

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS

# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

LABOR PRODUCES ALL WEALTH - UNTO LABOR IT SHOULD BELONG

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## MARXISM and the LABOR PARTY

(By J. Fineberg)

There are Socialists who assume the air of a child who, finding it can walk and talk, poses as superior to other babies, unaware that in time they, too, will acquire these accomplishments. These Socialists assert that by affiliation with the general working-class movement our progress is retarded by the slowly moving mass. But in any case, the progress of Socialism is governed by the advance of Socialist thought among the workers. The Socialist movement of to-day cannot bring Socialism. The Co-operative Commonwealth will be inaugurated by the mass action of the workers. To assert the contrary is a denial of the very principles the ultra-scientific so clamantly support. Steadily the workers move along the road to Socialism. Circumstances compel them to take that road, and the last decade has seen a tremendous change in outlook and organization. Economic Laws operate whether they are all known or not, but if we understand their operation we can bend them to our purpose and assist society along the course it tends to travel. As a Socialist Party we must bring this knowledge to the workers. What tactics must we pursue to that end?

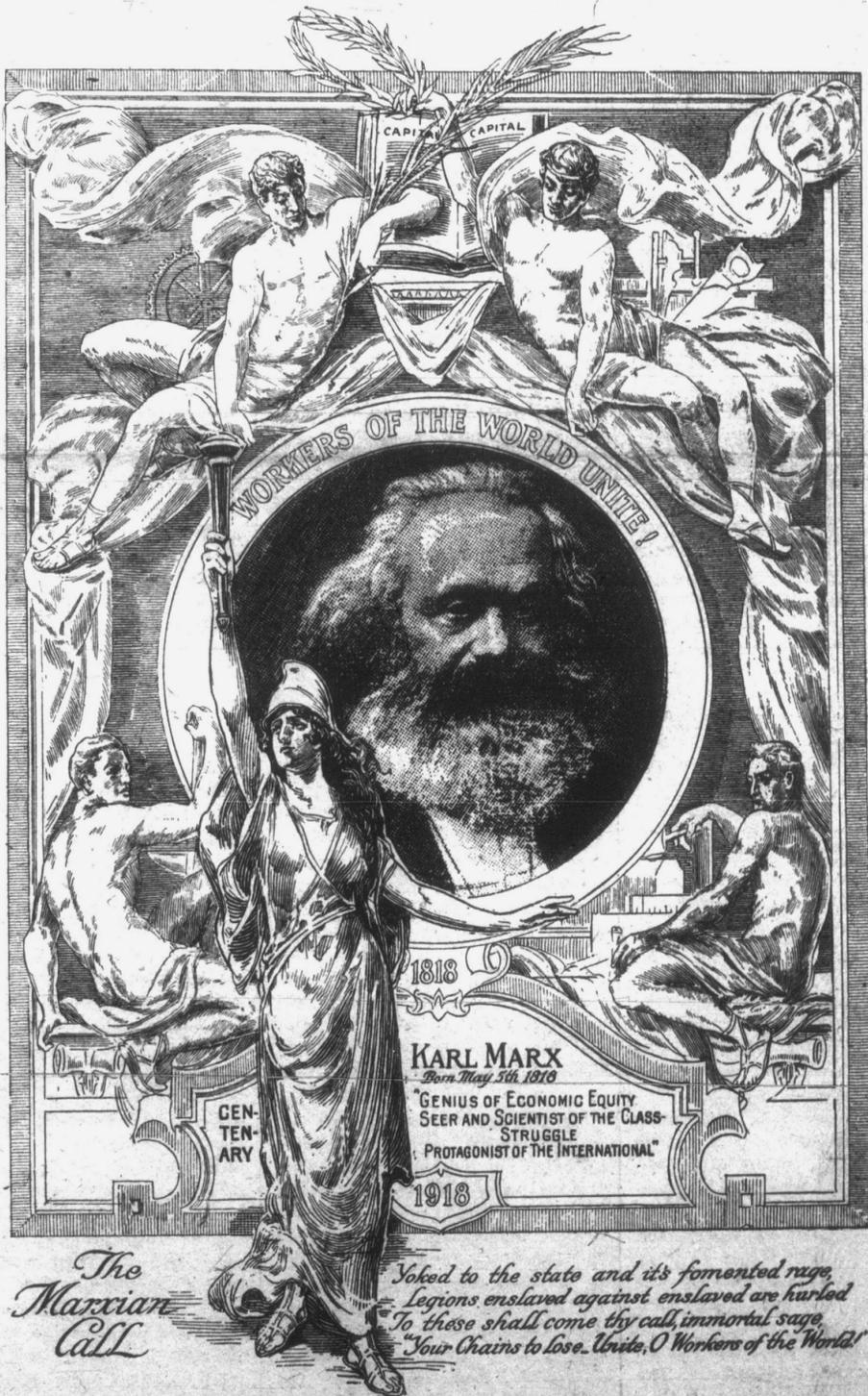
The necessity for political action is taken for granted. Whenever the power of the governing class asserts itself, then the workers must fight. The State is the political expression of the dominant class, and since that dominant class uses the machinery of the State-law, justice, force—to maintain its own privileges and to impose its will upon the labouring mass, the workers contest their claims by political action. The distinction between political and industrial action is false; they are the two poles of the same movement. If this be agreed, those who oppose affiliation to the Labour Party are illogical.

The Trade Union membership as a whole, does not yet appreciate the significance of its own movement. Although engaged in the class struggle, often in conflicts on a gigantic scale, it acts without coherence, and with a dim perception only of its reason and purpose in the struggle. It concerns itself with issues that seem trifling to those who long to move forward rapidly—a reduction of an hour in the working week, or a penny increase in the hourly rate of wages. Yet, what do Social-Democrats in Trade Unions do? They do not leave the Union as reactionary and hopeless. If the Trade Union is hopeless there is no hope. They do not start a new working-class movement in opposition to the old. Not being Utopians, they do not court failure. They remain in the Unions where the working class are. They take a leading part in the conflicts with the employers over

smaller issues, knowing that these are the day-to-day evidences of the class struggle. They are injured by the mistakes of the unthinking mass. Our principles are outraged by the workers exasperating perversity. Yet

in part responsible for the mistakes or treachery of leaders. We battle against the tide, now making headway, now pressed back, confident that when it rises to the flood it will carry us to fortune.

That belief is without justification. If the political movement is the pole, opposite to the industrial movement the standard of political activity is governed by the level of industrial. The ideas prevalent in the Labour



they stay in the Unions, certain that facts and argument will finally bring the members to the acceptance of Socialist principles. By remaining in the Union we do not feel that they are compromised, or that they are

The reason why some Socialists participate in the every-day struggle on the industrial field, and yet decline to take part in political action, is that they regard industrial action as more important than political.

Party reflect the ideas prevailing in the Trade Unions. That is inevitable since both bodies are composed of the same workers. We have already noted that Trade Unionism was (Continued on Page 3).

# RED RUSSIA

## THE TRIUMPH OF BOLSHEVIKI. (By John Reed.)

Reprinted from 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 Reed 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.)

The real revolution has begun. All the swift events of the last eight crowded months—the sudden debacle of Czarism in February, the brief, inglorious attempt of Miliukov to establish a safe and sane bourgeois republic, the rise of Kerensky and the precarious structure of hasty compromise which constituted the Provisional Government—these were merely the prologue to the great drama of naked class struggle which has now opened. For the first time in history the working class has seized the power of the state, for its own purposes—and means to keep it.

To-day the Bolsheviks are supreme in Russia. The ominous onward march of Kaledine, self-proclaimed military dictator and restorer of middle-class order, has stopped—his own Cossacks are turning against him. Yesterday Kerensky, after his defeat and the surrender of his staff at Galchina, fled in disguise. The news has just come that Moscow, after a bloody battle that wrecked the Kremlin and smashed thousands of lives, is undisputedly in the possession of the military Revolutionary Committee. As far as anyone can see, there is no force in Russia to challenge the Bolshevik power. And yet as I write this, in the flush of their success, the newborn revolution of the proletariat is ringed round with a vast fear and hatred.

