

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE!
THE WORLD
FOR THE
WORKERS

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

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TORONTO

CANADA

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THE BAINBRIDGE TO DATE.

BAINBRIDGE MAKES PERSONAL APPEAL

To Members of Socialist Locals, Labor Unions, all Progressive Individuals.
The following letter and statement was prepared by Comrade Bainbridge at the time he was notified to appear before Judge Latchford. It will be read with interest by all readers of the Forward. We trust that all who read it will do all within their power to give it the publicity it deserves. As you are all now aware, the Judge gave our comrade three months on the old suspended case. The response to this appeal to date has resulted in strong resolutions from many labor unions, Socialist and labor party locals, and the Toronto-District Trades Council and the Farmers' Convention, demanding Bainbridge's immediate release.

397 Spadina Ave., May 22, 1918.

To the Members of Socialist Locals, Labor Unions and all Fairminded Individuals:

I am taking this opportunity of informing you that I am under instructions to present myself before Judge Latchford in Courtroom No. 3 on May 27th. The Judge has something important to say to me in relation to my suspended sentence of one year ago. Bluntly speaking, it looks as though they intended to sentence me to a term in jail.

The reason for any such action has not been explained up to the present time—and in all probability there will be no defence permitted. I am going to ask you to watch the papers, and in the event of sentence being passed, that you will make it your duty to bring the matter to the attention of your local union.

For your information I will recite a few details of the insistent prosecution with which I have had to contend.

1. The publication of "Fenner Brockway's Defence," who was tried before a military court in Chester, England. Reprinted from the English Labor Leader which circulated throughout England and Canada. I was permitted my liberty on suspended sentence, the judge stating that I was not a criminal and he would not send me to associate with criminals. It is in relation to this that I am called to appear. This article was reprinted by the British Columbia Federationist after it was suppressed by the Censor and no action was brought against them.

2. The publication of an article entitled "The Price We Pay," written by the Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, of Chicago. At the preliminary hearing the prosecuting attorney refused bail stating that I was a dangerous man, and had I been in Germany I would have been shot (perhaps the wish was father to the thought) and this before the trial had taken place. I was then held in custody in Toronto Jail for three and a half weeks, pending trial. On my second appearance in court, bail was again refused, and I was remanded. On my third appearance the charge was quashed as being illegal.

Within half an hour of the quashing of the first charge, the same charge was laid again, only under the Criminal Code Act, and not under Order-in-Council as was done in the previous instance. My counsel decided to take this over to the high court, and note what takes place—instead of having one indictment as the original charge called for, I had to defend myself on seven seditious libels; and strange to relate one of them was based on a speech delivered in the British House of Commons by Philip Snowden, entitled "Dreadnoughts and Dividends," a copy of which I had in my possession. Another was the publication entitled "The Call," official organ of the British Socialist Party. A third was a publication entitled "Social Revolution," printed in Kansas. I was found guilty on three counts and sentenced to nine months. The case was appealed and we won on four points presented by defending counsel. I was liberated after a period of four months in prison, and now I am called up on the first charge.

It has been suggested that this is not a prosecution—but a persecution. I want to know if the labor movement of Canada is going to permit my imprisonment again on any ground in relation to this old case. Are you going to permit this without protest. I claim the reason why I am being persecuted is because of my outspoken statements, and my hostility to undemocratic measures. Try and think what my wife and three children will have to go through, none of whom are able to look after themselves, and this I claim is for being an outspoken defender of the workers and my opposition to the capitalist frauds and liars who control the destinies of this country at the present time.

I appeal to you as the court of last appeal. If you will not help me, no one else can. I have put up a hard fight against tremendous odds, I have nothing to relent—errors I may have committed, but my motives were right. Do you find me guilty? Your answer to this question will determine my future.

Thanking you in anticipation,

ISAAC BAINBRIDGE.

THE BAINBRIDGE CASE TO DATE.

Friends Hope to Secure His Release Without Much Delay.

On Friday, June 14th, Mr. Robert Harding, accompanied by Mr. James Simpson vice-president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and John Bruce, national organizer of the International Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters' Association, went to Guelph to present the resolutions passed by the Toronto District Trades Council and the United Farmers' Convention, before Attorney-General Guthrey. These resolutions, together with a largely signed petition and a specially prepared general statement of the case, was presented to Mr. Guthrey. The attorney and delegation were given a respectful hearing, and it is the reasonable hope of the friends of justice that our efforts on Comrade Bainbridge's behalf will result in his release and restoration to his family and loved work in the near future.

Mr. Bainbridge is spending his time as pleasantly as the circumstances will permit of at the Industrial Farm at Richmond Hill. The friends of Mr. Bainbridge everywhere will be pleased to learn that his brave wife and children are bearing their cruel punishment with courage and fortitude worthy of the great cause for which they are called upon to suffer. This petty persecution by little minded men that find themselves for the moment clothed with power, will in the end only cast a dark shadow over the judicial history of Canada and write Bainbridge's name in letters of gold in the history of social progress in Canada.

All fair-minded men and women know that Bainbridge is not being persecuted because he is "hindering the war" or is in any way inclined to be pro-German. He is a Socialist who uses his pen, voice and influence to enlighten the toilers as to the causes of wars, the cost of wars and the only remedy to prevent future wars. So long as the struggle for markets is the driving force of international diplomacy, there will be wars, and rumors of wars which will perpetuate militarism and the imperial jingo spirit which is now driving the best in all lands to the slaughter.

All lovers of liberty and admirers of a brave spirit that is too strong to be crushed can show their appreciation of his work by sending a mite to H. Perkins, treasurer of the Bainbridge Defence Fund, 393 Spadina avenue.

SOCIALISTS' GREAT OPPONENT PASSES ON.

John Ross Robertson, editor and proprietor of the Toronto Evening Telegram, and the arch opponent of Socialism in Canada, has passed to the great beyond. As capitalist despots go he was not a bad sort. He was by nature, in the best sense of the word, a benevolent despot. He spent much time and money, both of his own and others he could interest, in building up the most worthy charity in Canada—the Sick Children's Hospital. But with all his compassion for sick children he was entirely unable to understand the thoughts and aspirations of people who were longing and striving for the time when the children of the toilers would receive the same or better care than they received in the Sick Children's Hospital without undergoing the feeling of being the recipient of charity and under obligation to benevolent exploiters. John Ross has gone. May the good he did live after him. It is up to the toiler to see to it that the evil he perceived as good is not permitted to perpetuate itself.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

The Canadian Forward would like to see someone jump up and start a good rousing, big agitation for the public ownership of the Canadian Government. That would put the nation and its inhabitants on its feet for good and all. Too long has private ownership monopolized and owned the Government.

THE WOMEN'S CRUSADE.

We, the members of the Women's Crusade believing that men and women of all nations are the Brotherhood and Sisterhood of the great family of humanity, assert our opposition to all war, and slavery.

We pledge ourselves to support, by our influence and voting power, only those who will work for peace and freedom, and the suppression of militarism, under all forms.

We desire social and political purity, the world for the workers (to whom it belongs), the true religion, that is the fulfilment of the Golden Rule, and the creation of a safe and happy world for the unborn.

TORONTO SOCIALISTS WILL PIC-NIC AT HIGH PARK JULY 1st, 1918

On the grounds located here near the Bloor St. Entrance. All Socialists and their friends are invited to come and help make the occasion an enjoyable one. Pic-Nic will be opened at 11 o'clock a. m.

Every reader of this paper should immediately send a contribution to the Bainbridge Defence Fund and also write a letter to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa, demanding his immediate release. Send all contributions to H. Perkins, Treasurer of the Bainbridge Defence Fund, 397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ont.

The Aims of Labor.

(By Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.)

With the coming of peace the world will enter upon an era of revolutionary change to which there is no parallel in history. In this country, as in every other, the war has already profoundly modified the economic system of pre-war days, and has introduced far-reaching innovations into industry. Methods of State control which would once have been regarded as intolerable infringements of the rights and liberties both of employers and workmen, have been accepted without effective protest even from those bred in the individualist tradition of the last century. Some of these changes are admittedly only temporary and provisional. They were dictated by national necessity and were introduced upon the explicit understanding that an unprecedented situation had arisen which called for bold and drastic measures. These measures, which relate to trade union practices and customs in the workshops, in particular, are governed by strict pledges for the restoration of pre-war conditions when the national crisis is over. Nevertheless, the extent and importance of these changes in methods of production, the control of industry, the management and distribution of labor, and the limitations imposed upon the activities of financiers and the enterprises of individual capitalists, practically involve a revolution, the effects of which will remain when the necessity which gave them their sanction has passed away. Most of them are permanent. In four crowded and eventful years we have gathered the fruits of a century of economic evolution. We have entered upon a new world. With the main features of the new world we are still unfamiliar. We cannot yet begin to measure the material effects of the war upon the commercial and the industrial system upon which our civilization has been based.

