

Labor Produces
All Wealth
Unto Labor It
Should Belong.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

"WORKERS OF
WORLD UNITE"
YOU HAVE NOTHING
TO LOSE BUT
CHAINS, AND A
WORLD TO GAIN.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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TORONTO, CANADA

JANUARY 25, 1918.

British Socialist and Labor War Aim.

Complete Verbatim Report of War Aims Adopted on December 28, 1917.

Our comrade Ex-Controller James Simpson has recently returned from England where he spent two months on a lecture tour; he was also present at the Labor Party conference, discussing the war aims, and since coming home has handed to the editor a complete report which we hereby reproduce. Mr. Simpson will make his first pronouncement since returning home from the Social Democratic platform next Sunday at Hamilton, on the British War Aims.

The Memorandum.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, taking into consideration the desirability of formulating a definite statement of War Aims and Peace Policy which shall express the general sense of the Labor Movement as a whole, submit the following draft, which they jointly recommend for general endorsement by all sections of the British Labor Movement:

1.—The War.

The British Labor Movement declares that whatever has been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The British Labor Movement sees no reason to depart from the declaration unanimously agreed to at the conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the Allied nations on February 14th, 1915, which is printed as an appendix hereto.

2.—Making the World Safe for Democracy.

Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British Labor Movement in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for Democracy.

Of all the War Aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost, unless some effective method of preventing war can be found. As means to this end the British Labor Movement relies very largely upon the complete democratization of all countries; on the frank abandonment of every form of "Imperialism"; on the suppression of secret diplomacy, and on the placing of foreign policy, just as much as home policy, under the control of popularly elected Legislatures; on the absolute responsibility of the Foreign Minister of each country to its Legislature; on such concerted action as

may be possible for the universal abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, the common limitation of the costly armaments by which all the peoples are burdened, and the entire abolition of profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in war scares and rivalry in preparation for war. But it demands, in addition, that it should be an essential part of the Treaty of Peace itself that there should be forthwith established a Super-National Authority, or League of Nations, which should not only be adhered to by all the present belligerents, but which every other independent sovereign state in the world should be pressed to join; the immediate establishment of such League of Nations not only of an International High Court for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also of appropriate machinery for prompt and effective mediation between states in issues that are not justiciable; the formation of an International Legislature in which the representatives of every civilized state would have their allotted share; the gradual development, as far as may prove to be possible, of International Legislation agreed to by and definitely binding upon the several states; and for a solemn agreement and pledge by all states that every issue between any two or more of them shall be submitted for settlement as aforesaid, and that wherever necessary common cause will be made against any state or states by the use of any and every means at their disposal to enforce adherence to the terms of the agreement and pledge.

3.—Territorial Adjustments.

The British Labor Movement has no sympathy with the attempts made, now in this quarter and now in that, to convert this war into a War of Conquest, whether what is sought to be acquired by force is territory or wealth; nor should the struggle be prolonged for a single day, once the conditions of a permanent peace can be secured, merely for the sake of extending the boundaries of any state. But it is impossible to ignore the fact that, not only restitution and reparation, but also certain territorial readjustments are required, if a renewal of armaments and war is to be avoided. These readjustments must be such as can be arrived at by common agreement on the general principle of allowing all peoples to settle their own destinies, and for the purpose of removing any obvious cause of future international conflict.

(a)—Belgium.

The British Labor Movement emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an International Commis-

sion, for the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium to complete and untrammelled independent sovereignty, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b)—Alsace and Lorraine.

The British Labor Movement reaffirms its reprobation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly torn from France in 1871, a political blunder the effects of which have contributed in no small degree to the continuance of unrest and the growth of militarism in Europe; and, profoundly sympathizing with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who have been subjected to so much repression, asks, in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists, that they shall be allowed, under the protection of the Super-National Authority or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position.

(c)—The Balkans.

The British Labor Movement suggests that the whole problem of the reorganization of the administration of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula might be dealt with by a Special Conference of their representatives, or by an authoritative International Commission, on the basis of (a) the complete freedom of these people to settle their own destinies, irrespective of Austrian, Turkish, or other foreign dominion; (b) the independent sovereignties of the several nationalities in those districts in which these are largely predominant; (c) the universal adoption of religious tolerance, the equal citizenship of all races, and local autonomy; (d) a Customs Union embracing the whole of the Balkan States; and (e) the entry of the Balkan National States into a Federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common concern.

(d)—Italy.

The British Labor Movement declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the inconvenient and indefensible boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, been assigned to the kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it has no sympathy with the far-reaching aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism, and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded, without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

(e)—Poland, etc.

With regard to the other cases in dispute, from Luxembourg, on the one hand, of which the independence has been temporarily destroyed, to the lands now under foreign domination inhabited by other races—the outstanding example being that of the Poles—the British Labor Movement

(Continued on Page 6).

SOUTH WALES COAL OWNER WILL PLAY SOCIALIST FOR DURATION OF WAR.

In an interview with Harold Begbie, Lord Rhondda (better known to Canadians as D. A. Thomas) says:

"Powers of organization are going to beat the Germans if the country will back me up. I am certain they have got to be beaten and can be beaten—beaten by the longer lasting powers of the British—and I will play Socialist to that end.

