution) his health had considerably deteriorated and he must leave the country by medical advice. He would leave together with a few naval and military officers, members of the Military Mission, whose personal luggage the representative of the Embassy, Capt. Smith, asked should be passed without any examination at the frontier. Trotsky then asked Capt. Smith whether the British Government would afford similar privileges to Russian diplomatic representatives going to or through England. Capt. Smith expressed the assurance that the British Government would not refuse to accord such privileges and at Trotsky's request undertook to carry the question to the Ambassador and to communicate the reply immediately to Trotsky. In an hour's time Capt. Smith telephoned to Trotsky, saying that the Ambassador was guaranteeing to all the official representatives of the Soviet Government, proceeding to or through England, the same privileges as would be accorded to Sir G. Buchanan.

Truly they are honorable gentlemen!—The Call, England.



(By Phillips Thompson, Oakville.)

"They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Such observations are clearly calculated to discourage enlistment. The truly loyal will no doubt be pleased to know that the author of this saying was dealt with in a summary fashion by the military authorities of his day. Thus is the world made safe for democracy.

The proposed fusion of the Social-Democratic Party with the Labor Party will give a big boost to the Socialist-Labor organization. No compromise for that bunch!

References by the Capitalist press to the Labor-Socialist-Single-Tax-Co-operative, etc., fusion scheme, speaking approvingly of the movement, ought to be an eye-opener to Socialists. It is a good rule to note what the enemy wishes you to do—and then do the other thing.

I have no particular love for the Roman Catholic system, but in one respect its attitude compares very favorably with that of most other denominations. It hasn't turned its churches into recruiting stations and political caucus rooms in support of the most shameless election fraud ever practiced on the Canadian people.

The preachers, having with the powerful aid of Big Business, vanquished the Demon Alcohol, are now taking the problem of the suppression of venereal diseases. They propose to set apart a day for preaching on the subject. Few of them know anything about the causes of social vice, and fewer still would tell their congregations if they did know. In any community where there are thousands of young men whose means will not allow them to marry, and young women earning barely enough to keep them from starvation, vice will flourish and disease abound in spite of law and gospel.

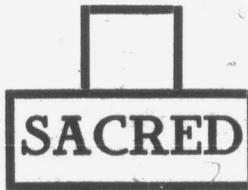
Blessed are the kickers, for verily I say unto you, they get what they want.

Britain never engages in aggressive warfare. She is always in the right. But you notice that at the finish she has usually extended the boundaries of the Empire by the acquisition of more colonies. There is virtue rewarded.

Fathers and mothers are being dragged into court and fined for allowing the dictates of humanity and right feeling, by sheltering their sons seeking to avoid conscription. Even a wolf or tiger will defend its cubs to the death. Such things recall the scathing lines of Whitties on the Fugitive Slave Law:

Students of German character believe that the drilling of the nation to think en masse and to fight en masse will inevitably mean an acceptance of defeat en masse, and that when Germany's will fails it will fail utterly.—Globe.

And yet the Globe and the rest of the Capitalist press support the drilling of the Canadian people "to think en masse and fight en masse" under a system which by its own showing, tends to deprive them of all initiative and reduce them to mere automatons.



To the Memory of
FREE PRESS
BORN IN ENGLAND A.D. 1694
DIED IN CANADA A.D. 1918
AGE, 224 YEARS

The Last Rights were Administered by Hon. Sir Robert Borden Under Orders in Council

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

Socialism will not bring you riches, but it will bring you an unlimited and unrestricted opportunity to secure all the riches you can possibly have any use for.

All service that contributes to the general welfare is valuable service.

May Day Greetings from Great Britain

J. RAMSEY MacDONALD

Exbury, Southampton,
England,
March 17, 1918.

Dear Comrade:—

I send you my heartiest good wishes for the success of your fight for liberty and democracy. Militarism and military sentiment are in the saddle and will ride the Empire to disruption and destruction if allowed to go unchecked. In the teeth of calumny, rigor, and passions, we have stood here for the old spirit of British liberty; that spirit which saw strength in the self-government of our Dominion and honor in a free democracy. Obscurantist reaction and democratic stupidity come to the top during war. To-day we are fighting for a peace of the peoples against a patched-up affair settled by the military and the diplomatists. We strive to build up a free Europe from the ruin with which we are now surrounded, and we meet with the opposition of the old governing classes, and newspaper-made opinion and passion. But the change comes. People are beginning to think, and with thought comes understanding. Let our Canadian friends keep a stout heart and an unbroken will, and an unswerving devotion to principle, and in the end through suffering and obliquy they will prevail.