Last night two thousand Red Guards—the proletarian militia organized and armed by Trotzky just before the final clash—swung down the Zagarodny in triumph. Ahead a military band was playing—and never did it sound so appropriate—the Marseillaise. Blood-red flags drooped over the dark ranks of the marching workers. They were going to meet and welcome home to "Red Petrograd" the saviors of the new proletarian revolution—the troops who had just fought so desperately and so successfully against Kerensky and his Cossacks. In the bitter dusk they tramped, singing, men and women, their fall bayonets swinging, through streets faintly lighted and slippery with mud. And as they marched they passed always between crowds that were hostile, contemptuous, fearful.

The proletarian revolution has no friends except the proletariat. The bourgeoisie—business men, shopkeepers, students, landowners, officers, political office holders and their fringe of clerks and servants and hangers-on, are solidly in opposition to the new order. The moderate Socialist parties—though they may find themselves forced by circumstances

to combine with the Bolsheviks—hate them bitterly. But these elements are so far powerless. Their military strength is represented only by part of the Cossacks, and the Junkers—cadets of the Officers' Schools. While on the side of the Bolsheviks are ranged—the whole rank and file of the workers and the poorer peasants; and the soldiers and sailors are with and of them. On one side the workers, on the other side, everybody else. For the moment the cleavage has all the clear and beautiful distinctness of familiar theory.

### Peace, Bread, Land.

And at this date—I am writing Nov. 4—the workers are in complete control. No one can know what the next few days may bring forth. If they can persuade the other Socialist parties to join with them in accomplishing their gigantic immediate programme of Bread, Peace and Land for the Peasants, this proletarian government will probably last until the Constituent Assembly—and after that in history, a pillar of fire for mankind forever.

This is the moment toward which all revolutions tend. The course of every revolution is toward the left, swifter and swifter. The government, which would retain power in revolutionary times, must do the will of the revolutionary masses—or smash it with cannon. The Provisional Government did neither.

Since last February, when the roaring torrents of workmen and soldiers bearing upon the Tauride Palace compelled the frightened Duma to assume the supreme power in Russia, it is the masses of the people—workmen, soldiers and peasants—who have forced every change in the course of the Revolution. It was they who hurled down the Miliukov Ministry. It was their Soviets—their Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—which proclaimed to the world the Russian peace terms—"no annexations, no indemnities, the rights of peoples to dispose of themselves." And again in July, it was the spontaneous rising up of the unorganized masses, again storming the Tauride Palace, which forced the Soviets to assume power in the name of the proletariat.

The Bolshevik party was the ultimate political expression of this popular will. It was useless to hunt down the Bolsheviks as rioters and imprison them—as was done after the riots which grew out of the July demonstrations. Useless, too, to fling at them the accusation manufactured by provocateurs and reactionaries and repeated until it was believed by all the world, that they were the paid agents of Germany. Unable to substantiate the accusations against the arrested Bolsheviks, the Provisional Government was obliged to release them, one by one, without trial, until of the original hundred less than twenty remained in prison.

### All Power To Soviets

Meanwhile, day by day, the Bolshevik power was growing. It was bound to grow. For the whole Bolshevik programme was simply a formulation of the desires of the masses of Russia. It called for a general, democratic, immediate peace (that is, the army, sick of war); the land

to be immediately at the disposal of the Peasant Land Committees (that got the peasants); and control of industry by the workers (that got labor). The demand that the government should be simply the Soviets of the Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, without participation by the propertied classes, until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly at the end of November, when the political form of the new Russia should be definitely decided—this completed their programme. And it is worthy of remark that when the Bolsheviks first demanded that all power should be given to the Soviets, the majority of the Soviets were still bitterly anti-Bolshevik. It is a mark both of their utter consistency and of their complete confidence in the approaching triumph of their cause. Their cry, "All power to the Soviets!" was the voice of the Russian masses; and in the face of the increasing impotence and indecision of the ever-changing Provisional Government, it grew louder day by day.

So it was that, while the "centre" Socialist parties, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionary moderates involved themselves in compromises with the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks were rapidly capturing the Russian masses. In July they had been hunted and despised; by September the metropolitan workingmen, the sailors of the Baltic fleet, and the body of the army, had been won almost entirely to their cause.

It was the fate of the hesitating successive ministries of the Provisional Government to be blind to this inexorable trend of affairs. To the Soviets' call for peace without annexations or indemnities, the Government replied by ordering the June offensive into Austrian Galicia. In answer to the whole country's longing for peace, the Government permitted the allies to postpone and again postpone the promised Conference on the Aims of the War, and finally to announce that war aims would not be discussed at all. In regard to the land question, the Government's course was equally indecisive. In the summer Peasant Land Committees, had been appointed for the purpose of temporary disposal of the great estates; but when they began to act, they were arrested and imprisoned. To the agrarian disorders that resulted from the holding back of the long-promised land, the Government replied by sending Cossacks to put down the "anarchy." The army was demoralized by suspicion of its officers; the Government, instead of attempting the democratization of the reactionary staffs, tried to suppress the Soldiers' Committees, and restored the death penalty in behalf of discipline. Industry was in a terrible state of disorganization, a struggle to the death between manufacturers and workmen; but instead of establishing some sort of state control over the factories, and making use of the immensely valuable democratic workmen's organizations, Minister of Labor Skobelev tried to abolish the Shop Committees.

### Kerensky's Collapse

But the final collapse of the Provisional Government may be laid most of all to three colossal blunders; the Galician offensive of June, the Kornilov affair, and coalition with the bourgeoisie.

After the Soviets' world-wide call for peace without annexations and indemnities, the Russian and German armies had fraternized for several months, until, according to the tes-

timony of Rosa Luxembourg\* the German troops were thoroughly unwilling to fight. In June, by tricks, exhortations and lies, the Russians were cajoled into advancing—the whole movement crumbling and crashing down in disaster at Kalusz and Tarnopol; and as a result, the morale of the Russian armies and their faith in their officers irreparably ruined.

Then, after the fall of Riga, came the Kornilov attempt to march on Petrograd and establish a military dictatorship. All the details of the story have not yet come out but it is plain that Kerensky and other members of the Government were in some way involved in the scheme. Whatever the secret facts might be, enough was disclosed to make the masses utterly lose faith in Kerensky as a friend of the revolution. After that event, the Provisional Government was doomed.

Then the Coalition, the last chapter of preparation for the final struggle. At the time of the Kornilov attempt, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets proposed that an All-Russian Congress be called at Petrograd, to broaden the base of the Provisional Government and create some sort of temporary organ or pre-Parliament to which the Ministry could be held responsible until the Constituent Assembly. The basis of the new body was, of course, to be the Soviets; but as the Bolshevik power continued to grow, the Central Committee became anxious, and began to invite all sorts of non-political—and conservative—organizations, such as the Co-operatives, to participate. With the same object, to keep the pre-Parliament from being Bolshevik, it reduced the Soviet membership and increased the representation of the bourgeoisie in the last few days, until, even though the propertied classes had been expressly excluded, it was certain that the majority of the gathering would be "safe."

It was a pre-Parliament carefully calculated to vote for the sharing of governmental power with the liberal Bourgeois party. So far as plans could effect it, even the pretence of a Socialist regime was at an end.

But these plans were not easy to carry out. Russia had been shocked and frightened by the Kornilov affair, with its ominous threat against the very existence of the Republic. Investigation had proved how widespread was the responsibility for that affair and there was profound distrust of the bourgeois politicians. In spite of Kerensky's impassioned speech of self-defence, the Assembly proved to be overwhelmingly against his project of Coalition. But on the Government's plea that the national danger demanded it, Coalition was pushed through by a narrow majority. Compromise had won. The Bolsheviks left the Assembly. The new "representative-consultative" body,

\*"So, you have broken the peace! The Russian Revolution was every thing to us, too. Everything in Germany was tottering, falling. For months the soldiers of the two armies fraternized, and our officers were powerless to stop it. Then suddenly the Russians fired upon their German comrades! After that it was easy to convince the Germans that the Russian peace was false. Alas, my poor friends! Germany will destroy you now, and for us is black despair come again."  
Letter of Rosa Luxembourg, to a Russian Socialist, July, 1917.

(Continued on page three.)



**QUEENSLAND AND AUSTRALIA.**  
(Reprint from Glasgow Forward.)

In Queensland the Ryan Labor Government during the past three years had been busily engaged in nationalizing industry after industry, and a great capitalist effort was made at the elections a fortnight ago to sweep the Labor Party from office and stop this gradual elimination of Capitalism. At the time of writing, we know little beyond the result—Labor 51 seats, Capitalists 21 seats, all the "soldier candidates" run by Capitalists being defeated.