"But it is not going to be a pleasant experience for the British people. They must not think rationing is a cure or a limit to what is coming. For some time they will be hungry.

"People with property may find themselves without property. The State may have to turn farmer and butcher a few months later on, but there will be a testing time, and the test will be applied to the stomach of the Englishman, applied sharply."

"Some un sick at yo' house, Mis' Carter?" inquired Lila. "Ah seed de dactah's khar aroun' dar yestiddy."

"It was for my brother, Lila."

"Sho! What's he done got de matter of'm?"

"Nobody seems to know what the disease is. He can eat and sleep as well as ever; he stays out all day long on the verandah in the sun, and seems as well as any one; but he can't do any work at all."

"Law, Mis' Carter, dat ain't no disease what you brothe' got! Dat's a gif'!"—Everybody's.

BROUGHT FROM NEW ZEALAND IN IRONS.

Further particulars are at hand respecting the New Zealand Conscientious Objectors to whom reference was made recently in these columns. Of the fourteen that were embarked for England with the 28th New Zealand Reinforcements, to which they were deemed to be attached, three of them, Saunderson, of North Wairon, and two Baxter brothers, of Otago, were put off the ship at Cape Town as they were too ill to be taken further. The rest were taken to Sling Camp, Salisbury, where they remained in irons in the guard-room for several weeks. Eight of them have now been sent over to France. Most of them went over handcuffed, and therefore still resisting. Their names are: Ballantyne, Patton, Little, Baxter, Briggs, Harland, Maguire and Kirwan. Of the other three, one is in Codford Military Hospital suffering from dysentery (Adin, of Foxton), and two are still at Sling Camp (Gray, of Canterbury, and Penwright, of Tasmania).

The New Zealand authorities state their intention to brook no interference, but a death sentence would have to be confirmed by our War Office. The guarantee given in the House that this would not be inflicted on British Conscientious Objectors should be extended to include New Zealanders. Unfortunately, means could be found in France for disposing of these men without a court-martial and death sentence. The only hope of saving their lives is by widespread and continued public protest.—The Call.

Martyrdom in Canada

For Those Who Believe the Truth Shall Make Men Free.

Jack Reid, 18 months.
John Ness, 30 days.
Wilfred Gribble, 3 months.
Issaac Bainbridge, 9 months.
Pte. Harry Lee (charged with disloyalty).
Miss Anna Held (charged with disloyalty).

F. J. Wetzel, now under arrest.
We are fighting to make this world safe for democracy. In the fight many of our comrades have spent some considerable time behind prison bars. The French Canadians talk of the treatment in Ontario, but that is only a flea-bite compared with the treatment of the Socialist minority in this Province. Take for instance Toronto; the Socialists dare not hold meetings in the streets; if we do the Conservative newspapers incite the soldiers to break them up.

The one great avenue for educating the public which has been recognized by the old countrymen for years, that is, the right of free speech in the public parks, which is denied to the Socialists in Toronto.

The editor of this paper has been put in jail for taking the same position as Lloyd George did in his recent speech on war aims.

If Lloyd George had delivered the same speech in Toronto he would have been behind prison bars to-day.

Even the Labor paper, The Industrial Banner, has never mentioned about the imprisonment of Mr. Bainbridge, perhaps through fear of what would happen, for the paper is also published in Toronto. An attempt is now being made to route out of the teaching staff of public schools anyone that is known to have Socialistic leanings. The Telegram of January 18, 1918, declaring "That Toronto must fight against the danger of being Russianized by the neutralization that would encourage dreamers or screamers to go on teaching pacifism in the schools." This is no new method; it is only a short time ago since a Socialist school teacher had to stand a charge of disloyalty because of his political affiliations, and gave the lie to his detractors by finally giving his life on the fields of Flanders. Now this week another school teacher has given in her resignation because of persecution. We reproduce the following extracts of the case from the Toronto Star:

Miss Frieda Held, teacher in Carlton Public school, whose loyalty to British ideals has been under investigation for some weeks by a committee of the Board of Education, has resigned.

The announcement of her resignation was made officially by Chairman G. J. Steele to-day in the following statement:

"The committee of the board, as named under the statutes, has partially investigated certain allegations made against one of the teachers, but has not arrived at any conclusion, and to-day I received a letter from her asking that her resignation be accepted."

Miss Held's letter of resignation to Dr. Steele is as follows:

"I beg to offer through you my resignation from Carlton school, to take effect Feb. 28. Since my loyalty has been questioned I feel that any effective work I might have done with children and parents at Carlton school has been denied me. Since the best only is my desire with regard to my work, I am afraid that this is impossible while there is doubt as to my loyalty. I trust that under the circumstances my resignation will be accepted."

To The Star to-day Miss Held issued the following statement: "Since they have questioned my loyalty, any efficient work I might do has been denied me, and, moreover, I was in the work because I loved it and wanted to do my best at it.