A New Social Order.

Still less can we estimate the results of the inner revolution of thought and feeling which has accompanied these material changes. Yet we are beginning dimly to see that the old order of society has dissolved. A new social order is taking shape even in the midst of the stress and peril of the time. The revolution is fundamental, for it touches the springs of action in the great mass of the common people. Greater changes in the material structure of society have still to come, but they will be dictated not by the exigencies of war, but by the new democratic consciousness and the new social conscience which have come to birth in the long agony of the present struggle. The people have been taught by events, better than by any process of rational argument, that they alone make war possible though they have no hand in fashioning the policies that lead to war; their energy, devotion and sacrifice, in trench, field and factory are qualities which their rulers exploit when they quarrel with one another. In time of peace the people feel that they are nothing; when war comes they are found to be everything. War is possible only because the skill and bravery of the common people, their immense industry, their patient endurance, their direct and simple sense of right and wrong, give the world's rulers a feeling of power which they use not to ensure the happiness and

prosperity of the multitudes of humble folk, but to glorify their own names and to feed their insensate ambitions. The people have discovered this, and in learning it they have discovered their power. Never again, we may be sure, will the people allow themselves to be driven helplessly into war by these sinister forces. Neither will they be able henceforth to see as enemies the people of other countries who are like themselves, the victims of militarist imprisonment and secret diplomacy of their rulers.

Internationalism.

Internationalism, as an organized movement, may have temporarily broken down in this war. But the spirit of internationalism, the consciousness of the solidarity of peoples, the democratic vision which overlooks the artificial frontiers which keep the people apart, will grow stronger the longer the war continues. In the midst of the universal horror of the battlefield something like an entente of the peoples has been established. The democracies of the world begin to understand one another. Some of the old misunderstandings and prejudices, intensified by the bitterness of the present mad struggle, may flourish for some time after the war. Old jealousies die hard, new hatreds have been born. Human nature is human nature still. But beneath these unnatural enmities, transcending the passionate antagonisms of the hour, new forces of fraternity and goodwill are at work, reconciling the sundered peoples and making a coveted peace possible between them, more durable than the treaty of peace that the official diplomacy will presently conclude. In every belligerent country these healing and unifying forces have been released. Nowhere—not even in Russia—are they dominant, but the democratic spirit is permeating every country. Democratic conceptions are influencing the thought of every people, who see the war as the last monstrous product of economic and social inequalities of the old order of existence, which dissolves and passes away like a dream of the night.

Not a New Conception.

Equality is a great human formula of the coming era of revolutionary change. We are moving swiftly towards a new order of society in which the idea of equality will govern the political thinking of all democracies. The freedom and fraternity of which men have dreamed, which we desire to see established in this country and extended to every other, so that there may be no more wars, are rooted in equality. It is not a new conception. It has inspired democratic action since democracy first took shape as an organized movement. It has been the aim of trade unionism from the earliest beginnings, though it may not have been consciously formulated. It has been the aspirations of the political democracy. The war has quickened it afresh and has invested it with a new significance. Failure to appreciate the fact that the minds of the people have been deeply influenced by equalitarian ideals, to underestimate the popular resentment of class privileges, whether based on accident of birth or upon the possession of wealth, which the war has strengthened rather than mitigated, will be fatal in future to

governments and political parties alike. These are the conceptions which will determine the politics of the future. Where does the Labor Party stand in relation to them, and to the vast range of problems, international and national, political, social and economic, the solution of which will be conditioned by them? Is the labor movement so organized and equipped as to qualify it to interpret and direct the new consciousness of democracy?

Sixteen Million Electors.

The answer to this question is not difficult. An examination of the present political labor movement will suffice to show that the form of organization must be completely changed if it is to be enabled to meet the requirements of the new situation. It is a fact of enormous importance that the development of democratic ideals and purpose synchronizes with the introduction of a franchise measure which opens up a tremendous vista of political achievement. When the new act comes into operation, it is estimated that the number of voters will be increased by 2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women—a million of the latter being unmarried women—making a total of sixteen and a quarter million electors. These figures do not represent the actual improvement in the position of political democracy brought about by the Reform Bill, for many registration anomalies and disqualifications are removed; and thus a considerable increase in the number of electors in the "live" register able to take part in elections may be anticipated. To meet this great change in the character of the electorate, and to take full advantage of the redistribution of political power, our present form of organization is plainly inadequate.

Trade Union Congress Jubilee.

Measured by the extended history of trade union organizations in this country, the political labor movement is of very recent origin. This year the Trade Union Congress celebrates its jubilee. As a distinct and separate group in parliament the Labor Party, on the other hand, has not attained its majority. It was the activity of the Socialist pioneers in this country which supplied the final impulse to political action on the part of the organized working class movement. It is true that after the passing of the Reform Act in 1868, which enfranchised the workmen in the boroughs, a movement was started to secure the return of trade union members to parliament. In 1874 fourteen candidates went to the poll, but only two were returned, including the Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M. P., the present father of the House. In 1880 the number was increased to three; in 1885 to eleven in 1892 to fourteen; but in 1895 the number was reduced to twelve. The conjunction of the Socialist and the industrial movements, however, caused the pace to quicken. Alone, the Socialist propagandists seemed to be condemned to political futility. In 1885, for example, the old Social Democratic Federation ran two candidates—one at Kennington and the other at Hampstead; the candidate at Kennington received thirty-two votes, the candidate at Hampstead polled twenty-nine. The foundation of the independent Labor Party in 1893, as a result of the propaganda of the Fabians and the old S.D.F., prepared the ground for the decision of the Trade Union Congress in 1899, when a resolution was adopted directing the Parliamentary Committee to arrange a conference of the trade unionists and Socialist societies "to devise ways and means of securing an increased number of labor members in Parliament." A year later the Labor Representation Committee was formed and a distinct labor group came into existence in Parliament, on independent lines, with its own whips and its own policy.

ionists and Socialist societies "to devise ways and means of securing an increased number of labor members in Parliament." A year later the Labor Representation Committee was formed and a distinct labor group came into existence in Parliament, on independent lines, with its own whips and its own policy.

Labor to Create New Order.

The form of organization adopted indicates quite clearly that at that time the creation of a national party was not contemplated. What was then formed was a separate group, not a democratic political party capable of challenging the two historic parties on their own ground. After the special conference in 1899, the Labor Party took shape as a federation of trade unions, Socialist societies, trades councils and local labor parties, and co-operative societies. It was not until 1903 that the candidates of the Labor Representation Committee obtained any notable success at the polls. Between the general elections of 1900 and 1906 three remarkable victories were obtained. Mr. (now Sir David) Shackleton was returned unopposed for Clitheroe; Mr. Will Crooks won Woolwich from the Unionist Party; and I had the pleasure of beating both the Tory and Liberal candidates at Barnard Castle. In 1906 the party promoted fifty candidates at the general election, and twenty-nine of them were successful at the polls; in January, 1910, seventy-eight candidates ran under the auspices of the party, and forty were returned; at the last general election in December, 1910, fifty-six candidates were nominated and forty-two were returned. In Parliament these members formed a separate and independent group. But they were not a party, in the accepted sense of the word, and some of them had not shaken off their allegiance to the historic parties. In the country, though, we maintained our own electoral machinery and our own staff of organizers the organization was essentially a federation of local and national societies. When the war came it was made clear that this form of organization had elements of weakness which the less serious stresses of peace times had not revealed. As the war wore on, and the democratic will became stronger, we were led to see that if Labor is to take part in creating the new order of society it must address itself to the task of transforming its political organization from a federation of societies into a national popular party, rooted in the life of the democracy and deriving its principles and its policies from the new political consciousness.

Next Issue—The New Party and Its Programme.

THEIR MASTER'S VOICE.

Li Hung Chang went to Clydebank, Scotland. The breakfast horn sounded. Thousands of workers ran home along the streets. The Celestial was amazed.

An hour later the horn blew again, and again thousands of workers hurried and scrambled back to the factory.

"Order a thousand of these horns for China," cried Li Hung Chang.

Patriotism—national feeling—is a great quality, but there is something, if not nobler, at any rate wider and more generous: in the present state of the world more necessary and yet unfortunately much rarer, and that is international good feeling.—Lord Avebury.



MAY ABANDON TRUCE.

The Labor Party executive committee has decided to recommend the abandonment of the political truce when they met on July 25. If the recommendation is adopted, it will mean either the resignation of the labor members from cabinet posts or from the party.

UNIQUE DOCUMENT.

That the German soldier is heartily sick of the carnage and slaughter is clearly evinced by the following, which is an extract from the diary of a German soldier. Copies of it, it appears, are being dropped broadcast over the German lines by British aeroplanes. It is probable that the original was taken from the pockets of a German killed on the field of battle:

No More Soldiers!

