

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

LABOR PRODUCES ALL WEALTH - UNTO LABOR IT SHOULD BELONG

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TORONTO

CANADA

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# 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.

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The true revolution may be said to have begun on that day. For their withdrawal was a sign of the withdrawal of confidence from the Government by the whole mass of the Russian people. Those who were left behind, the hostile cadets, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, realized what it meant, and there were many pale faces. Shrieks, curses, execrations, and imploring cries of "Come back!" followed the departing Bolsheviks. But they did not come back. And it was a blow from which the council never recovered. It was to go on deliberating and speech making, amid lethargic silence or uproarious tumult, for three weeks—appointing commissions, on land, on foreign affairs; Terestchenko was to come and make a dull, non-committal statement of international policy; Kerensky was to come twice to appeal with tears for national unity, and once to curse the Bolsheviks, along with the reactionaries, as traitors; there were to be illusory conflicts between the Right and the Left, and a multitude of words added to the immense torrent of hot Russian talk that flows, turbulent and endless, on and on. Only in the last days of its existence did the denatured Council hurriedly pass a resolution to solve the land question at once and to adopt an energetic foreign policy to secure peace. It was too late, then. But they would keep on discussing until that cold grey morning, three weeks after the departure of the Bolsheviks, when they were to be interrupted—all the doors of the great imperial council room suddenly filled with rough-looking big soldiers and sailors, bristling with bayonets, and a sailor shouting, "No more Council. Run along home." I had seen the Bolsheviks leave the earlier Assembly. In the corridor I stopped Volodarski. "Why are you fellows going?" I asked. "We can't work with that counter-revolutionary gang," he replied. "They have packed the hall, and now they have put over a combination with the Kornilovtsi to wreck the revolution." "What are you going to do?" I asked.

"We're going to call a new All-Russian Convention of the Soviets. That's where the real revolutionary force lies. Then we'll take over the

power. All power to the Soviets, where it belongs!"

It was this All-Russian Congress of Soviets that now loomed over Russia like a thundercloud. It was recognized to be the beginning of the Bolshevik regime, and by the bourgeoisie, the "centre" Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, the Central Army and Fleet Committees, the Peasants Soviets and especially the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets itself; no pains were spared to try to prevent it. Solemn resolutions, declarations in the press, delegations from the front, the fleet, from factories, Peasants' Union (reactionary), Union of Cosacks, Knights of St. George, Death Battalions. . . . In the Ivestia, official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, a determined campaign against the Congress was carried on. The "centre" Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, led by the "Lieber-Dans" as they are called, sent instructions far and wide over the country for their party members to influence local Soviets into refusing to send delegates. But the Petrograd Soviet stubbornly insisted. At the date set, October 20, only 15 delegates out of a possible 900 odd had arrived; the Petrograd Soviet merely postponed the meeting until October 25, and sent another call. The next day more than a hundred arrived—among them many who had been delegated irregularly, over the heads of hostile executive committees. Confident of a majority the Bolshevik Petrograd Soviet sent word that it would grant increased representation to small Soviets, and seat all delegates. The Central Executive Committee realized that it was beaten, and sent frantic calls over the country to the Soviets to elect Menshevik and Social Revolutionist delegates—a despairing attempt to get a majority of the "right" and "centre."

In the meantime there were more sinister signs of resistance to the will of the masses. The government was making preparations to evacuate Petrograd; and Rodzianko, former president of the Duma and one of the cadet leaders, declared before a conference of business men in Moscow that the loss of Petrograd would not be a serious blow; for in the first

place the revolutionary Petrograd workers would not cause any more trouble and in the second place, the revolutionary Baltic fleet would be disposed of. And then came the declaration of the new government; suppression of mutiny at the front and anarchy in the country by force, and the transfer of the power of "irresponsible organizations" (that is, the Soviets) to the Dumas and Zemstvos.

The air was full of talk of the Bolshevik "demonstration"—the vistuplennie, or "coming out" of the workers and soldiers. Bolshevik agitators went the rounds of the Petrograd barracks and factories, insisting that the counter-revolutionary government wanted to open the front to the Germans, wreck the Constituent Assembly, destroy the revolution. Lenine made his appearance—in print in the columns of the Bolshevik paper "Rabotchi Poot"—preaching armed insurrection. On the extreme right the reactionary papers "Noviaia Rus" and "Jivoe Slovo," called for a bloody drowning of the left elements in blood, a pitiless military dictatorship. Burtsev's paper, "Obshche Dielo," advocated a strong, patriotic government of Kornilov, Kaledine and Kerensky! Evidently some of the Bolshevik chiefs themselves opposed the idea of an uprising, preferring to wait for the Constituent Assembly—but Lenine's great voice roared continuously, "Either armed insurrection or abandon the program of 'All power to the Soviets! The counter-revolutionists are preparing to destroy the All-Russian Congress and the Revolution!" Volodarski told me in the corridors of the Smolny that the will of the masses of all Russia was that the power should immediately be given to the Soviets. "The Lieber Dan crowd' are sabotaging this Congress," he said. "But if they succeed in preventing enough delegates to come here to make a quorum, well, we are realists enough not to depend on that!" Kamenev was of the opinion that as soon as the All-Russian Soviets had declared themselves, the Provisional Government would be forced to resign.

Finally, the intention of the Bolsheviks in general was, I think, expressed best by Trotzky, who made a categorical public statement that the workers and soldiers would make no vistuplennie unless provoked, or unless some counter-revolutionary attempt was made. He was perfectly clear in his opinion that the masses of Russia, as represented in the Congress of Soviets, would demand by a huge majority that the power should pass to the Soviets; and of course if the government resisted!

At the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in Smolny, the night of October 17th, Trotzky branded the assertions of the bourgeois press that the Bolsheviks contemplated armed insurrection as "an attempt of the reactionaries to discredit and wreck the Congress of Soviets. . . . The Petrograd Soviet," he declared, "has not ordered any demonstration in

the streets. When it will be necessary we will do so, and we are sure we will be supported by the workers and the Petrograd garrison. . . . They (the Government) are preparing a counter-revolution; and we will answer with an offensive which will be merciless and to the end!"

(To be continued.)

Next Issue—"An Interview with Trotzky."

## "Get" Bainbridge Again.

Just as this paper was ready for the Press, word was received that Judge Latchford, who suspended sentence at the time of the first Bainbridge conviction, nearly a year ago, called him into court on May 27 and sentenced comrade to three months at the Jail Farm.

The excuse offered for this action was the printing of the article for which Bainbridge was acquitted by the appeal court after the Second Conviction. We will print full particulars of the case in the next issue of the Forward.

## JAMES H. MAURER REFUSED PASSPORT

By State Department in Washington

### To Inter-Allied Labor Conference.

After seven weeks of delay, the State Department has finally ruled that James H. Maurer, the democratically elected delegate of the First National Conference of Labor, Socialist and Radical Movements to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, is to be denied a passport. The reason assigned is most interesting:

"Because of present conditions the Department is issuing passports for European countries only in cases of necessary service. As it does not appear that Mr. Maurer's mission falls within that category, the Department is obliged to decline to grant him a passport."

It follows from the above that the hand-picked delegation of labor representatives, which arrived in England the other day, and which was appointed largely through the instrumentality of Samuel Gompers, has gone to Europe to render what the State Department deems a "necessary service." Yet the very first act of these men and women upon their arrival in London was to slap the labor movements of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Russia in the face by insisting that no general international conference of labor could take place until after the war.

The situation is perplexing indeed. The one hope of a democratic peace lies in the workers of the world. Next to the Russian revolution, the most promising thing that has grown out of this war is the constructive programme and policy of the British Labor Movement. Prejudiced at first against the idea of an international gathering, in which both Entente and Middle Europe workers were to

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# Marxism and the Labor Party

III.—By J. Fineberg.

(In The Call, England.)