Ryan's policy, the complete and democratically controlled public ownership of land and industrial capital, will, after this remarkable vote of confidence, be pressed more vigorously than ever, and will give renewed encouragement to Socialists all over the world who believe that their "day" is at hand.

Of course, it should continually be remembered that the conditions in Australia are exceptional. The stock is adventurously-minded (descendants of burned-out emigrants, Botany Bay convicts, and so on) and the standard of education and comfort is the highest in the world. The emigrants left behind them in the old country the slave stocks, the broken in spirit and in body, and Australian Socialist propaganda has a field of highly-developed intelligence to work upon. Nevertheless the fact that after three years' steady nationalization of industry the people of Queensland increased their Socialist representation and spurned the Capitalist-Militarist combination so emphatically, shows that given the proper educational foundations, Socialist construction will not be delayed by popular "reactions."

An Australian correspondent describes for us some of the tricks played by Billy Hughes in his recent effort to carry Conscription.

"To make doubly sure of victory this time, Hughes disenfranchised naturalized Germans, and sons of Germans, which meant something like 100,000 votes. He lifted the censorship, and then prosecuted editors for not having submitted articles to censor prior to publication. He prosecuted T. J. Ryan (Premier of Queensland) for having used figures re recruiting which were issued by his own Ministers a few months before. Ryan won the case, and was given costs. He fixed the voting for a Thursday, thinking that the workers would not all get to vote. He closed the rolls, giving but 36 hours to get names in. And withal, he failed and failed ignominiously, to carry Conscription. Last time we won by 72,000; this time we put nearly 100,000 on to our majority.

"He wanted 7,000 recruits per month to reinforce 100,000 men (five divisions). He was just going to take the difference between the 7,000 and whatever numbers voluntarism—which was still to exist—afforded. He was not to take married men (they were taking them in New Zealand). His exemption pro-

mises were innumerable. He would keep his pledges if 'Yes' was carried' he would do as he liked if the proposals were turned down. He framed the question on the ballot paper so the gullible would think that Labor opposed reinforcements. And he lost.

"Had the majority been smaller this time, I feel sure Hughes would have given way to Irvine and Conscription would have been thrust upon us. They dare not try it now; we know our strength.

"Labor has shed all its Conscriptionists, the old Parliamentary lot who went wrong are all in the Liberal fold now. We are a more revolutionary lot, and at the last conference I was successful in carrying Socialism as the South Australian Party's objective."

It remains to be added that Hughes did not resign, as he pledged himself to do, when the conscription referendum went against him.

**BRITISH I.L.P. CONFERENCE**

**Sounds The Death Knell of Capitalism and Declares for a People's Peace.**

The plain men and women of the world, unskilled in the arts of diplomacy, untrained in the methods of politics, but knowing clearly what they want, must have their say and above the roar of battle, must declare in one another's ears for peace—upon which they have set their hearts; a peace based upon that great principle which gleams like a star out of the blackness of the Russian chaos—the right of every nation to determine its own destiny' so spoke Mr. Phillip Snowden, M.P., at the opening conference of the British I.L.P. at Leicester, England, amid tremendous enthusiasm and applause. The speaker reviewed the work of the party during the past year, and declared that 158 new locals had been formed, and made reference to the Representation of the People Act, which embodied legislation which the I.L.P. had agitated for 25 years.

Mr. Snowden claimed that the statesmen of the allied powers had not given an honest public statement as to their real war aims, but that the real aims of the allied powers are embodied in secret treaties to which the allies are committed. Briefly summarized, the principal points in his speech are as follows: "The best services we can render to those who are exposed to death on the military front, and to those who anguish and grieve at home is still to point out the only possible way out of the terrible situation."

"So long as the allies pursue the aims to which they are committed by secret treaties, peace negotiations are impossible."

"The aims embodied in these secret treaties violate every one of the principles of a peace settlement such as enunciated in the public declarations of British statesmen and the American President."

The conference was attended by several thousand delegates, and there was harmony throughout. A resolution was passed placing on record

its appreciation of the stand made for social and economic freedom by the workers of Russia and their exposure of capitalist imperialism by the publication of the secret treaties and pledged itself to do all in its power to inform the people of Britain of the truth of the position adopted by our Russian comrades in the interests of International Socialism."

Declaring that the resolution he was moving was worthy of any sacrifice, and that there are tens of thousands that can be, and will be converted to it, Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, moved a resolution reaffirming that a democratic and unaggressive peace secured by negotiation at the earliest possible moment, can save the nations from mutual destruction, ruin and bankruptcy, and urges in the interests of civilization that no opportunity be lost of examining honestly the possibilities of world settlement and sends greetings to men and women of all countries who are working for a people's peace without annexations and indemnities and with the right of peoples, large or small, to determine their own life.

Resolutions protesting against the infringement of the civil and political liberties of the people, were passed, and the treatment of the conscientious objector was not forgotten. J. Ramsay Macdonald, in a powerful speech, moved the adoption of the Soldiers' Charter.

M. Letvinoff, the Russian People's ambassador, sent a telegram which said: "We admire your stand for Internationalism, and are with you in your strivings." A procession was organized, which marched through the streets headed by the Socialist Sunday School children carrying a banner with the words: "Good folks all a word with you What a world to bring us to."

(Continued from Page One) established before Social Democracy was expounded. This point must be considered when we discuss the Labour Party, since the need for independent political action was not recognised till long after Trade Unionism was admitted to be essential. If participation in the daily struggle over the smaller issues that arise in the Trade Union world is right, why should participation in the Labour Party be wrong? Are not the demands at an election the political translation of the demands made during strikes? The issues are as broad or as narrow; the palliatives that arise for discussion during an election campaign are not less sound than the demand for increased wages. (The writer asserts that palliatives are economically sound). If it is agreed that political action is necessary to the working class then it will follow that we shall agree to fight politically on the same issues as we fight industrially. Both methods, whatever the magnitude or nature of the immediate issue, are alike manifestations of the class struggle. Membership of the Labour Party is equal to the membership of a trade union. Voting for a Labor candidate with a programme that would palliate the evils of the capitalist system, whilst leaving the system fundamentally unaltered, is the corollary to striking for an increase in wages.

But striking is more revolutionary! What Social Democrat can say that? With the Labor movement as it is, when workmen strike they move against their particular employer or group of employers. When a work-

man votes for a Socialist or a Labor candidate he votes against the whole of the capitalist class; he votes for his own class without regard for craft or industrial divisions. The Trade Union Congress cannot effectively express the class interests of the workers because it has no power to coalesce the industrial elements that compose it. On the other hand, the Labor Party, though composed of the same elements as the Trade Union Congress, in its corporate capacity, mingles the various groups. It does not act for a particular group, but for the whole working class. Although working class politics are not so dramatic as striking, nor their results so drastic, they are an educational factor of the first importance in developing a sense of class solidarity. The Labor Party is not a Socialist Party. But the forces operating to make the trade unions more effective on the industrial field will not be idle or powerless inside the Labor Party. As it is no breach of principle to be a trade unionist, it must be right to be in the Labor Party. Indeed, many who object to the affiliation of the B.S.P. with the Labor Party are members of that body through their trade unions. We have seen the most conscientious industrialists as delegates at Labor Party conferences. If it is bad Socialist tactics to be in the Labor Party, why are they there? There is no compulsion. Thanks to that good servant of the capitalist class, Osborne, they can plead a conscientious objection to Labor politics and decline to pay the political levy. Activity in the Labor movement makes them good Marxists' while the rarified atmosphere of the club debating society turns men into spinners of violent words and useless theory-mongers.

(To be continued.)

(Continued from page Two) the Council of the Russian Republic, with its immense proportion of business men and cadets, was officially instituted.

From the first the Bolsheviks refused to sanction the existence of the Council. At its first meeting, in the Marinsky Palace, Trotzky took the tribune in the name of the Bolsheviks, and made a speech which contains the full premises of the Bolshevik insurrection. And when it became clear that there was nothing more to be said in opposition to the compromisers, but only something to be done, the Bolsheviks quitted the Council of the Russian Republic in a body.

That was on October 5th.

(To be continued.)