(1) I was a soldier, yet I did not become one willingly. I was not asked whether I wished to be one or not; they simply hustled me off to the barracks, and I was made a prisoner just as much as any wild beast. Yes, I had to desert my home, my sweetheart, and the company of my friends and when I think of them I experience a poignant yearning and the hot fires of anger rage in my heart.

(2) I was a soldier, but much against my will; I do not like my motley uniform, I do not like the bloody life of arms; to defend myself a stick serves me well enough. And when in the field I am forced to kill my brothers, though none has done me harm; and all I reap from it is to be made a cripple and be laden with care, and be made to cry out in hunger—for I am a soldier.

(3) I was a soldier, and had to march day and night, instead of going at my work; I had to stand at my post, instead of being free I had to salute, and witness the arrogance of many a dolt.

Oh, do but tell me, what need is there for soldiers? Every people loves quiet and peace, yet meely through the lust of power and to the injury of the people, we allow ourselves to be trodden underfoot. Ah! those golden fields!

(4) Therefore, brothers, up! Whether German, French, Hungarian, Danish, Dutch; whether your trousers are white or black or red, or blue, repent! Instead of steel, give greasing and a brotherly hand. Up! let us away to the camp of peace! let us march off to deliver our people from the oppressor. For that end they would welcome the chance to take up arms. Most willingly would I serve as a soldier of Freedom!

SCOTLAND

Eight cottars appeared at Oban Sheriff Court recently to answer a charge of breach of interdict granted against them for taking illegal possession of 13 acres of land on the farm of Balephethish, Tiree, on the estate of the Duke of Argyll, and tenanted by Thomas Barr.

The case has been twice adjourned to give the men an opportunity of considering their position, but their agent stated that on account of the shortage of food, and the fact that

they had already sown their crops, they could not promise to remove from the land in question.

Each of the men was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment and found liable in expenses, these being modified to £3 (\$15).

The Judge stated that, should the defenders subsequently give the required undertaking they would be set at liberty, but the reply was that no such undertaking would be given.

Many instances could be given of land being taken possession of by crofters and landless for food production and grazing stocks. Twenty men in Skye took possession of an old camping ground at Tryleakin and planted potatoes and corn last summer. They asked for production of title on demand for rent. The Duke of Sutherland had a notice from 15 crofters that they intend taking more land by a certain date. Stern necessity and want of the necessities of life are the reasons advanced for this drastic action.

ENGLAND.

Under the heading, "Drastic Land Policy," the London Times (April 24, 1918) quotes Lord Selborne as saying at a meeting of farmers at York, the following:

"There would have to be no wastage of the land, and the evil of the over-preservation of game would have to be done away with. Bad farming would have to cease, and the State would have to see that the national policy whether of tariffs or anything else, was not allowed to cripple any branch of agriculture. He appealed to landowners and farmers to do all they could to help demobilized soldiers after the war to settle on the land. Socialists would draw the moral if they did not show themselves sympathetic in this matter."

Lord Selborne, when he was president of the Board of Agriculture, did not grapple with the evil, but now when Socialism is making such headway he gives the above advice in hopes of counteracting "Socialist" propaganda.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Rhodesian Land Claims.

Disclosure of Secret Document. Evidence of a very remarkable character was laid before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council yesterday when the hearing of the Rhodesian Land case was resumed.

Mr. Leslie Scott, who appears for the natives, stated that when Sir Starr Jameson (then Dr. Jameson) crossed the Mashonaland border into Matabeleland and began dividing between his followers the lands of the Matabili, he did so in pursuance of an agreement with his fellow-invasaders, and not upon the basis of concession. Mr. Scott read the material portions of this agreement, the most important of which were:

That each member (of the invading force) will be entitled to mark out a farm of 3,000 morgen in any part of Matabeleland. No occupation is required, but a quit rent will be charged on each farm of 10s. per annum.

That members be allowed four clear months wherein to mark out and register their farms, and that no such marking out or registration will be valid after that time with the exception of the rights belonging to members of the force killed, invalided, or dying on service.

The Government retain the right at any time to purchase farms from the members at the rate of £3 per morgen and compensation for all improvements. This does not include the purchase of claims already pegged out on farms.

That any member of the Victoria force is entitled to 15 claims on reef and 5 alluvial claims.

The "loot" shall be divided one-half to the B.S.A. Company and the remainder to officers and men in equal shares.—London Daily News, April 26th.

FRANCE.

The trial of Helene Brion for "defeatist" propaganda, followed the usual lines of such trials in every country. The evidence against her was very indefinite; and unsubstantiated charges that she conducted anti-capitalist and Malthusian propaganda was made by the government witnesses, in order to prejudice opinion against her. The sentence was three years' imprisonment, but the execution of the sentence was deferred during her good behavior! This is an indication of the strength of her supporters; she has been warmly defended by Humanite and Socialist parties and trade unions throughout France have passed resolutions sympathizing with her and condemning the government's persecution of pacifists.

GERMANY.

Twelve Dresden members of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany have been convicted of high treason by the Imperial Court at Leipsic, a despatch from that city to the Vorwaerts of Berlin reports. They distributed pamphlets last year advocating the overthrow of the German Empire, and helped to bring about the strikes of last summer, advocating them as a means of obtaining peace. They were sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from eighteen months to eight years.

At a meeting of the Socialist party committee in Berlin on Friday, according to Vorwaerts, Friederich Ebert, Vice-President of the Social Democrats, announced that the party leaders had indirectly received a copy of the Entente Socialist memorandum on war aims.

Philipp Scheidemann declared that the aims of the Entente Socialists were to a great extent in complete accord with the annexationist aims of the Entente Governments.

The committee adopted a resolution pledging continued adherence to the Reichstag peace resolution of July, 1917, which declared for no annexations and no indemnities.

DENMARK.

The Socialists in the election last April made considerable gains, and increased its representation in the Folksething (Lower House) from 32 to 39. Together with the Radicals, who will have 32 seats, they will have a majority over the Liberals, who were in favor of Denmark's entrance into the war.

BELGIUM.

Legras and Calleaux, two Belgian Socialist Senators, have been sentenced by a German Court martial to death. The Dutch leader, Peter Tro-

elstra, has appealed to Philip Scheidemann to use his influence to prevent the carrying out of the verdict.

NORWAY.

A demonstration of over 5,000 men and women, held under the auspices of the Christiania Socialists, appeared in front of the Storting and adopted the following resolution:

"That many homes are already suffering from the scarcity of bread; moreover, the housing, as well as working conditions are very unsatisfactory. Under these circumstances, we consider it a criminal offence for Parliament to continue military training this year, with the subsequent taking away from industry of men and women so necessary in the production of food."

ITALY.

For remarking to a passenger on a train from Turin to Rome "that war would have been over had Italy followed the example of Russia, Socialist Deputy De Giovanni has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

SERBIA.

A memorandum sent to the International Socialist Bureau, signed by the Secretary Papovitch, of the Serbian Social Democratic Party and Socialist Deputy Katzlerovitch, describes the brutal treatment of the Serbian people by Bulgarian and Austrian authorities. The Socialists of Serbia being especially persecuted. The memorandum also declares that the Bulgarian and Austro-Hungarian Social Democratic Parties and party newspapers are doing all they can to protect the Serbian population from the barbarities of the Bulgarian and Austrian officials.

I do not know anything more ludicrous among the self-deceptions of well-meaning people than their notion of patriotism, as requiring them to limit their efforts to the good of their own country; the notion that charity is a geographical virtue, and that what is holy and righteous to do for people on one bank of a river, it is quite improper and unnatural to do for people on the other.—John Ruskin.

Many Socialists would become more eager in their efforts to make new converts if they kept in mind the important fact that the new Socialist is not merely a matter of a single additional unit to the movement, but he is a new force set at work to influence others.

BAINBRIDGE DEFENCE FUND.

The following donations have been received up to the time of going to press:

Jewish Local No. 4, Montreal S.D.P.	\$21.00
Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union	5.00
A Socialist, Toronto	1.00
Arthur Rice, Leamington	1.00
United Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners, Montreal	10.75
Cloak and Suit Cutters Union, Montreal	5.00
Joint Board Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Montreal	5.00
Pressers Union, A.C.W., Montreal	5.00
Mercantile Printing, per Gus Francq	5.00
S.D.P. Local No. 4, Jewish, Montreal	2.00
J. Allan, Hamilton	2.00
H. Bouring, Brantford	2.00
J. Dickson, New Toronto	1.00
George Edwards, Toronto	1.00
Total	\$66.75

RED RUSSIA

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

(Thousands of dollars have been offered for these stories of the greatest event in the world, by the greatest correspondent on the American Continent.