E. C. FAIRCHILD

Leeds, England,
March 15, 1918.

I respond gladly to your invitation to send a few words for publication in the May Day issue of the Canadian Forward. The British Socialist Party is not without knowledge of the admirable work the Social Democratic Party of Canada has continued during the war period. We know your difficulties, they are ours, also—and since we know many of the comrades in your ranks, we are assured of the valiant way you face impediments to the progress of the Canadian section of the International working class.

To ourselves, as to all that are yet bound by the silken ties of International understanding, the war has been the fruitful occasion for sorrow, shattered expectations and that momentary despair that comes upon the bravest when contending against overwhelming force. Comrades who were towers of strength to us all gave their lives on the battlefield; the profiteer, in his safe shelter, has distilled their blood into leaping, bounding gains for himself. The harvest of death that he reaps is an ever-growing balance at the banks. Others languish in prison, bearing the penalty they anticipated to follow their opposition to this fratricide. Those who remain to call our workers of all lands to make peace over the heads of governments, and to hurl down the capitalism which is the cause of war, go forward in the midst of dangers. Yet we strive not to falter for we see the goal in sight.

When the war came we feared that Socialism had suffered a mortal blow, not to be repaired in our time. We were wrong. Our fears mastered our reason. Dazed by the blow by which Imperialism, in one stroke

of its remorseless hammer broke into fragments the ever closer unity of the workers throughout the world, we failed to perceive the tendencies it also released towards binding labor in a higher and firmer internationalism. He who thinks as he runs may complain that capitalism is stronger than ever, that its power over labor is complete and that labor will be beaten to the ground. It may seem that militarism—the instrument of high finance—has mankind fettered in its chains, that henceforward life shall be ruled with an iron discipline, and every place of work become a barracks. He may think that civil liberty is gone beyond recovery, never to be succeeded by economic justice. There is no room for such dreary pessimism. The facts of social and economic development give no sanction for melancholia. Already under the grinding pressure of capitalism in peril, we see the new gathering strength of the working class movement in belligerent countries. On their persistence in trench and industry depends the war. By their act alone can the race be saved from famine. In so far as preventing an International Labor Conference, the governing classes have paid to Socialism the greatest tribute it is ever to receive. They at least know that Socialism alone, that the working class inspired by Socialism only, can bring to a distraught world that lasting and durable peace for which men long with added sincerity. That fear of a social democracy leaping high over the factitious divisions of nationalism, which all governing classes hold, imposes on us a grave responsibility. We must justify their fears by contributing to the strength of the workers.

Amidst the wreck and din of war, drawing courage from its ghastly horror and futility, our hand goes on towards the mastery of material things and the freedom of all that the ancients called the soul. Where labor is plundered, and wherever the toiler is summoned to wage war in defence of the right to plunder, there is the voice of Socialism heard. With all whose eyes are turned towards the dawn, whose backs are turned on human degradation, we greet another May Day with its undying promise for the times to come. With them we cry again, knowing that at last the common folk will hear, "Workers of the world unite," and end to war; long live the International Republic of Free Socialist Peoples.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E3.
London, England,
March 15, 1918.

Dear Comrade:—

I gladly send greetings to the May Day issue of the Canadian Forward, which I always read with interest and respect for its bold Socialist policy. These are dark times, but the Russian Revolution should cheer and hearten us all. Even should the Bolsheviks be crushed and the Czarism and Capitalism again be established in Russia, the fact that a Socialist Government once held the reigns of power and the things that that Socialist Government did will never be forgotten. It will always be remem-

bered that, in part at least the land became the property of the nation and was freed to the land workers; that the industries were nationalized and controlled by the workers in the industry; that the old codes of law were swept away; that wealth was conscribed and distinctions of economic condition were being wiped out, and that the workers arose and demonstrated the fact that government rests on the consent of the governed.

Rather than see the triumph of Socialism in Russia or any other country, the capitalist reactionaries of the entire world will forget their sectional quarrels and will combine to withstand the march of progress.

The workers must be still ready to combine internationally. We can save the Socialist revolution in Russia if enough of us care to do so. We shall establish world-wide Socialism some day, it rests with the Socialists how soon that shall be. Unrest is growing and will grow. It is the duty of the Socialists to guide the forces of popular feeling to the Socialist goal.

With all good wishes for the success of your work in Canada.

