

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD  
UNITE!  
THE WORLD  
FOR THE  
WORKERS



LABOR  
PRODUCES  
ALL WEALTH  
-UNTO  
LABOR  
IT SHOULD  
BELONG

New Series, VOL. 2 No. 18.

TORONTO

CANADA

Published Twice  
a Month

September 24th, 1918

# SOCIALIST QUEENSLAND

## The Work of Ryan's Government.

By H. Campbell (Labour Organiser in Australia).

From the granting of responsible Governments until war broke out Queensland was run by Capitalist Governments under different names.

### The Denham Government.

Then war was declared a Liberal Government, led by Mr. Digby Denham, was controlling the destinies of that country. All the Cabinet Ministers with the exception of one were merchants of the Stock Exchange. They were all financiers and money lenders. They were all successful business men. They all regularly attended church. They were elders, churchwardens, and some of them had been Sunday-school teachers. In fact, they were outwardly everything that gave polish, pomp, respectability and tone to good aristocratic religious Statesmen. The Denham Government were no ordinary, common garden variety of politician. They were held in high esteem and supported by a good majority of the people of Queensland.

They told the people when the war broke out they were the men to save the country and beat the Huns, and the people in their innocent simplicity believed in, and trusted, them.

When war was declared the Denham Government, in order to beat the Huns and to save the country and themselves, toured Queensland and bought up all available food-stuffs as well as large herds of fat cattle and fat sheep. They then cornered the market and lifted the prices of food-stuffs over 50 per cent. In their spare time they held recruiting meetings and eloquently implored Henry Dubbs to at once enlist and go to fight for his King and country, and slay the atrocious Huns that were a menace to civilisation. Some played bands, others beat the big drums. Meetings were held everywhere and great excitement prevailed.

### And their Food Prices!

To sum up during the first ten months of the war, while the great excitement lasted, food prices in Queensland soared higher every day until they reached 100 per cent. above pre-war prices. The Cabinet Ministers and their friends made millions of pounds by profiteering.

This went on until a General Election took place in Queensland on the 22nd May, 1915. Before the election campaign started Mr. Thomas Joseph Ryan, the leader of the Labour Socialist Party in Parliament, investigated the deals in foodstuffs made by the Cabinet Ministers.

### Ryan's First Victory.

He stumped the country; made specific charges against Cabinet Ministers, and proved to the satisfaction of the people that individual Cabinet Ministers had made over 50 per cent. clear profit on their deals. So disgusted were the people of Queensland with their own Huns, that when the polls were declared it was found that all the Cabinet Ministers with the exception of the Attorney-General had lost their seats in Parliament, and Mr. T. J. Ryan and the Labour Socialist Party was returned by a majority of 17.

The Liberal Government were then compelled to resign and on the 1st June, 1915, the Governor of Queensland sent for Mr. T. J. Ryan to form a Ministry. The Ryan Government was formed the same day, and the following day they set out to reduce the cost of living and to emancipate the workers of that country.

### State Sugar Mills.

Straight away the Ryan Government built State sugar mills and State sugar refineries, and manufactured the sugar for the people of the country. The retail price of sugar was immediately reduced to 3d. per pound for the best quality. This amounted to a reduction of about 50 per cent. on the Capitalist prices.

The Ryan Government by different Acts of Parliament resumed, conscripted, or confiscated — whatever one may care to call it — about 9,000,000 acres of land hitherto belonging to the Queensland squatters big land-owners. The Government put young sheep and young cattle upon that land started to breed more. When the cattle and sheep were reared and fat they were driven to the different towns and killed at Government abattoirs, and the meat and mutton hung up for sale in State butchers' shops.

By buying up hundreds of thousands of fat cattle and fat sheep and cornering the market, members of the Denham Liberal Government had lifted the retail prices of meat and mutton in Queensland to over 1s. per pound. This was called good business men, and the Queensland Capitalist Press said the high prices proved the country was very prosperous. When the Ryan Government put the State meat and mutton on the market for sale in the State butchers' shops they reduced the average price of meat and mutton from over 1s. per lb. to an average of about 5½d. per pound. This was hailed with delight by the workers of Queensland. It was a bit of that

"pure, unadulterated Socialism" which the Press had assured the workers would ruin them! It was a touch of that 'atheistic Socialism' which would "damn their soul for an eternity." But the workers of that country today smile at the pious warnings and take the risk.

### State Butchers' Shops.

These State operations caused a sharp and immediate fall in the price of meat in the private butchers' shops. The private butchers were forced to bring their prices down both by direct Government control and by Government competition. But, notwithstanding the great drop in prices of meat in private butchers' shops, meat was selling at the beginning of this year in the State butcher shops 30 per cent. less than the prices charged in private butchers' shops. The Ryan Government (paying full Trade Union rates for Labour in every department) last year made a net surplus profit on the State Meat Industry of £137,913. By entering the meat retail business the Ryan Government has benefited the community to the extent of 4s. per week per family of five persons.

### A True Fairy Tale of Fish.

The Ryan Government built large State steam trawlers, and equipped them with the best up-to-date appliances. To-day they catch the fish with their own State steam trawlers, and sell them in State fish shops. They have organised the fishing industries so thoroughly that they have eliminated all waste and overlapping of labour. As a consequence they have been able to reduce the retail price of fish 66 per cent.

Salmon was reduced in price from 9d. to 3d. per lb.! All other fish was reduced in price accordingly. The fish, like the meat, under Socialism is obtained and distributed by the State for the use of the people and not to make a profit out of it for idle shareholders. According to official figures since the reduction in the price of fish the people are consuming double the quantity.

### State Hotels and Timber Mills.

The Ryan Government built and established a large number of State Hotels and State Refreshment Rooms. These are far better conducted than any hotels or refreshment rooms run by private enterprise.

The Timber Industry has also been taken over by the Ryan Government. Last year there was a profit on the State Timber Mills of £8,746.

### State Coal Mines and Ironworks.

The Ryan Government has opened up State Coal Mines, and to-day employs large numbers of State coal miners, and pays them a far higher hewing rate for the coal than the private coal companies, and sells the coal to the consumers far cheaper than the private coal dealers.

The same Government also opened up State Iron Mines and built large State Iron and Steel Smelting Works. Both have turned out a success. The rolling stock for the State Railways is now manufactured in State Foundries, as well as the most up-to-date agricultural implements. The Ryan Government have established a State line of Steam Boats to trade around the coast of Queensland. State Oil Vells have also been opened up. State Chilling Works and State Freezing Works have been established. State Printing Works were established two years ago, and the Ryan Government made a net surplus profit on them last year of £13,574. The Ryan Government has also taken over the Life, Fire and Insurance. Last year by a Statutory reduction in premiums they saved the insuring public over £50,000, and made a net surplus profit of £57,000. The same Socialist Government has built State Workers' Dwellings, and shown how to house the workers in good houses at cheap rent.

### For the Blind and Deaf and Dumb.

The Ryan Government have socialised the hospitals, blind asylums, and deaf and dumb asylums. Before the Ryan Government took over the hospitals they were run by charity. The aristocrats who gave the largest donations controlled them, and charged private patients £2 2s. per week. And the workers who could not pay the charges were branded as "paupers" on notice boards hung over their beds.

This has all been changed. Under Socialism all patients are now treated free of charge (just as in the Military hospitals in Britain) with the best doctors and nurses. The same Government established Baby Clinics for the treatment of children free of charge. The blind, deaf and dumb are all properly cared for. The Ryan Government passed an Act and gave every widow, regardless of age, or she lost her husband, 15s. a week of a pension, every orphan child under 15 years 8s. to 10s. per week of a pension, and every mother £5 of a bonus at the birth of every child. Last year they gave £40,000 to returned soldiers to start them in life again, and £15,000 to maimed and wounded soldiers. It is the duty of the Federal Government of Australia to look after the returned and maimed and wounded soldiers.

### The School Teachers' Salaries.

Last year the Ryan Government increased the school teachers' salaries £56,000, and so made possible for

(Continued on Page 4)



# The Aims of Labor.

(By Right Hon. Arthur Henderson,

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FREEDOM.