The Canadian Forward has been fortunate enough to get permission from the author to publish this story which is also appearing

in the "Liberator." Don't miss reading it.

Mr. John Reid is the Russian Consul for New York State for the Russian People's Government.

Tell your friends and get them to send in a subscription to-day, \$1.00 per year.)

(Continued from last issue.)

Petrograd presented a curious spectacle in those days. In the factories the committee rooms filled with stacks of arms, couriers came and went, the Red Guard drilled. In all the barracks meetings every night and all day long interminable hot arguments. On the streets the crowds thickened toward gloomy evening, pouring in slow, voluble tides up and down the Nevski, bunched by the hundreds around some new proclamation pasted on a wall, and fighting for the newspapers. At Smolny there were new strict guards at the door, at both the gates and outer gates, demanding everybody's pass. Inside the committee rooms hummed and whirled all day and all night, hundreds of soldiers and armed workmen slept on the floor, wherever they could find room. Upstairs in the great hall which had been the ballroom of that one-time convent school for aristocratic girls, a thousand soldiers and workmen crowded for the uproarious all-night meetings of the Petrograd Soviet. From the thousand miles of battle front the twelve millions of men in Russia's armies, moved under the wind of revolt, with a noise like the sea rising, poured their hundreds upon hundreds of delegations into the capital, crying, "Peace! Peace!" There was a convention of the All-Russian Factory Shop Committees at Smolny, passing hot resolutions about the control of workers over industry. The peasants were coming in, denouncing the Central Committee of the Peasants' Soviets as traitors, and demanding that all power be given to the Soviets.

And in the city the theatres were all going, the Russian Ballet appearing in new and extravagant spectacles. Chaliapine singing at the Narodny Dom. Hundreds of gambling clubs functioned feverishly all night long, with much champagne flowing, stakes of 20,000 roubles. . . . Private entertainments were given by the millionaire speculators, who were buying and selling for fabulous prices the food, the munitions, the clothing. . . . On the Nevski every night thousands of prostitutes in jewels and expensive furs walked up and down crowded the cafes. . . . Monarchist plots, German spying, smugglers, hatching schemes. . . . And in the rain, the bitter chill, the great throbbing city under grey skies rushing faster and faster toward—what?

III.

Now while everybody was waiting for the Bolsheviks to appear suddenly on the streets one morning and begin to shoot down people with white collars on, the real insurrection took its way quite naturally and openly.

One of the recent blundering actions of the Provisional Government

had been to order the Petrograd garrison to the front, with the object of replacing it with loyal troops. To this order the Petrograd Soviet protested, alleging that it was the intention of the Government to remove from the revolutionary capital the revolutionary troops defending it. The General Staff insisted. Thereupon the Petrograd Soviet agreed in principle, at the same time stipulating that it be allowed to send a delegation to the front to confer with General-in-Chief Tcheremissov, and agree with him on the troops which were to come to Petrograd. The Petrograd garrison also appointed a delegation, but an order from the General Staff forbade the committee to leave the city. To the Soviet delegation General Tcheremissov insisted that the Petrograd garrison should obey his orders without question, and that the General Staff would send to Petrograd whatever troops it saw fit.

At the same time the Staff in command of the Petrograd District began quietly to act. The Junker artillery was drawn into the Winter Palace. Patrols of Cossacks made their appearance, the first since July, and great heavy armored motor cars mounted with machine guns began to lumber up and down the Nevski. The military section of the Petrograd Soviet demanded that a Soviet representative be admitted to the meetings of the Staff. Refused. Petrograd Soviet asked that no orders be issued without the approval of the military section. Refused. On the sixteenth the representatives of all the regiments of the Petrograd garrison held a meeting at Smolny, at which they formed the famous military revolutionary committee, and declared formally, "The Petrograd garrison no longer recognizes the Provisional Government. The Soviet is our government. We will obey only the orders of the Petrograd Soviet, through the Military Revolutionary Committee."

On the twenty-third, the Government announced that it had sufficient force to suppress any attempted rising. That night Kerensky ordered the suppression both of the extreme right papers, "Novaja Rus" and "Jivo Slovo," and of the Bolshevik papers, "Rabotchi Poot" and "Soldat." An hour after the Junkers had closed the offices and printing shops, and put the Government seals on the uoors, a company of soldiers from one of the Guard regiments broke the seals in the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee. At the same time other troops from Smolny seized the printing plant of the "Rousskaia Volia," a bourgeois paper, and began to print the "Rabotchi Poot." In trying to prevent this, Mayer, Chief of the Militia, was shot by the Red Guard.

During the night several transports full of Bolshevik sailors came

from Cronstadt, with the cruiser "Aurora." The Government ordered that the bridges over the Nova be raised, so that the regiments across the river and the workmen from the Viborg district could not come to aid the rebels. The Cronstadt sailors made a landing under fire, in which several people were killed, and closed the bridges. In the evening bands of Junkers stationed themselves at street corners near the Winter Palace and began to requisition automobiles and after some hours the Bolshevik troops began to do the same.

Working Class Assumes Power.

Tuesday morning, the 24th, the people of Petrograd awoke to find the city plastered with proclamations signed "Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates":

"To the population of Petrograd. Citizens! Counter-Revolution has raised its criminal head. The Kornilovtsi are mobilizing their forces in order to crush down the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets and break up the Convention of the Constituent. At the same time the pogromists may attempt to call upon the people of Petrograd for trouble and bloodshed. The Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates takes upon itself the guarding of revolutionary order in the city against counter-revolutionary and pogrom attempts.

"The Petrograd garrison will not allow any violence or disorders. The population is invited to arrest hooligans and Black Hundred agitators and take them to the Soviet Commissars at the nearest barracks. At the first attempt of the dark forces to make trouble on the streets of Petrograd, whether robbery or fighting, the criminals will be rubbed away from the face of the earth!

"Citizens! We call upon you to maintain complete quiet and self-possession. The cause of order and revolution is in strong hands."

At Smolny that night meeting of the old Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets—its last—to welcome the delegates to the new Convention. Futile resolutions against the demonstration, in favor of complete submission to the Provisional Government. At the Council of the Republic, Kerensky thundered that the Government would suppress all uprisings mercilessly. . . . At the Winter Palace heated conferences, expulsion of impotent Colonel Polkovnikov as Commander of Petrograd, appointment of a special committee, headed by Kishkine, to re-establish order. . . . Call to the Junkers of Paxlovsk, of Tsarkoe, to come—and replies that they dare not, Bolshevik troops in the way. . . . Calls to the Cossacks—who reply that they will not come out unless they are supported by infantry.

At midnight members of the Pavlovsk regiment, who have secreted themselves in the meeting room of the General Staff, overhear the plans that are being made to arrest the Bolshevik leaders, capture the Smolny and disperse the All-Russian convention. Immediately they post guards at all the entrances to the Staff, begin arresting officers and members of the Ministry, take them to Smolny—where no one knows what to do with them. Released with apologies. And then, two hours later, Junkers seizing the principal points of the city, the Military Revolutionary Committee gets into action. Ministers and Staff officers to be arrested, armored cars ordered out to hold the street corners. Bol-

shevik troops sent to seize the State Bank, the Telephone Station, drive the Junkers out of the Telegraph Station, and draw a cordon around the Winter Palace. . . . But Kerensky has already fled.

The masses are in power. . . . And on the morning of October 31, after the defeat of Kerensky's Cossack army, Lenine and Trotzky sent through me to the revolutionary proletariat of the world this message:

"Comrades! Greeting from the first proletarian republic of the world. We call you to arms for the international social revolution."

RED RUSSIA

(By John Reid.)

Kerensky.

I.

October 23, 1917.

"I am a doomed man," said Alexander Kerensky from the tribune of the Council of the Russian Republic on October 13th, "and it doesn't matter what happens to me. . . ."

Doomed, indeed. Tuberculosis of the kidneys, of the lungs, and they say tumor of the stomach. Extremely emotional, strung to an almost hysterical pitch, the awful task of riding the Russian whirlwind is wearing him down visibly.

"Comrades!" he said at the Democratic Assembly, "if I speak to you like this, it is because the cross I carry, and which forces me to be far from you, is so terribly heavy!"

At the time of this writing, October 23, Kerensky is alone, as perhaps never leader has been alone in all history. In the midst of the class struggle, which deepens and grows bitterer day by day, his place becomes more and more precarious. Things are moving swiftly to a crisis, to the "lutte finale," between bourgeoisie and proletariat—which Kerensky tried with all his strength to avoid—and the "Moderates" disappear from the stormy scene. Kerensky alone remains, stubborn and solitary, holding his way. . . .

The revolutionary democracy says that he has "sold out" to the bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists. The bourgeoisie and the reactionary foreign influences—with the British Embassy at their head—accuse him of having "sold out" to the Germans. Upon him is concentrated the hatred of both sides, as upon a symbol of Russia torn in half. Kerensky will fall, and his fall will be the signal for civil war.