**Next Issue "The True Revolution".**

**A HYMN FOR MAY DAY.**

"These things shall be; a loftier race Than e'er the world hath known shall rise, With flame of freedom in their souls And light of knowledge in their eyes. They shall be gentle, brave, and strong To spill no drop of blood, but dare All that may plant man's lordship firm On earth, and fire, and sea, and air. Nation with nation, land with land, Unarmed shall live as comrades free; In every heart and brain shall throb The pulse of one fraternity. New arts shall bloom, of loftier mould, And mightier music thrill the skies; And every life shall be a song, When all the earth is paradise." John Addington Symonds.



### ALBERTA NON-PARTISAN.

Toronto is the most narrow, bigoted and ignorant city in all the Christian world. It has never been anything else, and never will be. Of old, Toronto's favorable avocation was the stoning of the prophets; to-day it is the hugging of profiteers. In Toronto these gentlemen foregather. This is so true, apt and incisive as to render comment superfluous.

### A SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY.

Crown Attorney Corley is going to cost Toronto about \$7,500 per year in connection with liquor cases. The Legislature recently passed an Act whereby he is entitled to \$5 per case from the city. He was willing to compromise on the sum, but the Controllers refused, and now he will send in his bills for the whole amount. During the past month he has been averaging about half a dozen liquor prosecutions per day, which would mean \$30, or over \$600 for the month. His year's bill to the city will likely be between \$7,000 and \$7,500.

Much has been written about paying for the war, if the government are as deeply concerned in the conscription of monetary things as they were of human beings, here is a splendid opportunity for them to make good. The windy emissions of this gent would fulfil a useful purpose in preventing a gas attack on the western front and probably save some useful members of society.

### WHAT IS SEDITION

Judge Hodgins defining sedition in the Bainbridge case in his instruction to the jury said: "It is not a question as to whether the statements made by the prisoner are true or otherwise. The question is: Were the statements made by prisoner intended to hinder the operation of the law."

It is obvious that truth is outlawed by such a law, for verily men may be imprisoned for teaching truth for truth's sake. All that we need in such cases to warrant a conviction is a jury holding opposing political convictions to those accepted by the prisoner. Why prate about liberty of the press while truth is exiled?

Petrograd, 7th Feb.—White Guards after defeating Red Guards and revolutionary troops holding the arsenal at Petchersk, shot nearly 1,500 workmen. All who wore workmen's blouses or had "horny hands" were massacred, and all the members of the revolutionary military committee were shot.

This will be very pleasing to the Toronto Telegram—and a few others we know.

### PROFITEERING AND ITS ONE SURE CURE.

The firm of J. & P. Coats which, we understand, has a monopoly of the British cotton thread trade, made a net profit last year of \$16,804,750, as against \$13,171,940 in the first year of the war. It is admitted this increased profit has been made after paying all war taxation, including excess profit tax, and on a reduced output. In other words, the millions of wealth-producing users of cotton thread have been excessively plundered in war times by legalized

methods. The consumers are, says the "Co-operative News," now meekly paying eight and nine cents per reel for what before the war was dear at four cents. About the time this information was published in Britain a report came from Russia that the Bolshevik Government had made short work of this firm's career of profit-plunder so far as the Russian branch is concerned. It has taken over the management and production and financial operation, and the workers in the firm's factory are complete masters of the situation.—Canadian Co-operator.

### WHAT THE NATIONAL SECRETARY SAID IN NEW YORK.

The National Secretary, who addressed the Convention of Labor, Socialist and Radical bodies in New York, has been honored by a press despatch. If they keep on at this he will soon have an international reputation—perhaps an unenviable one. It is evident that the message was calculated to breed opposition to the group that he represented, but such has not matured up to the present time. The report did not appear in New York capitalist papers. We merely wish to reprint one passage in order to show that press despatches are calculated to give a certain inflection of meaning sometimes totally different, both in word and implication to that which was intended by the person to whom the statement is attributed—which is customary with the Capitalist frauds and liars. (Canadian Press despatch.)

"We must destroy the very elements of the world civilization before we can begin to revolutionize the world" he declared.

What the National Secretary said: "We must remove the basic elements of the present world civilization before we can begin to construct the new Social Order."

The reader will note that this is exactly the position of the British Labor Party, their declaration reads: "The End of Civilization."

"We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labor Party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that social machinery, but so far as Britain is concerned, society itself."

Perhaps the despatch was sent for the edification of the police. The report of the convention will be published in a later issue.

"Truth," says an epigram in one of Oscar Wilde's plays, "is seldom simple and never pure." One of the chief concerns of every Government during the war has been to imbue its subjects with the belief that, so far as their own Government's relations to other governments is concerned the truth was both essentially simple and pure; but the publication of the secret treaties has demonstrated, in this connection, the correctness of the epigram.

### WHEN THE WAR WILL END.

(By H. Lambert)

In The Veteran

The topic of when the great world war will end is a never-ending theme. While I do not presume to be gifted with prophetic insight into this or any other subject, perhaps the expression of the views of a humble worker, who participated actively in this war, may not be without interest to my comrades and readers of the Veteran. We have

read speeches by some of the great statesmen of the allied nations including America, who have stated in unmistakable terms, that peace would not be concluded until the world had been made safe for democracy; and in that statement, I most heartily concur. But if by democracy they infer the kind of rule we have so long been subjected to in the name of democracy, I must state in most emphatic terms that I for one, do not believe that this will be the end of the great world war. On the contrary, a peace concluded, on the basis of the status-quo in regard to labor and capital before the war will be the beginning of the real war, and not the ending as they so fondly imagine. Do not confound these assertions with politics of any kind, socialistic or otherwise. Consider politics as being entirely eliminated. Perhaps, I am an idealist who is in these matters somewhat ahead of prevailing ideas, or if he is not, at least has sufficient courage of his convictions to permit them to become public property.

We have now a Government, elected by the majority of the people, and to it we all, as in duty bound, owe our allegiance and support. But still this constitutes no solution of the issues involved in the great world war. They may send support to our boys at the front, and thereby hasten the end of, or prolong hostilities. We may in time force our enemies to conclude peace, and for that consummation, I most sincerely and heartily pray. The real trouble will then commence and by this I mean the great economic struggle which is now inevitable. The great masses of the people, are so disgusted at the colossal failure of our so-called democracy, as embodied in class-legislation, stupendous graft, immense fortunes by profiteers, gigantic combines by the idle rich who suck the life-blood out of the masses, ride in automobiles, decked out in patriotic emblems, and preside at public meetings, urging the young manhood of the country to go to war while they stay at home in ease and luxury, piling up still greater fortunes, destined for use in the future to grind down still further the workers into a worse state of industrial slavery than that which they at present undergo.

Let me not cheerfully presume to offer a solution of the present economic muddle! It cannot be solved by any one living man. I do know this however, that deep down in the heart of the working class, burns a fierce fire of hatred of the conditions which make them virtual slaves of the capitalistic classes. How long that fire can be kept in check depends in a measure upon the duration of hostilities between the warring nations and the amount of wisdom displayed by the different responsible statesmen combined with the measure of reciprocity that the wealthy classes are prepared to accord the wishes and operations of the great masses of the people, who almost alone have borne the burden of this gigantic struggle. If they are prepared to meet the wishes of the majority and let the people rule, as they are justly entitled to do under a true democratic regime, I am prepared to state my conviction that the great war will end just as soon as hostilities are concluded and the sooner the wealthy classes are prepared to accept this theory, the sooner will this end be obtained.

The end of the great world war will come when the divine right of Kings has been relegated to the

scrap heap, when militarism has been superseded by industrial equality, when the ranting preachers, who now prate under the guise of Christianity, preach the true fellowship and brotherhood of man, and cease to be the paid hirelings of the idle rich, when profiteering by the few at the expense of the many is a memory of the past, and when the riches of the earth, and the fulness thereof have been diverted to the spiritual, moral, and material benefit of the producer on a world wide scale.

### TO A COLLEGE PROFESSOR

(By Phillips Thompson, Oakville.)

So you are going to give a lecture on the Labor question, proving that Labor and Capital have common interests.

You have read any number of works on political economy and are a clever speaker and writer.

But do you really know anything about the Labor question?

Let me ask you a few questions as to your qualifications.

Do you know what poverty is from years of bitter experience?

Have you passed the best part of your life in a continual struggle for the means of providing your family with the necessities and some of the ordinary comforts of life?

