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THE WORLD
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WORKERS



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DEMOCRATIC
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IT SHOULD
BELONG

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TORONTO

CANADA

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STRIKE—IT IS GETS TORONTO

STRIKE TORNADO HITS TORONTO.

Labor Unrest General.

Strikes, like measles, are infectious, or at least this deduction may reasonably be made in summing up the prevailing strike in the City of Toronto, and more generally speaking throughout the Dominion of Canada, at the present time. The plute press is busily engaged in diagnosing the disease, and it is almost certain that so far as one capitalist newspaper is concerned (The Toronto Telegram) that it will ultimately resolve itself into an attack of measles of the German brand. The local organizations immediately affected are as follows:

Civic employes on strike, 2,300; affected, 5,000.

Machinists on strike, 100; affected, 3,000.

Plumbers and pipe-layers on strike, 70; affected, 500.

The development of strike sentiment in the City of Toronto is causing considerable uneasiness to the heads of civic departments and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Toronto, which is generally considered conservative, and somewhat reactionary in its disposition to all measures affecting the general welfare of the people, is likely to receive a severe jolt within the next few weeks by the possible revolt of a very large number of industrial workers. There are between 25,000 and 30,000 organized trade unionists in the City of Toronto, and the sympathetic element is very strong at the present time. The overbearing action of the City Council in refusing to grant a board of conciliation to its disgruntled employes some months ago is largely responsible for the prevailing condition of things, as the employes affected by the demand for increased wages, have repeatedly made application for a board of conciliation to settle the differences between themselves and the civic authorities. The refusal on the part of the city administration to consider this means of settling the question in dispute, has had the effect of giving a direct line-up of the organized forces of labor in the city.

A special meeting of the Trades and Labor Council has been called to take place this week, when the civic employes will give an explanation of their position. There is a general feeling in labor circles that the organized labor movement cannot afford to allow the civic strikers to lose the battle. This being so, it is more than probable that a determined attempt will be made to make the strike effective. In such an event a condition similar to the recent one in Winnipeg may be created. It is evident from general prevailing conditions that a movement of this char-

acter may in the near future incite an industrial revolt that will affect the whole Dominion of Canada.

The Machinists' Strike.

The question in dispute between the machinists' locals and the manufacturers was brought to a head by the dismissal of one of their members working for the Russell Motor Company. It is one of the fundamentals of trade agreements between employers and employes that men who are members of the union or shop committees shall not be discriminated against for acting on such committees, as this is considered an elementary necessity in the execution of the work of the union, and is vital for the protection of union members who may be called upon to take a prominent part in the deliberations which are consequent upon unjust conditions prevailing in the factory. In this case the secretary of one of the machinists' locals was fired for no other ostensible reason than the legitimate performance of his duties. Action was taken immediately by his co-workers, with the result that 100 machinists and tool-makers laid down their tools in order to bring about his reinstatement. Not succeeding in this, they asked other members of the union what they were going to do to remedy the matter. The District Council of the machinists called a mass meeting, at which it was proposed that a period of one hour's notice to reinstate the dismissed employe be given to the company, the refusal of which would necessitate a general tie-up of the whole industry. It was decided after due consideration not to act so hastily in the question of time allowed for settlement, with the result that one week's due notice was given for this purpose. The strike vote will be taken during the course of this week.

The Railway Dispute.

The trouble arising between the men and the Canadian railway companies is due to a demand put forward by the workers for a substantial increase in wages and a general eight-hour day. The organizations affected are machinists, specialists, pattern-makers, moulders, car builders, repair men, boilermakers and blacksmiths, and all the employes of the motive power department must approximate between 40,000 and 50,000 men represented by the workers' committee. At the present time only the mechanical department are involved, but it is very likely that before the Railway War Board is through with the negotiations that 140,000 men will be involved.

Economic Cause of Social Unrest.

The falling price of human "Labor power" in ratio to the relative increasing cost of living, provides the immediate necessity for an increase in the exchange value of labor. The primary function of the trade union

is to protect the workers from the impositions of overbearing masters, and to secure a standard of living conditions that is commensurate with the highest welfare of the individual. Considering the cause of the present unrest and the function of the union, it is an inevitable consequence of unbridled profiteering that the antagonism between employer and employe has become so pronounced and upon further investigation it will be conclusively proved that our present social system which is based on "property rights" in the products of human labor, is, in the last analysis, the primary cause of the present social discontent. Let there be no misunderstanding upon this question—The only possible permanent solution of this problem lies in the complete transformation of capitalist property into the means of wealth production—into "social property" for the benefit of the wealth producers.

The Government Responsible.

It is the duty of any representative government to study these social problems and to heed the address of bodies representing hundreds of thousands of honest toilers in order to promote harmony where at present there is discord. No excuse can be offered that the present administration in Ottawa has not had the facts presented to them. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has repeatedly drawn the responsible Minister's attention to the before cited facts. In the year 1917 the Congress executive addressed the Premier and the Minister of Labor after this fashion.

Mr. Draper made reference to the resolutions recently passed by the convention of the Congress, also to the report of the Executive Council on the subject and the report of the committee on Officers' Reports. He stated that it was fortunate that the Government had the statistical branch of the Labor Department available to use in obtaining information that would justify immediate action in preventing the vendors of life's necessities from increasing prices to the alarming extent they had been increased in recent months. There could be no doubt as to the power of the Government under the War Measures Act, as the letter and spirit of the Act provided for such a situation as that which had arisen, and therefore it was the responsibility of the Government to take immediate action.

"The delegates to the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada are under the impression that the Government can enact legislation to fix prices and control the cold storage plants," said Mr. Draper. What they claim remains to be proven by the action of the Government. The question of

increased wages is now frequently discussed, and the increased prices in food has a great deal to do with the demand for higher wages. There is considerable dissatisfaction among the workers in all parts of the Dominion. It is being said that every able-bodied man in the country can get work if he wants it, but the men who are getting pinched are those who have very small wages and find that they cannot possibly live under present conditions.

Mr. Simpson: "There should be an inventory of the foodstuffs now stored in the cold storage plants of the Dominion." There is an impression that the cold storage plants are being used to influence prices and not to conserve perishable food. The demand made upon the workers to refrain from striking during the war has been well observed by the workers, but there must be an insistent demand made upon the sellers of foodstuffs to show the same spirit of patriotism, or the workers could not possibly regard it as their duty to refrain from striking. It is the duty of the Government to assist in maintaining the standard of wages if there are to be no strikes, but with the increased cost of the necessities of life there comes a corresponding reduction in wages. The worker has learned to estimate the value of wages in what they are able to buy in the market and not in the number of dollar or two-dollar bills he gets in his envelope. The British Government has been compelled to yield to public opinion and instruct the Board of Trade to institute a searching inquiry into the causes of the increased cost of living, for the purpose of preventing the reduction in the purchasing power of the wages being received by the workers."

Conscription of Wealth.

Resolution No. 27—"By Ottawa Allied Trades and Labor Association: That, whereas, the Dominion Government has enacted a Military Service Act; and, whereas, under the terms of this act, man-power alone is to be conscripted for the service of the State, and no provisions are made for the conscription of wealth; therefore, be it resolved, that this Allied Trades and Labor Association request the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at its forthcoming convention, to immediately urge upon the Dominion Government the necessity of conscription all sources of wealth in Canada, including the mines, forest reserves, railways, and all industries that are directly or indirectly engaged in the manufacture of war supplies."