The familiar villifications are heaped upon him; he is everything from "traitor" to "corruptor of children." A common tale, reprinted weekly in the newspapers, is that of his separation from his wife, and approaching marriage with a well-known variety actress—or even that the actress is living in the Winter Palace. One of the former Ministers, whose apartment was next to Kerensky's, says that he was kept awake all night by the Premier singing operatic arias—and adds that Kerensky sleeps in the gold and blue bed of the Czar Alexander III, which is a very wide bed. . . . People repeat that Kerensky is surrounding himself with imperial pomp, and I have been told how, while speaking at the Moscow Conference, he kept two officers standing at salute until they fainted—a myth which has been exploded by every eye-witness. But the most widely-spread accusation is that "he is just trying to make a name for himself in history." And if that is Kerensky's fell design, he has succeeded.

(Continued on Page 6).

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

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BOLSHEVIKISM AND CZARISM.

Many crocodile tears are being shed over the hard lot of the poor Russians under Bolsheviki "misrule." These canting, hypocritical tear-spillers had never a word of sympathy to utter when the same Russians were being clubbed, spied upon, thrown into dungeons, exiled to Siberia and denied all civil and political liberty under the Czarist reign of terror. No iniquities that might result from Bolsheviki inexperience could even approach in horror the deliberate cruelties and persecutions of the Czarist regime.

COUNTERFEIT PATRIOTS.

The farmers who believed that conscription was all right so long as someone other than their own got conscripted, are not alone in their selfish attitude. Many a woman who clamored and voted for conscription has not yet so much as knitted a pair of socks for the soldiers. It is a despicable sort of patriotism that calls on others to do all the sacrificing. It recalls to mind Artemus Wards quip that he was willing to sacrifice his mother-in-law and all his wives relations.

THE SMALL BUSINESS MAN.

Sympathy for the small business man because of his unequal fight against the big business man is in most cases misplaced, as the only reason for his being a small business man is simply that he has failed in his attempt to be a big one. Had he been successful he would have acted just as the big business man acts—ever and always bent on extending his business regardless of the hardship and ruin wrought on struggling competitors. The proper thing to do is to show him that at this advanced stage of industrial development his real interests lie with the revolutionary wage workers who aim at the collective ownership of the large industrial concerns in order that they may be run for the good of all instead of for the benefit of the idle few who own them. Energies now devoted to sordid soul-destroying gain would be released and applied to worthier things.

A TIP TO PROPAGANDISTS.

Occasionally the good Socialist, that is the Socialist who is ever on the alert to make more Socialists, is in doubt as to what he should hand to a prospective convert. Some people take to Socialism as a duck takes to water. To these anything Socialist is acceptable. Others again have to be educated into it, and it is the latter that need considering. In our mass of socialist literature we have books and pamphlets treating the subject from every conceivable angle, and if we know the tastes and temperament of our prospect we should have little difficulty in deciding what to give him. When in doubt, however, we can never go wrong in handing him a propagandist periodical like the Canadian Forward. It contains a variety of matter, some of which is sure to appeal

to the reader, and once started to think along Socialist lines he will find in his daily experience facts that will confirm our Socialist arguments. It would be wise, therefore, to subscribe for a bundle of Forwards for free distribution.

THE PRESS AND THE BOLSHEVIKI.

The capitalist press is at present engaged in a deliberate attempt to discredit the Bolsheviki. Its purpose in this is two-fold. One is to point the moral that the workers cannot run things, that Socialism simply won't work in Russia or anywhere else. The other is to prepare the public for foreign intervention either by Japan alone or with the other allies so that such intervention may be regarded as purely philanthropic. The difficulties our Russian comrades have to contend with are not of their own making, nor are they ones that can be solved by anyone better than by themselves. The manufacturing, transportation and other industries were completely disorganized before the revolution took place, and the food shortage, now so acute, is also a result of the incompetency of the Czarist regime. The counter-revolutions and conspiracies, when they are not purely newspaper fiction, are due to capitalistic intrigue (not always German). We can rest confident that any setback will be only temporary, as social forces are in motion throughout the world which no capitalist agencies can stay. Russia's is merely the first of a series of social revolutions (not necessarily violent) that will transform the present world chaos into world peace and order based on international brotherhood and economic liberty.

ON BEING LOYAL.

To demonstrate one's loyalty in these times it is necessary to join in with the popular slogans, "Down with the Kaiser and Kaiserism," and "Make the world safe for Democracy." Now no one can do so with more consistency than the Socialist. He gives such whole-hearted approval to these sentiments that he wishes to see them act upon in every department of human activity. Yet, singularly enough, his loyalty is often under suspicion in certain quarters, which goes to prove that conceptions of loyalty differ with different people. Now every boss in a workshop, office or factory, whether it be privately or publicly owned, is a kaiser to the extent of his authority. Every worker knows this is so. He knows that in the workshop the word of the boss is law. Is the boss not then a kaiser? Is not this kaiserism. The workshop, too, is the place where the majority of us spend most of our daily lives, is it not, therefore, all the more desirable that we have this Kaiserism removed? Now as Democracy is the remedy for Kaiserism, let us have it applied to the workshop and to all other spheres where workers are employ-

ed. Let the workers themselves appoint as supervisors of their labor those whom they deem fittest for the purpose. In the first place, then domineering individuals would not be likely to find favor with the appointees and in the second place these elected officials, knowing that they held office only by the goodwill of the workers, would not dream of acting unjustly. However, before we can have such democratic conditions in the workshops, factories etc., these must be owned collectively by the people. This is what is meant by Socialism. It is all so eminently democratic and so opposed to Kaiserism that we Socialists very naturally question the bona fides of those who before the war were our bitter opponents, now posing as the champions of democracy and the foes of Kaiserism.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL GAIN.

The projected affiliation of Socialists with the new Labor Party inevitably raises the vexed question of the value or otherwise of reforms. But it is a serious mistake to imagine that all gains can be measured by dollars and cents. Besides the economic aspect of the question, there is the very important one of psychologic, that is, the effect of such a labor party on the morale of the workers. H. G. Wells truly says in one of his books that the problem is mainly a psychologic one, and reckons that if we had the regular daily press advocating Socialism for six months our object would be attained. In this respect it might be observed here that whether the Bolsheviki succeed in retaining control in Russia or not, the effects of a period of untrammelled free speech and free press can never be undone and any autocratic government in Russia would have to be imposed from the outside. Servile respect for a class totally unworthy of it has been forever destroyed. It is this sort of respect that we have to combat here in Canada, as everywhere else. Among the workers the idea is more or less generally held that only college-bred or business men are fitted to represent them in parliament, and in the municipal council (they have not grasped the fact that difference in class interests should be the decid-

ing factor). While to the Socialist this idea of class superiority is obscured only practical demonstration is likely to satisfy the workers that it is so. As with the individual so with the mass; having been so long used to occupying a subject position they lack self-confidence. It is in building up this essential class confidence that a labor party will serve a most useful purpose. The insight that working class representatives get into the political game as it is played by capitalistic representatives in the interests of property can be put to great advantage in removing the scales from the workers' eyes. This has been the experience wherever straight labor or Socialist members have been in office. They find that the national idols—the "great statesmen," have feet of clay, and that the member of parliament is a man of average mentality with perhaps a university polish and a gift of the gab. As the writer once heard Keir Hardie say of the advent of the Labor Party in Britain, "They brought the M.P. down out of the clouds and placed him on the solid earth." The labor or Socialist M.P. who has first-hand knowledge of the political tricksters will be listened to much more attentively and his evidence more readily accepted than in the case of the speaker who has not. With this loss of respect for the old party politician there will be a corresponding rise in the workers' own self-respect and confidence in the ability of members of his own class to represent him. Of course, the danger of self-seekers to a labor party must not be overlooked. This can only be overcome by increased political enlightenment and vigilance on the part of the membership, and it is in this regard that the presence of Socialists within a labor party can be put to best account and in great part justified.

Clamorous patriotism, reckless jingoism, the stirring up of international jealousy have become the most lucrative line in politics and journalism.—Prince Peter Knopotkin.

Patriotism is a word which rings especially in the mouths of the people's oppressors.—Marmontel.

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A LETTER FROM THE JAIL.

Toronto Municipal Jail,
Langstaff, Ont.