G. LANSBURY

London, England,
March 15, 1918.

Dear Comrades:—

I am glad to get your note of the 21st and to know that you are going ahead with the labor movement in your country. I hope your editor will come back to you strong and well and able to carry on the good work.

My message to the Canadian workers for May Day is that they should unite and allow no sectional or personal jealousies to keep them apart; organization by industry ought to be the motto of to-day, and by industry I mean the railway workers of every sort and kind in one union, the mine workers of every sort and kind in one union, back, brain and hand workers, and so on. And, united industrially, we should also unite nationally through our Parliaments and ultimately unite internationally.

In these days it is more than ever necessary to keep the Red Flag flying, symbolizing as it does one race, one humanity, the world over. May Day in this country has always been celebrated on these lines and amid the welter of bloodshed and the horror of the war, it is more than ever incumbent upon us to keep our colors nailed to the mast. We have to overcome Kaisers and Governments, Kings and Diplomats, and we can only do this by the united effort of organized labor. There need be no slaughter, no maiming, for when our victory is won we shall not leave behind us a long trail of ruined lives, but we shall have behind us the human family united in the bonds of brotherhood and of love.

Both in Canada and in Britain the workers have the means in their hands whenever they desire to bring about the social revolution, the revolution which will be heralded in by a complete change of mind and outlook on the part of the workers, an outlook not personal, not national, but Social and International. Best of good luck to you all.

PHILLIP SNOWDEN

Golders Green, London, Eng.
March 15, 1918.

The Editor, Canadian Forward:

Dear Comrade,—I have pleasure in sending you a message for the May Day issue of the Canadian Forward. Never was it so important as it is to-day that we should proclaim the principles of Internationalism. In Internationalism is the only hope of the world. This war has proved the truth, in a far deeper sense than we realized in the past when we made the declaration that International Socialism is the only hope of the world. With the terrible experiences of this war, with the knowledge of the sufferings and sacrifices of the workers in a war which they had no part or lot in bringing about, may we not believe that our old appeals for the unity of the world democracy will in future fall upon more responsive ears. Be that as it may, we at least who have remained true to our old faith and our ideals, while the storms of passion have raged around our heads, will retain the priceless satisfaction that we have no share in the blood-guiltiness for the terrible sacrifice of human life and material treasure, and that we have during these years of carnage and brutality appealed to those forces which, in the end must be the guiding principles of national life if humanity is to be saved.

But I believe the lessons of this war will be learned by the peoples, and that they will emerge from these experiences with the light of knowledge in their eyes and flame of freedom in their souls. Seventy years ago the first call to Internationalism was sounded in the Communist Manifesto, and that clarion call must be our rallying cry to-day, and until it has met with a world-wide response "Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

Yours fraternally,

DR. SCOTT NEARING

SOLIDARITY—"FORWARD!"

On May 1, 1918, the workers should utter one word—"Solidarity." They should see, in the transition now taking place from private to state Capitalism, a new opportunity to perfect a national and international organization that will make the future more secure for them than the past has ever been. They should stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of every right and for the preservation of every liberty that has been won through the long struggles of the past. They should decide that the new world shall be their world, and then set out to realize their decision—repeating the watch-word: "Solidarity, Solidarity—Forward!"

It is the wise who die young. The older a man grows the greater risk he runs of being found out.

Generally speaking, a woman is—generally speaking,

A broken heart may mean a mended conscience.

It would seem that the year 1918 is destined to be one of the most imposing landmarks of human progress. An epoch is dying; an epoch is being born. Imperialism, from Assyria to Germany, after thousands of years of insolent domination, over-suffering humanity is now lashing itself into its final frenzy, in an effort to conquer once more, and persist. But it is doomed. Thousands of years of slaughter and agony have at last aroused the slaves from their torpor, and they are resolved that "Imperialism shall not pass."

The Imperialist Junkers of Germany are saying it of Britain only. The Imperialist Jingoos of Britain are saying it of Germany only. But the working people are saying it of both.

When the Imperialists of Great Britain speak of the "Right of Self-determination for small nations" they are thinking of the Balkan States and Poland, and Alsace-Lorraine. When the Imperialists of Germany speak of it they are thinking of India and Egypt and Ireland. But when the Working People speak of it they are thinking of all.

When the Imperialists of Britain speak of the Freedom of the Seas, they are thinking of the submarine. When the Imperialists of Germany speak of it, they are thinking of the British navy. When the Working People of the world speak of it, they are thinking of both.