It is a tragic paradox that in the great struggle for freedom and democracy the British people have been required to surrender many of their cherished liberties. The nation's willingness to submit to restrictions imposed by authority upon the right of democratic self-determination which has been its chief pride and boast for many centuries is a more convincing proof of its resolute intention to achieve victory than even the sacrificial service of the men in the field and the workers at home. It is questionable, indeed, whether many of the limitations upon freedom were necessary; but it is indisputable that only a people motivated by the purest patriotism, and resolved to allow nothing to weaken the national will, would have accepted them. At any other time the State's encroachment upon the domain of private liberty would have been instantly challenged. It was not because the British people were convinced that the surrender of democratic rights was necessary that they yielded without a struggle, but because they realised they could not prosecute two wars simultaneously. Having resolved to defeat Prussianism abroad because it menaced the freedom of the whole world, they tolerated the curtailment of their liberties at home as a relative danger with which they could more conveniently deal when the bigger peril was removed. Reaction has made great strides during the war. The people know that they are in the grip of reaction. But it would be a disastrous error to conclude that democracy has been so firmly fettered that it will not be able to shake off its bonds when the hour comes for it to reckon with its domestic enemies. The very submission of the people, their acceptance of one outrageous restriction after another, may lead the reactionaries to think their policy has succeeded: when the greater preoccupation of the war is over they will perhaps see how completely it has failed.

What are the reactionary encroachments upon liberty against which democracy may justly protest? We do not complain so much of the formal restrictions imposed upon the people of this country on the plea of national necessity, but of the subtler inroads upon both private and public liberty through a reactionary and oppressive interpretation of the long series of regulations introduced during the war. Take first the freedom of the press. An intelligent censorship which confined its activities to the suppression of news that might assist the military effort of the enemy would be regarded as performing a legitimate duty; but the military censorship has developed into a wonderful political engine which enables the authorities systematically to control the press. It enables the executive not merely to control opinion but to manufacture it. On the one hand it prevents free discussion of questions of public policy; on the other it guides the public mind by means of a steady stream of artful suggestion and official "information" manipulated and coloured in accordance with official views. The seizure

of pamphlets, the suppression of newspapers, the attempt to bring under the survey of the censorship every leaflet, pamphlet, and printed sheet dealing however remotely with questions of war and peace, are only additional illustrations of this dangerous development by which truth is rationed, political opinion made to order in government factories, and an artificial unity created by the simple expedient of denying expression to dissident views. The practical denial of free speech and the right of public meeting, both by direct prohibition and by the far worse method of permitting meetings to be broken up by organised violence, is another development against which democracy is bound to protest. Still more sinister is the growth of espionage and police inquisition: the adoption of continental methods of surveillance represents an invasion of private life by the agents of authority which before the war one would have confidently declared this country would never tolerate. The right of asylum, under which many political refugees sought shelter from the harsh oppression of their own Governments, has been destroyed. The right of trial by jury and of public trial has been virtually superseded, and the detention of suspected persons without trial and without formal charge being made against them shows how far the executive has gone in defiance of the constitutional safeguards which protected the person and property of British citizens. New tribunals, unknown to the British legal system, and answerable only to the Government, have been set up for dealing with new offences, established principles of our juridical system, well attested rights of accused persons, have been arbitrarily set aside.

Before the war the workers enjoyed a considerable measure of personal and collective freedom, as workers not simply as citizens: they were not bound to one employer or confined to one district, but might go where the highest wages invited and in the last resort could enforce their claims for improved conditions by ceasing to work. These rights have disappeared. Many workshop practices and customs which protected the workmen have been abandoned. That in the latter instance the workmen and their representatives have agreed to these limitations and restrictions does not weaken the assertion that they represent a serious diminution of the workers' freedom. With a patriotic self-devotion beyond all praise the organised workers have consented to abandon many of the guarantees which they had devised to protect them from the rapacity of the employers; but it cannot be denied that the manner in which their readiness to sacrifice their rights, including their right to decide for whom they shall work and under what conditions, has been exploited in the interest of reaction, has given rise to much suspicion of discontent. This very human reaction against all these legislative and administrative experiments is the measure of their failure. It proves that they have gone too far, are too harsh and oppressive in their working. They have given the workers a sense of being harried, controlled,

and disposed of without any reference to their own wishes and frequently against their will. That is the root of the resentment and distrust which the organised workers now show. It is the reason why they scrutinise with jealous suspicion every proposal put forward by the Government for the further organisation of the nation's reserves of man-power.

Not only the steadily deepening revolt of the organised workers but the equally marked degeneration of public moral and the loss of popular confidence in the Government, must be taken as further evidence of the total practical failure of this policy of repression and regimentation. In the early days of the war, those who, like myself, felt that the righteousness of our cause justified and indeed demanded every sacrifice, accepted the restrictions which the Government proposed as a necessary expedient for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and we have to bear our share of responsibility if we failed to perceive every possibility of abuse underlying the legal phrases in which the proposals were embodied. But democracy in war times is at a disadvantage in dealing with abuses or excesses of authority; its moral simplicity and singleness of aim put democracy in the power of its enemies. The same qualities will deliver it when the lesson of this experience of what reaction can do, how craftily the enemy of freedom can plot the destruction of popular liberties in the very hour when the people are making unprecedented sacrifices in order to preserve freedom and extend its boundaries, has been learned. The people's sacrifice of their rights and liberties was sanctioned by motives of the purest patriotism. Those of us who counselled and encouraged the sacrifice when authoritative voices warned us that only so could the war be won have no reason to be ashamed: the shame rather lies with those who under cover of the plea of national necessity formulated regulations that have been a weapon in the hands of reaction for the subversion of civil liberty.

While we recognise that the logic of military defence is the logic of restriction, of authority against liberty, and acknowledge the difficulty of defining the limits of such control as a Government must claim when a nation is at war, we proclaim that the democratic ideal of freedom is not the freedom of a people in barracks or a besieged city, but of equality and mutual service. Militarist authority implies subservience and regimentation. Democracy demands the right of self-determination and the opportunity to realise through its own culture and institutions the fullest possibilities of self-development. The era of democratic freedom will not be inaugurated merely by a suspension of the war restrictions. It will be the function of the builders of the new order of society to discover the influences that constrain freedom and by combined effort to destroy them. Democracy asserts that brute force should not be the arbiter in the relation of States, and therefore seeks to embody the principle of conciliation in international institutions. As the spirit of democracy will inform these international institutions and national self-determination is the guiding principle they will be the protectors of national freedom; and democracy, which is nourished on publicity, will demand that the free

air of public discussion shall penetrate the obscurities of diplomacy. We realise further that there can be no true freedom so long as property and power are concentrated in the hands of a few, and the democratic watchword for the struggle of the future is "Through Equality to Freedom." We look to the democratisation of political institutions through a still wider extension of the franchise, the abolition of secret political funds, derived from the traffic in honours and to the growth of industrial democracy, to enlarge the boundaries of freedom in this land, and to give the individual citizen a deeper sense of power and responsibility as the attributes of a free man. We know, too, that as the price of liberty is perpetual vigilance, so its surest safeguard is the passion for liberty in the hearts of men and women. To save this nation from the moral and political servitude which makes the masses of people helpless agents of their own destruction and puts into the hands of the new more than the power of life and death is the settled resolve of organised democracy.

Next Issue— "Victory."

## GREAT BRITAIN WILL TRY NEW DEMOCRACY.

Parliamentary Electorate Doubled at a Stroke — Six Million to Vote at Next Election.

A measure which doubles at a stroke the parliamentary electorate, enfranchises six million women, provides for absent (and even proxy) voting by three million soldiers and sailors, redistributes seven hundred parliamentary seats, introduces a scheme of proportional representation, paves the way for a new balance of party forces, and in short, throws open the floodgate for democracy in a great conservative nation—such is the British "Representation of the People" Act, which received the royal assent on Feb. 6.

Two years of war brought the advocates of woman's suffrage an advantage which no amount of agitation had ever won for them, namely, the backing of the government; and a few months more carried their cause to a victorious conclusion which could hardly have been reached in a full decade of peace. Now that men were to have the suffrage as persons, it was more than ever difficult to withhold it from women. Indeed, in the present juncture—in the face of woman's incalculable service to the nation—to withhold it is quite impossible.