Were you ever evicted or threatened with eviction, because you could not pay the rent?

Did you ever in the middle of winter wonder where the money was coming from to buy the needed load of coal?

Were you ever fired from your job for no reason at all except that the boss didn't like your politics, your religion, or the color of your hair?

Do you know what it means to be black listed?

Have you walked the streets of a strange city looking for work day after day with only a dollar or so between you and starvation only to meet with cold refusals?

Were you ever in jail, or in danger of being sent to jail, on a charge of conspiracy, picketing, boycotting or sedition? Many thousands of good honest workmen have had that experience.

Did you ever really know a workman—I don't mean as a mere nodding acquaintance, but as you know men of your own class—to eat, drink, visit and chat confidentially with them?

I thought not. Then you know nothing at all about the Labor problem—not the first thing.

You had better devote your attention to solving the old question of what happens when an irresistible force comes in contact with an immovable body.

Or to trying to reconcile Science and orthodox religion.

Meanwhile, let me commend to your attention a poetic selection that seems applicable to your case:

The toad beneath the harrow knows  
Exactly where the harrow goes  
The butterfly upon the road  
Preaches contentment to the toad.

No one is well paid for his work who does not get the full social value of what his labor produces. When the workers get ready to demand this there will be no surplus value for the capitalist, and he will go out of business, just as did the robber barons of the middle ages.

A man needs but three meals a day. Why should he be allowed to own and control a million?

# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

**Correspondence—**

All correspondence should be addressed to  
THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



**A BRUTAL INJUSTICE.**

According to press reports, conscientious objectors to military service in Britain are feeling the iron heel of Capitalism. We were under the impression that only one penal term could be administered for one offence against the law. We were apparently, under some misapprehension in this regard, as a precedent has been set by the British military authorities by sentencing objectors to a second and a third term for refusing to undertake military service. Under the present method a man can serve his first court martial sentence, be re-arrested on release, and sentence again for a period of one or two years—ad infinitum. This we consider to be practically synonymous with the death sentence or penal servitude for life as several have died as a result of prison privation.

British administration was always supposed to temper "Justice with mercy." These men have a moral, human right to ask of the British Government what protection they are receiving from the "Rapacious Hun."

**NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.**

We regret to state that the recent orders-in-council make it necessary for us to eliminate certain statements that are considered objectionable under these orders—contained in correspondence sent in. It will save us much time and the correspondents much useless labor if they endeavor to act in accordance with the recent orders. The editor of this paper is possessed of the normal amount of courage and devotion but we cannot afford to have the paper stopped at the present time.

**SAM GOMPERS—A TOOL OF REACTIONARIES.**

The Canadian Parliament has been honored by the presence of Mr. Gompers, prospective senator for the City of Washington, and president of the A.F. of L. His visit was at the express invitation of the Canadian Parliament and he addressed both sections of that democratic institution on "Labors' War Aims." We are not informed whose "Labor War Aims" he represented, in fact, we are led to believe that he repudiates the war aims of the British Labor Party and so far as American labor is concerned, we have not been informed that they had defined their war aims—this is of course unnecessary for Sam, as the A.F. of L. is subject to his prerogative (official Ring). That the supporter of reaction should slam the Canadian Labor Party, on the ground that it would ultimately become a Socialist Party, leaves no room for doubt as to where he stands, and who he represents.

His officials have been responsible for preventing the organization of an American Labor Party. In the State of New York at least it was so reported by one of their own delegates at the Convention of Labor, Socialist and Radical Societies which

has just been held in New York City, notwithstanding that the last convention at Rochester voted in favor of forming a Labor Party. The honorable gentleman got tired while addressing a gathering of Plutes in Montreal, too much popularity is calculated to affect a man's head. The laborious duties he has performed, with such satisfaction to the Political Bosses, surely will be rewarded by a seat in the halls of the mighty—if that is not considered a losing hazard. He is so tired that rest is absolutely essential. Well, the workers can afford to give him a rest—a long, sweet rest from his labors when the next convention comes round.

**A REPLY TO THE "RAG-TAG" TELEGRAM.**

We have on several occasions made mention in these columns of a certain Anti-Democratic, Imperialistic, Scurrilous (rag) newspaper—published in the City of Toronto, in defence of Reaction, Plutocracy, Race and Class hatred. The special characteristic with which the editor of this paper is so richly endowed is the servile menial capacity with which he supplies such voluminous methodical doses of prosaic "Tar and Feather" to every honest, clean-living and truthful individual who postulates any theory, or principle, which is not acceptable to the egotistic unbalanced mind of its editor. The latest emanation from the editorial sanctum of this capitalist squeal is contained in its issue of May 9, 1918. It is evident from the following that the growing power of the sane-minded and the inevitable reaction which is following in the wake of war is responsible for this latest ebullition: "Rag tag and bob tail," "Pacifist, Pro-German Ramsey Macdonald and Arthur Henderson."

Probably we ought to sympathize with the editor of the "Telegram" in his dementia. It must indeed be hard to fight in what he recognizes as a losing game. His brutal attacks upon his political opponents is the best demonstration of the hopelessness of his case—we know of no analogy except it be, the brutal and vicious manner in which the enemy army are struggling for a smashing victory—or at the worst a draw, against the allied forces. "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." For the gradually augmenting army of workers generalised by Ramsey Macdonald there need be no fear. No denison of the underworld need affright them. Truth is mighty and must ultimately prevail.

Have you noticed how a thing that favors or defends Capitalism, or the master class, is always sacred, but if it favors or defends the workers it is anarchy. Great logic, is it not?

The workers want something besides the right to work. They want the right to put in a part of their lives without work.



(By Phillips Thompson, Oakville, Ont.)

Sam Gompers, in his zeal to do the dirty work of the capitalists, has rather overshot the mark. The prostitute press have been encouraging the formation of a "Labor" party, but Sam evidently did not know this, and strongly denounced the scheme. Even Sam Gompers' opposition to it doesn't convince me that it is a good thing.

The following lines by Walt Whitman are specially applicable to present conditions, when men are imprisoned for following their religious convictions and exercising the right of free speech:

"Of detected persons—To me detected persons are not in any respect worse than undetected persons—and are not in any respect worse than I am myself.

"Of criminals—To me, any judge, or any juror, is equally criminal—and any reputable person is also—and the President is also."

Socialists in the Reichstag have been denouncing the Government for gagging the press and forbidding the criticism of official "stupidities." From which it would seem that the freedom of the press is being steam-rolled out of existence in Germany almost as thoroughly as in Canada. No doubt for the same reason.—Edmonton Bulletin.

But unfortunately Canada has no Socialists or any other representatives in Parliament who are sufficiently courageous to stand up for free speech and publication.

It used to be the fashion to denounce the "alien laborer" because he worked for starvation wages—now the cry against him is that he is too highly paid.

The worst enemy of the working class is the man, or newspaper, who tries to rouse antagonism between Britishers and aliens, Protestants and Catholics, English and French-speaking workers. It is the old capitalist device of keeping labor divided by race and religious issues to prevent their uniting to stop the labor-skinning process.

It is quite natural that Sam Gompers should oppose Socialism. He has the same interests as the capitalist. Should Socialism prevail the plutocrat could no longer exploit the worker, and Sam would lose his highly paid job.

The American Government, which, like all governments, represents the profiteers, is taking advantage of the extraordinary powers granted in war time to suppress Socialist newspapers and fill the jails with Socialist speakers and editors. The Russian Government did the same thing for many years—with what result the world knows. But some people are too stupid to profit from any other experience than their own—and then it is too late.

How history repeats itself. In ancient Rome under the despotic rule

of the Caesars the old democratic formulas were still maintained, and men threw but their chests and boasted of their Roman citizenship when they were liable at any time to be robbed, tortured and murdered at the mere caprice of Nero or Domitian. Things are not quite so bad, yet in the Anglo-Saxon world' but we are rapidly retrograding in that direction.

And now we are warned to prepare against a "peace offensive." Strange perversion of language  
There is no pleasing some people!

**Gleanings by the way**

**BARONS THREATENING.**

Not the Bolsheviki, but the generals, admirals and barons are threatening to disrupt and Russianize England just now, and not win the war at all unless they win it on the lines they lay down.—Toronto Star, May 8' 1918.