When the swashbucklers of the British Empire speak of the crushing of Militarism, they mean the German variety. When the swashbucklers of Germany speak of it, they mean the British variety. When the Working People of the world speak of it, they mean both.

Under these circumstances there is no statesman in the world representing the governments of any of the belligerents who can give the world a lasting peace. Neither gods nor devils, nor angels nor fiends can do anything to satiate the rapacity and greed of the ruling classes who have plunged the world into a veritable inferno. Each side, having long ago given up any notion of the possibility of a complete victory by force of arms, is waiting and watch-

CAPITALISM

A Trefoil On a Stem of Human Slavery.
George F. Sterling.

ing and hoping that the other fellow's civilian population will kick over the traces first. It has now become a question of keeping up the morale of the civilian population. And when we think of the oppression of free speech and free publication in this country; when we think

Ontario; when we think of Ireland, we tremble and are amazed at the blind stupidity of our so-called leaders in depriving the people, little by little, of the liberties which it has taken centuries of bitter struggle to attain, and of their coercive and vindictive methods, which are surely

until the fires of revolution are world-wide.

Although the war cannot be settled to the satisfaction of all the belligerent governments, there is a way in which it can be settled to the satisfaction of the masses of the Working People in all the belligerent countries without wading through bloody revolution; but if history is any guide to us, our governors will pay little heed to the safe course.

Here is the solution: Imperialism, Militarism, and Capitalism, to be consigned to the Devil, Carriage Forward.

If Imperialism falls, Capitalism will fall too, and Militarism will be useless.

Imperialism, Militarism, and Capitalism is a Trefoil on a stem of Human Slavery.

A peace treaty with the one clause that these three be abolished will give the world rest. Each country would then be left to mind its own business and work out its own salvation. It might mean Civil War for a little while in some countries, but that is the only honorable kind of warfare. It would mean the break up of the Dual Monarchy, and of the German Empire, and of the British Empire. England, freed from the bother of looking after countries in all parts of the world, could then turn her attention to cleaning up the slums of Manchester and London, and Liverpool, and making such economic changes as would obviate the necessity of an army of 50,000 prostitutes making a living by selling their bodies nightly on the streets.

This is twaddle in the eyes of our nincompoop governors, must we wade through bloody revolution to get to it. The masses of the people, however, in Germany and Austria, and England, and France, are ready they have suffered so much agony that a little bit more is neither here nor there.

This is our message to the International Proletariat, and before another Labor Day comes round, the Devil will have received delivery of the Goods.

:-: MAY SONG :-:

by GERTRUDE RICHARDSON Swan River, Manitoba

The Song of hope is ringing, come let us join the strain,
The flowers of hope are blooming, and joy shall follow pain!
Sing for the day is dawning, all peoples shall be free —
We greet the Morn of Gladness, of Love, of Liberty.

Our blossoms all had faded, the earth was drenched with blood,
And now we rise in triumph to sing the coming good,
A "Brotherhood" of Gladness this sad old world shall be
When dawns the Morn of Beauty, the Day of Liberty.

No more a war-filled desert — a place where toilers weep,
(Oh! how the song arises, how glorious! how deep!)
No more shall Gold hurl brother against his brother man
Love's hosts have come to conquer, and we are in the van.

No more shall little children know hunger, dread or fear,
No more shall pale war-widows smile through a sorrow-tear,
No more shall men be slacked to win their daily bread,
For life shall be all glorious when everyone is fed.

Brothers, the day is dawning — the Brother Day of Earth,
Through anguish of our travail joy comes to hallowed birth,
Sing, for the May Song echoes — echoes from shore to shore
"Freedom and Hope and Gladness — Welcome for Evermore".

The Song of Hope is ringing, Come, let us join the strain,
All nature pours forth music to soothe our bitter pain:
Oh, let us rise-enobled to join the nobler strife
That wins for all earth's toilers their Heritage of LIFE;

of the vindictive sentences being meted out by the courts in the U. S. for so-called disloyal utterances; when we think of the tarring and feathering and hanging that is allowed by the civil authorities; when we think of the racial animosity that has been fostered by the Borden Government between Quebec and

and inevitably driving the people to the brink of revolution.

However, to the eye of the International Democrat, it is of little moment, which civilization opens the ball. The Devil's Dance has been called by the brilliant statesmen of the world, and we feel certain that they will continue their bungling

An Appreciation of May Day

(By A. A. Heaps.)