To Co-ordinate Demands.

It seems to us at the time of writing, that the widespread element of

(Continued on page three.)

The Aims of Labor.

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

THE NEW PARTY AND ITS PROGRAMME.

When the war ends the Labor Party, like every other, will be confronted with an unprecedented political situation. No comparison can be made between this situation and any that has arisen out of previous wars. The post-Napoleonic period, following the wars in which this country was involved for twenty years, provides the nearest parallel; but in every essential particular labor stands to-day, both in relation to world politics and to national affairs, on an altogether different footing from that of a century ago. The trade union movement was then strangled by laws which made the combination of workmen, even for purposes of self-protection, illegal. Democracy was rendered abortive by a scandalously restricted franchise which concentrated political power wholly in the hands of landed aristocracy. Social conditions were atrocious. The people were the prey of the profiteering classes, who waxed rich out of the sufferings and privations of the poor.

Collective Bargaining.

A generation of political effort on the part of the people brought an extension of the franchise to the commercial and the middle classes, but added nothing to the power of democracy except the right to combine in trade unions for certain limited purposes and the privilege of "collective bargaining" with the employers. Everywhere the workers were in revolt against intolerable conditions under which they were compelled to live and labor. Another generation had to pass before the workmen of the boroughs were enfranchised and a beginning could be made with the organization of political democracy on modern lines. It was said then by an ornament of the aristocratic House of Commons that the privileged classes would have to begin to educate their masters. "Their Masters," however, preferred to educate themselves. In the process they also educated the leaders of the class parties, who began reluctantly to move upon the path of social reform which carried them further away decade by decade from the secure privileged position they had once occupied.

Democratic Movement Crushed.

In world politics at the same time the democratic movement, which had received an immense impetus from the transitory triumph of revolutionary principles in France, was crushed beneath the weight of the reactionary "Holy Alliance" formed by the kings for the protection of the monarchial principle and the suppression of every liberal and humanizing idea. It is no part of my purpose to describe how the democratic movement shook off this incubus and introduced the epoch of popular government on the continent and at home. It must be enough to say that a backward glance at the history of the nineteenth century will show that the people have been steadily extending the range of their influence in politics and affairs, without any very clear notion of what they were doing or how the final stages in the conquest of political power by the organized democracy were to be surmounted. Democracy had to fight hard for every inch of ground it won. It was in the grip of mighty forces

it had not learned how to control. It fought these forces blindly, confounding some that were, if properly used, beneficent, with those that were entirely malignant. It could not see that the mechanical inventions of Watt, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, which revolutionized the industrial system at the beginning of last century, were only bad because they were allowed to fall into the hands of the capitalist classes. It is not surprising if, in its empirical approach to politics, democracy made some mistakes, misjudged the direction in which events were travelling and had a fumbling grasp upon the reins.

Old Party System Broken.

All this is of the past. The situation to-day is very different. Democracy is awake and aware of its own power. It sees things in a better perspective, and realizes that at home and abroad the triumph of democratic principles in politics and industry and social life is a matter simply of wise and capable leadership and resolute and united effort on the part of all sections of the organized movement. There never was a bigger opportunity for democracy to achieve its main aims than the one which now offers. It is true we should begin to think not only of the great social and economic changes that are to take effect in the coming period of reconstruction, but the method and means of securing them. The war has proved to democracy that a dictatorship, whether one head or five, is incompatible with its spirit and its ideals even in war time. It has also revealed many serious defects in the structure of society. And it has shown the need for drastic change in the composition and organization of political parties. It is generally acknowledged that the old party system has irretrievably broken down. Evidence of this is afforded by the clamant call for new parties. The appearance upon the horizon of a National Party and a Women's Party, the probability of separate groups forming in Parliament around the personality of political leaders who have lost and are losing their grip upon the more or less coherent and strongly organized parties of pre-war days, are symptoms of this disintegration. Political power is about to be redistributed, not only among the electors under the Franchise Bill, but amongst the political parties in Parliament, which will claim to represent the new political consciousness. Minor readjustments designed to adapt orthodox Liberalism or unionism to the changing psychology of the electorate, will not avail. A thorough going transformation of the machinery of the parliamentary parties and a fundamental revision of their programme are, in my judgment, not merely timely, but necessary.

Workers by Hand or Brain.

The Labor Party at any rate has proceeded upon the assumption that reconstruction is inevitable. It has formulated a scheme which is deliberately designed to give the enfranchised millions full opportunity to express their political preferences in the choice of members to represent them in the Reconstruction Parliament which will have to deal with the vast problems arising out of the war. The outline of the new party constitution is now familiar to every at-

tentive reader of the newspapers. It contemplates the creation of a national democratic party, founded upon the organized working class movement and open to every worker who labors by hand or brain. Under this scheme the Labor Party will be transformed, quickly and quietly, from a federation of societies, national and local, into a nation-wide political organization with branches in every parliamentary constituency, in which members will be enrolled both as workers and as citizens, whether they be men or women, and whether they belong to any trade union or socialist society or are unattached democrats with no acknowledged allegiance to any industrial or political movement. We are casting the net wide because we realize that real political democracy cannot be organized on the basis of class interest. Retaining the support of affiliated societies, both national and local, from which it derives its weight and its fighting funds, the Labor Party leaves them with their voting power and right of representation in its councils unimpaired; but in order that the party may more faithfully reflect constituency of opinion, it is also proposed to create in every constituency something more than existing trade councils or local labor parties. It is proposed to multiply the local organization and open them to individual men and women, both hand workers and brain workers, who accept the party constitution and agree with its aims. The individual member will have like the national societies their own representatives in the party's councils, and we confidently believe that year by year their influence will deepen and extend. The weakness of the old constitution was that it placed the centre of gravity in the national society and not in the constituency organization; it did not enable the individual voter to get into touch with the party (except in one or two isolated cases, like that of Woolwich or Barnard Castle) except through the trade union, the Socialist society or the co-operative society. The new constitution emphasizes the importance of the individual voter. It says to the man and woman who have lost or never had sympathy with the orthodox parties: "You have the opportunity not now merely of voting for labor representatives in Parliament, but of joining the party and helping to mould its policy and shape its future."

A Party of Producers.

Under the old conditions the appeal of the party was limited. It has seemed to be, though it never actually was, a class party like any other. It was regarded as the party of the manual wage-earners. Its programme was assumed, by those who have not taken the trouble to examine its whole propaganda, to reflect the views of trade unionists not as citizens with a common interest in good government, but as workers seeking remedies for a series of material grievances touching hours of labor, rate of wages, conditions of employment. This misapprehension rests upon a too narrow definition of the term "Labor." On the lips of the earlier propagandists the word was used to differentiate between those whose toil enriched the community, and those who made no productive effort of any kind but lived idly and luxuriously upon the fruits of the labors of others. It is that differentiation we design to perpetuate in the title of the party. The Labor Party is the party of the producers whose labor of hand and brain provide the

necessities of life for all, and dignity and elevate human existence. That the producers have been robbed of the major part of the fruits of their industry under the individualist system of capitalist production, is a justification of the party's claims. One of the main aims of the party is to secure for every producer his (or her) full share of those fruits, and to ensure the most equitable distribution of the nation's wealth that may be possible, on the basis of the common ownership of land and capital and the democratic control of all the activities of society.

Abolition of the System.