The effect of these stupendous changes upon the relative strength of parties, and upon the course of British legislation and politics, remains to be determined. No one doubts that Britain is headed toward a mighty political and economic overturn in consequence of the war. To a considerable extent, the revolution has already been accomplished. It has been charged that the driving force behind the suffrage clauses of the late act was the Labor Party, which expects to turn the new stream of electoral power to account in winning the coveted control of the nation's affairs. This is at best but a half-truth. Yet it is not to be doubted that the mass of the newly enfranchised women, are of liberal, and in many cases radical bent.—

By Frederick Austin Ogg in Review of Reviews.





## FRENCH SOC. CONVENTION.

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

## The Proposed Inter-Allied Conference.

In the "Populaire" Longuet demands that the proposed conference of inter-Allied Socialists, to be called at the desire of Gompers, should be held in Paris this time, as being more convenient for all except the English and because three out of the four conferences already held have taken place in London. He also demands as still more important that all sections of the party in the various countries should be invited. For Russia, all the parties from the Right Socialist Revolutionaries to the Bolsheviks. For America, the American Socialist Party, as well as the American Federation of Labour. For Greece, the real Greek party, not merely Drakoules, who represents no one but himself; and, finally, for Italy, the greater part of the representation should be given to the C.G.T. and to the official Italian party.

It is interesting to observe that the previous minority now being in a majority it has nine members on the "Humanite" Committee against six of the previous majority. It is to be hoped that the whole tone of the paper will now show some improvement. At the party executive meeting a discussion arose on the Malvy affair. Renaudel demanded an energetic protest. Verfeuil, supported by others, while agreeing on the need for protest, declared that they would refuse to sign any protest which would represent Malvy's policy as one conforming to working-class interests. Malvy was a bourgeois politician who merely believed in gentle as against brutal methods. The protest should, therefore, be confined to exposing the illegality and iniquity of the sentence. Thereupon Renaudel reproached the former minority with refusing all common action. However, finally, a declaration very much in sense desired by Verfeuil was adopted and published. The declaration also called on its Parliamentary representative to raise a vigorous protest against the sentence in the Chamber. The executive has adopted Longuet's suggestions regarding the inter-Allied Socialist Conference. The Midinets (dress-makers, millinery workers, etc.) of Paris are now holding huge meetings again, demanding better conditions of work and higher wages. They have also protested against the Malvy sentence.

## In Italy.

According to the "Journal du Peuple," the Parliamentary group of the Italian Socialist Party, at their recent conference at Bologna, rescinded their previous resolution, and now approve the decision of the executive of the party not to allow its representative to participate in the Government's Commissions for the study

of after-the-war problems. At the same conference comrade Morgari, secretary of the party, read a long communication from Maxim Litvinoff calling for the solidarity of all Socialists in opposing the attempts of the bourgeoisie to seize power, whether by making use of German bayonets in the Ukraine, in Finland, and in the Baltic provinces, or by relying on the support of the Entente Powers in Siberia or in Greater Russia. A resolution in favour of solidarity with the Russian workers is to be submitted to a future meeting.

"Avanti" publishes a communication from the President of the Council to the Executive Committee of the official Socialist Party in which he affirms that he had no intention of prohibiting the holding of a Socialist Conference, providing it was of a strictly private nature. As a consequence, the Executive Committee are calling a conference for September 1st-4th, the agenda being the same as for the proposed former conference.

## In Germany.

The German National Federation of Shoemakers, one of the most important trade unions in Germany, has just held its annual national conference at Wurzburg. At the end of a somewhat stormy discussion, a resolution was proposed refusing all further subscriptions to the Central Trades Union Committee at Berlin as a protest against the policy of compromise pursued by Legien. Although Simon, president of the Federation, and himself a member of the Minority, urged that they should not push their political opposition to the last extremity, the resolution was only rejected by a majority of two votes.

## A Polish Socialist Manifesto.

In June the Polish Social-Democratic Party held a conference in Moscow. They issued an appeal, from which the following is an extract:—"Workers of Russia! Workers of the whole world! We, the Polish workers, who for many long years have waged a bitter struggle against capitalism and foreign oppression; we, who have ever stood in the front ranks of the international revolutionary movement, we appeal to you! Prepare for the struggle against Imperialist supremacy. If now, free nations do not arise, if the oppressors of the proletarian movement and its development are now defeated, the victory of the revolution will be annulled for years. If the proletariat should now again bend before the onslaughts of capitalism and Imperialism, the proletariat will be paralysed for years to come. Terrible danger threatens the international proletariat. It is high time that the working class should speak the decisive word and follow it up with strong deeds. The Russian revolution is in danger. The proletariat is being forced to fight on two fronts. Only that will remain in the days to come which has taken root

in the common life of the nation. Only those of our victories will remain to us which have been built on a firm basis. In the hour of danger the creative power of the proletariat must be developed and strengthened. For neither paper decrees nor declarations will in the least avail if the proletariat will not defend its own interests. If the working class desires to solve its problems, it must defend its rights and must assume control over the whole of production and over the regulation of the whole life of the community. The attack of the German Imperialists on the Russian revolution, as those, indeed, of all other counter-revolutionary Imperialists, must be met with armed opposition. . . . The mask has fallen from the Imperialists, and they are now showing their bloody fists. The new era for the struggle of freedom has begun! We only require determination and patience; we must only hold fast to the victories already won by the Russian revolution. The flames of revolution reach over the boundaries protected by bayonets. Capitalism will not succeed in destroying our proletarian revolution. The International must be your leader. We must strive for an immediate reestablishment of the International."

## The Bulgarian Socialists.

"L'Humanite" recently published an article by Reiss foully attacking the whole of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and maintaining that they were without exception Imperialists and jingoes of the worst type. Douchan Popovitch, secretary of the Serbian Party, replies in the "Populaire" to this unworthy and unjust attack. Some of the interesting facts brought out by Popovitch will not be without interest to the readers of the "Forward." In Bulgaria there are two parties, the 'Broad' and the 'Narrow.' The "Broad," with Sakasof, Pastukof, and Djidrof at its head, has nine deputies in the Bulgarian Sobranje (Parliament), and a daily journal "Narod" ("People"). These are Revisionists, Opportunists, and Ministerialists, with nationalist tendencies regarding Macedonia. But even this party, during the first years of the war, carried on an energetic campaign against war and for the maintenance of Bulgarian neutrality, and when Bulgaria eventually joined the war it did not vote the war credits, but abstained. The "Narrow" Socialists, on the other hand, are much more considerable force. They have 11 Parliamentary deputies. They have a daily paper, "Rabotricheski Vestnik" ("The Workers' Journal"), and an extensive Marxian literature. Kirkof, Kolarof, Dimitrof, Kabakchieff, and Blajoieff are their leaders. Both before and since the war started, they have carried on an incessant, vigorous propaganda, by meetings and literature, in the Press and in Parliament, against the war and for the conclusion of peace. They have all along opposed the war credits, and have protested against the hard regime imposed on the conquered territories.

## Disturbances in Spain.

The economic situation in Spain is becoming worse every day. Throughout the country strikes of different classes of workers break out continually on account of the high cost of

living, the scarcity of food, and the inadequacy of the wages. These are generally repressed brutally by the police, with the result that the populace becomes still more exasperated. If the economic situation does not improve speedily, anything may happen in the near future.

## Russia's Renaissance.

According to the "Cambridge Magazine," the Stockholm correspondent of the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" reports an interview with two Russian Socialists, messengers of the Soviet Government to England. One of them, comrade Meshcherikov (editor of "Pravda"), one of the oldest champions of Russian Socialism, is especially interested in the new intellectual movements in revolutionary Russia.

"The striving after an understanding of subjects of practical importance is as marked as that after elevating artistic influences. The Trades Unions . . . are establishing a comprehensive system of lectures for the education of the workers. But the masses hungrily stretch out their hands towards those cultural values which have hitherto been the monopoly of the privileged classes of society. A whole series of literary periodicals has sprung up, and their subscriptions are largely from the workers. . . . An appeal was sent by the workers to the "Izvestia," asking that a literary supplement should be published twice a week. The theatre enjoys especial popularity, and a wide-spread dramatic dilettantism has produced genuine talent which springs from the proletariat.