Why celebrate on the 1st of May? Such is the question that many workingmen may ask himself as he reads of the activities of the various Socialist and Labor organizations on the above date, and perhaps to the average American worker the 1st of May at a first glance may seem totally unnecessary, for have we not already got a properly legalized holiday known as "Labor Day," which we celebrate on the 1st Monday in September?

Then why this dual celebration? It is in order to distinguish between the two labor celebrations that has prompted me to pen this epistle. Labor Day on this continent was made a legal holiday by "our Parliaments," in most cases at the request of some sort or other of Labor organizations, and politicians jumped at the opportunity of granting something which they generally do, if it can gain them cheap popularity. It is on this day that both press and pulpit resound with

the words, "The Dignity of Labor." What a mockery it is for these institutions to speak of the Dignity of Labor. In most cases the people who write or speak on the question have never done a real week's work in their lives. Under modern social conditions there is no such thing as "Dignity in Labor." It should read, "The Drudgery of Labor." The laborer does not labor to-day because it is dignified. There is only one reason why he labors, and that is because he has to, and if he ceases to labor, either voluntarily or involuntarily, there is generally very little between himself and starvation. And what "Dignity" is there for the man or woman whose fate it is to go from store to store, or factory to factory, with the plea and request, "Are you in need of help?" or "Is there any chance of a job?" No, there is no dignity in labor to-day; it is drudgery.

The average man enters the factory or store first thing in the morning wishing it was time to go home; and the only day he feels a little more pleased than on others is "pay day." But that pleasure is only momentary, especially when the cheque or pay envelope does not contain sufficient to meet the current expenses. And to-day real

wages are lower than they ever have been before in the Dominion of Canada. The trusts or large corporations are making profits undreamed of in times of peace. These two facts just mentioned are beginning to make a larger section of the working classes think more than they have done in the past, and will also make the first of May, 1918, of more than ordinary importance, because when the worker starts thinking it will not be long before he realizes that the true significance and meaning of the May Day celebrations. To begin with, it is not a holiday granted us by the grace of those who keep us in subjection. It is a holiday taken by the worker and is observed and will be observed on the coming 1st of May by the workers in all parts of the world.

In other words, it is the International workers' holiday. Perhaps at the present it might be thought in some quarters that there should be no talk of Internationalism. I think we would be false to our principles if we followed that course. Capital to-day is just as International as it was prior to the war. For instance, There was recently held a conference of bankers in Switzerland at which were present repre-

sentatives of the British, French, German and Austrian banking institutions. I might here state that the "Seaman's and Fireman's Union of Great Britain" did not refuse to provide crews to carry the delegates to the Bankers' Conference, nor did the British Government refuse passports, as was done for the Stockholm Conference.

It is because the 1st of May is the day which the working classes in all parts of the world have themselves adopted as the day for an International Labor Day that gives to it its importance and significance. It is adopted by the working classes.

That again makes one like it all the more, because it shows decided spirit of determination and aggressiveness, and unless the proletariat possesses these two characteristics our future would not be one of promise. But one has faith to-day from abundant signs on all sides that a new spirit is beginning to animate the great mass of the toilers, a feeling of disgust at present-day conditions, and they look for light. May the 1st of May celebrations accomplish something towards that end and our work will not be in vain.

(Continued from Page 4).

"Second. The Diet may convene without special call and it has the right to prorogue its session. Until a new form of Government has been agreed upon in detail, the Diet, according to the election laws, shall determine upon new elections and the dissolution of the Diet.

"Third. The Diet appoints the supreme executive power of Finland.

"The Supreme executive power shall temporarily be in the hands of the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, its members to be appointed and recalled by the Diet."

A JUNKER TREATY.

The Diet which adopted the above declaration, and which was controlled by the Socialists, did not at that time assume the Government pursuant to the provisions of the declaration because the non-Socialist parties refused to attend the sessions of the Diet after it had been illegally dissolved by the Provisional Government of Russia. Subsequently, however, when through the illegal election above mentioned, the reactionary elements secured the control of the alleged new Diet, they re-affirmed the declaration of independence and assumed to form a government under its terms.