**GOMPERS MAKES THEM SICK.**

The report that Mr. S. Gompers of Washington was taken sick just at the zenith of one of his grandest flights of oratory while holding the assembled multitude enthralled at Quebec, the other day, turns out to have been incorrect. He was merely tired, so much so' in fact, as to be brought to a condition of almost speechless collapse. We can sympathize with Mr. Gompers, because we know just how ill and tired he must have been feeling. Every time he speaks we feel the same way, only perhaps more so.—B. C. Federationist.

**GOMPERS CALLED TO OTTAWA TO SIDETRACK LABOR.**

Sammy Gompers was called to Ottawa to help sidetrack the insistent demands of Labor for better conditions, and to put a crimp in the new Labor party. The Canadian situation was too tough for Sammy to handle. He went away a sick man.—G. Pettipiece in B.C. Federationist.

"Earth is sick  
And Heaven is weary of the hollow words  
That States and Kingdoms utter  
when they talk  
Of truth and justice."  
G. S. W.

Said a youth to me to-day with infinite bitterness in his tone: "It's a fine thing to be young to-day!"

What do the old men of the "civilized" world say?  
G. S. W.

**A REMINDER FROM SPENCER.**

"Whatever fosters militarism makes for barbarism; whatever fosters peace makes for civilization. There are two fundamentally opposed principles upon which social life may be organized—compulsory co-operation and voluntary co-operation, the one implying coercive institutions, the other free institutions. Just in proportion as military activity is great does the coercive regime more pervade the whole society. Hence to oppose militarism is to oppose return towards despotism."—From "Social Statistics."

The mule gets his pay in keep. The worker gets his keep in pay. Both amount to the same thing—hay and oats, or a bare existence for the working class.

## ITEMS OF NEWS OF ALL PARTS

### ONTARIO SOCIALISTS HOLD INFORMAL CONVENTION.

An informal convention of Social Democratic Party delegates was held at the Jewish Hall on Thursday evening, the 28th of March. The meeting was called by the Ontario Executive Committee, in order to outline the policy to be adopted by party delegates at the Labor Party convention which met the following day. Thirteen locals responded to the call by sending delegates, the executive being represented in a body. The call was well responded to considering that language locals did not receive credentials, this was not conceded as an important omission in view of the provincial character of the movement and the likelihood of a Dominion convention taking place in the near future.

It was a typical working class gathering, many of the delegates coming straight from the workshop to take part in the proceedings with the sweat of toil still lingering about their persons.

#### The Need of Tolerance.

Comrade Albert Farley, of Guelph (a veteran of the early crusaders) was elected to the chair. He carried his scars nobly. The impromptu speeches that were given were reminiscent of the beginnings of Socialist propaganda in the Province of Ontario, he pleaded for a spirit of tolerance. Jimmie Conner gave an outline of the British Labor Party its origin and development. The honors went to the Jimmies, James Simpson also contributed to the edification of the gathering by giving those present a few sidelights on the British Labor Party as it is to-day, his recent visit to the old land, with its opportunities of social contact with the workers of Britain was responsible for the deep impression that his statements made upon those present; and assisted in a deeper appreciation of the purpose for which they were gathered together.

#### A Revolutionary Character.

Comrade Cunningham of Guelph, acted as guardian to our morals by a few words of wisdom in support of the revolutionary character of the movement. After some discussion a resolution to endorse the action of the Trades Congress in calling the convention was duly put and carried without dissent. A second resolution was brought forward calling for the complete transformation of society by the institution of 'Industrial Democracy,' which was also carried, the resolutions to form the basis of the tactics to be employed at the forthcoming convention. A special committee had been selected to provide hospitality for the delegates, who were duly sequestered in Socialist homes for the period of their visit. The National Secretary welcomed the delegates in a brief address, and expressed the hope that their meeting together would be fruitful in advancing the cause of Social Democracy.

#### NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

##### (Re) Secret Treaties.

Announcement was made in our issue of April 10th, that we intended to give our readers the benefit of the "Secret Treaty Negotiations" entered into by the allied governments, and which were given publicity by the Bolsheviki Government of Russia, and later were reprinted by the Manchester Guardian, England, and

the New York Evening Post. We regret to state that the order-in-council of April 17th expressly forbids the publication of any confidential document belonging to or any confidential information obtained from any government department or any person in the service of His Majesty.

It has never been our intention to wilfully conflict with these orders-in-council, no matter how much we may disagree with them, and therefore advise our readers that we have decided to relinquish the idea of giving publicity to these treaties under present conditions.

#### FREEDOM OF PRESS IN AUSTRIA.

Several attempts have been made by the despotic government of Austria to bring the press into subservience to the government, by the publicity only of such information as conformed to the views of the Oligarchy which dominates in that country. Supporters of free speech and all true democrats the world over, will rejoice that they have been thwarted in these dark perfidious designs to shamefully degrade the function of the press and that reaction has received a stunning blow by the popular demand for non-governmental interference (in matters relating to publicity), which has had the effect of restraining the anti-democratic activities of the reactionary crew of lordly despots. We hope that any further attempt to interfere will meet the same fate. The Czecho Slovak Press is demanding the abolition of the monarchy.

#### I.L.P.'S IN CONFERENCE.

##### "Down With Lloyd George."

London, Tuesday—At this morning's meeting of the I.L.P. Conference at Leicester a resolution was agreed to demanding the abolition of conscription and opposing militarism in all forms, and supporting the establishment of an international federation of states.

It was announced that the standing orders committee had agreed to put before the conference a composite resolution demanding the repeal of the Military Service Act, the Defence of the Realm Regulations, the Munitions Act, National Registration Act, and all regulations in force under these Acts, and that all conscientious objectors and interned British subjects not convicted in a court of law should be immediately released.

##### After the War.

A resolution passed was in favor of a six-hour day after the war, and declared that the pay and separation of soldiers and sailors should be continued after demobilization till they were provided with permanent work.

In another resolution it was urged that the death penalty in the Army should be abolished, and

##### The Question of Peace.

It was further proposed that democratic and unaggressive peace should be secured by negotiation at the earliest possible moment.

##### Mrs. Snowden on Lloyd George.

Mrs. Snowden, who seconded the peace resolution, declared, amid loud cheers, that the watchword which should go forth from the Congress was down with Lloyd George. There was she declared, amid renewed cheering, no hope for the country or

the world while such a man as he was in command. She did not care who was put in his place, if a man with clean hands could be found.

The resolution was adopted with unanimity.

Glasgow Herald.

#### GLASGOW RUSSIAN DEPORTED.

On Friday forenoon, 22nd March, two detectives took Comrade Louis Shammes from the offices of the Russian Consulate, Glasgow, and detained him in the Southern Police Station. One of the two there read out a communication from Sir Geo. Cave ordering his deportation to Russia. Absolutely no reason is given for this most arbitrary course. On Friday afternoon Comrade Shammes was removed to Barlinnie Prison, there to await deportation.

#### ATTENTION, GENTLEMEN.

The MacLean's Magazine for May contains the following announcement:

"Owing to the new censorship regulations, which prohibit all forms of information or suggestions that might be technically regarded as a criticism of any members of the cabinet or of any civil servants no matter how incompetent, and which now vest absolute authority on such matters in the hands of the Secretary of State, Hon. Mr. Burrell, until recently Minister of Agriculture, it has been deemed expedient to withdraw from this number the article by Lt. Colonel John Bayne MacLean.

"These regulations apply to individuals as well as to the press.

"In view of the fact that a number of the most capable men in public life at Ottawa have frankly expressed their approval of our policy in publishing these articles, we desire to bring the matter to the attention of the House."

#### BILLY HUGHES OF AUSTRALIA COMING TO TORONTO.

Tommy Church, Mayor of Toronto, is to invite Billy Hughes, of Australia, to address a big meeting in Toronto. It is whispered on the side that Billy—like Sam Gompers, has about shot his bolt, and that a soft job is being looked up for him, perhaps as M.P. for a Toronto constituency, as M.P.'s in Toronto don't have to waste time in the mediocre assembly which sits in the House of Commons, especially as M.P. is becoming a purely honorary title, the government of the country being executed largely by—orders-in-council.