It may be urged that the objections to Socialists, as individuals, belonging to the Labor Party, are not so great as the objection to a Socialist organization affiliating thereto. Away from politics we escape the dirt and turmoil thrown up by the ignorant herd and, making ourselves clean, we saunter along the olive groves in company with our equals. What then is the function of a Socialist organization? Clearly its business should be the propagation of the principles of Social Democracy; to teach the workers how the wealth their labor produces is taken from them; to inculcate a sense of their duty to themselves and the part they have to play in completing the emancipation of mankind. The Socialist organization must carry its propaganda to the workers; the workers will not come to us in order to receive it as a gift from our hands. Nay, more than that, we must carry our propaganda to that section of the workers upon whom it will be most effective. That section is the organized workers. No doubt there are as good Socialists outside the trade unions as in them. Indeed, there are some insular Socialists, who cling so tenaciously to the individualism they dare not or cannot shed, that they religiously refuse to join any organization, and thus dissipate their well-intentioned but ineffective energy. Depreciate the labor movement to the full extent of our natural impatience, decry it because it is unconscious that it wages a class struggle, the labor movement is, nevertheless, bound to take power ultimately. We are not at fault; it is no use complaining that Socialist theory came at a later stage in working class history, and therefore, that we could not build around the Socialist bodies a movement like that of Germany or France.

The Socialist Parties are an integral part of the working class movement. They are the centre from which propaganda is disseminated; their members in the trade unions should be the agents of the Socialist Parties. The stronger the Socialist body the better can it permeate the working class movement. It can do more than that. The activities of Socialists in the trade unions are diffused and scattered, and without a central organization of Socialists we must wait until their work bears fruit, seen in a general change of opinion. Organized, the strength of all the Socialists becomes a united and definite section. As a body it gives expressions to Socialist opinion; it voices the demand for Socialist activity. By insistence and un-deviating purpose it becomes the left wing of the workers' movement, identified by its reiteration of the need for revolutionary change. The Socialist organization is not submerged in the reactionary mass; its different tones distinguish it from all the rest. Its difference is more notable besides the reactionary indifferent mass than apart from them. The Socialist effort is not hampered. On the contrary, contact with the labor organizations provides greater opportunity for action and in directions that are effective.

It may be disappointing, but the Labor Party is the political expression of the working class movement. It will remain so, and will become a

revolutionary instrument just so far and as rapidly as the workers permit. The affiliation of the B.S.P. does not mean only that we send delegates to a conference once a year. It means that the B.S.P. takes part in the national and local life of the working class movement. The local organizations are even more important than the national. It is in the constituencies that the party machinery works. In the local organizations we are in touch with the rank and file, and there the B.S.P. when participating in counsel, should be effective. Where the B.S.P. branches are definitely related to the local labor movement, they are as a rule most active, and rank as a force to be reckoned with. In rare instances only does a Socialist branch command a position apart from, or independent of, the rest of the local labor bodies.

From the point of view of the national organization, and its general welfare and advancement, the question whether the B.S.P. is affiliated to the labor party is of great importance. The Labor Party speaks for the organized workers. If the Socialist organizations stand apart confusion arises. That which is declared to be labor's aim is all that the labor movement can stand for. The inclusion of the Socialist parties gives color and life to the movement. They give to the labor party elements of virility, clear thinking and set purpose which must have a cumulative effect. We can do one of two things. Come out of the labor party and leave the field to the non-Socialist elements that control it now; or remain in, taking part in this political expression of the class conflict, striving to impress it with a Socialist character. If we leave the labor party we delimit the future of the B.S.P., and voluntarily condemn ourselves to hover round the fringe of labor's action, holding street corner meetings and drifting to stagnation. Marx did not envisage that kind of desultory life when he called upon Socialism to fire the masses of the working class with their own ardor and determination.

Let those who say that by affiliation with the labor party we damage the B.S.P. and hamper our efforts for Socialism, show how it has so affected us. We know of no hampering influence. Our opposition to capitalism has been as consistent and emphatic though we are affiliated to the labor party, as it could ever have been were we apart from that body. Rather than having damage the B.S.P. its reputation and influence has gained immeasurably by our affiliation. The small self-righteousness of isolation is no longer ours, but we are conscious of no responsibility for the misdeeds of any of the labor party leaders or members. Those who would make us responsible for all that Mr. Henderson, or Mr. Purdy, or Mr. Macdonald has done, wish us to be so. In that desire they prove their readiness to act as stupidly as those who sought to make us responsible for the manufactured infamies of Alec Gordon.

For thirty years, in this country, Social Democracy was a voice crying in the wilderness. For thirty years Social Democracy resisted the clear teaching of Marxism in matters of political action. For all that time we

shirked the responsibility that our acceptance of International Socialism imposed upon us. Then we found that a Socialist organization failed in its task unless it served as the driving force within the labor movement. With common sense and ready to take our part in the hard, laborious, grinding work of labor organization, not fearing to soil our mantle if only we mould the mind of the workers' movement into the form we would have it take, we shall prove the B.S.P. to be a true Marxist party.

## 7,000 FARMERS' DELEGATES ASK EXEMPTIONS FOR SONS OF THE SOIL.

### Charge Government With Breach of Faith.

The largest delegation that has ever been organized in the Dominion of Canada visited Ottawa on the 14th of May in order to express to the Premier and the House of Commons, then in session, their displeasure with the regulation drafting farm workers into combatant service—and to request that the regulation be withdrawn. Many fiery speeches were made denouncing the Government, which it would be inadvisable for us to print.

### Premier Borden Accused of Breaking Pledge.

After citing instances in which the farmers were to be immune from the draft law in order to produce food in greater quantities, reference was made to the urgency of national production, and placed the responsibility upon the government for the dreadful results that would accrue if Canada fell short of the requirements urged by Lord Rhondda, Britain's Food Controller, who cabled as follows:

"In these stern days it is inspiring to learn that Canada is tackling the food problem with redoubled energy. The terrific pressure on our military front makes it all the more imperative that those behind the lines should straining every nerve to defeat the enemy's avowed object of destroying the British Empire. Germany hoped first to starve out the Old Country by the submarine campaign, and then to smash her land forces. She has failed to starve us and she will fail to smash us, but we cannot achieve victory without food. There never was a time when it was more needed. The Canadian farmer and the Canadian farm hand now have the opportunity to make an effective reply to the enemy's present onslaughts by bending their undivided energies to the increased production of those food supplies for which we depend to such vital extent on your great dominion.

### Charge Breaking of Pledge.

"This message was cabled to Canada on April 10, 1918—and yet, Sir, between two issues of the weekly agricultural press of Canada, and with no opportunity for public expression, you, Sir Robert, and the members of your Cabinet, have broken the sacred covenants granted by your officers, under your instructions, and accepted in good faith by every young farmer, between 20 and 22 years of age.

"The members of your Cabinet tell us that an entire change in the situation at the front has taken place. We have put before you the testimony of Lord Rhondda, and we know of nothing that has transpired in the few days between the time of the receipt of his message by the Canada Food Board and the passage of this order in council by your Gov-

ernment which minimizes in the slightest degree the extreme urgency for Canada's food productive effort.

"At this crisis we have a duty to perform. As practical farmers, we understand the present critical situation on the farms of Canada as no other class can, and it is our plain duty to place the true condition before your Government, and, having done so, come what may, our duty is done, and we leave the responsibility with you.

"Therefore, as farmers, and loyal Canadian citizens, we hereby enter our most solemn protest against the great breach of faith by breaking those sacred covenants and taking from our farms the very labor which will enable us to produce and the absence of which, more particularly on Ontario live stock farms, will paralyze productive effort, and we exhort your Government to stay its hand in these proceedings by instructing the military authorities to still grant continuous leave of absence to all bona fide young farmers.

"In order to allay the existing irritation and restore the confidence in your Government of the farming community, we most humbly request a careful consideration and an early reply."

The farmers were irritated by the Government's refusal to grant a public hearing before the assembled representatives—especially as they had had a precedent by permitting Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to address the House.

## WOMEN IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT

The declaration of the Keighley returning officer that he had orders from the sheriff to accept Miss Nina Boyle's nomination if it were properly signed, carries the political emancipation of women a tiny stage further. But it must not yet be assumed that women are to be allowed to sit in Parliament without further legislative effort.

(Continued from Page One)

be represented, the British Labor Movement during the past half year has come over to the position of the Russian workers, and is now consciously working toward a reunion of all labor forces. More than that, it has persuaded the workers of Belgium, Italy and France to take a similar position.