The chief reasons for the revolution were, however, more deep-seated than the purely juridic justification. In the first place, the government elected by the illegal Diet entered into such relations with the German Government, which threatened to jeopardize the new won independence of Finland, and to betray the cause of the Russian revolution,—the real liberator of Finland. The representatives of that Finnish "Government" attempted at Brest-Litovsk to conclude a treaty with Germany similar to that made by the pro-German representatives of Ukraine. Even without waiting for a formal conclusion of peace the illegal "Government" entered into close relations with the German aristocracy and appointed a mission to Berlin. Subsequently, as we are informed from seemingly reliable source, the deposed government actually entered into a political and economic treaty, practically placing the country under German protectorate. Latest advices, which seem quite credible, are to the effect that the representatives of the so called conservative "government" are negotiating with Germany for the re-establishment of the monarchial form of government with one of the sons of the Kaiser as the King of Finland.

Such plans and activities of the pro-German element in Finland were deeply resented by the masses of the

people, who well understood that the influence of German autocracy in Finland meant the destruction of all hopes of democratic evolution in the country and were an incalculable danger to the revolution not only in Finland but in Russia as well.

At the same time the illegal "Government" of Finland did little or nothing to alleviate the misery and hunger of the people. Profiteering was allowed without restriction. Vitally necessary social legislation was hampered and reactionary measures were taken toward establishing obligarchical class rule.

The revolution of January, 1918, was organized and accomplished by the labor organizations. The deposed government fled to the northern part of the country and has succeeded in maintaining itself, with the help of German-imported arms and soldiers, in the most sparsely populated section, inhabited by about one-fourth of the people. The entire southern and middle regions, comprising the most important industrial, economic and political centers, are in the control of the new revolutionary government which is rapidly re-establishing order and asserting its authority.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Provisional Government of Finland consists of fourteen members, named the People's Commissioners, elected by the labor unions, co-operative societies, and the Socialist Party organizations. This Government claims title as a Provisional Government, acting until order is re-established throughout the country and until new elections are held and a new constitution is adopted.

The Provisional Government is supported by a voluntary army of workers' militia, comprising from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand active and disciplined members. The authority of the new government is upheld and supported by a powerful chain of organizations, which in every town and village of the country, to some extent even in the northern part, work in sympathy with it and temporarily exercise the functions of local administration.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of Finland is in full sympathy with the Revolutionary Government of Russia and in active and close co-operation with it. Recently, I am informed, the Government of Russia signed a treaty with the Provisional Government of Finland recognizing Finland's complete independence, even in the domain of foreign policies and military matters excluded from the provisions of the Act of July 18, 1917.

Unless the deposed government succeeds in subjecting the country to the German autocracy, there is absolutely no chance of depriving the workers' organizations of the control of the country. And even then the workers' organizations of Finland are determined to render the most desperate resistance to the establishment of German autocracy in Finland. The power of the workers' organizations in Finland is by no means accidental or temporary. Since 1905, when the laboring classes of Finland, after long years of struggle, succeeded in abolishing the reactionary feudal political structure and establishing universal and equal suffrage, the Socialist Party has been in steady ascendancy. In 1907 it held forty per cent. of the seats in the Diet. This number steadily increased in subsequent elections until in the election of 1916, which was the last legal election, the party representing the workers' organizations secured an absolute majority of the Diet.

RED DEMOCRACY VERSUS WHITE SLAVERY.

The reactionary policies of the opponents of the labor movement, and their present policy of relying on German autocracy in their fight against the democratic institutions and movements of Finland is increased by the fact that although the country for the past ten years has had a liberal constitution in regard to general political rights, the country has in many respects remained extremely reactionary in its social institutions, as the wealthy classes, so long as the legislative power of the Diet was subject to approval by the Russian Government, always used their influence with the Russian Government to thwart progressive legislation of the Diet. Thus, for instance, the agricultural system

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of Finland in many respects retains elements of survival of mediaeval serfdom, the tenants being compelled to pay rent in the form of compulsory service without regard to the market price of labor. Public officers are appointed for lifetime and the spirit of arrogant bureaucracy prevails in the public offices. The laws, civil as well as criminal, have as their basis the obsolete code of Sweden of the eighteenth century.

The struggle of the working people of Finland, a struggle which has lasted for a century, against internal and external tyranny, is in its present aspects a struggle for real democracy, for industrial as well as political freedom, and for modern civilization against mediaeval autocracy. I sincerely believe it has a just claim upon the full sympathy on the part of the democracy of the world.

Respectfully submitted,

Santeri Nuorteva.

Representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the People's Republic of Finland.

Will the ruling classes learn nothing, or can they learn nothing? Mr. Balfour, who consistently devotes his intellect to the support of reaction, is still cynically proclaiming that secret diplomacy is valuable and necessary—because it prevents wars!

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