The practice of empirical politics, the effort to secure this or that specific reform, will not suffice; labor lays down its carefully thought-out, comprehensive plan for the reconstruction of society, which will guarantee freedom, security and equality. We propose as a first step, a series of national minima to protect the peoples' standard of life. For the workers of all grades and both sexes we demand and mean to secure proper legislative provision against unemployment, accident, and industrial disease, a reasonable amount of leisure, a minimum rate of wages. We shall insist upon a large and practicable scheme to protect the whole wage-earning class against the danger of unemployment and reduction of wages, with a consequent degradation of the standard of life, when the war ends and the forces are demobilized and the munition factories cease work. In the reorganization of industry after the war, the Labor Party will claim for the workers an increasing share in the management and control of the factories and workshops. What the workers want is freedom, a definite elevation of their status, the abolition of the system of wage-slavery which destroyed their independence and made freedom in any real sense impossible. We believe that the path to the democratic control of industry lies in the common ownership of the means of production; and we shall strenuously resist every proposal to hand back to private capitalists the great industries and services that have come under Government control during the war. This control has been extended to the importation and distribution of many necessary commodities, many of the staple foods of the people and some of the raw materials of industry. More than the great key industries and vital services have come under control; and we do not mean to loosen the popular grip upon them, but, on the contrary, to strengthen it.

No Fortunes in Private Hands.

In the field of national finance the Labor Party stands for a system of taxation regulated not by the interests of the possessing and profiteering classes, but by the claims of the professional and housekeeping classes, whose interests are identical with those of the manual workers. We believe that indirect taxation upon commodities should not fall upon any necessity of life, but should be limited to luxuries, especially and principally those which it is socially desirable to extinguish. Direct taxation, we hold upon large incomes and private fortunes, is the method by which the greater part of the necessary revenue should be raised; we advocate the retention in some appropriate form of the excess profits tax; and we shall oppose every attempt to place upon the shoulders of the producing classes, the profes-

(Continued on Page 6.)



THE ITALIAN PARTY.

In reply to attacks made on the party from all sides, the Executive of the Italian Socialist Party have drawn up the following agenda for their 15th national conference at Rome, to be held on June 28th, 29th and 30th:

1. Nomination of president and verification of credentials. 2. Report on the general and financial condition of the party. 3. Report on the conduct and financial condition of the party organ "Avanti." 4. Report of the parliamentary group. 5. The political attitude of the party in the present national and international situation and the responsibility of the Executive to the party. 6. Nomination for the Executive of the party and for the chief editorship of the "Avanti" left vacant by the arrest of Serrati.

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THE AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Executive of the Austrian Socialist Democratic Party and the Socialist Parliamentary Group issued a manifesto on May 5th, protesting against the prorogation of the Austrian Parliament. They pointed out that the Reichsrath has been prorogued in order to avoid political discussions in connection with the Emperor's letter to Prince Sixte and Czernin's resignation, and to shelve any real solution of the national question on the basis of real autonomy of the various nationalities within the Empire. In addition there is the important question of the economic situation. The manifesto concludes with an appeal to the workers not to spend their strength on futile petty efforts, but to husband their resources and to hold themselves in readiness to strike unitedly when the right moment arrives.

At their recent conference in Vienna, the Austrian Socialists also expressed themselves in no unmeasured terms against the annexationist peace concluded at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They further declared that the texts of the peace terms should have been submitted first to the delegations of the Austro-Hungarian Parliaments—the Government having no right to sign such treaties on their own responsibility. It is also worthy of note that this opposition to the Government was not led only by the extreme left, but that such moderate leaders as Seitz and Renner fully endorsed these sentiments.

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THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

The Parliamentary group of the French Socialist Party decided on June 3rd to demand a secret session of the Chamber for the discussion of questions arising out of the new German offensive. The "Journal du Peuple" protests strongly on principle against this demand of secrecy by the Socialist members; the country, it says, has a right and a duty to know and judge the truth and all the truth. The Socialist group of Meudon regrets that the Socialist Deputies did not protest more energetically against the suppression of the May Day manifestation and con-

demns the workers who, while abstaining from taking a holiday on May 1st, so as not to impair the work of national defence, nevertheless allowed a holiday to be forced on them eight days later on the religious festival of the Ascension, and regrets particularly that all the workers did not insist on being paid for this forced holiday, as did those of the Thomson-Houston factories. The Meudon comrades also protest against the arrest and condemnation of militants and the letter of the forty members of the extreme right of the party, and decide to celebrate Marx's anniversary by a more extended study and distribution of his immortal works.

The extreme right wing of the French Party are founding a new daily organ: "La France Libre" (Free France), under the direction of Compe-re-Morel and Arthur Rozier. It is interesting to note that when the French minority (centre) group founded the daily "Le Populaire," they decided to make it an evening paper so as not to compete with "L'Humanite," the official organ of the party which is a morning paper, notwithstanding that the tenor of "L'Humanite" was almost entirely "majority." No such scruples, however, seem to worry the famous 40 majoritaires.

* * *

RAPPAPORT SENTENCED.

Rappaport has been fined 200 francs and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment with the benefit of delay of the execution of the sentence, which, in effect, means that he is free unless, on a repetition of the fault, he is again arrested. The comparative lightness of the sentence is explained by the fact that the authorities felt they had no case whatever against him. Why he should have been dragged before a military court at all passes understanding, but once having done so, the authorities did not want to make themselves look ridiculous and at fault by acquitting him altogether as justice, even their justice, really demanded. He was accused of having declared that the French generals were incapable, and when someone attacked Russia, he was accused of retorting that the French should do what the Russian Bolsheviks had done. This, however, was denied by Rappaport, who all along had criticized the Bolsheviks, especially when the latter dissolved the Constituent Assembly. Warm letters of appreciation were read in court on Rappaport's behalf from Anatole France and Jean Longuet.

* * *

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE ENTENTE.

A recent number of the "Isvestia" had the following in an interesting article:

The attitude of official circles in the Entente powers concerning revolutionary Russia continues, in general, to be one of political abstention. Whilst the authority of the Soviets is recognized by the great majority of the Russian people, it has so far not been recognized by the Allied Governments. Instead of the desir-

ed return to a saner policy, they simply continue their boycotting tactics. Recently, the relations between Russia and the Allies have become worse. The menace of the occupation of Siberia is becoming greater and greater, and is in fact taking on a concrete form most regrettable in the interests of both parties. Considering the situation from the purely practical point of view, we have frequently shown that the interests of both parties, properly understood, demand conciliation and not rupture. As a matter of fact, all projects for the occupation of any portion of Russian territory by the armed forces of the Allied Powers, or by any one of them with the approval of the others, and against the will of the Russian Government, cannot be regarded other than as a hostile act. And the hostile character of such an act will not be in the least diminished by attempts to persuade us that such act will be accomplished in our own interests, with the sole aim of helping us against a more formidable foe.—The Call, England.

GEORGE PLECHANOFF.

It is with the deepest regret we learn of the death of the founder of the Russian Social Democratic Party, George Plechanoff, at a sanatorium on the Russo-Finnish frontier.

Of late years we disagreed with him very profoundly, particularly since the outbreak of war when he fell into the slough of Socialist patriotism of the very worst kind, often even forgetting his whole Socialist past as, for instance, when he objected to the proposal to expropriate the landowners on the ground that it was not in the interests of the Russian peasants themselves to have the rich landowners suddenly become poor without any means of livelihood. (We quote from memory from the "Novaya Zhizha" of many months back.)