"Last winter the schools were much understaffed owing to the strike of the teachers which had been instigated by the bourgeoisie. In the villages conditions are better. Many teachers have now returned, and others have been replaced. The achievements of Lunacharski in the management of the Education Department are recognised even by the bourgeoisie. A non-Socialist Professor said to Meshcherikov, "If we need something we always get it. How could we do without you?"

"The greatest energy has been displayed in the establishment of libraries. In Moscow alone a million was devoted to educational purposes out of the public funds. The Secondary purposes out of the public funds. The Secondary and High Schools still leave much to be desired, and the want of teaching power is particularly felt in the Trades Schools. The publication of classics has been taken over by the State, but further publications by private firms have been prohibited. A complete edition of the works of Marks and Engels (28 vols.) is in course of preparation. The People's Government has made a grant of a million roubles for a Marx memorial. . . . The awakening of a whole people, which now makes itself felt impresses even the non-proletarians. The well-known author, Serafimovich, has now gone over to the Soviets, and has drawn upon himself the boycott of the bourgeoisie. Foreign observers also receive the same impression, e.g., a well-known American journalist told Meshcherikov just before he returned home after a visit of a year to Russia that the events of the last months were worth ten years of his life to him."

Socialism plans for mankind instead of for a few individuals.



# Labor's Forward March in Australia

By F. G. TUDOR, M. P.

Leader of Australian Labor Party.

House of Representatives,  
Melbourne.

20th July, 1918

Editor of Forward.

Dear Comrade,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st May last and, as desired, have much pleasure in forwarding the following message:—

"Prior to 1891 the workers of Australia were not represented in Parliament but after the great maritime strike in this country in that year they decided to endeavour through political action to obtain their just rights. That year the first Labour Party was sent to the New South Wales Parliament and from that time onwards the Labour movement has continued to expand.

In the first Commonwealth Parliament in 1901 there were returned 16 Labour Members in the House of Representatives and 8 in the Senate. In 1904 the first Labour Government in the world came into power and in 1908 Labour again came into Office with Mr. Andrew Fisher (now High Commissioner for Australia in London) as Prime Minister. In the elections of April 1910 the workers of Australia, now fully realising that only through their representatives in

Parliament could they hope to have better conditions, triumphantly returned the Labour Party to power with 42 out of 75 in the House of Representatives and 23 out of 36 in the Senate.

From then on to the end of 1916 (when a split occurred on the question of conscription) Labour had full control of the legislative and administrative machinery of the country. A glance at the splendid work performed during that period (the liberalising of the Old Age and Invalid Pensions, the Maternity Grant—which allowed £5 to each mother for assistance upon the birth of a child—the formation of a Commonwealth Bank, the creation of a Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, the granting of Penny Post and the construction of the Transcontinental Railway line) will certainly show that through political action alone can the workers of any country hope for the betterment of their conditions. I have no hesitation in saying that there is no country in the whole world where better conditions prevail for the workers than in Australia.

Owing to the limitation of the Federal Constitution it was impossible for the Commonwealth Parliament to deal with monopolies, trusts and combines. It was also unable to im-

prove the conditions of employment on the railways, they being under the control of the different States. In 1911 the Labour Government submitted to the people a referendum requesting the alteration of our Constitution (an alteration can only be effected by a majority vote of the people) so as to give us the necessary power but I regret to say we were unsuccessful, being defeated by about a quarter of a million votes.

We again submitted the same questions at the general election in 1913 but the alteration was again denied us by only ten thousand votes. When one takes into consideration the fact that nearly two million people voted it must be admitted that the smallness of the minority on that occasion was remarkable when compared with the minority in the first instance.

There has not been an opportunity since 1913 to again submit the questions to the people and until the Federal Parliament obtains these further powers it will not be possible for a Labour Government to do as much as it would desire.

From the time Labour first took Office in 1904 the outlook for the workers has considerably brightened and they now unhesitatingly admit that political action has been of distinct advantage to them."

## TWO PLEAS — FOR INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA. WHY?

Toronto Star, Sept. 6, '18

Washington, Sept. 6.—Out of the confusion which is the Russian situation the following facts may be gathered:

The Administration is anxious to avoid official or unofficial hostility towards the Russian people. The President regrets reports that America is at war with the Russian republic.

The beginning of military intervention by the United States, in co-operation with the allies, is found in the landing of troops at Vladivostok. How many troops will be sent is unprintable military information, but the number will not be enormous.

The promised civilian intervention under financial and Red Cross auspices has been practically abandoned. After many postponements the State Department announces that it has not been able to overcome the difficulties in getting competent men to undertake such great labors.

All reports agree that the breakdown of industry and the threat of famine in Russia has caused great unrest and made it more difficult for the Soviet Government to maintain itself against counter revolution fomented by the expatriated nobility and refugee property-owning classes.

### Allied Bankers Act.

The Russian political situation is now beginning to pivot upon the world's speculation in Russian bonds. When the Bolshevik Government repudiated the national debt, it invited the concerted opposition of bankers throughout the world. It is the banking interest to-day which has brought about the recognition by France and

England of the little self-styled Government which has been set up by the allies on the shores of the Baltic, while these same nations have neglected for nearly a year to recognize the de facto Government of Russia.

There is talk of the necessity, from a military point of view for setting up a new battle line in western Russia to check the German encroachments on Russian territory. Without the co-operation of the Soviets and the Russian people this is conceded to be impractical, and the intervention which is now taking place in Russia is political rather than military.

### Menaces All Nations.

Another element which has tended to draw together all nations against Russia, even the Germans and Austrians, is found in the fact that the Russians are attempting to demonstrate to the world that people may live and prosper without any of the ordinary laws of property ownership. This is a form of economic revolution which is disapproved by the rest of the industrial world. Its success would constitute a menace to the existing order in every nation. It will probably not be allowed to succeed.

Daily Telegraph London

"The mistake ordinarily made about Japan is the unjust supposition that her aims are purely material, and that her ideal is nothing better than an Eastern version of Prussian militarism. Japan, like every other believer in Real-Politik, thinks that a nation is respected in proportion to its strength, and that unless the strong man armed keeps his house, his goods are by no means safe from

ambitious rivals. Since the era of enlightenment known as 'Meiji' commenced in 1868, Japan has become a diligent pupil of Western civilisation and set herself to the consolidation of a great world-power in the East. But she did not, for that reason, depart from her ancient principles; she only transformed them according to the exigencies of the present. Patriotism is a flaming ideal in new Japan, because her fighting ardour is no new thing, but based on many yesterdays. Whenever and wherever Japan moves we may be sure that she is unlikely to commence any great undertaking without a definite chance of reaping therefrom some solid advantage. But how can the kingdoms of the West blame her for this sincere regard for her own safety? She is an island power, as we are an island power; she depends on her navy, as we, too, depend on ours. It is not only for national salvation that she arms herself, but also for material welfare."

## PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

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

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

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

## SOCIALIST QUEENSLAND.

(Continued from Page 1)

them a good standard of living. Last year the Ryan Government increased the unskilled workers' wages employed by the Government £759,825 per annum. All State workers are now raised to a good standard of living.

### The Elimination of the Contractor.

All railways and roads are now constructed, harbours and rivers improved, and public buildings erected by men employed directly by the Government on the day labour principle.

The Government are paying their employees 9s. per week more wages than the private contractors paid their men, and are doing the work 25 per cent. cheaper than the lowest tenders received from the contractors.

An act was passed to establish a Statutory Eight-Hour Day by law in all callings. The Ryan Government in their official Red Book states that they intend to nationalise the liquor trade with the ultimate object of abolishing it.

A popular Initiative and Referendum Bill is now before the Queensland Parliament. This Act, when passed, will make Queensland the most Democratic country in the world.

Thus in three years the Ryan Government Socialised a great many of the most important industries in Queensland and controlled the price of foodstuff in others by law. They thereby reduced the cost of living for the workers to pre-war prices. Wages, at the same time, have been greatly increased and the standard of living raised. Hours of labour in nearly all callings have been reduced by law, and large numbers of houses built for the workers. This policy will be pursued by the Ryan Government until all the workers are emancipated and Labour is free. Queensland has every prospect of becoming the first Socialist Commonwealth in the British Empire.