#### International Socialists coming to United States.

The International Secretary of Socialist Bureau M. Camille Huysmans will shortly visit America accompanied by Mr. Stuart Bunning representing the British Labor and Socialists movements, two delegates from France, one from Italy and another from Belgium, will also be part of the mission. The purpose of their visit is to convince the American Federation of Labor that the War aims of the Inter Allied Socialist Convention is in accord with the Wilson and to point out the necessity of Mr. Gompers waiving his objection to an International Conference of the Workers of all nations

#### Leading Scotch Socialist Sentenced to five year.

John McLean, leading Socialist and educationalist of Scotland has again come into conflict with the law. This time he is sentenced to five years for sedition—the last con-

viction was three years for advocating strikes, of which sentence he completed eighteen months and was then liberated by order of the home Secretary.

#### AERIAL TRANSPORTATION.

Are you as a Socialist overlooking a very important link in the present make-up of the world?

Are you one of those persons who are ever ready to hinder progress by saying "I guess not in my day nor yours?"

Do you know that recently one of America's foremost publications on science, the "Scientific American," said that the advancement in transportation facilities was doing more towards the civilizing of the world than any other known force?

Do you know that it has been predicted for many centuries that some day we, humanity, would do all our travel and freight carrying up, in and through the air?

Do you know that the birth of this "some day" is now here?

Do you know that a few years ago we did not have railroads, steamships, street cars, automobiles, etc., and that soon again we will be without these except that aerial transportation will have taken their place?

Do you know that it has been predicted that on account of the high speeds attainable when traveling through the air, the direct line in which it is always possible to travel, the non-requirement of bridges, tunnels, track, roadways, curves, interchanges, etc., cities and towns would become things of the past? People could live many miles from their place of employment on account of it only taking a few minutes to get back and forth.

Do you know that the public have been kept in ignorance, of how transportation through the air is possible?

Do you know that the air has a carrying power of nearly one ton per square foot at the earth's surface?

Do you know that for over four years the writer, formerly a railroad telegrapher, has been trying to give to humanity a machine that would permit of aerial transportation, but that on account of him refusing to join hands with the crime of Capitalism no progress has been made.

Do you know that the writer cannot describe his machine here on account of having to guard against valuable information getting into the hands of humanity's enemies?

What are you as a Socialist doing that this new and powerful means of from the start, monopolized by the public instead of by exploiters of the public?

The writer will be very glad to hear from anyone who will support him in his efforts to give his machine to the public, he being content himself to rebury the knowledge of it, rather than give it over to the capitalist for exploitation.

Lorne Saunders,  
c-o Canadian Forward.

"They change to wrong the duty which God hath written out on the great heart of humanity, too legible for doubt. They, the loathsome, moral lepers, blotched from foot sole up to crown. Give to shame what God hath given unto honor and renown!"

The Capitalists have robbed the people so long that they look upon it as a vested right, much as did the robber barons of old.



**A REPLY TO PHILLIPS THOMPSON.**

(By Harriet Dunlop Prenter.)

Sir:—  
One of the darker prophecies, which runs as follows: "And a man's foes shall be they of his own household," is being constantly proved and the despicable slander on James Simpson in a recent issue of your splendid paper only adds a little more testimony and would scarcely be worth notice had it come from any other source; but the fact that the writer has lived long enough among us to be well acquainted with both the public and private life of James Simpson, tempts one to try and find some excuse for Mr. Phillips Thompson's very unworthy action. Can it be that the forces of reaction—so vicious and so powerful just now, have affected the one-time clear and honest mind of our old friend? Reaction seems to be a very contagious disease, and very few are immune, or has a remote and placid existence in quiet Oakville dulled or corroded his class consciousness. It is true that Mr. Thompson has not, of late, been sufficiently in touch with industrial life to understand the present day psychology of the working class movement, but he certainly should have wits enough to know that if a man with the acknowledged ability of James Simpson wished "to gratify his personal ambition" he would have taken a much easier, shorter, and more direct route than the "Socialist highway." The suggestion is so base that it can hurt no one but the writer of it, while it adds one more ally to the "Evening Telegram."—for shame, Mr. Thompson.

**THE 5,000 DRIVE.**

The total subscriptions for the last month amounted to \$87.50. A. C. Johnson, of Edmonton, Alta., leads the drive upon "Dubbville" and returns with twelve captives. W. Westbury, Neudorf, Sask., D. Lamburton, Ormiston, Sask., and O. Halten, Winnipeg Man., have been using the club to good advantage, in securing \$5 each. N. Saehle, Red Willow, Alta., uses shrapnel to good advantage by returning four dollars and two bits. P. Grausdin, Lettonia, Man., returns \$3.50 as a consolation. The running at this stage is pretty even, Comrades A. B. Freer, Toronto, Ont., and M. Okosh, Thistle Creek, Y.T., are developing their resources, returning three each. At this point the forces advance in open order, many of the supports being responsible for one, and the net laid for another catch. This has been a fairly good month for our snipers in the open, and we are developing our resources in order to forestall the enemy by a mass attack on the whole front. Keep your powder dry and pay due attention to the ammunition column.

Montreal May 7, 1918.

Dear Comrade:—

We had a splendid celebration on May Day. It was the first time in the history of Montreal that a parade of Socialists has been held in the day time—the participants taking a holiday for the purpose. It was

a huge success. Comrade Bruce, of Toronto, addressing the mass meeting in the evening. Marx buttons and red ribbons were much in evidence, we only regret that the Forwards did not arrive in time.

We celebrated Marx Centenary on the 5th of May and had a fine, enthusiastic meeting, Assemblyman Waldeman, of New York, addressed the meeting, which was interspersed by a musical programme. By the way, we had Sam. Gompers here a few days ago, and he got a very cold reception. In the hall we had a poster bearing the inscription—"Sam. Gompers: What is the A. F. of L. going to do for Thomas Mooney? Answer: The press eulogies do not give a true picture—Sam was a sick man, his "camouflage did not fool any one. He had better look out, the workers are waking up.

One of our Russian Comrades was arrested on account of his participation in the parade, he is interned with the so-called "alien enemies." I must compliment you on the Centenary number of the "Forward," it was excellent. It was like old times to hear from Lansbury, Fairchild, etc., as my brother had worked with them years ago in London. Joe Fineberg, whose articles on Marx you are reprinting was a particularly close associate of ours as we all belonged to Stepney branch of the B.S.P. We are delighted to read of his progress, especially his appointment as secretary to Litvinoff, the Russian Bolshevik Ambassador.

Editor's Note.—The April 4th issue of "Forward" was mailed on the 25th, enquirers are being made as to why the copy to Montreal took more than six days in the mail.)

Niagara Falls, Ont.,

May 5, 1918.

I. Bainbridge,  
Dominion Secretary,

Dear Comrade:—

At a meeting of the local held today, I was instructed to advise the Dominion Executive Committee of the following resolution which was passed unanimously by the members of Local No. 60. That the secretary of the Ontario Section of the Canadian Labor Party be notified that the programme and standing orders of the Ontario Section of the Canadian Labor Party were read to the members of Local 60, Niagara Falls S.D.P. of C., and accepted by them as satisfactory with the exception that it was thought that Canadian Forward which is the official organ of the S.D.P. of C. should receive as much recognition and consideration in matters pertaining to the Ontario Section of the Canadian Labor Party as does the Industrial Banner until such time as an official organ of the party is established.

Also I was instructed to convey to you, in view of the suggested appointment of Comrade Stirling as Editor of the Forward, the deep appreciation of the good and invaluable work you have accomplished while the paper was under your care. While we may not be able to comprehend the worries and anxieties of such a charge, we want you to know that we appreciate what you have done for the cause, and in the

spirit which seeks to cheer and encourage a faithful and loyal comrade now, instead of waiting till he is dead to drop a bouquet in tribute on his casket; we convey to you our admiring tribute to your devotion to principle and duty. May you long be spared to the greatest cause in all the world, and hoping you will be able to enjoy many years the blessings of a society such as we seek to establish.

Yours in comradeship.

Chas. H. Newman,  
Secretary.

Hamilton, Ont.,

May 2, 1918.

Dear Comrade:—

Pressure of work prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your valued favor of the 24th ultimo.

I must first congratulate you on the excellence of the literary contents of the May Day number, which sets an excellent standard in the eminence of the contributors and their international position in the movement, that few Socialist papers could do more than equal. It is an issue that all readers will surely value and preserve.