Nevertheless, Plechanoff's whole life, since that day in December, 1876, when as a young student in Petrograd he unfurled the red banner of Socialism at the Kazan Square, was given up to devoted work for Socialism and labor. The Russian translator of Marx's "Communist Manifesto," he was also Marx's most ardent disciple, and together with Axelrod did more than any one man in the movement to spread Marxism among the Russian workers. Using Marx's principles as a guide he accurately foretold, as later events have shown, the future economic development in Russia and upon that he based his whole Socialist propaganda amongst the ever-extending industrial proletariat of Russia. Exiled from his native land for the best part of his life, Plechanoff lived at Geneva, Switzerland, where he did an immense amount of theoretical and practical work. And his work was not merely of importance in Russia where, although in exile, his influence among the workers and the intellectuals was immense, but his earlier works, particularly his philosophy, is so profound, his insight into the nature of things so deep, that his work can rank as of first international importance. Unfortunately, for at least the last 12 years or so, his intellectual strength seemed to have largely forsaken him. His judgment on the significance of events and of movements lost its clearness and deep insight and his influence was on the wane. On the outbreak of war the havoc was completed—he became an ardent nationalist and embraced Russia's cause against Germany, even

before the Revolution had begun to show its head.

When the Revolution triumphed he returned to Russia. The workers, though disagreeing with his present attitude, could not forget his glorious past, and they gave him a great ovation. On the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, however, and in deference to his past, he was given a consultative voice only his party not being admitted to representation as being of no importance.

Thus passes away a brilliant yet, in the end, tragic figure in the international Socialist movement. Was his decay due to the purely physical weakening of his intellectual powers, or was it his long exile which, divorcing him from the real living, practical working-class movement of his country, was responsible for the intellectual back-sliding of his last years? We cannot for the moment say, but this we know—long after the present nightmare with its ruins of souls, intellects and bodies has passed away, George Plechanoff will still be remembered and valued for the great and brilliant part he played in his earlier days in building up the Russian and International Socialist working-class movement.—The Call, England.

IS IT A PRESAGE ?

The governments' makeshift arrangements to have the workers of the cities and towns go out and help on the farms are faintly suggestive of what may be a settled policy in the industrial state of the future. When all industry is operated on a national co-operative basis, regulated and controlled by the workers, it is quite conceivable that all the indoor manufacturing work will be performed during the winter months and so allow everyone to get out on the farm during the summer. Such a plan would at any rate solve the farm problems of long hours and the oft-times lack of social intercourse and amusement. Moreover what normal human being is there who wants to be indoors when the sunshine is calling him out into the fields ?

(Continued from Page One)

discontent that is prevalent from British Columbia to Nova Scotia would effect better results by co-ordinating their forces and making a general united demand for the general "Conscription of Wealth" in accordance with their declared attitude at recent convention proceedings. In view of the general character of the strike sentiment—and the common cause of discontent and variety of occupations affected, it is manifestly impossible for Government influence to effect a satisfactory settlement in the numerous trades affected within a reasonable period of time. Bearing in mind the great financial strain that the resources of the various unions will be called upon to meet in the eventuality of the prospective strikes maturing—there is a possibility of the workers defeating their own ends by making a general demand without some general form of co-operation, both in the demands and the character of necessary administration in the conduct of the men involved. A clear conception of what is necessary to meet the general demand that is felt not only by the organizations immediately affected but by the rank and file of our laboring population on the general nature of the questions involved would result in a short, sharp, decisive victory.

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.)

II.

(Continued)

November 25, 1917.

It is just a month since I wrote the first part of this article. Kerensky saw the truth: but he could not gauge the excitement of spirit, the deep trouble of the slow-moving Russian masses. He thought the radical democratic program could be worked out slowly, by means of Constituent Assemblies and such-like, after the victorious end of the War which would have made "the world safe for democracy." The idea of Socialism, or a Proletarian State, subsisting in the imperfect capitalist world of today, was to him inconceivable.

The Bolshevick peace cry had swelled into a chorus which drowned every other sound. It was at this time that a prominent American visiting Russia said to me, "There is only one real party in Russia—the peace party."

But Kerensky defied the Bolsheviki and commenced the struggle which ended when he fled, alone and in disguise from the battlefield where he had been defeated.

By that act he lost whatever popularity he had retained among the revolutionary masses. He hardly realized this, for after a silence he addressed to Russia an open letter in which he said:

"Be citizens, don't finish with your own hands the country and the revolution for which you have struggled these eight months! Leave the fools and traitors! Return to the service of the country and the revolution!

"It is I, Kerensky, who say this... Pull yourself together!"

In that hysterical communication may be discerned all the traits of Kerensky's character—the incomprehension of the movement, sympathy for the people, absolute and utter disbelief in the revolutionary method, nervous bitterness, wounded pride. He could not then have grasped—and cannot now—the fact that the masses of poor people he loved and gave his life to help have turned away from him. At the moment he counts actually less in Russia than Bryan does at home.

A VISIT TO THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

"The bearer of this, John Reid, known to the Cultural-Publicity office of the Political Department of the Ministry of War as a member of the American Socialist Party, is authorized to proceed to the active army to gather information for the North American Press; . . .

"Observation: To the Commissar belongs the right to recall agitators and propagandists."

Surely never stranger passport carried correspondent to the front, opened all doors, made the com-

mandant of the Baltic station set aside a separate first-class compartment for the "American Mission", as he called us. An Orthodox priest, bound on volunteer priestly duty to the trenches, humbly begged the honor of travelling in our company. He was a big, healthy man, with a wide, simple Russian face, a gentle smile, an enormous reddish beard, and an insatiable desire for conversation.

"Eto Vierno! It's true!" he said, with the suspicion of a sigh. "The revolution has weakened the hold of the church on the masses of the people. Some say that we served the old regime—that we 'blessed the gallows' of the revolutionary martyrs. But I remember in 1905, when thirteen sappers were executed for mutiny, no priest would administer the last rites. How could we speak consoling words to a man about to be murdered?"

"Some have lost all faith, but the great masses are still very religious—even though extreme revolutionaries. On the caps of the reserves used to be a cross and the words, 'Za verou, tsaria, i otechestvo'—For faith, tsar, and fatherland. Well, they scratched out the 'faith' along with the rest. . . ." He shook his head. "In the old text of the church prayers God was referred to as 'Tsar of Heaven,' and the Virgin as 'Tsarina.' We've had to leave that out—the people wouldn't have God insulted, they say. . . ."

We went on to speak of his work in the armies, and his face grew infinitely tender.

"During regimental prayer the priest prays for peace to all nations. Whereupon the soldiers cry out, 'Add without annexations or indemnities. Then we pray for all those who are travelling, for the sick and the suffering; and the soldiers cry, 'Pray also for the deserters!' Simple minded children! They think that God must grant anything if it is included in a regular prayer by a regularly ordained priest. Woe to the priest who refuses to pray the soldiers' prayer!" He mused for a moment.

We talked of the great Church Congress at Moscow, the first since Peter the Great, with its convocation of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Athens, Alexandria and Jerusalem, the Metropolitans of the Russian cities, the Archbishops from Japan, Persia, Roumania, Turkestan, all in a ferment of democratic revolt; and of the innumerable Russian sects—Doukhobors, Molochant Baptists, Diendieki or "Holers," who must have a hole in the roof of their tabernacle for the Holy Ghost to descend through. Williams, my American companion, told of a Volga peasant, who attributed the ills of Russia to the sinful practise of crossing oneself with three fingers—he being an Old Believer, and using only two . . .