### Ryan's Second Victory.

On the 16th March, 1918, a General Election took place in Queensland. During the election campaign the Capitalists of the British Empire subscribed literally unlimited sums of money, and sent it to Queensland to beat the Ryan Socialist Government.

Twenty of the most popular Australian Military Officers were relieved of their duties to contest 20 seats against the Ryan Government. All the political parties in Queensland changed their names—but could not change their spots—and amalgamated under the combined name of the patriotic National Party in order to defeat the Ryan Government. But the country refused to be bought, bribed, bullied, or camouflaged, and stood solid by the Ryan Government, with the result that Ryan and his Government were returned by 51 to 21 votes. The Agent-General for Queensland informs me the victory was 48 to 24. But Ryan says 51 to 21.

All the Military Officers were defeated at the polls. Queensland declines to be any longer ruled by Capitalists, Jingoists, or militarists. The Ryan Government are International Socialists, anti-war and anti-conscriptionists. They opposed conscription with all their might and main. This angered the Hughes Federal Government, and W. M. Hughes suppressed the "Queensland Hansard" and tried to jail Ryan. But so popular and powerful has Comrade T. J. Ryan become that the Federal Labour Socialist Party have invited him to become their leader. Labor Leader



# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

## Correspondence—

All correspondence should be addressed to

THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

106

397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



## MRS. PANKHURST.

Toronto has honoured Mrs. Pankhurst by her visit — at least Official Toronto, and whatever may have been the purpose of her visit—be it good, bad, or indifferent the average citizen has not been greatly moved by the speeches of so great a person. We sincerely hope that our failure to appreciate her attitude with respect to politics has to some extent been mitigated by the wholehearted reception tendered our Brainy Bourgeois visitor; by the (Canadian Aristocratic Co.) The fact is, that the particular kind of "dope" which our august visitor so courageously showered up us, is so common amongst us that we fail to properly appreciate the imported brand,—for, have we not had the Telegram and Mail editorials showered upon us for the past four years,—nay, in fact we had a deluge of this fine art. Yet, it is a strange role for one who was pump-fed by the Liberal administration that she now stands to support, and that the organization, and men, who gave her succor and support when outlawed by the law of the country have now contumely thrust upon them by the person for whom they risked their reputation—and brickbats! If memory serves us right Snowden, Macdonald, Henderson, etc. have for at least the past twenty years been associated with the toiling masses, and their association with such menial tasks as civil servant, school teacher and miner respectively can not disassociate them from the "Sons of Toil." The reference—to middle class intellectuals, fits the case of Mrs. Pankhurst much more truthfully than the working men she is engaged in maligning. We do not ask that our statement should be accepted on its face value with reference to the middle-class (Bourgeois) allusion.—Mrs. Pankhurst's statements in Toronto are sufficient to vindicate our case, she says:—"We need something different to the "class struggle" and "Conscription of wealth" in order to deal with the social problems." Conscription of wealth has been accepted in principle by all labor organizations in this country — See Labor Congressional Report for 1917 also Farmers resolution taken last fall at their convention; both of them endorsing the principle of "Wealth Conscription." But one might ask who does Mrs. Pankhurst represent? We are all pretty sure of the bona-fides of Snowden and his colleagues, and are pretty sure of our ground when we assert that it is much easier for Mrs. Pankhurst to secure passport and \$25,000 cheques than to secure credentials from British Labor.

## THE VOICE OF LABOR

To those of us who have experienced something of a nightmare throughout the course of the war with its destruction of life, and almost of hope. To those who have sat in the

shadow and gloom and visualised the rending asunder of great nations, and have beheld the dawn of a better day lightning up the waste places of Russia only to be dis-illusioned by that country being plunged again in the blackest of night from which we still hope she may emerge strengthened and invigorated,—there comes the question is this the day—or merely the aura of the imagination? Let us encourage ourselves—this is no illusion for behold "Irish Labor" has caught the gleam, only a gleam—but millions of distressed toilers will lift their dust laden eyes and beckon the glow. It is not only a gleam—it is a voice—resonant and strong, for Irish Labor has spoken in no uncertain voice. The brief report of the labor convention (recently concluded in Waterford, Ireland) has quickened our pulse, has strengthened our feeble hope and given us new inspiration. The Waterford convention has sounded the clarion call for "A Workers Republic." This Republic is no visionary thing that vanishes with sleep; but an objective which in order to reach and grasp we must have trained, disciplined, intelligent men and women. Among other things, Irish Labor has declared for the following:—

(1) The Industrial form of organization to replace sectionalism.

(2) Control of Industry and as an aid in this direction to foster co-operative enterprise as labors commissariat.

(3) Independent political action.

But perhaps the most significant of all immediate problems is their almost unanimous demand for the

(1) Self Determination of Nations.

(2) War and peace to be decided by the people.

(3) Education.

William O'Brien whose address we published in last issue, and whom a section sought to depose was re-elected as president with a crushing majority, notwithstanding some opposition from delegates of the Havelock Wilson type who wanted to win the war by tolling out those worn-out stories of Hun-Barbarity—which are entirely discredited by labor generally. Details of the convention are not yet to hand. The following were elected to the executive body for this term.

Chairman, Thomas Cassidy (Typographical Association); Vice-Chairman, Thomas Farren (Stonemasons); Secretary, William O'Brien (Dublin Trades Council); Treasurer, Thomas Johnson (Shop assistants); Miss Timmons (National Teachers), Thomas McPartlin (Carpenters), Cathal O'Shannon (Transport and General Workers), T. C. Daly (Railwaymen), J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks), M. J. O'Lehane (Drapers' Assistants?), Joseph Mitchell (Belfast Trades Council), M. J. Egan (Coachbuilders).

No more fitting tribute could be paid to the memory of James Conolly who gave so much for the Irish labor

movement than the precedent that has been made for the International working-classes by the acceptance of the principles outlined in the resolutions as the policy of Irish Labor. Surely Conolly gave the right direction when he wrote:—

"The real battle is the battle being fought out every day for the power to control industry and the gauge of the progress of that battle is not to be found in the number of voters making a cross beneath the symbol of a political party, but in the number of these workers who enrol themselves in an industrial organization with the definite purpose of making themselves masters of the industrial equipment of society in general.

The battle will have its political echo, that industrial organization will have its political expression. If we accept the definition of working class political action as that which brings the workers as a class into direct conflict with the possessing class as a class, and keeps them there then we must realize that **nothing can do that so readily as action at the Ballot Box.** Such action strips the working class movement of all traces of such sectionalism as may, and indeed must, cling to strikes and lock-outs, and emphasizes the class character of the labor movement. **It is therefore absolutely indispensable for the efficient training of the working class along correct lines that action at the Ballot Box should accompany action in the workshop.**

A Thousand congratulations.

## THE RUSSIAN SITUATION.

The existence of a state of War between Russia and the Allies—and the causes of such, is one that the future generations of mankind may honestly discuss, without endangering their freedom. At the present time, with the inflamed state of the public mind, any honest discussion of this and kindred subjects would undoubtedly be construed as being in opposition to Allied aims etc.—no matter with what degree of honesty and truth the questions were approached, or deductions made. This is not the time for an impartial analysis of the Russian situation and we therefore advise our readers to observe silence. "Silence is Golden"—speech will not contribute anything to the success of the cause of Russian Labor, so, for the meantime set your faces like flint,—the time for speech will come. Whatever may be your disposition to anger, curb your rising passion—the changes that are imperative in our social Organism will proceed from the fundamentals of our Politico-Economic form of organization. Neither Lies nor Camouflage can permanently check the progress of the proletariat. This is the day of the Injunction, espionage acts, etc. manifestations of the bourgeois character of our political administration which could not exist in a pure democracy, (who would oppress when all are free) and will pass away when the working class have learned that his freedom is bound up with the ownership of labor products. The "War in Europe" is destroying more than entrenchments and thousands of human beings—it is also destroying the adamantine rocks of ignorance and superstition, the new knowledge thus gained will ultimately be applied for the liberation of the Human race.