Thus a unified policy of the Entente laborites was clearly emerging. The only thing lacking to prevent complete allied labor unity was the co-operation of American labor. Had Mr. Maurer been granted a passport he would undoubtedly have helped powerfully to bring about this much needed co-operation. The Gompersian delegation, headed by James Wilson will, we fear, do the very opposite. Apparently it did not even wait to acquaint itself with the reasons that have prompted allied labor to favor an international conference. It categorically affirmed a dogmatic position strangely out of harmony with the broad-minded liberalism of our European fellow-workers. It thereby measurably increased the obstacles to harmonious team work between the laborites of America and the allied world.

We confess frankly that we fail to understand why the State Department considers the work of this delegation a "necessary service" and the mission of "Jim" Maurer as "not falling within that category."

—People's Council Bulletin.





### THE GERMAN MAJORITY AND RUSSIA.

The German Socialist Majority Press at first threatened their Government with all sorts of dire consequences if they pursued annexationist aims in the East. When it was clear, however, that the policy of annexation prevailed, the Press changed its tone, blamed the Bolsheviks for the breakdown of negotiations, and finally acquiesced in the action of the Government both in the peace concluded with the Ukraine and with the onward march of the German army into Russian territory. The "Frankfurter Volkstimme" (Majority) forms an honorable exception in this connection. It condemns the Ukraine peace treaty and the general policy of the Junkers in the following terms:

"If the Government is forcing its own terms on the Russians, Lithuanians, etc., by means of militarism, it could easily act in the same way towards the people in Germany. Although we are not in complete sympathy with the Bolsheviks, yet it is plain that they desired to put an end to the horrors of war and capitalism, and that they were not the cause of the breaking down of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. This was due to the Germans who forced a brutal peace."

### IN FRANCE.

Five votes were cast against the war credits in the French Chamber recently, Bras, a workers' deputy for Saone-et-Loire, declaring "I will vote against the credits, because I do not desire to grant money for the purpose of pursuing Imperialist aims."

On March 27th, "Le Populaire," the weekly organ of the Moderate Socialist French Minority, made its appearance as a daily evening paper.

In connection with the statement of the Socialist Internationalist Group of the Nord a Bourges published in "The Call" for March 21st, the following appears in the "Journal du Peuple":

"The case of Pas-de-Calais is still more arbitrary than that of the North, and thanks to what is called the 'Fraudulent Revolution' there were certain congresses in which there were more delegates than sections in the Federation. Naturally, all were of the majority except the admirable section from Boulogne, which always remains faithful to the Socialist doctrines. As in the North, they looked up chosen friends to form new groups, and bad luck to those who allowed themselves to discuss the majority dogmas, because someone always arose to defend them. These dishonest proceedings have disgusted the greater part even of those who were specially selected and chosen. However, as the members of the Pas-de-Calais are mainly minority, it is not considered necessary to form any new organization."

### IN SWITZERLAND.

Notwithstanding the fact that compulsory national service is now formally abandoned by the Government because of widespread unemployment

in the canton of Zurich hundreds of men have been obliged to leave their own work and help to clear land. The Acting Committee of the Olten Conference prepared a report to the working classes, and a conference is to be held of delegates from Socialist branches and trade unions. Another cause of dissatisfaction is that Munzenberg is to be expelled the country on account of his alleged part in the Zurich riots. Many Socialist papers have been stopped because of their agitation for revolutionary action.

Holzmann, the Bolshevik representative who is in Switzerland, has been very active. His activities resulted in the formation of a Soviet of Russian deserters at Yverdon, quickly dissolved by the Government. The Swiss Government cannot get rid of Holzmann, the French having refused to allow him to return through their territory.—The Call, England.

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### NORWAY.

The annual meeting of the Norwegian Socialist Party last week showed the strength of the Extreme Left (Syndicalist) wing. The new Executive is composed entirely of Syndicalists, and the Congress adopted a resolution approving the principle of a general revolutionary strike, if that were necessary to realize their aims. Unfortunately, only brief reports of the Congress have come to hand.

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### THE SPREAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

In a striking editorial on the condition of things in Finland, where the class war with its Red Guards and White Guards has broken down all racial divisions, Wednesday's Manchester Guardian pointed out that the movement of ideas that was there incarnated was not confined to Finland. It had overspread Russia and most of Scandinavia. From our own experience we would say that the idea of the International, of the solidarity of the workers as opposed to their rival Imperialist exploiters, whose cruel plotting has plunged the world in ruin, is making headway over the whole earth. In the Politiken George Brandes has written a stern warning to the Powers, who are responsible, under whatever pretext, for prolonging the war. He says:

The human race needs peace, and cannot wait for it until a few more millions have been slaughtered. If the nations do not make peace now that which I foretold in the summer of 1916 will come to pass. There will be an upheaval in the masses of all countries, and the Social Revolution, which has been restrained while humanity still had left one ounce of sense, will break out with a fury equal to the present war. It has already broken out in Russia and Finland, and in other countries it will follow the war as "The Commune" followed in 1871, and the vestiges of an intellectual-aristocratic civilization possibly remaining after the war will be swept away and levelled to the ground.

### RUSSIA.

#### Organizing Production.

Ransome's message in the Daily News of April shows that the Bolsheviks, in spite of all their other difficulties, are developing the metal mines in Western Siberia. New lines of railway are being constructed where necessary, and it is clear that the Bolsheviks intend to prove that they can organize production efficiently. The whole of the Ural district is arranged as a single national enterprise. The workers are the paid servants of the people, all arrangements being controlled by a Soviet in which the workers of the district have a minority. The majority of the votes belong to the representatives of the organizer appointed by the people as a whole through their central organ. This principle of giving the local workmen a minority in the representation obtains throughout the whole of the new organization of industry. Only in this way can the nation ensure that the interests of the local workmen are not preferred to the detriment of the nation as a whole. Each industry has its local committees and its central committee, which controls the raw material, finance and the disposal of the output, thus effectually controlling even private concerns not yet taken over by the State.

The conditions in Petrograd are not nearly so bad as generally supposed. The Government is maintaining some sort of order and the lack of food is less serious than we have been led to suppose. The Soviets are all powerful, and it is very much as if in this country we had a Government run by the rank and file of the trade unionists, the small shopkeepers and the agricultural laborers, the heads of the trade unions and all the wealthy classes being excluded from power.

One other item we must add. At a meeting in Moscow Radek stated that the Government, looking forward to the re-opening of the German frontier and a great flow of Russian raw materials into Germany would shortly decree a State monopoly of exports in order to safeguard Russian trade. So the Socialist State of Russia slowly entrenches its frontiers.—Labor Leader, England.

### INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY OR AUTOCRACY?

(By Francis Brill.)

(Reprinted from The Hamilton Herald.)

Mr. Brill was Socialist candidate for mayor in the last municipal election in Buffalo in which contest he polled 13,000 votes.

He held that the events of the last year had proved conclusively that such conditions cannot prevail much longer. If the working class of the world wished to cast off the fetters which the capitalists had fastened on it, it must show a capacity to take charge of its own rightful heritage—the right to fashion its own destiny along genuinely democratic lines, instead of being led and driven to war by the caprice of economic masters, whether those masters be monarchs, kaisers, czars or presidents. "We have the right to demand this, and we exercise that right," he declared.

Personally, he was not of those who saw nothing but terror and blood-eyed lawlessness in the present Russian situation. The uprising was the birth-pang of the movement that must ultimately come all over the universe, did the working class ever intend to come by its rightful heritage. He would call on the German Socialists to do the same with

their Kaiser as the Russians had done with their Czar.

"I iterate that the Russian situation is very complicated, if we believe all we hear and read; but those Russian revolutionists know what they want, and they have pursued the right course to achieve their own ends. In the first few months of this war, the casualties in killed alone among the Russians amounted to over two millions. Yet everything was said to be all right in that land. But now because a monarchy has been overthrown, because a few capitalistic tyrants have been put out of the way, everything, you read, is chaos. Do not be deceived; things are not so bad in Russia as certain interests try to make out. Those Russian Reds are causing as much mental disturbance to Rockefeller as to the German Kaiser; They all see in the Russian uprising symptoms which foretell an era they know too well threatens—and will subjugate—the economic mastery they have so long wielded over the working class of the world."