And the priest explained to us how the rites of the Orthodox Church were designed to symbolize different stages in the life and passion of Christ, and how no woman, even a girl-child being baptized, was permitted at the altar.

At every station the train made a long halt to allow the passengers time for many glasses of tea and a great gulping of food, in the cheerful, steamy clatter of crowded waiting rooms. In between times utter strangers, officers and civilians, drifted in, and our converse was of curious matters.

The evening papers announced that Martov and the Mensheviki-Internationalists had formally broken with the Tseretelli-Lieber-Dan group, because of their "hesitating policy of compromise."

"Tseretelli, Dan, Lieber, Gotz, and Tcheidze are the Girondins of our time," said one young captain who spoke French. "And they will share the fate of the Gironde. I am with them," he added.

The priest lived in Tashkent, in the Trans-Caspia, where he had a wife and five children. He told about the singular institution of the Thieves' Bureau, where persons who had been robbed could go and recover their property by paying its value, less 20 per cent. discount for cash. A thin little school-teacher described the Thieves' Convention held in Rostov-on-Don this summer with delegates from all over Russia, which despatched a formal protest to the Government against the rapacity and venality of the police. And a fat polkovnik spoke of the Convention of German and Austrian Prisoners of War, in Moskow, which demanded the eight-hour workday—and got it!

Rumor had it that the armies at the front would leave the trenches and go home for the feast of Pakrov, the first of October—then only four days off. Each one was concerned about this immense threat of dissolution. . . . The priest had been present at two meetings of Regimental Soviets, where bitter resolutions had been passed. Some one had the official newspaper of the Eighth Army Soldiers' committees, with an obscure account of military riots at Gomel. The Lettish troops were also stirred up. What if the millions of Russian soldiers were simply to stop fighting and start for the cities, for the capital, for the villages? The old polkovnik-muttered, "We are lost. Russia is defeated. And besides, life is so uncomfortable now that it is not worth living. Why not finish everything?" With whom the French-speaking officer, revolutionists by theory, debated hotly but courteously. The priest told a very simple Rabelaisian story about a soldier who seduced a peasant girl by promising that her child would be a general. . . .

It grew late, the lights were dim and intermittent, and there was no heat in the car. The priest shivered. "Well," he said finally, his teeth chattering, "it is too cold to stay awake!" And with that he lay down just as he was, without any covering put his long skirts, and immediately fell to snoring. . . .

(To be continued)

WHAT'S THIS?

Irish voluntary recruits, says Lord French, in his proclamation, are "entitled to share in all that their motherland can offer."

Now we're getting down to business. Now we'll have the land nationalized. And the banks and the— But hold on a moment! What's this? —Glasgow Forward.

"WITHIN THE SHADOW."

"And behind the dim unknown Standeth God. Within the shadow Keeping watch above His own."

—Lowell.

In honor of David Wells, Rev. William Ivens, M.A., B.D., Winnipeg, Man., and all who are bravely suffering today for conscience's sake. And of Mr. Isaac Bainbridge, Toronto, illegally and shamefully persecuted.

In amaze, I looked around me, on a sorrow-stricken world,
Half in fear, I looked above me as the clouds of gloom unfurled;
And I wondered why the evil seemed to triumph o'er the good—
And to ride to unblest conquest through a path all red with blood.

For I saw them press the thorn-wreath on the brows of marble-white
Till the soul within me shuddered at the horror of the sight;
And I heard their mocking tauntings as the true and holy died
Like the One Who came before them scorned and pierced and crucified.

And I heard them prate of Jesus, while they cast His children out,
Till the "Christian" Church and pulpit echoed with their Moloch shout.

And I saw them bind His children in foul dungeon-dens of gloom—
Till within a world He died for, those who loved Him found "no room."

And I saw the weary toilers martyred in the marts of gold—
Sacrificed to gods of Mammon, like dumb cattle bought and sold;
And I saw the little children die for lack of daily bread,
Saw the suffering mothers weeping, as the tiny forms lay dead.

Then it seemed, I heard an echo from a song of bygone years,
Moving, by its tender pathos, tired eyes to healing tears;
And I wondered if the singer, singing now before the Throne,
Stands with God "within the shadow, keeping watch above His own."

And I wondered, if in Heaven, high amid the star-crowned throng
He could hear the gentle echo of his sweet and holy song,
And could know the balm of comfort that its music sheds around,
On the weary and the anguished lying wounded on the ground.

Yes, "our God within the shadow keepeth watch above His own,"
When a soul in bitter sorrow suffers in the dark alone,
When His child is led to Calvary while the mob cries "Crucify!"
There is One Who hears the moaning of the last "Sabachthani."

With a great and awful vengeance, God is coming to the world,
Downward, from their long usurping shall His enemies be hurled;
And their prayers shall be unheeded, God shall speak in majesty,
"Ye have crucified My children—ye have done it unto ME!"

Gertrude Richardson,
The Women's Crusade.
Swan River, Man.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Correspondence—

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"CONSCRIPTION" FOR THE SONS OF TOIL.

Licence for Exploiters.

"This is a war for democracy", the resources of the Empire must be utilized for the purpose of crushing the autocracy and repacity of the baneful Hun. These and many similiar expressions have become household words in the Dominion of Canada. Responsible government officials and press agents have shouted these sentiments from the house tops for many weeks past. No person with any respect for veracity will attempt to deny that the government has been extremely zealous in the furtherance of the first named project. In the early days of the war man power for combatant service was exclusively within the scope of voluntary enlistment, then we had the military service act which has been amended on several occasions in order to fill up the gaps that have been made in our fighting forces at the front. It was then deemed essential by the administration in power to register all men and women upwards of sixteen years in order that the man power resources of the country could be held in review, and to be disposed of at a later date in order to co-ordinate the Labor resources of the country in the prosecution of the war and the necessary supply which it entailed.

One might reasonably have anticipated that in the furtherance of this project that much greater inroads would have been made into the established form of property, and surprise is being emitted at the negligible extent to which the principle of the "Conscription of Wealth" has been applied up to the present time. The dispensation of the material resources of the country should at least be considered as vital and necessary, and of considerable less value than those human elements which the government have already taken under control. Does the government think that a super-tax on large incomes—(incomes which in the main are accumulated by exploitation, and are at the same time a menace to the liberties of the people) is in any sense commensurate with the sacrifices made by labor in field, factory and workshop?

It is a glaring shame to our political life that we have enforced conscription of manhood, and not even dare to suggest conscription of money. Money is sacred, is established, money has its way. When the government wants money it goes to Wall Street and the gigantic corporations in order to beg. It has to launch enormous campaigns to convulse the country with excitement, to send out thousands of speakers, and wastes thousands of reams of paper on advertisements and appeals in order to persuade those who have money to let it be used for the purpose of ensuring victory. In recognition of such valiant service the government then promises to repay at the rate of 6 per cent. interest. In other words, it has to establish a new and

more permanent form of privilege, it has to endow parasitism, and allow it to root in our land forever the very evils of injustice and exploitation which it is ostensibly out to destroy in Europe.