It's them as take advantage that gets advantage in this world—George Elliot.



By Phillips Thompson, Oakville.

"The whirligig of time brings its revenges." It is not so many years ago since the Toronto mob were wildly cheering Lord Lansdowne, some of his more asinine adulators unhitching the horses from his carriage and drawing it themselves. Now he is the target for general execration and the same crowd is ready to lynch him if they had the opportunity — Lloyd George, President Wilson and Premier Borden, the popular idols of to-day may be hooted and hissed to-morrow.

A careful reading of pulpit utterances since the war started confirms my previous opinion that about nine-tenths of the orthodox clergy are canting hypocrites and rest well-meaning fools who don't know what they are talking about.

**The Kaiser**—(reading the news from America) "Vots dis? Twenty years imprisonment fur Bill Haywood unt der rest! Mein Gott! und I could only gif Liebknecht four years und daren't make nodings mit Harden or Lichnowski—I just wish I vos bresidend auf a republic, den I show dem somedings."

I heard the result of the Toronto by-elections with the same degree of equanimity with which the bad woodman's wife of the legend regarded the fight between her husband and the bear—She said she didn't care a damn which whipped.

Veteran Varley is no doubt a good trade unionist, but no class conscious Socialist can regard an Imperialist and conscriptionist as a fit representative of Labor.

In view of the anti-alien agitation it is mighty lucky for Sir Adam Beck that his name has an English sound. If it had been Schmidt or Schneider, he would have lost his job long ago.

Sir James Aikins, President of the Canadian Bar Association in his annual address to that body urged the passage of laws for the suppression of Socialism. Aikins might advantageously devote a little time to the study of contemporary history, especially that of Russia. How did the suppression process result there?

The longer the war and the greater the danger the more willingly the Allied democracies submit to the yoke that in other circumstances would gall them. Their discipline is self-imposed and is founded on the ideal of effective co-operation. What a contrast is afforded by the discipline of the Eutonic nations! That is based in autocracy and maintained by brute force. **Winnipeg Free Press**

The "contrast" between Prussian autocracy and the bourgeois democracy which suppresses free speech and publication, imposes \$1000 fines for the circulation of religious literature, and life sentence on conscientious objectors, is hardly visible to the naked eye.



## RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

(Continued from last issue)

In its efforts to create a league—free and voluntary and for the reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the Soviet Republic declared itself a federal republic and offered to the laborers and peasants of every Nation the opportunity to enter as members with equal rights into the fraternal family of the Republic of Soviets (through action taken) independently in the plenipotentiary sessions of their Soviets, to any extent and in whatever form they might wish.

The Soviet Republic has declared war upon war, not only in words, but also in deeds; and in doing so it formally and in the name of the working masses of Russia announced its complete renunciation of all efforts at conquest and annexation, as well as all thought of oppressing small Nations. At the same time the Soviet Republic, to prove the sincerity of its purposes, broke openly with the policy of secret diplomacy and secret treaties, and it proposed to all belligerent Nations to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free self-determination of peoples. That standpoint is still firmly adhered to by the Soviet Republic.

Compelled by the policy of violence practised by the imperialism of all the world, the Soviet Republic is marshalling its forces for resistance against the growing demands of the robber packs of international capital, and it looks to the inevitable rebellion of the working classes for the solution of the question of how the Nations can live peacefully together. The international Socialist rebellion alone, in which the laboring people of each state overthrow their own imperialists, puts an end to war once for all and creates the conditions for the realization of the solidarity of the working people of the entire world.

Taking its stand upon the principles of the Internationale, the Soviet Republic recognizes that **there can be no rights without duties and no duties without rights**, and therefore proclaims at the same time with the rights of the working classes in a rejuvenated society the following outline for their duties :

1. To fight everywhere and without sparing their strength for the complete power of the working classes, and to stamp out all attempts to restore the dominion of the despoilers and oppressors.
2. To assist with all their strength in overcoming the depression caused by the war and the opposition of the bourgeoisie, and to co-operate in bringing about as speedy a recovery as possible of production in all branches of economy.
3. To subordinate their personal and group interests to the interests of all the working people of Russia and the whole world.
4. To defend the Republic of the Soviets, the only socialistic bulwark in the capitalistic world, from the attacks of international imperialism without sparing their own strength and even their own lives.
5. To keep in mind always and everywhere the sacred duty of libe-

rating labor from the dominations of capital, and to strive for the establishment of a world-embracing fraternal league of working people.

In proclaiming these rights and duties the Russian Socialist Republic of the Soviets calls upon the working classes of the entire world to accomplish their task to the very end and in the faith that the Socialist ideal will soon be achieved to write upon their flags the old battle cry of the working people :

**Proletarians of all lands, unite!  
Long live the socialistic world revolution !**

### II.

#### General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian

#### Socialistic Federal Republic.

The fundamental problem of the constitution of the Russian Socialistic Federal Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a **DICTATORSHIP over the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry**, the power of the Pan-Russian Soviet authority, the crushing of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the spoliation of men by men and the introduction of socialism in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of authority.

1. The Russian Republic is the free socialistic society of all the working people of Russia, united in the urban and rural Soviets.
2. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by special form of existence and National character will be united into autonomous regional associations ruled by the sessions of the Soviets of those regions and their executive organs.
3. The Soviet associations of the regions parti-basis of federation, at the head of which stand the Pan-Russian session of the Soviets and, in periods between the sessions, the Pan-Russian Central executive Committee.

### III

#### Concerning the Russian Soviets.

Section first : Concerning the suffrage.

1. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic of both sexes who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of the election :
  1. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and are members of the trades associations, namely :
    - (a) Laborers and employes of all classes who are employed in industry, trade and agriculture.
    - (b) Peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who hire no labor.
    - (c) Employes and laborers in the offices of the Soviet government.
  2. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.
  3. Citizens of the two previous categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.
- II. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely :
  - (1) Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase of profits;
  - (2) Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as in-

terest from capital, receipts from property, and so on;

- (3) Private merchants, trade and commercial intermediaries;
- (4) Employes of communities for religious worship.
- (5) Employes and agents of the former, police, the gendarmerie corps and the Ochrana; also members of the dynasty that formerly ruled Russia;
- (6) Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also deaf and dumb persons;
- (7) Persons who have been punished for selfish or dishonorable misdemeanors.

### II—VII

#### Principles for the Administration of the Russian State.

The government is based upon the smallest settlements (villages and hamlets), the inhabitants of which may elect one representative to each 100 persons. The rural Soviets are under the authority of the Soviets of the Wolosts (districts), and these latter under the Soviets of the UJesd (larger regions). The urban and UJesd Soviets elect delegates to sessions of the government or Oblast Soviets. Each of these bodies chooses independently its own executive committee.

**THE KEYSTONE to the whole constitution is embraced in :**

### VIII

#### Concerning the Pan-Russian Congress of the Soviets.

- (1) The Pan-Russian Congress of the Soviets consists of representatives of the urban Soviets (one delegate for each 25,000 voters) and representatives of the government congresses (one delegate for each 125,000 voters).
- (2) The Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets will be called together by the Pan-Russian central executive committee at least twice a year.
- (3) The extraordinary Pan-Russian Congress will be called together by the Pan-Russian central executive committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of the Soviets of districts embracing at least one-third of the entire population of the republic.
- (4) The Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets elects the central executive committee of not more than 200 members.
- (5) The Pan-Russian executive committee is responsible to the Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets.
- (6) **The Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets is the highest power in the republic.** In the periods between its sessions that power is represented by the Pan-Russian central executive committee.

It is further provided that the central executive committee shall be divided into eleven colleges for administrative functions. These are :

1. Foreign policies.
2. Defence of the country (army and navy).
3. Social order and security (militia), census of the people, registration of societies and associations, fire department, insurance, organization of the Soviets.
4. Justice.
5. Public economy (with subsections for agriculture, industry and trade, finances, railways, food supply, state property and construction).
6. Labor and Social welfare.

7. Education and enlightenment of the people.
8. Public health.
9. Post, telegraph and telephone.
10. Federal and national affairs.
11. Control and auditing.