To the Editor:

Dear Comrade:—

Your request for me to write a short article for the Forward reaches me at a time when calm thinking is almost impossible. My wife has been to see me to-day, and it is a great pleasure to receive her visits, but I always feel somewhat blue afterwards, owing to the reaction, and the recurring sense of injustice that always follow my visitors' day—my forced separation only adding fuel to the fire. I was deeply interested the other day in reading the account of a Mr. Wintgens, who said in his own defence: "My first prison experience is responsible for my criminal life—it was in prison I learnt the art of crime. The prisons are the factories where criminals are produced." The truth of this statement comes to me with added significance owing to my present experience of prison life and conditions. I met Mr. Wintgens while at the Don Jail, and had some conversation with him, which left the impression that he, like thousands of others, had brooded deeply over the injustice meted out in the name of "Law"—and had determined to get even. I may state, by the way, that the guard attacked was the same person that threatened me with the dungeon at the time I was on remand for a technical breach of regulations, of which I had not been instructed, only being there a few hours.

The regulations are very old, dating back to 1905, and according to these the administration is the greatest offender.

These regulations specifically state:

1. That prisoners must receive fresh air exercise.
 2. That juvenile offenders and those on remand must be separated from convicted prisoners.
 3. That bed linen must be changed once a week or more if necessary.
- That sick prisoners receive medical treatment.

None of these regulations are strictly enforced. Some prisoners have been held in custody there for several months without any fresh air treatment. The bed linen is not changed regularly. Medical assistance is extremely lax in some cases. Many young boys have been forced to associate with hardened criminals—and men suffering from disease are not always separated from the healthy persons. Some of the beds are literally lousy, many clean persons being compelled to sleep in them who also become lousy, three or four men sleeping in the same bed linen. I will leave the reader to imagine what the health and mental tone of a respectable person is likely to be under such degrading conditions. I have good reason to believe that men suffering from contagious diseases have in some cases been allowed to associate with other prisoners. These questions should be taken up, as I understand the prison doctor receives 3,000 per year for his services. The dungeon is still in use, notwithstanding that it has been condemned as unsanitary. No wonder men try to commit suicide under such damnable conditions. I myself lost thirteen pounds weight in three and a half weeks, these conditions would destroy the nervous system of any weakly person. If Toronto citizens had any respect for themselves they would not tolerate these conditions one week longer, and who knows under present conditions but they themselves may very soon be there, as the average person inside the jail is just as good as the people outside. True, it is to say that there are many inside who ought to be out, and many out who ought to be in. It might act as a restraint against undemocratic measures if some of

the lawmakers and political judges were given a slight taste of their own medicine.

In fairness to the institution of which I am now a patron, I want to say that the prisoners are treated as human beings. We get lots of fresh air and amusement, and are not penned behind iron bars, iron gates and in cells three feet by ten in dimension. We do not go to bed until eight, whereas at the Don they are locked up at six. We can at least see the trees and landscape, and sleep in spacious dormitories, even if we don't get the same cake as mother used to make. We are permitted a few luxuries—brought in by our friends; and most of all, we are not subjected to the soul-destroying conditions that existed in the middle ages, of which the Don Jail is a rudimentary survival.

In conclusion, I venture to suggest that our penal institutions in general do not eradicate any criminal tendencies as the individual receiving penal treatment loses self-respect, according to the degree of punishment that is administered. The punishment justifies the crime to the individual that commits it. I have just received a message stating that my little boy has been run over by an automobile and that some bones are broken in his foot. I hope it is not serious, and that he will soon resume his position as "Master of the House."

Kindest thanks to all who seek my liberation. I cannot write any more now.

Yours in Comradeship,
I. Bainbridge.

WOMAN'S WAY.

"What will women do when they all get the ballot?"

"I suppose the idea is to do some political housecleaning."

Being loud and vehement, either against a court or for a court, is no proof of patriotism . . . where the heart is right there is true patriotism.—Bishop Berkeley.

One of the noblest crimes of which a workman can be guilty is loyalty to his class.

RED RUSSIA.

(Continued from Page 4).

In all the multitudes of revolutionary leaders, there is not one with Kerensky's personal magnetism, his dramatic faculty of firing men. I first saw him at the Democratic Assembly, where he marched into the middle of the great Alexandrinsky Theatre, in the midst of an immense hostile crowd firmly convinced that he was implicated in the Kornilov affair, and swept them off their feet by his passionate speech. At the opening of the Council of the Russian Republic, I again heard him, and twice more, raising himself and his audience to heights of emotion, collapsing utterly afterward, and the last time weeping violently in his seat. A tall, broadshouldered figure as he stood here, in his utterly plain brown uniform, rather flabby around the middle, with flashing eyes, bristling hair, abrupt gestures, and swift, resonant speech. What did he say? Nothing very concrete, except once when he bitterly denounced the Bolsheviks for provoking bloodshed. Otherwise vague defences of himself, generalities about the necessity for disorder in the country to cease, about defending the revolution about free Russia. . . . A man of moods, nervous, domineering, independent, of fearful capacity for work under frightful physical handicaps, absolutely honest, but with no real fixity of purpose—as the leader of

the Russian Revolution should have. And sick.

We had many appointments to see him at his office in the Winter Palace. Always at the last moment he would suddenly be taken ill, or busy—with meetings of the Government, the War Council, deputations from the front, from the Caucasus, Siberia, visits of the allied ambassadors, or a delegation like one we saw—reactionary priests—objecting to the separation of the Church and State.

Finally, one day we penetrated as far as the private billiard room of the Emperor, an immense chamber paneled in rosewood inlaid with brass, where in a corner beside the Gargantuan rosewood billiard table, below the shrouded portraits of the Czars, was the plain desk at which he worked. The military Commissar for the Russian troops in France and Salonika was striding up and down biting his nails. It appeared that the Minister-President was closeted with the British Ambassador, hours late for all appointments. . . .

Then, just as we were about to give up, the door opened and a smiling, little spic-and-span naval adjutant beckoned. We entered a great mahogany room, lined with heavy Gothic bookcases, in the centre of which a stairway mounted to a balcony above. This was the Czar's private library and reception room. I had time to notice the works of Jack London, in English, on a shelf, when Kerensky came toward us. As he shook hands he looked into each face sear hingly for a second, and then led the way swiftly across to a big table with chairs all around.

On his high forehead the shor-hair bristled straight up like a brush, grey-discolored. His whole face was greyish in color, puffed out unhealthily, with deep pouches under the eyes. He looked at one shrewdly, humorously, squinting as if the light hurt. The long fingers of his hands twisted nervously tight around each other once or twice, and then he laid them on the table, and they were quiet. His whole attitude was quizzically friendly, as if receiving reporters was an amusing relaxation. When he picked up a paper with questions on it, I noticed that he put it within an inch of his eyes, as if he were terribly nearsighted.

"What do you consider your job here?" I asked him. He laughed as if it tickled him.

"Just to free Russia," he answered drily, and smiled as if it were a good joke.

"What do you think will be the solution of the present struggle between the extreme radicals and the extreme reactionaries?"

"That I won't answer," he shot back, swiftly. "What's the next?"

"What have you to say to the democratic masses of the United States?"

"Well . . ." he rubbed his chin and grinned. "What am I going to say to that?" His attitude said, do you think I'm God Almighty? "Let them understand the Russian democracy," he went on, "and help it to fight reaction—everywhere in the world. Let them understand the soul of Russia, the real spirit of the Russian people. That's all I have to say to them."

I then asked, "What lesson do you draw from the Russian Revolution for the revolutionary democratic elements of the world?"

"Ah-hah." He turned that over in his mind and gave me a sharp look. "Do you think the Revolution in Russia is over, then? It would be very short-sighted for me to draw any

lesson from the Revolution." He jerked his head in emphasis, and spoke vehemently. "Let the masses of the Russian people in action teach their own lesson. Draw the lesson yourself, comrade—you can see it before your eyes!"

He stopped, and then began abruptly:

"This is not a political revolution. It is not like the French revolution. It is an economic revolution, and there will be necessary in Russia a profound reevaluation of classes. And it is also a complicated process for the many different nationalities of Russia. Remember that the French revolution took five years, and that France was inhabited by one people, and that France is only the size of three of our provincial districts. No, the Russian revolution is not over—it is just beginning!"

I made way for the Associated Press correspondent, who had the usual Associated Press prejudices against common peasants, soldiers and workmen who insisted upon calling one tavaristch—comrade.

"Mr. Kerensky," said the Associated Press man, "in England and France people are disappointed with the Revolution—"

"Yes, I know," interrupted Kerensky, quizzically. "Abroad it is fashionable to be disappointed with the Revolution!"

"I mean," went on the Associated Press man, a little disconcerted, "people are disappointed in Russia's part in the war."

I remember it was the day after the news reached Petrograd of the great defeat of the Italians on the Carso; for Kerensky immediately shot back with a grin, "The young man had better go to Italy!"

The Associated Press man tried again. "What is your explanation of why the Russians have stopped fighting?"