Millions of profits have been made out of this war, debts that surpass human imagination are being piled up by the gigantic corporations that will weigh heavily upon future posterity unless some more effective means of paying for the war is adopted by those in power. While brave and courageous sons and fathers are suffering and dying in the trenches, the owners of the profit machines are making twenty, forty, sometimes as high as eighty per cent. upon their capital stock, and in most cases these stocks have been so watered that the true rate of profit is in many cases thousands per cent. on the original investments.

We strive to be a democracy but in England the government takes for war purposes eighty per cent. on war profits and is planning now to take twenty-five per cent. of capital as well. But in this country we borrow money from our financiers and mortgage the labor of the future. If we are honest in our claims for democracy we will send to Ottawa during the next few months an overwhelming demand for the conscription of wealth, which is the only true measure of justice to those who have suffered, bled and died in order to save future generations from the despotism of middle Europe. Conscription is a fact. It is the duty of all enlightened people in the Dominion of Canada to see that the principle of conscription is applied to all the material resources of the country. Let us conscript the banks, the mines, the mills, factories and workshops; if we fail in this the struggle for Democracy has been in vain. Let every democratic organization demand that wealth be conscripted, it is the toilers' just due. The time is past for haggling with individual employers of labor over wages. It is the government's imperative duty to oust the principles of monetary despotism at home. To emancipate labor from the imposition of private greed, by taking and controlling industry in the interest of the nation—and thus give our people freedom from Capitalist oppression and forever put an end to social discord by saving "Democracy" from the spoilers hand.

SOCIALISTS MUST CHANGE WAR POSITION.

(By Eugene V. Debs.)

The war situation now is radically different, as it affects the Socialist party, from what it was a year ago. The Russian revolution has changed the face of Europe and its possibilities, now trembling in the balance, challenge the Socialist movement to demonstrate its faith in and loyalty to the principles of international democracy.

The German war lords, their Junker allies, and the military borders that do their bidding, no longer are

in disguise with reference to the Bolsheviks. They have shown to the world beyond cavil that they purpose to annihilate social democracy in Russia and reduce that great people to a nation of vassals. That is their naked, shameless purpose, in violation of their own treaty, and with but feeble protest on the part of the German people.

The Russian proletariat under Lenin and Trotzky looked hopefully to the German Socialists to follow their example and overthrow the Kaiser, as they had overthrown their Czar. But, alas, instead of rising in their might against the infernal Hohenzollerns, they suffered themselves to be used by the Hohenzollerns in invading Russia and crushing freedom there to make impossible their own freedom.

We have patiently waited and fervently hoped for something to come out of Germany. We had been led to believe that the great social democratic movement of that country was but waiting its opportunity to strike for liberty. But nothing has come or is likely to come in the way of revolution from the German social democracy. It has been demonstrated over and over again that the German movement is anchored to nationalism and is ready to shed its blood at any time and for any purpose the Kaiser may decree for the glory of the "Fatherland."

The Kaiser first and Socialism next expresses their attitude in fact, if not in words. They are so completely cowed and terrorized under Prussian militarism that they dare not take a revolutionary stand on any issue in the present war. If the rank and file venture out on strike to paralyze industry as a beginning of social revolution, their frightened and intimidated leaders hastily order them back again for fear of being shot like dogs by their own Socialist comrades, the military hirelings of the brutal Kaiser. And all this for the fetish of nationalism and the glory of the Kaiser and the "Fatherland."

The Russian revolution may be crushed, the unarmed proletariat overwhelmed, and the noble and aspiring peasants and workers reduced to vassals; the Bolsheviks may be

overthrown, and the nascent democracy may be weltering in its own blood and ruins; province after province may be wrested from a subjugated and helpless people; Poland may be outraged, Finland seized and Bohemia persecuted; Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg may be thrown into prison; every Socialist aspiration may be strangled and every blood-bought democracy ground beneath the iron heel of the Kaiser, but the German people may not audibly protest. The much-vaunted social democratic movement of Kaiserland is as helpless as if it consisted of so many babes. It is sad to say, but against this atrocious situation there appears to be nothing to hope for from the inside.

The German people, Socialists included without few exceptions, not only are disinclined to rise, not only are incapable of rising in revolt against their medieval rulers and their barbarous militarism; they not only refuse to throw off their yoke, but they allow themselves to be used for the base purpose of refastening the yoke upon their revolutionary neighbors who have cast it off.

That is the situation with reference to the majority of the German Socialists in the present crisis. There is no use trying longer to excuse or extenuate it. Whatever the cause, that is the fact, and it is vain, and worse than vain to try to conceal it.

Labor and the New Social Order

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

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(By Phillips Thompson, Oakville.)

Hearken unto the Parable of the Mule. It is an old story but probably will be new to many readers. Once upon a time in those early days when, according to Aesop, animals had the gift of speech, a farmer was driving his mule to market with a load of watermelons. Suddenly the mule balked and began to kick. "What are you kicking about, Maud?" queried the farmer. "I'm hungry," replied the mule. "I want some of those melons." "Well, by Gosh," ejaculated his master, appealing to the divinity who was supposed to preside over agriculture, "who ever heard of such a thing? Why your father ate thistles as a regular diet, and was glad to get an occasional meal of hay." "Too true, alas," sighed the mule, "but unfortunately my father was an ass." And he kept on kicking till he got what he wanted.

Rev. W. Ivens, editor of the new Winnipeg Labor paper, is starting a Labor Church. No doubt he means well, but the scheme is foredoomed to failure. The man who is sufficiently emancipated mentally to cut loose from orthodoxy has seldom much use for paid ministers. Why should any man who can read and think for himself hire another to tell him what to believe or how to be good?

The approach of the 12th of July, coupled with the restrictions imposed on free speech, recalls an incident which is alleged to have happened in Belfast. Owing to the frequency of religious ructions, heavy penalties are imposed on anyone convicted of cursing the Pope or King William, and half the fine goes to the informer. One of the latter gentry was making his rounds on the glorious 12th on the lookout for violators of the law, when he came across an individual seated on a doorstep, very drunk, and muttering to himself, "to hell with — to hell with —" "Excuse me, sir, but what did you say?" asked the informer. "I say to hell with —" "To hell with who?" "Aw thin you may finish it yourself. It wud be too xpensive for me, entirely," was the cautious reply.

Readers of these comments will sometimes have to read between the lines. I should often like to talk out more plainly—but it would be too expensive for me.

"Many men in public executive positions are eulogized and slobbered over far beyond their real worth," says The Mail and Empire. True enough, but there is no paper that has slobbered and grovelled before the little men who have been booted into big places more than The Mail and Empire.

I don't think anyone can accuse me of any leaning toward the teachings of the Catholic Church, but I am sincerely rejoiced to see that there is one institution in Canada sufficiently influential to call a halt to the arbitrary and despotic methods of the

military authorities and exact a humble apology therefor.

Moncton, N.B., June 26.—Several men transiently employed in tearing down the old I.C.R. shops to make room for railway yard extension, quit work because they were not paid the same rate as the permanent laborers on the Canadian Government Railway. German prisoners from the detention camp at Amherst were brought here and are now employed in their places at this and other works.

Now perhaps labor men can begin to realize the true inwardness of this outcry about "alien labor" and the demand for its internment which some boneheaded trade unionists have been taking up. A general internment of aliens would simply mean the creation of a large force of strike-breakers to be mobilized at the call of the big corporations wherever an important strike occurred. The workingman who talks about internment or boycotting the alien is a traitor to his class.