#### AMERICAN SOCIALISTS MAKE DECLARATION.

**Record of History, that the American Socialist Party is the only "Anti-Kaiser"—"Anti-Junker" Party in United States.**

Chicago— "Our record of opposition to the German kaiser was consistent, continuous and uniform before the war. It will continue until the kaiser is dethroned. We shall attack the institutions of kaiserism, until they are banished from the face of the earth."

With this declaration the Socialist Party, through its national executive committee here, has thrown down the gauntlet to the imperialists and exploiters of America and their press, who have carried on a continuous campaign against the Socialist Party in an effort to create prejudice against it, charging it with pro-Germanism and with being a willing tool of kaiserism, un-American and disloyal.

The declaration has been issued in the form of a letter to the National Security League, which addressed, a hypocritical declaration to the national conference of Socialist officials and the national executive here, stating that the league is not opposed to the Socialist party any more than it is opposed to the Democrats and Republicans. The letter, giving the reply of the Socialist Party, is in part as follows :

#### Speaks for Propertyless

"The Socialist party assumes to speak for the class whose contribution to this war must of necessity consist of all they have. The propertyless make the supreme sacrifice, whereas the service rendered by your members to the government in winning the war consists of construing honest criticism of the war managers as treason, and reasonable suggestions regarding it as sedition. The real lawbreakers and the real traitors are those who are reaping millions of profit as a result of the war; who, not by harmless words, but by predatory acts and conscienceless deeds, have embarrassed the government to the extent that the direction of industry is being taken from them. They have resisted every proposition to disgorge even a portion of the vast profits they have wrung from the nation's distress, and are even now, by powerful lobbies in the national Capitol, seeking to evade their just share of the public burden.

"The opposition of the Socialists of America to German imperialism and the kaiser is historic; it dates from the first opportunity we ever had of expressing our abhorrence to a government whose power was derived from hereditary succession. The members of your league, and many of those who support it, have entertained most extravagantly and lavishly, and with every indication of approval and commendation, the personal representative of the Hohenzollerns, Prince Henry.

#### Entertained by Kaiser

"Another member of your league, Theodore Roosevelt, was entertained

(Continued on Page 8)



## NEWS ITEMS FROM ALL PARTS

### SIMPSON AND BAYLEY RECEIVE GREAT OVATION IN NEW-ZEALAND.

Wellington, N.Z. Aug. 8.  
The two Canadian, Labor men James Simpson of Toronto, Vice-President of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and W. D. Bayley, Vice-Chairman of the Winnipeg Labor Party, have been given a royal reception in New Zealand. They are there on invitation of the "Drys" to assist in a big drive for National Prohibition. The Prohibition leaders are already congratulating themselves on securing them as the results of the first ten days meetings and conferences are most satisfactory.

Already Canada's Labor representatives have been taken right into the confidence of the organized workers of New Zealand. Jimmy Simpson is already known throughout the whole country and is met everywhere by delegations of workers asking for meetings. His stories and smile are irresistible and his punch in argument secures a knockout every time. His historical and logical analyses of Bill Bayley dubbed the Professor as the issue are getting right to the heart of the question.

Crowded houses have been the order of the day up to date and the audiences sit for three hours listening to the story of a Dry Canada and a sober working class. Labor M.P.'s have been most kind in showing the Canadians around and altogether the visitors are mightily impressed with the sister Dominion under the Southern Cross.

### British Socialist Party Protest Intervention.

"This meeting of workers protests against the armed intervention in Russia in opposition to the declared wishes of the Soviet Government and the direct contradiction of the Allies' pronouncement in favour of the self-determination of all nations. This meeting believes that the overthrow of the Soviet administration would be a disaster to the organised Labour Movement throughout the world, and could only be construed as evidence of the intention of Governments to make war on the working class. It calls upon the British Government to abandon its present policy with regard to Russia and instead to offer Russia the technical and economic aid required for her reconstruction."

### The Executive Committee of the British Socialist Party.

#### News From Australia.

The Trades Union Congress, representing over 100 Unions, including all the principal organisations, has passed a resolution in favour of the formation of a Workers' Industrial Union of Australia, with the object of binding all workers into one organisation, eliminating Craft Unionism.

### BRITISH LABOR AND PASSPORTS

Owing to some misunderstanding that had arisen with respect to the

attitude of the Central powers to British labors "War Aims", it was decided by the joint executive of the Labor party and Trade Unions to make application to Premier Lloyd George in order to secure passports for a de-

legation to proceed to Switzerland to interview M. Troelstra in order to remove any misunderstanding. The application was presented to the War Cabinet and the cabinet decided to refuse passports. The unique reason put forward for this ruling is:— they have no objection to labor delegates meeting M. Troelstra—but could not grant passports because M. Troelstra had passed through enemy territory on his journey to Switzerland. Could inanity be more ridiculous than this? M. Troelstra may meet either English or German socialists but he must not meet them because he had passed through enemy territory. The venerable is so thin that we are disposed to

am particularly anxious to receive copies of your paper, and I wish that you would put me upon your exchange list.

You probably would be interested in the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards Socialism and our various publications dealing with its proposals and methods. If these publications would be of interest to you, I should be glad to put you upon our mailing list and send you the official monthly magazine, the American Federationist and the Weekly News Letter.

The struggle to maintain personal liberty is one of so vital an importance to all lovers of liberty the world over, that I feel that those who are especially interested in this fight ought to be mutually helpful to each other. I shall be glad to hear from

## LIBERTY<sup>1)</sup>

(Tune: "O Canada.")

O Liberty, thou warm and lustrous flame,  
Thou well of hope—thou path of countless slain  
When slaves rebel 'gainst tyrants might  
And join in Union strong,  
With flashing eye and swelling voice  
They sing this rousing song—

### CHORUS

O Liberty, star of victory,  
O Liberty, we take our stand of thee!  
O Liberty, we take our stand of thee!

Our Union now the tyrants seek to crush,  
Far from our gaze thy torch they fain would thrust,  
But dungeon dim, or gallows grim,  
We laugh them all to scorn.  
We pay scant heed to gaping wounds,  
Nor pause, our dead to mourn.

### CHORUS.

Death's dismal wings now hover o'er our land;  
In hero's blood the master dips his hand,—  
But see the hounds of Hell slink back  
As up from shore to shore  
Comes Labor's voice, now roused at last,  
In fearsome, dauntless roar.

### LAST CHORUS.

O Liberty, star of victory,  
O Liberty, we take our stand for thee!  
We'll face the very jaws of death for thee!

This Poem is forwarded from "Cook County Jail" by Comrade Mahler, written by an unknown member of the I.W.W.

ask:—Would the cabinet have granted passports if M. Troelstra had passed through France? This is the second time the labor party has received a rebuff of this character. How the rulers preserve their prerogatives!

### GOMPERS DECLARES HIMSELF ANTI-SOCIALIST.

American Federation of Labor  
Washington, D.C., March 9, 1915.  
Editor, Labor and Progress,  
Melbourne, Australia.

Dear Sir: My attention was called to your paper through the files of the library of the Federal Department of Labor in this country.

The trade union movement of America is very much interested in the problem of defeating the methods and purposes of the Socialist Party—just the same fight that you are leading in Australia. For this reason I

you at any time as to any details of the problems with which you are dealing. Very truly

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American F. of L.

### MAY SHORTEN STRIKE OF COTTON SPINNERS

Interim Injunction Granted Restraining Payment of Strike Money.

London, Sept. 17.—Justice Salter to-day granted an interim injunction restraining the Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners from paying strike money to operatives who are on strike. The injunction was applied for by the Board of Trade which proclaimed the strike to be under the Defense of the Realm Act, making the payment of strike money illegal. This probably will shorten the strike, as the dispute is now narrowed to one of wages.

### DEBS MAKES NO DEFENCE.

Charged With Treason, Socialist Leader in United States Denies Nothing.

The case of Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader, charged with violation of the Espionage Act, was given to a jury in the United States District Court on Sept. 12th. His defence consisted of an address by himself in which he explained that he was working for the good of the whole world, but as to the charges he said: "I deny nothing, I repudiate nothing; I retract nothing."

He was sentenced to ten years in prison. Appeal was immediately made—Debs being granted remand until the appeal trial takes place. He was permitted to go home which is in Terra-Haute, Indiana.