Mr. Brill read excerpts from recent writings of the editor of the London Economist, Roger Babson, noted statistician of Wall Street, and President Wilson, each one of whom had said, that an era of Socialism was sure to be ushered in on the heels of the world war. The editor of the London Economist—conceded to be the most reliable living authority on such matters—had predicted that if the war lasted many months longer that European civilization would be wholly destroyed. This same authority had said that industrial England girded for war had been a revelation to the world, and proved only too clearly what labor had long contended, that frictional wastage of capital and labor could be effaced by co-operation. "If, therefore, we could get rid of war," wrote this noted authority, "and could all co-operate as we have since the start of the war, every man and woman should not only have all the necessities of life, but some of the luxuries, too, in return for a day's honest, decent labor."

The effect of Roger Babson's prophecy was similar: "Call it radicalism, Socialism, Bolshevism, or what you will there is no gainsaying the fact that a social renaissance is on the horizon," he wrote.

In a similar vein wrote President Wilson recently to a New Jersey paper: "The birth of a better day—a day which not the wisest political seer can measure—is coming for the masses of men and women. War is changing the mind of Europe as well as of America."

"I quote these noted men," continued Mr. Brill, "to convince you, as my own opinion would not carry as much weight as theirs. The capitalists of the world are perturbed over the Russian situation, and I want to impress upon you that, when the reconstruction period comes, the masses must have the power, must have a democracy that is worthy of the name."

A scathing arraignment of "democracy" in the United States was given by the speaker, who said that as long as there were such atrocities as had occurred at Calumet, the massacre at Ludlow, hanging of Frank Little at Butte, Mont., deportation of 1,200 citizens from Bisby, Ariz., such civil war as had raged among the coal miners for eleven months in Virginia—so long as these things occurred, the masses in the United States, he declared had a right to call their "democracy" a sham.

W. S. Bruton presided.





### Kitchener Local S.L.P. Slams the Social Democrats.

Comrades:

The letter from your secretary, Comrade Bainbridge, dated March 6, was read before what is now a Kitchener Section of the Socialist Labor Party. The undersigned were instructed to forward the following reply:

The news of Comrade Bainbridge's release was received with pleasure by Kitchener Socialists. Such incidents as his arrest contribute to the day when the ruling classes will be shorn of their power to persecute their opponents.

After an agitation conducted for some months inside the local, a large majority of the active members voted on March 3 to sever all connections with the S.D.P. and to join the S.L.P. Those who have not yet joined the S.L.P. are not friendly disposed towards your party, which consequently has practically no following here.

The S.D.P. is a reform party. Its candidates compromise with other parties. Its paper, *The Canadian Forward*, has blurred class lines; its Socialism is decidedly shady. At the present time the whole party is agitated with the proposal to aid in forming on some basis of union or federation with other bodies, a Canadian labor party. The *Forward* is the vehicle which peddles this proposition to the members. The party is not large, for this reason the ideas of men like Curry, Rigg, Mance, Simpson, Bruce, Bancroft, Conner, etc., play an important role—reformist, unfortunately. We are opposed to the views of these men, and to a party which harbors them. You will understand that our opposition does not consider what they are personally, nor does it necessarily question their motives, but it condemns their "Socialism." At a time when from radicals there comes praise for the Bolsheviks, these men should remember that the Bolsheviks in Russia had to make civil war on reformers such as they to attain their goal. The Labor party towards which the S.D.P. is heading is the last line of defence for Canadian capitalists.

To be sure, we condemn the D.E.C., but we do not place all blame for the reactionary tendencies, the disorganized condition of the party, the compromises, the attitude of *Forward*, on their shoulders: They permit these conditions, the party engages in the practices. The D.E.C. stand practically with the reformers, and they merit their share of our general condemnation of the party.

However, even if the S.D.P. were free from undesirable practices as a political party, the Socialists of Kitchener now organized in the S.L.P. would oppose and not support the S.D.P. Only industrial unionism practically worked for now will form the foundation for future Socialist administration. We contend that a political party cannot operate industry, that a victory won by purely political action could not organize itself practically, but would lead to confusion, reaction and counter-revolution. We are aware that these ideas do not meet with favor from influential members of the S.D.P. Though they believe in economic organization and action their policy favors

trade unionism. As in political matters, so in the matter of industrial organization, the S.D.P. is found in our eyes to give its tacit support to reactionary movements.

Too weak, too cowardly to stand in its own strength as a Socialist party proudly defending the principles of revolutionary Socialism, the S.D.P. has been lost to the Socialist Movement. It is only natural, perhaps, that S.D.P. members should look for a labor party. As for us, we will not support you.

We believe that the workers should organize politically and industrially to overthrow the capitalist order and to operate the industries on a Socialist basis. You may also believe this—theoretically, but practically, S.D.P. action loses itself in the swamp of capitalism. We want a Socialist victory. The S.D.P. can never lead the workers to success. Therefore we have left the S.D.P.

Signed by order of Kitchener Section, S.L.P.,

A. W. Bowles,  
Secretary,  
Mervyn Smith,  
Organizer.

### JIMMIE HIGGINS REPLIES TO KITCHENER S.L.P.

R. R. No. 23,  
Dubbville P.O.,  
April 20, 1918.

Mr. Mervyn Smith,  
Organizer,  
Kitchener Section S.L.P.

Our Local has received your circular letter announcing the severance of Kitchener Local from the S.D.P., and its formation into a section of the S.L.P., and in which you give to the world your views on Socialist tactics, Socialist parties, and Socialists. Our local has not replied to this pronouncement officially, thinking perhaps in these days of conservation and high cost of living that it did not merit the expenditure of the paper and a three cent postage stamp necessary for a reply. But as the document makes its reappearance in the columns of the *Weekly People*, judge that you consider it of some importance, historic perhaps, a modern Communist Manifesto. I therefore take it upon myself personally to make a reply, which I address to you, believing you to be the actual author and also the presiding genius of Kitchener Section of the S.L.P.

The question of tactics in the Socialist movement is as old as the movement itself, and the piffle contained in your letter clearly shows you to be a mere novice in the movement. The course about to be taken by the S.D.P. for allying itself with labor organizations has been endorsed by men whose knowledge of Socialist philosophy and economics, integrity of purpose and moral courage cannot be questioned. As an instance, I will quote "Frederick Engels." I think you will allow, was some authority on Scientific Socialism. He says: "It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole working class, than it should start and proceed on theoretically correct lines from the beginning. The one great thing is to get the working class to move as a class. That once obtained they will soon find the right direction." Again he says "Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working only with those who openly adopted our platform, where should we be to-day. I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the gen-

eral movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position, or even organization." Thus says Engels, though, of course, you might object on the grounds that he never had an opportunity of consulting with Kitchener Section of the S.L.P. William Liebknecht, he of the "No Compromise, No Political Trading," has written in a similar strain to Engels. Then Marx says of the International: "It was founded to establish a real organization of the working class in place of Socialist and half-Socialist sects." Instead of treating the question of policy in the way a well informed Socialist would do we find you dogmatizing about the S.D.P. being "a reform party," its Socialism shady, it is lost to the Socialist movement, etc. This kind of dogmatism simply recalls to mind Douglas Jerrold's definition of dogmatism as being "puppyism come to maturity." The British Labor Party, as you are aware, has been taken as the model upon which to pattern the new Ontario Labor Party. Now the British Labor Party is not what a revolutionary Socialist would like to have it, yet it included in its membership some of the clearest sighted and best grounded Socialists in the British movement. These comrades, unlike so many who proclaim themselves to be scientific, believe that the law of evolution operates in a labor party as in any other living organism, and the progress of the British Labor Party from the days when "no politics in the union" was a common cry to the present time when it has adopted as clear and distinct a Socialist plank for its constitution as is possessed by the S.L.P. is ample justification for their presence within its ranks. The chief cause (outside of social and economic developments) of this progress was the propaganda carried on by the Socialist body, the I.L.P., who allied themselves, as the S.D.P. of C. now does, with non-Socialist labor bodies in order to convert them and solidify them into a real Socialist working class organization having the "two arms"—the political and industrial—necessary to overthrow capitalism and establish the republic of labor. Yet the S.L.P. pretends to scoff at the policy "boring from within." Why, a local of the S.D.P. has been known to transform itself into a section of the S.L.P. by adopting this very policy. You, in your narrowness and ignorance say that the S.D.P. is "too weak, and cowardly to stand in its own strength as a Socialist party." This kind of dryel only invites the observation that some people would appear to be out to make of themselves heroes (minus any risks), though in such case I beg to remind them that the singing of the National Anthem at the behest of a few soldiers makes a rather ignoble and unpromising beginning for the career of a would-be Trotsky; it might even be presumed to invalidate their propriety to impute cowardice to others. The matter of policy is not one (at the present time at least) of courage or cowardice, but one of common sense. Engels, unlike De Leon, was no lop-sided scientist. He gave some heed to the psychological and educational aspects of the subject, and the contrast between the progress made by the British Labor Party and the stagnation of the S.L.P. demonstrates that the former moved in accord with the law of natural evolution while the latter did not. If the class-conscious spirit of the British Labor Party develops at the same rate in the next