I commend to the thoughtful consideration of all interested in the labor question the following lines from Lowell, written in reference to the anti-slavery agitation when the negro was the object of popular contempt and aversion just as the "alien enemy" is to-day:

Laborin' man and laborin' woman
Have one glory and one shame
Everything that's done inhuman
Injures all on 'em the same.

Why it's jest as clear as figgers,
Plain as one and one makes two
Chaps that make black slaves o' niggers
Want to make white slaves o' you.

LETTER TO WOMEN

I am writing today to ask all members of "The Women's Crusade" and all women readers to take a braver stand in the cause of Peace and Freedom.

We must protest, one and all, against the shameful treatment meted out to our brave editor and comrade Mr. Isaac Bainbridge—so strong a protest that it can never occur again.

Having a dear, noble brother in prison for the truth, my heart is wrung with grief for all who suffer in this cruel war—and I beg of you all, for the sake of our editor's wife and little ones to send a strong and womanly protest to Ottawa.

I still feel that if women would be true to their womanhood this war could not go on, with its dreadful train of wrong and evil unspeakable.

We must work for the new day, the day when vile prison-houses shall be torn down, and all shall know freedom and the light of the sun.

If only I could make you see the vision my eyes behold—of a world as it is—and as it might be—if only I could!

Rev. William Ivens, of Winnipeg, has been removed from his pulpit for his pacifist and Socialist views. The deeds of to-day are full of shame. Write to me for leaflets.

Gertrude Richardson,
Swan River, Man.

Ed. Note.—This letter was received after the Editors' liberation.

When the capitalists need anything they appeal to the government and get what they want. When the farmers need anything they have to go to the capitalists and pay eight per cent. for it.

PROPHETS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

When Charles M. Schwab, Chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation said "The time is coming when the men of the working classes, the men without property, will control the destinies of this world of ours" he was by no means the first among prominent men of the ruling class in America to acknowledge that the time was nigh when they would have to step down and out. Among others who have read the signs aright is ex-president Taft. In 1907 he said "If the abuses of monopoly and discrimination cannot be restrained, if the concentration of power made possible by such abuses continues and increases, and it is made manifest that under the system of individualism and private property the tyranny and oppression of an oligarchy of wealth cannot be avoided, then Socialism will triumph and the institution of private property will perish". Elbert H. Gary head of the U. S. Steel Trust echoed this again in 1912. "Unless capitalists, corporations, powerful men themselves" he said "take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come and they will come mighty quick, and the mob will bring them". Then recently we have Mr. Hoover, U. S. Food Controller, giving expression to the following "One looming shadow of this war is its drift towards Socialism. We will surely drift to that rocky coast unless we can prove the economic soundness, and willingness for public service of our commercial institutions". But with regard to all such admissions coming from such sources, from men skilled in the fine art of fooling the people, the following observation of Com. Engdahl's (lately editor of the American Socialist) is not out of place here. He writes "Schwab's kind words towards the new social order that is coming, are intended to chloroform, to keep the workers asleep until the profiteers have found some way to block progress for a few more years". Nevertheless, whatever the underlying motive may be, the wide publicity given the utterances of these individuals serves the highly useful end and of further breaking down the popular prejudice, and when "hard-headed practical business men" talk in this strain the "mere socialist visionary" is likely to be given a more respectful hearing. But while it is well that those who are to be removed from the seats of power should have intelligent recognition of the social forces at work that will bring about their deposition it is also well that the workers on that account should beware of ever harboring the positively foolish and dangerous idea that Socialism will be handed to them on a silver platter. Such self-abnegation on the part of the owning class would be wholly unnatural. In fact in the same speech from which we have quoted, Mr. Schwab frankly states "I am not one to carelessly turn over my belongings for the uplift of the nation." We class-conscious workers therefore must keep on agitating, educating, organizing, for there are none apart from ourselves to undertake the work of emancipation. But the fact that the day of our deliverance from wage-slavery is within sight should spur us on to hasten its arrival.

A SAVING GRACE.

"And what are you doing for your country?"

"Trying to save it from thieves and rascals and scoundrels."

WINNIPEG UKRAINIANS TO BUILD NEW LABOR TEMPLE.

A movement has been started whereby the Ukrainian Socialists of Winnipeg will become the happy possessors of a building large enough to accommodate the executive department of the organization and all Socialist locals in the City of Winnipeg. The estimated cost of the building is between \$40,000 and \$50,000, and a general appeal has been sent out to all Socialist locals in the Dominion requesting financial assistance to this project. The building will be entirely owned and controlled by the Ukrainian S.D.P. comrades, and we gladly take the opportunity of requesting all possible assistance to this worthy purpose. It is the intention of the administration to use the building for the purpose of conducting a systematic course of education for Ukrainian workers, and to provide a headquarters for the printing and publication of their official organ "Robotchy Narod."

Subscribers are requested to make all remittances payable to D. Moy-suik, Box 3658, Sta. B., Winnipeg, Man.—Ed.

(Continued from page Two)

sional classes and the small traders the main financial burden of the war. We seek to prevent, by methods of common ownership and of taxation, the accumulation of great fortunes in private hands. Instead of senseless individual extravagances we desire to see the wealth of the nation expended for social purposes—for the constant improvement and increase of the nation's enterprises, to make provision for the sick, the aged and the infirm, to establish a genuine national system of education, to provide the means of public improvements in all directions by which the happiness and health of the people will be ensured. One step in the direction will be taken when the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drink is no longer left to those who find profit in encouraging the utmost possible consumption. The party's policy in this matter asserts the right of the people to deal with the licensing question in accordance with the opinion of the localities; we urge that the localities should have conferred upon them full power to prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries, or alternatively to decide whether the number of licenses should be reduced, upon what conditions they may be held, and whether they shall be under private or any form of public control. In our relations to our peoples, whether those of our blood and tongue in the British Empire, or those of other races and languages, we repudiate the idea of domination and exploitation, we stand for the steady development of the idea of local self-government and freedom of nations. On all these points and the problems underlying them, the Labor Party lays down its general principles and policies; and from time to time Labor's representative assemblies will apply these principles to the problems of immediate and pressing importance, and formulate the programme which the electors will be invited to support. In opposition, and presently, as we believe and hope in office, Labor will seek to build up a new order of society, rooted in equality, dedicated to freedom, governed on democratic principles.

*See "Labor and the New Social Order."

Next Article—"Solidarity."

**PROGRESS AND POVERTY.**

(By Henry George.)

Unpleasant as it may be to admit it, it is at last becoming evident that the enormous increase in productive power which has marked the present century and is still going on with accelerating ratio, has no tendency to extirpate poverty or to lighten the burdens of those compelled to toil. It simply widens the gulf between Dives and Lazarus, and makes the struggle for existence more intense. The march of invention has clothed mankind with powers of which a century ago the boldest imagination could not have dreamed. But in factories where labor-saving machinery has reached its most wonderful development, little children are at work; wherever the new forces are anything like fully utilized, large classes are maintained by charity or live on the verge of recourse to it; amid the greatest accumulations of wealth, men die of starvation and puny infants suckle dry breasts; while everywhere the greed of gain, the worship of wealth shows the force of the fear of want. The promised land flies before us like the mirage. The fruits of the tree of knowledge turn, as we grasp them, to apples of Sodom that crumble at the touch.