"That is a foolish question to ask," Kerensky was annoyed. "Russia started the war first, and for a long time she bore the whole brunt of it. Her losses have been inconceivably greater than any other nation. Russia has now the right to demand of the allies that they bring to bear a greater force of arms." He stopped and stared for a moment at his interlocutor. "You are asking why the Russians have stopped fighting, and the Russians are asking where is the British fleet—with the German battleships in the Gulf of Riga?" Again he ceased suddenly, and as suddenly burst out again. "The Russian Revolution hasn't failed and the Revolutionary Army hasn't failed. It is not the Revolution which caused disorganization in the army—that disorganization was accomplished years ago by the old regime. Why aren't the Russians fighting? I will tell you. Because the masses of the people are economically tired—and because they are disillusioned with the allies."

The Associated Press man tried a new tack. "Do you think it would be advantageous to bring American troops to Russia?"

"Good," remarked the Premier, off-hand, "but impossible. Transportation. . . ."

"What can America do which would help Russia the most?"

Without hesitation Kerensky answered, "Send us boots, shoes, machinery—and money."

Abruptly he stood up, shook hands, and before we were out of the room he went quickly across to a desk piled high with materials and began to write.

(Continued in next issue.)



(By Phillip Thompson, Oakville.)

We hear a good deal these days about "commercialized vice." Well, why not? We have commercialized religion, commercialized patriotism, commercialized loyalty and commercialized philanthropy. Why should vice be the only thing left uncommercialized in this highly commercial age?

Hon. F. B. Carvell remarks with the general approval of the capitalist press that Labor has no right to strike at the present time. Really the point is not worth arguing. Labor has not the right to strike, it has something far better the power to enforce its demands by striking. "Might makes Right" has always been the principle of capitalism, and it's a poor rule that doesn't work both ways.

In the old days when there were two men for one job, employers used to tell us that wages were regulated by the law of supply and demand. We don't hear much talk about supply and demand now that the boot is on the other leg, but it is a good phrase for workingmen to remember when the wage question comes up for discussion.

It has transpired that the London Free Press charged Major Cronyn, the successful Tory candidate for that city, 1,033 for editorials supporting his candidature. Whereupon The Globe is perfectly scandalized and berates its erring contemporary with all the righteous indignation of a clandestine harlot, who receives diamonds and champagne suppers in return for her favors, denouncing her squalid sister of the pavement who demands spotcash.

The Evening Star, like its rivals The Telegram and The News, appears to have some brains, but they work rather slowly. It says in a recent issue: "Apparently there are some who regard the war as a grand opportunity for the suppression of all kinds of radical opinions and for checking the growth of democracy; in other words, for defeating the very object for which we and our allies are fighting." Which recalls Lowell's sarcastic lines on Daniel Webster:

It takes a mind like Dan's, fact as big as all outdoors,
To find out that it looks like rain
arter it fairly pours.

The Kaiser's pious cant in the face of the hideous atrocities perpetrated by his order is sickening in the extreme, but there is one kind of cant in which he does not indulge—the cant about freedom and democracy. We get enough of that from other sources.

The Tories and Grits who are worrying over the alien labor question should remember that they are responsible for the presence of the foreign element. If successive governments of both political parties had not squandered many millions of dollars in an insane immigration policy at the dictation of the Big Business interests, there would have been few aliens here. How many of the blather-skites of the Mayor Church and Dr. Noble type, who are now hounding down these people whom we coaxed and bribed to come here, ever had a word to say against the policy of bringing them over to keep down the rate of wages?

Some damfool workingmen are joining in the howl against alien laborers because they get high wages. How would they like it if the foreigners were ready to work for low wages?

Come to think of it, old Doc Johnson was away off when he said that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel." It is usually the first move in his little game—his great standby from first to last.

Some people have a way of expressing the most obvious truisms with the air of having made a new discovery. At the National Council of Women the other day, Mrs. Laing made the observation that "in the matter of protection to women property was of more value in the eyes of the law than the honor of a girl or woman." Every class conscious Socialist knows by this time that lawmakers, judges and officials are simply chosen as guardians of the interests of the capitalist class, all other objects being subservient, and that so-called justice is a hollow mockery. And the mass of the people don't care, or if they do care a little are a good deal more concerned about their rotten old parties or the sectarian cries and side issues raised to divert their attention.

RHYMES WITH REASON.

The Lord of the Land.

I'm the Lord of the Land, I'm the man in possession,
Thanks, thanks to the Law, and its power of oppression;
All my cattle I've paid for with money in hand,
But the women and men were thrown in with the land.

For you know, when I buy up the land where men dwell,
I buy up their souls and their bodies as well;
Some I scatter like sheep to pick up a living,
And to me, in the slums, some their life blood are giving.

Most precious are they, for, while they increase,
My increasing prosperity never can cease;
The poor devils poorer and poorer may grow,
While my "basket and store" and my coffers o'erflow.

In my country, where thousands of acres are hired
By a millionaire sportsman, few men are required;
Deer pay better—e'en grouse show a larger return:
And my fishing preserves, both in river and burn,
Are also let out, for the rivers are mine,
And no poaching allowed with spear, net, or line.
In fact, I'm the Lord of both Water and Land,
A law-made Land Lord, of superior brand!

But one thing, I feel, is a curse to the nation,
'Tis in giving the peasants too much education,
It breeds discontent, brings them out of their station,
And makes them forget I'm the Lord of Creation.
—A. Tain Ross, in New Zealand Liberator.

Does not patriotism consist mainly in covering your own country with fictitious whitewash, and the enemy with fictitious soot?—G. B. Shaw.

PROSPECTS OF PEACE AND SECRET TREATIES.

Discussed in the British House of Commons.

Philip Edward Morrell, Liberal, in the House of Commons recently started a debate on the question of peace by agreement and moving the following resolution:

"That this House desires that the Government will lose no diplomatic opportunity to settle the problems of the war by agreement, and that to that end it expresses its opinion that secret treaties with allied Governments should be revised, since, in their present form, they are inconsistent with the object for which this country entered the war, and are, therefore, a barrier to a democratic peace."

Restate War Aims.

In moving his resolution, Mr. Morrell said that the people were anxious about the progress of events and entitled to a restatement by the Government of its war aims and its opinion as to the prospects of achieving them. He charged that statements made in behalf of the allies bolstered up "Kaiserism." He declared that there was a passionate desire for peace in Germany if it could be got with security, but the Germans believed that the allies were unwilling to listen to reasonable terms, and that only by supporting the Emperor and the military party could they secure the peace they desired.

Mr. Morrell said that in June the British casualties averaged seventy killed every day, and that for the five months from January to the beginning of June the British losses in killed alone were seventy thousand, while the wounded and missing numbered three hundred thousand.

Philip Snowden, Socialist, in supporting the resolution, asked Mr. Balfour, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to define what he meant by "peace offensive." He agreed with Mr. Morrell that nothing like a stable peace could be obtained until secret treaties were denounced.

Balfour's Reply.

Mr. Balfour began his reply by explaining that by peace offensive he meant any effort, by speech or otherwise, under the guise of seeking an honorable termination of the present war, to divide the allies and discourage members of the alliance.

Replying to Mr. Snowden's contention that nothing had been heard about Germany's desire to dominate the world in the early stages of the war, Mr. Balfour said that the British as a nation, had been slow to believe that other nations could be animated by motives so widely separated from the motives which moved their own people. But it was a fact that Germany was pursuing her universal domination with persistent and elaborate care and foresight and with a ruthless, cold blooded determination which left Napoleon tradition far behind.

"Is this a case where a sober historian would ever see the basis of a possible peace?" asked Mr. Balfour. "Is there any evidence whatever, that a suggestion like the Austrian Emperor's letter or any similar suggestion were made with a view to obtaining the sort of peace which even Mr. Snowden would regard as a reasonable peace, carrying with it some prospect of security for the future liberties of the world? We never rejected proposals which we thought had the slightest probability of producing such a peace and there is no evidence whatever that the German Government has ever been serious in making such peace offers."

Contending that Belgium remained the greatest blow to German honor, the Secretary asked whether Germany had ever in any document or speech openly or plainly offered to restore Belgium to absolute political and economic independence. He knew of no such offer. There had

been suggestions, but never a frank avowal.

Mr. Balfour proceeded to emphasize that in the matter of war aims there was not the slightest difference between Great Britain and the United States, and he denied that secret treaties were an obstacle to peace. These treaties were made in circumstances in which he believed any Government would have acted similarly, and it was quite a mistake to suppose that the treaty with Italy would stand in the way of peace.

"Certainly," he continued, "the Government are not going to shut their ears to anything that could be called to reasonable suggestions, if it should be to the common interest. Any proposal to the allies will be considered on its merits. These treaties were entered into by this country with others as members of an alliance. By these treaties we stand. Our national honor is bound up in them."

The Secretary did not doubt that if it should be the common interest of the alliance to modify the treaties the Italians themselves would suggest the modifications.