few years as it has done in the past (and after war conditions will even accelerate it) then the economic organizations within the party will, by their numerical strength, be able to back up any decision made at the ballot box. Even if a revolutionary crisis should be precipitated the Socialist policy of the I.L.P. will still be vindicated as by their social (fraternal) and co-operating attitude they have won the ear of the trade unions and in consequence their respect and confidence. At this point I would reply to your reference to the Bolsheviks having to make civil war on reformers. I have been informed by a reliable Russian comrade that when the testing time came many of the former shouters for blood and iron methods "rattled" to the bourgeoisie side and the Social Democrats flocked in hundreds to the Bolshevik side. We have witnessed a somewhat similar phenomenon in other countries, when such as Herve, Hyndman, Tillet and Grayson have deserted Internationalism and the "reformist" I.L.P. in Britain have been its bulwark, Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden standing the most villainous abuse heaped upon men by a reptile capitalist press.

The sort of industrial union that you advocate, one that will "lock out the capitalist" and form the basis for the new social structure, must of necessity be composed wholly or mainly of class-conscious Socialists. But the S.L.P. method reminds one of the tip given of catching a rat by applying salt to its tail—you have first got to catch your rat, and so you have first got to make your Socialists. Now craft unions are democratically controlled organization, and while primarily they were formed for defence, to resist the encroachments of Capitalism, they can be changed and are changing into offensive organizations with political objectives. We can find innumerable instances of organizations being diverted from their original purpose. One of the chief arguments against the capitalist project of a league of nations to maintain peace is that armies of defence would become armies of offence. So instead of trying to set up a new theoretically correct union in opposition to the present old and well-established unions, and thereby raising a wall of prejudice and insurmountable antagonism the wiser and shorter course to pursue is to settle down to a determined education of the rank and file. This is the only sure way to depose the "fakirs" and "misleaders" of labor so strenuously denounced by the S.L.P. The workers within labor parties and trade unions are part of the material which must be converted to make up the army of the Social Revolution. The S.L.P. policy can only be compared to the practice of the monks in keeping themselves aloof from the world in order to preserve their purity, or, as has been said, trying to establish Socialism by founding a Socialist colony that will expand until it envelops the whole of society.

Now in this letter I have not tried to accuse the S.L.P. of cowardice because they have deserted old organizations, and instead of standing to their guns and ousting the fakirs (both real and suspected) they have left them in possession. I simply believe their policy is a mistaken one. I have read expositions and defences of the S.L.P. position which gave one food for thought, but the only thought aroused by the Kitchener

(Continued on Page 6).



# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

**Correspondence—**

All correspondence should be addressed to  
THE CANADIAN FORWARD,

397 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.



**THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.**

The representatives of Big-Biz in the City Council of Winnipeg, have raised a veritable hornets' nest by attempting to suborn their employes into a position of abject slavery. According to these autocrats it is perfectly logical to refuse permission to the owners of commodity "Labor power" to withhold the sale of their labor (prices not being satisfactory), while they consider it quite permissible, and in harmony with the tenets of their system, for the owners of other commodities to sell when they choose at prices and conditions suitable only to themselves. The wisdom of these Capitalist logicians is really past understanding—except by those of "Superior Brains." The workers who are on strike are doing exactly the same thing as every business man does when he cannot get his terms—he refuses to sell. Here is the position: A number of civic employes with a modicum of brains, stomachs that ache if not properly fed, and backs which must be covered according to the law—come to the conclusion that the wages paid by their employers are too small to do the job in such a manner as to maintain their respectability on the one hand, and to preserve their physical fitness on the other; therefore they refuse to sell their labor power at prices and conditions that fail to gratify such gross mental desires.

The question of patriotism does not enter into the argument at all—except from the point of view that it is sometimes used as a camouflage to enhance the rapacity of the cheap labor crew who will use any argument in order to defeat the workers in securing those elementary conditions which are essential to their healthful continuity of existence. Apart from this it is purely an economic problem. These employes of the Winnipeg City Council were not receiving wages that are commensurate with the high cost of dying—to say nothing of a clean, healthy life.

**Moral Justification of Strike.**

No body of public representatives—or private, for that matter—should be permitted to use the political power that is placed in their hands in order to depress wages, and be it recognized that every rise in the cost of living is at the same time a fall in the rate of wages. No one will attempt to deny the fact that wages have fallen considerably (from this point of view) during recent months, and the failure on the part of the administration to equalize wages with the increased cost of the necessities of life, must be considered as the secondary cause of the striking attitude of the workers. The primary cause being the exploitation which takes place under Capitalism. Under these conditions the strike becomes an inevitable economic necessity, and finds its moral justification in the desire on the part of the men to maintain such physical standards that are compatible with a clean healthy human existence both for themselves and those who are dependent upon

them. The argument put forward by the capitalist minded politicians that this is an attempt on the part of the unions to reduce the city council as an adjunct to their organization is completely annihilated when they suggest that the military should be called in to arrest the strikers as loafers, and proves conclusively that they are closely associated to the much maligned philosophy entitled "Might is right," and without attempting to repudiate this dictum, we sincerely hope that the workers will develop sufficient of it to place the anti-working class and the anti-social "Junkers" in the discard for all time.

**"THE WORLD MOVES."**  
(By Paul Harris Drake.)

When, safe at last, Democracy  
Its destined place shall take—  
Implanted deep within the hearts  
of Men;

When freedom ends autocracy  
And men the sword forsake—  
'Twill never be the same old world  
again!

When Germany and Austria,  
The Jugo-Slav and Turk  
Forget their dreams of domination,  
then—

The things we thought were fixed  
Will appear a trifle mixed, and:  
'Twill never be the same old world  
again!

The Kaiser and Von Hindenburg,  
Von Tirpitz and their ilk—  
Together with some monarchs—nine  
or ten—

Will take a long vacation  
On a bread and water ration; Oh—  
'Twill never be the same old world  
again!

All the "Easy money" crowd,  
Who by toil were never bowed,  
Soon will cease to madly woo the  
sordid yen;  
Aye, the time is fast approaching  
'Twill never be the same old world  
again!

Slowly rounding through the years  
Fair Democracy appears;—  
Every race and every clime will hail  
Her, when,  
After all the age-long battle,  
Men will cease from being cattle;  
And—  
'Twill never be the same old world  
again!

**THE FARMERS AND THE FOOD SUPPLY.**

Much has been said and written about the necessity of producing foodstuffs in Canada in order to feed the Allies. It may be well to note in view of the farmers' sons about to be called to the colors that unless the essential labor is provided we are going to face the most serious time of our lives. Bearing in mind that all the belligerent countries will be millions of bushels of wheat short of their pre-war production it appears to us an obvious necessity that the shortage in farm help is one of the most pressing problems that the

Government has to contend with. How they intend to meet this need in order to prevent world-wide famine is not disclosed. We have a vague notion that industrial conscription will be resorted to—possibly by the use of interned alien labor, and the crushing out of business all who are engaged in non-essential industries. We are of the opinion, however, that the unskilled labor that, under these circumstances would be secured, might not meet with the approval of the farming population, and is likely to cause more discontent amongst the forces of labor than has hitherto prevailed in this country. We have often predicted that the small shop-keeper and retail business men had to be removed before the Socialist movement could make much progress, and if the Government see the necessity of accomplishing this purpose, we as Socialists have very little kick coming, it will only serve as a means by which labor can be consolidated. The large number of shop-keepers who are capitalists from the eyebrows up, and workers from there down, will make a wholesome addition to the volume of Social protest. If the Government goes much further in applying the "Rule of Iron" they will find themselves without a supporter in the country—which would be a very desirable consummation in the struggle for democracy.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has stated that the production of food is one of the prime essentials, capable of being produced in this country for the prosecution of the war. Any interference in this regard being considered as opposed to the best interest of the country.