This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. From it come the clouds that overhang the future of the most progressive and self-reliant nations. It is the riddle which not to answer is to be destroyed. So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans from its foundations, and every new storey but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex.

THE PATRIOTIC FUND

Causing Dissension

The government would seem to be going to take over the Patriotic Fund. Did it take the combined wisdom of the two old parties crystallized in a Union Government to realize the significance of the contrast between the methods of paying the soldier and paying the munition manufacturer? The latter is paid in full in a businesslike way, and at a rate, too, higher than for peace-time products, so high in fact that his profiteering has become a scandal, moreover he remains safe at home in idleness and ease, on the other hand the soldier in the trenches gets a dollar and ten cents a day with separation allowance and this, not being nearly sufficient, has to be reinforced by passing around the hat.

NEWS ITEMS FROM ALL PARTS**EXCERPTS FROM PRESIDENT WILSON'S 4TH OF JULY SPEECH.**

"What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

"The past and the present are in a deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them."

"The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international re-adjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned."

GEO. BARNES, M.P., DISCUSSING LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

And the lessening of armaments is necessary for the world's safety. Armaments breed war, just as surely as unwholesome conditions of life breed pestilence. Militarism in Prussia has been worse than elsewhere, but militarism is everywhere the same in kind if not in degree. There is a psychology of the gun. To rear a man to the calling is to induce a wish to follow it. I don't say that he wants to wage war, but he is allied to the idea of the supremacy of material force. He is generally found to be opposed to all ideas of social or political reconstruction or reform. He would dominate at home, and if arms under him are big enough he would dominate abroad. Militarism, in short, in addition to being costly, is also dangerous and inimical to quiet, orderly progress.

MASSES EDITORIAL STAFF FREE.

The trial of the editorial staff of "Masses," a Socialist publication printed in New York, has just concluded after a two weeks' hearing. The persons appearing to answer the indictment were Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Merrill Rogers, Art Young, Josephine Bell, John Reed, the well-known war correspondent and H. J. Glintenkamp, artist, also indicted, were not on trial. The failure of the jury to agree necessitated the liberation of the defendants from bond. We understand that the Government has moved for an immediate re-trial, and we can only hope that such, if it matures, will have the same happy result in freeing our comrades from the legal custodians. Congratulations.—Editor.

Editor Bainbridge Liberated.

The Editor is back at the old stand, having been liberated on "Licensed Parole" for the balance of his prison term.

Full report will be inserted next issue.

FARMERS OF TISDALE SASK.

Protest Order in Council.

Moved by C. Hankins, Seconded by R. N. Warren. Owing to the great need of production for the feeding of the allied nations now fighting for the freedom of the democratic people of the world we ask that, as production will be greatly curtailed if our young men are taken off the farm, we ask our government to re-

consider their recent order of conscription as we believe that production is most essential for the successful termination of the war.

Moved by R. N. Warren, seconded by G. Jones. We protest the recent order in council amending the Military Service Act as being most severe and drastic and a violation of the government's pledges to the people.

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JAMES SIMPSON, LEAVES FOR NEW ZEALAND.

James Simpson (Jimmie) left Toronto on July 1st for a six months speaking tour in New Zealand. He has gone at the invitation of the Temperance Alliance of that country and will lecture in practically all the large industrial centres on temperance and Social Problems. On behalf of the movement we wish him a successful tour and a pleasant voyage. All sections of the Ontario Labor Party are advised:— That in the absence of Jimmie as Secretary of that body.— James Conner will act as Secretary pro-tem. All communications should be addressed to him at Labor Temple, 197 Church St., Toronto, Ont.

A WINSOME WAY.

At the present moment, after being on strike for less than three days, the Winnipeg Employing Printers' Association have offered the men their agreement and a scale of \$29 a week.

The original scale was \$25 a week. The best offer from the employers before the strike was called was \$28 a week.

In three days of strike the employers' offer has jumped a dollar.

CREDIT CAMOUFLAGE.

(By W. Stewart in Glasgow Forward) £6,000,000,000 in debt? Was there £6,000,000,000 in existence before the war, and if not, how can we be in debt for what did not exist? We have been working hard, toiling day and night, building ships, making guns, getting coal, growing food. How can we be in debt for the very things we have produced? Who are the creditors? Where did they get £6,000,000,000 to lend to us? And if they have lent us that fabulous sum, how do they expect to get it back again? You cannot take the brecks off a killed Highlandman nor £6,000,000,000 from people who haven't got a black bawbee!

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

Deacon, fuel controller, is now fearful of a fuel famine. All the more argument for the removal of any kind of restriction by the Ottawa authorities—or is this a stunt to keep up prices on soft coal. Really the muddle is becoming a muddle within a muddle. What is the Government going to do?—Winnipeg Voice.

SOCIALIST PRINTING HOUSE RAIDED.

On Thursday, the 13th of June, the Socialist Labor Press, of Glasgow, Scotland, was raided by the police and 10,000 copies of pamphlet entitled "War or Revolution," by Leon

Trotsky, confiscated. No charges were preferred against the publishers. Action was taken by the Crown. This pamphlet has been widely circulated in Britain and the United States. Surely, as the "Forward" states, "The world has been made safe enough for Democracy by this time."

CAPITALIST EFFICIENCY.

This week the policeman's bull's eye has been flashing upon munitions and similar factories. The Comptroller and Auditor-General has reported on the National Aircraft Factories that "the outstanding feature of the accounts and of the reports is the complete breakdown of the headquarters' records of materials despatched to and from factories." This is another extract: "In one instance, out of a sum of £38,098,590 for materials supplied by the Ministry, £15,855,562 represents materials for which no invoices were received," and "such invoices as were sent by the Ministry were frequently wrongly priced."—J. R. Macdonald in Glasgow Forward.

A REAL FIRST-OF-MAY CELEBRATION.

The workers of Glasgow, Scotland have led the way in Britain in "taking" a holiday on the first day of May to celebrate the international. A monster procession of all labor and socialist organizations of the city marched through the streets to the famous Glasgow-Green where from twenty-three platforms addresses were given, and resolutions affirming the workers' faith in internationalism were moved and carried by acclamation. The number present was estimated at 100,000. As the Sunday following the first of May had in previous years been devoted to the celebration, the employers were furiously indignant at their workers' "presumption" and called the government to prohibit the whole proceedings. The committee in charge of the arrangement were indeed interviewed with the object of having them give up the idea but to no purpose, and as the powers-that-be learned on another occasion that their rulings would be ignored once the Clydeside workers had their minds made up to a certain course, they wisely refrained from inviting defiance. It was a most gratifying exhibition of class-conscious solidarity. While all private establishments kept open, all co-operative societies and factories were closed—the latter having five platforms allotted to them. The Anarchists had one. Thus Glasgow solidifies its claim to the proud title of the Petrograd of Britain.

IN KEIR HARDIE'S HOME-TOWN.

A new distinction has come to Cumnock, Scotland, already famous as being the home-town of Keir Hardie. It has just elected a majority of socialists to its town council. The previous council disgraced itself by turning down (by one vote) the request of the miners' union for a public site on which to erect a monument to Hardie. This decision will now be certain to be reversed. A socialist town council however will be a better tribute to Hardie's great influence and to the respect held for him by his fellow-towns-people than any other kind of symbol. It is certainly too the kind of monument that would have met with the appreciation of the man who gave his whole life to socialism.