Mr. Morrell's motion was defeated without division of the House.

NORTH EAST TORONTO TO BE CONTESTED BY LABOR PARTY CANDIDATE.

William Varley, An Old-time Socialist and Labor Man, Will Oppose Dr. Cody.

After considerable discussion at a well attended general meeting of the Labor Party, Saturday evening, at the Labor Temple, it was almost unanimously decided to contest the election to be held in North East Toronto in June. Several candidates were nominated. James Ballantyne, James Richards, J. T. Gunn, Mrs. Hector Prenter, James Simpson, John Vick and Corp. Wm. Varley. All the nominees withdrew their names in favor of Corporal Varley, who was acclaimed the candidate.

Mr. Varley is a candidate who should draw the hearty support and co-operation not only of every workingman and woman in the riding, but also every progressive humanitarian who knows the need of labor having a voice in the Ontario legislation. As Conservatives go, no particular fault can be found with Dr. Cody. But he belongs to a political party and a church which believes in special privileges for the rich and powerful, and fight consistently every step of progress desired by the toiling masses.

The contest is one which will draw the class lines quite distinctly. It will not be a contest of personalities. Personally both candidates are all that can be desired. Varley stands for working class control of the public powers, and will be supported by all enlightened and progressive voters. Dr. Cody will receive the support of all those who desire to perpetuate the present capitalist class control of the public powers.

The issue is quite clear. Vote and work for Varley.

THE PROPER OFFICIAL.

In a recent examination paper for a boy clerk's post was this question:

"If the premier and all the members of the cabinet should die, who would officiate?"

Robert, a boy of fourteen, thought for a time, trying in vain to recall who came next in succession. At last a happy inspiration came to him, and he answered: "The undertaker."

"Somehow I have a sort of sneaking respect for Benedict Arnold."

"Why so?"

"He never went around bawling that he was loyal."—Louisville Courier-Journal.

ANSWER TO CORRESPONDENT.

B. H.—The reform platform of the Bolsheviki in Russia appeared some months ago in the Canadian Forward. Briefly they are as follows:

- (1) A republic of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' and Peasants.
- (2) Abolition of the standing army and the police, substituting for them an armed people.
- (3) Officials not only to be elected but also subject to recall and their pay not to exceed that of a good worker.
- (4) No predatory international treaties.
- (5) No annexations.
- (6) No liberty loan for wars are imperialistic.
- (7) All monarchies must be abolished.
- (8) Land for peasants and formation of special councils of day laborers and farm workers.
- (9) Increased production of bread and meat, and better feeding for soldiers.
- (10) Nationalization of banks and syndicates.
- (11) Establishment of Socialist International with workers of all countries, stipulating that only German Socialists of Karl Liebknecht type will be admitted.
- (12) The fraternization between soldiers of warring countries.

INTERESTING QUOTATIONS FROM CANADIAN HANSARD.

In the debate on conferring hereditary titles in Canada, Mr. Nickle, according to Hansard, April 8th, page 494, said:

"This war has brought tremendous agonies; it has brought sorrow and anguish into Canadian life, but thank God, it has brought one other thing, it has changed the standard of value of the citizens of Canada. We no longer value men by what they have, we value them by what they are. Some people call me a Socialist. I should like to define my Socialism. Socialism is a very general term; you may mean it as synonymous with anarchy, or you may define it the recognition of the right of every man to a fair chance. I am a Socialist, if by that term you mean that there should be a reasonable equality of opportunity; if you lay down as a fundamental principle that every man should get a due amount of this world's goods for the services that he renders; that no group, no class, no individual should be crippled just because of lack of money to get a fair start in life. I have run, not one, but five or six elections, parliamentary and municipal, in the city from which I come, and if there is one thing that has wrung my heart it is to find, among the households of

people whom I call my constituents, especially bright boys and girls who were obliged to leave school because of the necessity of their earning to assist the other members of the family, I am a Socialist to the extent of my belief that that child is entitled to chance. It has been strongly borne in upon me that 'slow rises worth by poverty depressed.' My views are to this extent Socialistic: that unbearable burdens of this kind should be lifted from the mass of the people."

Sir Sam Hughes, who supported titles, had this to say: "I might point out while on my feet, that the charge made against the nobility of Great Britain—and I want them distinctly separated from the autocracy of Britain, because the autocracy of Britain, as I understand it, are the labor unions, not the nobility of the country at all."

"Now speaking of labor unions—and I had no intention of bringing this up—the great danger to this country is the autocracy of labor unions. I use the statement advisedly. We had in recent times the example of Bolshevism and the greatest autocracy that has ever disgraced the world, to my mind, has been Russia, where the attempt to raise a nation from labor unions is being tried by those who pose as democrats. The greatest tyranny we have to face now is the autocracy and tyranny of men who pose as democrats, though they have not a democratic principle in their whole constitution. Until these labor unions are put in their place, until these organizations have no right to limit the production of commodities in our factories, until labor unions abrogate the right to hold themselves as a separate and distinct body in the nation—a nation within a nation—we will never have democratic government by the most irresponsible and autocratic element in the land. I back labor unions as far as they benefit their members and help production, and no man shall act on his own behalf—even the order-in-council introduced last Friday which ties up every man for labor—limits a man that goes on strike; that is the only thing that I objected to in that order—until that time arrives we are going to have trouble, and we will be ruled by the most irresponsible autocracy.—Hansard, page 534.

LAW AS THE SCIENCE OF INJUSTICE.

These are glorious days. They are glorious in more ways than one. In the death grapple between two ruling class concepts of what a slave civilization ought to be, and the peculiar culture by means of which it should perfume the pestilential atmosphere of its accursed existence.

great wreck and ruin is being wrought to all the deceit, hypocrisy, sham and cant whereby the slaves of all lands have previously been inoculated stupefied and undone. One sham after another has been stripped of its camouflage by the ruthless hand of war and left disclosed in its hideous nakedness as the direct opposite of all that we have been led to believe. Everything that we have been taught to look upon as a truth is disclosed as a lie. What we have believed to be virtuous is uncovered as a vice. All that has been done by the powers that rule over us, under the pretense of having been done for our good and welfare, is shown to have been done for quite the contrary purpose. What we have been taught to believe was liberty turns out to be slavery our boasted democracy dissolves into a mere sham; the privileges of citizenship become the obligations of subjects and our widely heralded culture becomes the exceedingly thin veneer of a vulgar impudence and low savagery that has no counterpart in all the category of animal kind. Ruling class civilization is exposing itself as a nauseating stench in the nostrils of decency; a disgusting nuisance in the pathway of evolution awaiting abatement at the hands of its bloodthirsty and lust-crazed beneficiaries, as an act of class suicide.

The development of the war has stripped the mask from our pretended liberty. It has destroyed our boasted democracy. It has denied our citizenship. It has disclosed to us that there is no property except that which is embodied in the hides and carcasses of human chattels, and that property is sacred only for the purpose of immolation upon the altar of bloody war. It has uncovered to us the lie of payment that has been instilled into us ever since we emerged from the cradle, and disclosed to us that all the commercial transactions of men are nothing but the shifting from hand to hand, until it is consumed or worn out, of that which has first been stolen from the slaves who have brought it forth by their servile toil and sweat. The war is now clearly demonstrating that the whole economy incident to the great and complicated institution of ruling class industry, as compared to the primitive methods and tools of ancient times, is measured entirely by its greater efficiency for class aggrandizement and devastation which is its supreme and loftiest achievement. It is exemplifying beyond all dispute, that the very corner stone of present civilization is the enslavement, robbery and torture of the wealth producers of the earth and that its "kultur" is inculcated into its victims by means of the club, the knout, the jail, the gibbet, the bayonet and the bomb.

Of course we are told that we are governed by law, but by overwhelm-

ing evidence the powers that be are laying bare the real truth of the matter and clearly demonstrating that there is nothing to the law, of which we so glibly prate, except a mask to camouflage the bludgeon as the opposite blows to the nakedness of the slaves who have been shorn of their manhood by means of the lies and deceptions that have been practised upon them by rulers and robbers and the precious gang of procurers, synophants, apologists and spiritual, philosophical, literary, financial, astrological and political prestidigitators and acrobatic prostitutes that follow in their train.—B.C. Federationist.

TITLES.

Thomas Carlyle refused the G.C.B. with his usual irreverence, remarking that if he accepted people would inevitably describe it as the Grand Cap and Bells. The really great need no titles, nor are they so vain as to want them.

...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS...

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

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

Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee—Meets on the 1st and 3rd Sunday of each month. All comrades desiring to join party or organize Locals are requested to write, F. G. Wetzel, Box 151, Vanguard, Sask.

Locals and Executive Bodies may have their Advt's. in the Directory for the sum of \$3.00 per year.

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