Prime Minister's Office,  
Ottawa, Ont., April 27th, 1918.

Dear Sir,—  
On behalf of the Prime Minister who is absent from the city for a few days on important public business, I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 24th instant protesting against the recent Censor regulations. In reply I beg to state that no Government and no public man has any right to complain of or prevent criticism of public administration or public acts.

The purpose of the Order-in-Council is to prevent seditious or false statements calculated to inflame public opinion and hamper the effort of the country in carrying on the war. The people are entitled to know the truth respecting the actions of those entrusted with the administration of public affairs, and it is not intended that there should be any interference with proper and legitimate criticism of those affairs. It is, however, intended to as far as possible prevent the inflaming of public opinion by false statements or seditious utterances.

Yours very truly,  
Geo. W. Yates,  
Prime Minister's Secretary.

**LOCAL NO. 71 HOLD SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL.**

Local Dovercourt, No. 71, held a very enjoyable social evening at Summerfeldt Hall, May 17th. An excellent musical programme was gone through and Comrade Simpson made a good chairman, giving a few humorous remarks on his past experience of musical itinerary.

The meeting provided a very good opportunity for the comrades to get acquainted, as was shown by the animated conversation which kept the comrades together after the regular programme was filled.

The women comrades supplied the refreshments.

J. Cunningham,  
Secretary.

**INSANE.**

Mr. King (L.) drew attention to the case of Madame Popowitch, a Serbian lady, who went to Malta in 1915 to aid refugees. He stated that she was to have been well-treated when she came to England, but that instead she was sent to Holloway Prison, and subsequently interned at Aylesbury, where through insufficient medical attendance and "inexplicable persecution," she has become insane. Mr. Brace declared her to be a "very dangerous enemy alien" and denied ill-treatment.

**A SENSE OF HONOR.**

Some people's sense of honor consists chiefly of seeing that the other fellow is kept straight.

## THE BOOK SHELF.

Literature is a stimulant to the mind, just as food is a stimulant to the body. It is therefore necessary to have the best literature in order to get the best results.

Ancient, Lowly—Ward (per vol.)	\$2.10
Woman and Labor—Schreiner	1.75
Call of the Carpenter—White	1.25
History of Canadian Wealth—Myers	1.25
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism—Engels	1.10
Socialism Summed Up—Hillquit	1.00
Militarism—Carl Liebknecht	1.10
Socialism for Students—Cohen	.50
Evolution, Social and Organic—Lewi	.50
Socialism, Positive and Negative—La-Monte	.50
Common Sense of Socialism—Spargo	.25
Labor in Politics—Hunter	.25
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## What Others Are Thinking

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR SAM HUGHES ON FREE SPEECH.

True democracy is open, frank, free trust in the people, bogus democracy, or autocracy, fears the people, suppresses the facts and suppresses the people as far as it may. Autocracy is mistrustful; autocracy imposes restrictions and repression. Chloroform is a splendid anesthetic, but it is a mighty poor medicine, and even as an anesthetic it must be carefully administered. I therefore deprecate anything like the imposition of chloroform methods in connection with public affairs, whether those of the country generally or those pertaining more particularly to the war.

We hear over and over again in the press the cry of the autocrat, or the imbecile—for the two are very often the same—that in war democracy fails; that democracy cannot meet the situation caused by war. I have been a careful reader of history and a student of matters connected with the war, and I have yet to see the situation presented during this conflict, whether in Britain, Canada or France, that could not be successfully met by the application of the old methods of responsible government to which we have so long been accustomed. No situation can arise that calls for autocratic methods which are not in harmony with the principle of responsible government. We have had a recent illustration in Canada. On a certain occasion a certain gentleman in a certain place wanted to give utterance to certain ideas. Every restriction that gentle autocracy could devise was placed upon him, without success. Free speech and free action have settled and calmed the great Dominion of Canada to a greater degree than any one could believe possible, and they have most successfully alleviated the situation. Repression is always the policy and the practice of weak and incompetent men. The freedom of the press must be maintained; the press must be given the opportunity of selling itself, or not, as it chooses. The press must be left free. As the poet says:

"If the ways to hell are free,  
We left them free to Heaven."

I think, therefore, that the press should be left absolutely free and untrammelled, each newspaper being allowed to conduct itself in its own way, as far as possible consistent with the rights of the people in this great war. Recently it has been my privilege again and again to see some censored articles that have been prevented from going before the people. Really, one would scarcely believe it possible that men of such narrow vision could be found as to repress and cut out section after section of articles that have been published again and again in England. If you talk with any one coming from England, you will find that things are known there concerning our forces and concerning everything that is going on which are religiously suppressed in this great Dominion. I do not know who the censors are; I assume that they are men of great breadth of judgment, soundness of conception, and so on. I do not know whether they are inspired by some of these new councils, and committees that are being formed; but I do say that the repression and censoring of articles that should find their way into the public press should be stopped. Who are the people? Who are we? Who are the Government,

that they seek for one instant to muffle public sentiment or prevent the people from knowing what is going on? The Government is composed of magnificent honorable gentlemen; I have not a word to say against them, but I do think two or three good Cabinets could be formed out of the material gathered around this Government. There is scarcely a township or county council in Canada could not furnish material just as good—I say this with all due respect—as that which is found in those who are carrying on the affairs of this country. There is method in my madness; what I want to impress on the House is that we should trust the people. If some of the people I have mentioned could not make a better showing than some members of the Government, God pity them. Let us, therefore, be careful that in seeking to establish democracy in Germany, we do not establish autocracy in Canada.

This is a new House, composed of new men, independent thinkers, men not yet circumscribed by so-called party discipline. True discipline is educational as well as in military matters, means, as I have always maintained, freedom of thought and action, instruction, development, polish, capability, strength of character, and resolution. These are the characteristics of discipline, according to the proper interpretation of the term. The so-called discipline is merely repression. The members of this House are not yet influenced as the party whips mildly crack the lash but they are strong, capable men, resolute of purpose to help this Government, and if necessary, to compel this Government to live up to its pre-election promises in regard to winning the war, and to go as far in that regard as the Government chooses to go. We are behind the Government's back until the finish. The people at large impel hon. members, while they in turn, in firm, kindly ways, will inspire the Government to action. The aim which actuates this House is to help to win the war; to help to smash the enemy, to help to maintain pure and unsullied the freedom our ancestors won and which they have handed down to us; to help to overthrow and root out every vestige of tyranny to be found in Germany, aye, or in Canada—and, let it be done quickly. Action is the word. I know I voice the sentiments of my colleagues when I urge the Government to full, energetic, effective and whole-hearted action, and I have said, we are behind them as far as they choose to go along those lines. The true people of Canada, worthy of the fullest trust and confidence, stand behind us and them. Let chloroform methods, therefore, disappear from the public life of this country, and let true democratic principles prevail.—Hansard, May 6, 1918.

### WANT SOCIALIST ARRESTED.

The Hamilton Board of Trade has addressed a letter to Premier Borden requesting the arrest of Lorne Cunningham, of Guelph for supposed seditious utterances. Our Comrade delivered a lecture in Hamilton, Ont., at which the objectionable utterances were supposed to have been made. It is to be noted that these projects are invariably put forward by the representatives of Big Business, and not by working class organizations.