### A LEAGUE OF CREDIT.

We have already drawn our readers' attention to a French scheme for the "pooling" of Allied indebtedness at the close of the war. A. G. C., writing from Bushey, draws our attention to a financial column in the *Morning Post* for August 2, which almost nakedly uses the names of Allied nations as synonymous with the financiers of those nations and their loans.

Under the heading "Financing China" we read:

Although there may possibly be many details to be arranged, it would seem from the cables from New York that the general principle of an advance to China by the four great Powers—Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan—has been settled, and it is easy to see that its significance may be very great.

A Washington cable is quoted:

More than a financial arrangement is involved in this policy which is destined to have far-reaching political results. It brings into close and intimate co-operation Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, and constitutes them the financial guardians and in a measure protectors of China.

The *Morning Post* is read by the investing public, not by the workers. There is not in all its nicely phrased paragraphs even a glimmer of how the people of China will regard these "financial guardians" who are now plotting their exploitation. The *Morning Post's* concluding paragraph is especially significant.

Even if the League of Nations amongst the Allies is not an accomplished fact, a League of Credit ("credit," observe!) amongst the Allies, including the United States, is daily broadening and strengthening, and may yet prove one of the greatest economic factors in the new era after the war.

Thus, as William Morris taught us long ago, "the patient day" of the workers here, and in all countries, as they submit to their capitalist drivers "builds up the house of pain" for other workers in far-off lands. And it is the workers again who must feed the armies to maintain the executive right of the Allied financiers against those of the Central Powers! How long will it be before the workers wake?

### Labor Leader

Under Socialism men will have their first chance to live as civilized men should live.



**AMERICAN SOCIALISTS**

(Continued from Page 6)

by Emperor Wilhelm in Berlin, and accepted as a present from him a life-sized autographed painting of the kaiser, which was later burned by indignant citizens of Oyster Bay. During and before this time Germany, under the old emperor and Bismarck, was persecuting Bebel and the elder Liebknecht and many other Socialists because they stood for human liberty and democracy. These persecutions were always approved and lauded as perfectly proper by certain members of your league, and the great papers which were owned and supported by them. All this time the Socialists of this country and of other countries have consistently, persistently and unremittingly fought the kaiser and the kings, princes and dukes upon whose petty political hereditary power his usurped right of rulership is based.

"Another member of your league, Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, received a Prussian decoration from the kaiser as a token of his personal affection. Yet, in spite of this, your organization attempts a censorship over the views of the only genuine anti-autocratic party in the United States—the Socialist Party.

"We assert that your league is destitute of any genuine democracy, or it would not admit to membership any man who had received favors from the kaiser or other autocrats. They may burn the Prussian decorations and gifts they gladly accepted, but they cannot burn the record which reveals their views.

**Socialists Voiced Opposition.**

"When Prince Henry of Prussia in 1902 visited this country and was acclaimed a prince of peace and amity, dined and feted by those who are of your league, the voice of the Socialists alone was raised in protest. The protest of the Socialist members of the Massachusetts Legislature are on record and may be read by any of your members who care to consult the journal of that body.

"The burden rests with the National Security League members with the ruling class of Germany. A constant profession of loyalty does not win out these connections.

"The Socialist Party was the first political organization in the United States that adopted a programme in conflict with German imperialism. By May, 1915, German armies had crushed Serbia and Belgium and conquered a large portion of France. In that month the Socialist party of the United States issued a proclamation that has challenged the attention of the world. While German imperial-

ism was boasting of its conquests, we declared for 'no forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities and free determination for all peoples.' "The principles were later pro-

claimed by free Russia, then by the inter-allied Socialists and favorably received by President Wilson. Thus our party was the first since the beginning of the war to declare to

death knell of German imperial ambitions.

The National Security League and similar organizations have not accepted, and will not accept this programme. Your attitude would lead to the conclusion that you would do to the American people what the German imperialists have done to the German people.

"We are cognizant of the frightful outrages upon Belgium and the ruthless and merciless war upon the free government of Russia, which, starved, beaten, overwhelmed and prostrate, was forced to conclude a shameful and humiliating peace; the overthrow of the Finnish labor republic; the execution in that country of over 7,000 workingmen in cold blood, the imprisonment of 75,000 others, and the announced intention of imposing a German prince on Finland.

"Our record of opposition to the German kaiser was consistent, continuous and uniform before the war. It has been more pronounced and insistent during the war. It will continue until the Kaiser is dethroned. We shall attack the institutions of kaiserism no matter where they appear until they are banished from the face of the earth.

"The Socialist Party is interested in a general democratic peace, and in securing the return of our boys and the boys of other political faiths to peaceful pursuits. While they go into service abroad, we owe it to them to oppose the plans of any group of persons who would transform these sacrifices into an intolerable autocracy at home."

The national executive committee was united upon this declaration. It is the only statement supplemental to the St. Louis proclamation that will be issued at this time. The 1918 congressional programme, which will be ready soon, is exclusively a programme relating to peace and reconstruction.—*The World, Oakland, Cal.*

# The Aims of Labour

By ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

The most important authoritative pronouncement relative to the British Labor Party and, until his recent resignation, a member of the British Government. A collection of chapters dealing with some of the vital problems now confronting the democratic forces of the world.

**CONTENTS**

- The Political Labour Movement
- The New Party and its Programme
- Solidarity
- World Security
- A People's Peace
- No Economic Boycott
- Revolution or Compromise ?
- Freedom
- Victory
- The Spirit of Democracy

**APPENDICES**

- Memorandum on War Aims
- Labour and the New Social Order

"An extraordinarily valuable contribution to the great debate that is inevitably going to follow the war. We wish that it might be read by every American citizen."  
—*The Nation*

50 CENTS NET ————— 54 CENTS POSTPAID

CANADIAN FORWARD BOOK STORE

# YOUR Part in Poverty

GEORGE LANSBURY  
EDITOR OF THE HERALD (LONDON)  
SOMETIME MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The *Contemporary Review*, referring to "this admirable book," says: Mr. Lansbury has done well at this juncture in national life to address this appeal to those classes, and especially those women, who are themselves secure from the despatch of the Brest-Litovs treaty necessary.

to identify themselves with the fundamental interests of their poorer brethren as to raise the general level of life.

Every page bears witness to that simple directness which endears him to all but those who object to the

truth about social injustice being brought to public view. — *The Athenaeum.*

I do not know any book that puts the case for the workmen, their women and children, more clearly and forcibly than George Lansbury's. — *Land and Water*

It is a book straight from the heart. The reader may or may not agree with all Mr. Lansbury's leading ideas, but it is impossible not to sympathize with the noble aspirations which have gone to the writing of the book.

—*London Daily News.*

PRICE \$1.10 PREPAID.

FORWARD BOOK STORE, 397 Spadina Ave.

Published at  
363 Spadina Ave., Toronto  
I. Bambridge Business Manager  
Dominion Secy.

# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

SUB BLANK  
Single Subscriptions, One Dollar per Year  
Fifty cents per Half Year  
In Clubs, Six for Five Dollars

You will assist our work by giving names and addresses as clearly and fully as possible

	NAME	STREET OR P.O. BOX	TOWN	PROV.
FIVE DOLLARS	1			
	2			
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			

Sent by \_\_\_\_\_ Street No. \_\_\_\_\_  
P.O. \_\_\_\_\_ Province \_\_\_\_\_  
Amount sent \$ \_\_\_\_\_ How sent (cheque, postal note, money order or cash) \_\_\_\_\_

## Correspondence

Editor Canadian Forward  
Toronto.

Dear Comrade

Enclosed find a clipping from the Saskatoon Daily Star, which will show you that I was stopped distributing your pamphlets "Labour and the New Social Order" on Labour Day Parade, seeing that labour is so short sighted and narrow minded do you really think that the redemption of the labour class is near.

Yours in the scrap

M. Jankelson

# COMRADES LET US DO YOUR PRINTING

PRICES RIGHT.

## COLONIAL PRINTING CO.

PRINTERS OF THE  
CANADIAN FORWARD  
and other Socialistic Periodicals.

361-3 Spadina Ave.  
Toronto.