I am sorry that I had no opportunity of preparing any contribution in the line of illustration in time for that issue, but it would, in any event be regrettable to have displaced a single column or line of the reading matter which appeared.

J. A.

**Labor & New Social Order**

(Continued from last issue.)

But nothing is more dangerous to the standard of life, or so destructive of those minimum conditions of healthy existence, which must in the interests of the community be assured to every worker, than any widespread or continued unemployment. It has always been a fundamental principle of the Labor party (a point on which, significantly enough, it has not been followed by either of the other political parties) that, in a modern industrial community, it is one of the foremost obligations of the government to find, for every willing worker, whether by hand or by brain, productive work at standard rates.

It is accordingly the duty of the government to adopt a policy of deliberately and systematically preventing the occurrence of unemployment, instead of, as heretofore, letting unemployment occur, and then seeking, vainly and expensively, to relieve the unemployed. It is now known that the government can, if it chooses, arrange the public works and the orders of national depart-

ments and local authorities in such a way as to maintain the aggregate demand for labor in the whole kingdom (including that of capitalist employers) approximately at a uniform level from year to year; and it is therefore a primary obligation of the government to prevent any considerable or widespread fluctuations in the total numbers employed in times of good or bad trade. But this is not all. In order to prepare for the possibility of there being any unemployment, either in the course of demobilization or in the first years of peace, it is essential that the government should make all necessary preparations for putting instantly in hand, directly or through the local authorities, such urgently needed public works as (a) the rehousing of the population alike in rural districts, mining villages, and town slums, to the extent, possibly, of a million new cottages and an outlay of three hundred millions sterling; (b) the immediate making good of the shortage of schools, training colleges, technical colleges, etc., and the engagement of the necessary additional teaching, clerical, and administrative staffs; (c) new roads; (d) light railways; (e) the unification and reorganization of the railway and canal system; (f) afforestation; (g) the reclamation of land; (h) the development and better equipment of our ports and harbors; (i) the opening up of access to land by co-operative small holdings and in other practicable ways. Moreover, in order to relieve any pressure of an overstocked labor market, the opportunity should be taken, if unemployment should threaten to become widespread, (a) immediately to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen; (b) greatly to increase the number of scholarships and bursaries for secondary and higher education; and (c) substantially to shorten the hours of labor of all young persons, even to a greater extent that the eight hours per week contemplated in the new Education Bill, in order to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime. Finally, wherever practicable, the hours of adult labor should be reduced to not more than forty-eight per week, without reduction of the standard rates of wages. There can be no economic or other justification for keeping any man or woman to work for long hours, or at overtime, whilst others are unemployed.

**SOCIAL INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.**

In so far as the government fails to prevent unemployment—whenver it finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker, man or woman, a suitable situation at the standard rate—the Labor party holds that the government must, in the interest of the community as a whole, provide him or her with adequate maintenance, either with such arrangements for honorable employment or with such useful training as may be found practicable, according to age, health and previous occupation. In many ways the best form

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**POVERTY and RICHES**

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of provision for those who must be unemployed, because the industrial organization of the community so far breaks down as to be temporarily unable to set them to work, is the Out of Work Benefit afforded by a well administered trade union. This is a special tax on the trade unionists themselves which they have voluntarily undertaken, but towards which they have a right to claim a public subvention—a subvention which was actually granted by parliament (though only to the extent of a couple of shillings or so per week) under Part II. of the Insurance Act.

The arbitrary withdrawal by the government in 1915 of this statutory right of the trade unions was one of the least excusable of the war economies; and the Labor party must insist on the resumption of this subvention immediately the war ceases, and on its increase to at least half the amount spent in Out of Work Benefit. The extension of state unemployment insurance to other occupations may afford a convenient method of providing for such of the unemployed, especially in the case of badly paid women workers and the less skilled men, whom it is difficult to organize in trade unions. But the weekly rate of the state unemployment benefit needs, in these days of high prices, to be considerably raised; whilst no industry ought to be compulsorily brought within its scope against the declared will of the workers concerned, and especially of their trade unions. In the twentieth century, there must be no question of driving the unemployed to anything so obsolete and discredited as either private charity, with its haphazard and ill-considered dolers, or the Poor Law, with the futilities and barbarities of its "Stone Yard" or its "Able-bodied Test Workhouse." Only on the basis of a universal application of the policy of the National Minimum, affording complete security against destitution, in sickness and health, in good times and bad alike, to every member of the community can any worthy social order be built up.

**THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.**

The universal application of the policy of the national minimum is, of course, only the first of the pillars of the house that the Labor party intends to see built. What marks off this party most distinctly from any of the other political parties is its demand for the full and genuine adoption of the principle of democracy. The first condition of democracy is effective personal freedom. This has suffered so many encroachments during the war that it is necessary to state with clearness that the complete removal of all the war time restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of the press, freedom of travel and freedom of choice of place of residence and kind of employment must take place the day after peace is declared. The Labor party declares emphatically against any continuance of the Military Service Acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. But individual freedom is of little use without complete political rights. The Labor party sees its repeated demands largely conceded in the present Representation of the People Act, but not yet wholly satisfied. The party stands (as heretofore, for complete adult suffrage, with not more than a three months'

residential qualification, for effective provisions for absent electors to vote, for absolutely equal rights for both sexes, for the same freedom to exercise civic rights for the "common soldier" as for the officer, for shorter parliaments, for the complete abolition of the House of Lords, and for a most strenuous opposition to any new Second Chamber, whether elected or not, having in it any element of heredity or privilege, or of the control of the House of Commons by any party or class. But unlike the Conservative and Liberal parties, the Labor party insists on democracy in industry as well as in government. It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalists, individual or joint stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only in the utmost possible profiteering. What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the "Captains of Industry" to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production; the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote the public interest.

**IMMEDIATE NATIONALIZATION.**

The Labor party stands not merely for the principle of the common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically, for the immediate nationalization of railways, mines and the production of electrical power. We hold that the very foundation of any successful reorganization of British industry must necessarily be found in the provision of the utmost facilities for transport and communication, the production of power at the cheapest possible rate and the most economical supply of both electrical energy and coal to every corner of the kingdom. Hence the Labor party stands, unhesitatingly, for the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals, and their union along with harbors and roads and the posts and telegraphs—not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not immediately directly managed in detail, by the government—in a united national service of communication and transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist, private or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local, exclusively for the common good. If

any government should be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the shareholders; or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give these shareholders any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economies of unification or the profits of increased railway rates; or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately owned lines—all of which things are now being privately intrigued for by the railway interests—the Labor party will offer any such project the most strenuous opposition. The railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public.

In the production of electricity, for cheap power, light, and heating, this country has so far failed, because of hampering private interests, to take advantage of science. Even in the largest cities we still "peddle" our electricity on a contemptibly small scale. What is called for immediately after the war, is the erection of a score of gigantic "super-power stations," which could generate, at incredibly cheap rates, enough electricity for the use of every industrial establishment and every private household in Great Britain; the present municipal and point stock electrical plants being universally linked up and used for local distribution. This is inevitably the future of electricity. It is plain that so great and so powerful an enterprise, affecting every industrial enterprise and, eventually, every household, must not be allowed to pass into the hands of private capitalists. They are already pressing the government for the concession, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has yet made up its mind to a refusal of such a new endowment of profiteering in what will presently be the life blood of modern productive industry. The Labor party demands that the production of electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made, from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal co-operation in local distribution) a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible power, light and heat.

But with railways and the generation of electricity in the hands of the public, it would be criminal folly to leave to the present one thousand and five hundred colliery company the power of "holding up" the coal supply. These are now all working under public control, on terms that virtually afford to their shareholders a statutory guarantee of their swollen incomes. The Labor party demands the immediate nationalization of mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken as a local public service, by the elected municipal or county councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labor party would aim at is, for household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp.

But the sphere of immediate nationalization is not restricted to these great industries. We shall

never succeed in putting the gigantic system of health insurance on a proper footing, or secure a clear field for the beneficent work of the Friendly Societies, or gain a free hand for the necessary development of the urgently called for Ministry of Health and the Local Public Health Service, until the nation expropriates the profit-making industrial insurance companies, which now so tyrannously exploit the people with their wasteful house-to-house industrial life insurance. Only by such an expropriation of life insurance companies can we secure the universal provision, free from (To be continued.)

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

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

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

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

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