### A SPEECH BY LENIN.

The following is a summary of a speech made by Lenin at the sitting of the All Russia Congress of Soviets:

Comparing the Soviet Government with the Paris Commune of 1871, he pointed out that the former had profited by the experience of the latter and had constituted itself exclusively on the authority of the workers and poorer peasantry, to the exclusion of capitalists and Imperialists. The way the peasantry had grasped the meaning of the regime was remarkable. They had now become the most faithful friends and allies of the working class, because they realized that the Socialisation of the land could only be brought about in conjunction with the nationalization of the banks and the establishment of working class control over production. During the protracted period of transition that must necessarily elapse between Capitalism and Socialism, the proletariat must exercise a dictatorship. Socialism could not, however, be forced on the peasantry, and it was necessary to do what they were doing, namely, educating the peasants in Socialist theories and practice. He pointed with satisfaction to the alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Left Revolutionary Socialists, becoming more intimate every day. Referring to the reproaches of the Right Section of the Congress against the establishment of a dictatorship and the use of force, he exclaimed that it was a mistake for anyone to imagine that Socialism would ever be brought them on a platter. Never in history have the questions at issue in the struggles between classes, been solved in any other way than by violent methods. When it was a question of suppressing the exploiters in the interests of the exploited classes, he frankly confessed he was all for violence.

Of course they still had a long road full of difficulties paved with sacrifices and blunders for what they were now doing was an entirely new thing. The transition they were passing through—a transition the greatest in human history—could not be effected without mistakes and violence. In the meantime they had not been wholly unsuccessful in their internal reforms and experience would be their teacher in improving their methods. Anyone could denounce civil war—but were they then to allow the Korniloffs and Ukrainian reactionaries to obstruct their course for the benefits of the property classes? Should the latter be successful the sort of terror and force employed by them would be of a totally different order from that of the Soviet Government. The reason for the comparative mildness of the latter was the strong foundation upon which it rested. As for the boycott of officials and others, it could surely have been foreseen that "all that band of capitalists and swindlers and hooligans and saboteurs" would obstruct the transition from Capitalism to Socialism. He hoped, though he could not affirm, that more violent methods would be unnecessary for their attainment of final victory over the exploiting classes. The new regime would create a new Socialist Red Army, able to secure the triumph of Socialism both at home and abroad—the Russian Red Republic would then be invincible. There would be many difficulties in the way, they might have to fight the bourgeois of foreign countries. England and France, who have not permitted a single Bol-

shevik paper to enter their country during the whole time of the Revolution. But the workers of those countries would come to their assistance. In due course, he was confident the Revolution would spread to other countries which would learn by the Russian experience. The Russian Socialist Republic of Soviets would be a standing torch for International Socialism, and what the Russians had begun would be completed by the German, French and British peoples.

### AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS.

The Vienna Socialist paper, the Arbeiter Zeitung, says: "If Parliament does not desire simply to abdicate and to renounce all influence over the most important decisions" it must declare that "it will not vote one cent so long as Baron Burian is entrusted with the direction of foreign policy." When shall we see a similar spirit here?

### KING CONSTANTINE'S LETTERS.

The letters of the King of Greece to the French Deputy, M. Benazet, present the picture of a feeble victim struggling in the grip of a stronger power. But though weak in face of the Allies, Constantine revealed himself as a tyrant at home.

### OVERCROWDING.

The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association reports that 167,911 persons in Stepney, Poplar and West Ham are living under overcrowded conditions!

### THE SPREAD OF REVOLUTION.

The German Government has complained to the Russian Socialist Government that Austrians and Germans who are prisoners of war in Russia have formed revolutionary committees to establish equality between officers and men. The German Government demands that this sort of thing be put a stop to and "awaits an immediate reply" as to whether its orders have been obeyed. Will refusal to obey mean another German attack on Russia?

### LANSDOWNE AND THE VOLUNTEERS.

In the House of Lords on April 1th, Lord Besborough moved and Lord Lansdowne seconded that tribunals should make exemption conditional on joining the volunteer force. The Government accepted the amendment. Did someone say that Lansdowne is a pacifist?

—Workers Dreadnought.

### A POINTED QUESTION.

How do you like the "freedom" of this country, anyway?

(Continued from Page 4).

circular was as to where the writer's wits were when he was composing it. I do not even feel aggrieved though classed among the "cowards" for, as the poet says:

"A moral, sensible, well-bred man,  
Will not affront me,  
And no other can."

I have written this letter with the faint hope that it may act, if only in a small way, as an antidote to the excessive presumption that at present afflicts certain of the Kitchener Section of the S.L.P.

Though excommunicated by the high priests of Kitchener, but relying on their indulgence, I make bold to sign myself,

Your Comrade,  
Jimmie Higgins,  
(One of the Rank and File.)



# ITEMS OF NEWS OF ALL PARTS

## AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES

By Young Socialist Bureau of Switzerland.

Comrades:

In Europe reaction is triumphing and with the aid of the German armies has entered the Baltic provinces. Under protection of German machine guns the barons and landlords again took possession of the land (of which they had been disowned by the Bolsheviks) and again imposed their feudal laws. **The Prussian German armies are nearing Petrograd ready and willing to crush the first Socialist administration of the world, like they did in 1792, 1848, and 1871, and to-day are ready to crush the revolutionary impulse of the nations.**

In the **Balkans** the people are suffering under the burden of a four years' war, and a similar period of German invasion. **Belgium** is suffering the same fate, only under worse conditions. **Germany is the central opint of all European reaction, and plays to-day the same role in Europe as the former bloody Czarism of Russia.** The successful triumph of their militarism has intoxicated their imperialists with notions of victory, who feel strong enough to crush any movement in favor of peace or freedom by long terms in penitentiary. Comrade Dittman was recently sentenced to five years in a fortress. In Germany, Comrade Liebknecht and many hundred young Socialists are in the penitentiary. Comrade Andres Saboril Colomer, president of the Young Socialist organization in Spain, is sentenced to eighteen years of hard labor. The founder of this organization, Comrade Thomas Wedbe, is under sentence of death. The secretary of the Young Socialist Party in Italy, Comrade Amedeo Cantensei, is also sentenced to death, another is expelled from the country, and the third is in penitentiary. The secretary of the Young Socialists in Greece is in jail.

In the **Ukraine**, the German-Austrian troops are aiding the bourgeoisie in their desire to re-establish their regime and to crush the workmen's Soviets.

Although the governments of France, Great Britain, Italy, America, etc., are sending their people to fight for Democracy against the Central Powers, they are still reactionary in their persecution of workers for peace and Socialism. In France, the classic of revolutions, Clemenceau, rules against our comrades with penitentiary and dungeons. The former secretary of the French Young Socialist organization, Comrade F. Srago Spents, in recognition of his services to his class, is also in jail.

The leader of the Swedish Young Socialist movement, Comrade Hoglund, was sentenced to one year in penitentiary. The secretary of the International Young Socialist Bureau, Comrade W. Munzenberg, is expelled from Switzerland. In **Sweden** the active bourgeoisie are aiding their former friends in Finland to crush the revolutionary movement there.

In **Switzerland**, where international conditions always reflect themselves, they are attempting to militarize their citizens and expell foreigners, they also do not want to be behind the other exploiting states, the Socialist movement in their fight for peace and freedom have sacrificed many noble and courageous

men. The Young Socialist movement has been persecuted and victimized by the despotic ruling class to an appalling extent.

The Italian Government is not backward in their campaign of ruthlessness against the International Socialists. The first victim in their persecution is Comrade Lazzarri, secretary of the Socialist Party, who was sentenced to two years and eleven months in the penitentiary, and his Comrade Bombacci, to two years and four months. Similar treatment is being meted out to Socialists in Britain, the United States and Canada.

Comrades, in this time of fierce reaction and brute persecution, it is our double duty to stand firm for the principles of "International Revolutionary Socialism." This is our first duty as our hands will soon shape this world, we must not falter or shirk our duties.

We are living in March. Remember all the mighty revolutions of the past centuries were ushered in by March storms. The Iten of the old Romans, the battles in March, 1789, the forerunner of the great French revolution. Remember when reaction was resting solid on the nations in 1848, and when the first flames of fevolution started in March in Paris, which swept over Europe to take the last remains of feudalism with it. Think of the Herves of the Paris Commune, 1871. Leaf after leaf we turn over in history, we find that after each rule of despotism a revolution followed, and every victim of arbitrariness and tyranny was avenged.

Comrades: To-day is the first anniversary of the Russian Revolution. A year ago—it was again March when the working class of Petrograd demolished the throne of Czarism. What through past centuries innumerable martyrs for freedom could not accomplish became a fact in **March, 1917.** The pillar of all European reaction fell. The struggles of the workers in Petrograd was the signal and forerunner of the later successful social revolution and for the first time in history, the proletariat took the reigns of government in their own hands.

The Prussian-German armies are to-day near Petrograd to crush the proletarian government, and to drown the social revolution in a sea of blood.

Comrades and Young Socialists, millions of workers are fearing for the fate of Revolutionary Russia, the fate of the Russian Revolution is also our fate. A fear fills the hearts of all Young Socialists, and a yearning wish is evinced that we may be of help in assisting the world through the period of revolution which will free humanity from militarism and war. The Russian revolution can only be saved through the united action of the International working class. Let us all work for this purpose; let us concentrate our forces for the realization of social democracy.

Comrades, be prepared and unceasingly gather in new fighters. Endeavor to prevent through systematic agitation the boys leaving the school and landing in the boy-scout movement—but win them for the Young Socialist organization. Educate and train them to be revolutionary fighters. The highest authority of the oldest democracy in Europe (Switzerland) has prohibi-

ed the publishing of our paper, the "Youth's Internationale." Comrades, provide suitable articles for every Young Socialist paper, so that every sheet becomes a Youth's Internationale, and for every suppressed paper we give the ruling class thirty new ones.

Be prepared, even if chains and fetters are holding us in bondage to-day; to-morrow a March storm will break them.

The revolutionary Socialist working class expects the youths to be the nucleus of the coming great struggle.

Comrades, do not disappoint these hopes, but be as heretofore the standard bearers—the heralds of the masses in their battle for human freedom and emancipation.

Zurich, Switzerland, first anniversary of the Russian Revolution, 1918.

By the secretary of the International Association of Young Socialists.

## MAY DAY CELEBRATORS INTERNERED.

Seventeen Ukrainians comprising a large number of members of Local No. 56, Social Democratic Party of Canada, had their May Day celebration in Ottawa brought to an abrupt conclusion by the intervention of the Dominion police. They were immediately placed under arrest and later sent to an internment camp in the northern part of Ontario.

The intimation was conveyed to us by person. The absence of any news of this event through the medium of the daily press is another indication of the degeneracy of the press as a news medium.

## SCOTTISH I.L.P. GROWING.

Kier Hardie's home town of Cumnock, in Ayrshire, is keeping abreast of the times. They have recently elected a new city council, the majority representatives being I.L. Peers. No more fitting tribute could be paid to the memory of their great chief-tain "Hardie."

## A KIND REMEMBRANCE.

Remember, you are still at liberty to pile up profits for the ever-increasing number of millionaires and newly-riches in Canada.

Do others or they will do you, is the rule of gold

## LABOR AND NEW SOCIAL ORDER

(Continued from last issue.)

the burdensome toll of weekly pence, of the indispensable funeral benefit. Nor is it in any sense a "class" measure. **Only by the assumption by a state department of the whole business of life assurance can the millions of policy holders of all classes be completely protected against the possibly calamitous results of the depreciation of securities and suspension of bonuses which the war is causing.** Only by this means can the great staff of insurance agents find their proper place as civil servants, with equitable conditions of employment, compensation for any disturbance and security of tenure, in a nationally organized public service for the discharge of the steadily increasing functions of the government in vital statistics and social insurance.

In quite another sphere the Labor party sees the key to temperance reform in taking the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. This is essentially a case in which the people, as a whole, must deal with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. **For this purpose, localities should have conferred upon them facilities: (a) To prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries; (b) To reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and (c) If a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.**

Other main industries, especially those now becoming monopolized, should be nationalized as opportunity offers. Moreover, the Labor party holds that the municipality should not confine their activities to the necessarily costly services of education, sanitation and police; nor yet rest content with acquiring control of the local water, gas, electricity and tramways; but that every facility should be afforded to them to acquire (easily, quickly and cheaply) all the land they require, and to extend their enterprises, in housing and town planning, parks and public libraries, the provision of music, and the organization of recreation; and also to undertake, besides the retailing of coal, other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk, wherever this is not already fully organized by a co-operative society.

## CONTROL OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY.

Meanwhile, however, we ought not to throw away the valuable experience now gained by the government in its assumption of the importation of wheat, wool, metals and other commodities, and in its control of the shipping, woolen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering and other industries. The Labor party holds that, whatever may have been the shortcomings of this government importation and control, it has demonstrably pre-

(Continued on Page 8).

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(Continued from Page 7).

vented a lot of "profiteering." Nor can it end immediately on the declaration of peace. The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the government itself, now rapidly combining trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the democratic control of industry, the Labor party would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralization of purchase of raw material; of the present carefully organized "rationing" by joint committees of the trades concerned, of the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of "costing" and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standardized products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader and in the retail shop. This question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector. The male politicians have too long neglected the grievances of the small household, which is the prey of every profiteering combination; and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party promises, in this respect, any amendment. This, too, is in no sense a "class" measure. It is so the Labor party holds, just as much the function of government, and just as necessary a part of the democratic regulation of industry, to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, and those of all grades and sections of private consumers, in the matter of prices, as it is, by the Factory and Trade Boards Acts, to protect the rights of the wage-earning producers in the matter of wages, hours of labor and sanitation.

**A REVOLUTION IN NATIONAL FINANCE.**

In taxation, also, the interests of the professional and housekeeping classes are at one with those of the manual workers. Too long has our national finance been regulated, contrary to the teaching of political economy, according to the wishes of the possessing classes and the profits of the financiers. The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, whilst three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis. When peace comes, capital will be needed for all sorts of social enterprises, and the resources of government will necessarily have to be vastly greater

than they were before the war. Meanwhile innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before. Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of seven thousand million pounds sterling, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which, for local as well as central government, must probably reach one thousand millions a year? It is over this problem of taxation that the various political parties will be found to be most sharply divided.

The Labor party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a protective tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked; as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor, who avowedly expects his profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation, of whatever kind, which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life. We hold that indirect taxation on commodities, whether by customs or excise, should be strictly limited to luxuries; and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged. We are at one with the manufacturer, the farmer, and the trader in objecting to taxes interfering with production of commerce, or hampering transport and communications. In all these matters—once more in contrast with the other political parties, and by no means in the interests of the wage-earners alone—the Labor party demands that the very definite teachings of economic science should no longer be disregarded as they have been in the past.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and, for the requisite effort to pay off the national debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The income tax and super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances, and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in pro-

portion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to sixteen or even nineteen shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income. The excess profits tax might well be retained in an appropriate form; whilst, so long as mining royalties exist, the mineral rights duty ought to be increased. The steadily rising unearned increment of urban and mineral land ought, by an appropriate direct taxation of land values, to be wholly brought into the public exchequer. At the same time, for the service and redemption of the national debt, the death duties ought to be regraduated, much more strictly collected and greatly increased. In this matter we need, in fact, completely to reverse our point of view, and to rearrange the whole taxation of inheritance from the standpoint of asking what is the maximum amount that any rich man should be permitted at death to divert, by his will, from the national exchequer, which should normally be the heir to all private riches in excess of a quite moderate amount by way of family provision. But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor party stands for a special capital levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire national debt—a capital levy chargeable like the death duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires.

Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought. In this matter the Labor party claims the support of four-fifths of the whole nation, for the interests of the clerk, the teacher, the doctor, the minister of religion, the verage retail shopkeeper and trader, and all the mass of those living on small incomes are identical with those of the artisan. The landlords, the financial magnates, the possessors of great fortunes will not, as a class, willingly forego the relative immunity that they have hitherto enjoyed. The present unfair subjection of the co-operative society to an excess profits' tax on the "profits" which it has never made—specially dangerous as "the thin end of the wedge" of penal taxation of this laudable form of democratic enterprise—will not be abandoned without a struggle. Ev-

ery possible effort will be made to juggle with the taxes, so as to place upon the shoulders of the mass of laboring folk and upon the struggling households of the professional men and small traders (as was done after every previous war)—whether by customs or excise duties, by industrial monopolies, by unnecessarily high rates of postage and railway fares, or by a thousand and one other ingenious devices—an unfair share of the national burden. Against these efforts the Labor party will take the firmest stand.  
(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  
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