"I felt that this was no longer possible, so I handed in my resignation. I felt that some of the members of the investigation board gave me a very fair hearing, but that Mr. Armstrong's attitude made it impossible for me to teach in his inspectorate."

Dr. Steele's Statement.

As there has been no little interest shown in Miss Held's case, The Star asked Chairman Steele to-day to explain exactly the position of affairs at the present time.

The following conversation took place between Dr. Steele and The Star:

Q. What do you think should be done with the resignation? A. I think we ought to allow her request, but it will have to come before the board. I have nothing further to say in the matter.

Q. Will not the public think she is stepping out because there is something in the charges against her? A. No, I hardly think so. Since some of the teachers and some of the people think she is not what she ought to be as a teacher, the effectiveness of her work has been questioned, and she would rather resign than say anything.

No Further Investigation.

Q. Do you think there will be any further investigation? A. The incident is closed.

Q. Do you think the Board has acted fairly? A. Yes, I think so. Q. Have you discovered anything in her attitude which you would say is pro-German? A. I should say "no."

Q. Well, then, what is it that is against her, is it Socialism? A. Not exactly Socialism. We all believe in Socialism to a certain extent, but the Socialism must not be carried to such an extent that it is anti-British.

Q. Well, has it been in this case? A. That is the part I do not want to go into. I would not like to do anything to hurt her in her life-work in any way.

No Proof of Disloyalty.

Q. You say you haven't found anything which would savor of disloyalty? A. What I do say is, we haven't anything proven that she is pro-German.

Q. Well, have you anything to suggest that she is disloyal? A. No. I haven't anything to prove that she is disloyal.

We have not decided this case, as the investigation is only partially complete. We were intending to complete the investigation, but Miss Held, by resigning, of her own free will and accord, has prevented us from doing so.

Have Only Allegations.

Q. Have you discovered anything outside the allegations? A. No, not yet. We have nothing outside the allegations, but we have intended to inquire into Miss Held's conduct outside the school.

Q. Do you think you are a little unfair? A. No, not a bit. If I were, I would come out and make public our investigation. Her resignation can do her no good and no harm. The board has acted fairly. No injustice has been done. I would not allow any injustice.

Q. What was the nature of the investigation? A. There were quite a number of witnesses, some were school teachers and some were not.

Allegations Withdrawn.

Q. Did a teacher withdraw any of the allegations she made against Miss Held? A. No, we withdrew them for her. The phrase has been used, "that's the country you're fighting for." The committee decided that this might be taken in a favorable or an unfavorable light, according to the context, and withdrew it.

Q. It has been suggested that some of the teachers at Carlton school have been talking Socialism outside of school hours? A. It has not been mentioned in that way exactly. Some say they are pacifists. That is the ground for the hint at socialism.

Q. Will any further action be taken? A. No, not if they keep quiet. There will be no further investigation.

Q. It has been suggested that the only thing the board really has against Miss Held is that she refused to sing the second verse of the National Anthem, and that she said she would appeal to the board rather than do so? A. No this is not the case.

Regarding Miss Held's attitude toward the "hate verse" of the National Anthem, Chief Inspector Cowley pointed out to her during the inquiry that the regulations of the Education Department of Ontario called for its use in the schools. "She absolutely refused to use it. She said she would appeal to the board rather than use it in her class," said Dr. Steele.

Trustees Dr. Hopkins, who attended the early sessions of the probe, told The Star that Miss Held objected to the lines:

"Scatter our enemies,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
Confound their politics."

but he could not understand why she refused to sing those, if she could sincerely sing the first verse, which says:

"Send him victorious."

"How could the king be victorious unless his enemies were scattered?" queries the trustee.

Inspector G. H. Armstrong refused to make any comment on the case, pending a decision being given.

Chairman Steele said there was no question of Miss Held having told her class that it was England's oppression of Ireland that had caused the Irish revolt. "As no definite date was stated to this, it might be taken to apply even to the recent Sinn Fein rebellion," said he.

Another Statement of the Case.

The whole facts of the case were put before a man of much experience in educational matters to-day, and he was asked to give his impression of the investigation. This he did in the following statement, which was submitted to Miss Held, and she guaranteed its accuracy:

"My impression is," was the answer, "that every single charge has broken down except the one that the teacher refused, on religious grounds, to sing the second verse of the National Anthem, which is:

"O Lord, our God, arise,
Scatter our enemies,
And make them fall.
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On Him our hopes we fix;
God save us all."

"Now, the advisability of using this verse has been debated at church synods and its use has been declined by the vast majority of Christian clergymen ever since the National Anthem came into use. In at least one Province in Canada it is omitted from the school books altogether. It has always been regarded by the refined conscience of the churches as partaking of the nature of a hymn of hate and as poor in literary and lyric quality. The teacher is instructed to teach the National Anthem, but nowhere is it said that she must teach the whole of it, and, as you know, when the National

Anthem is sung in assemblies it is the first verse only that is sung in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. In St. James' Cathedral on the day of the King's call to prayer the first and third verses only were sung. If the teacher sang the first and last verses I consider that she well covered her duty. She was asked if she thought she was the only Christian teacher in Toronto and if her conscience was better than the consciences of the whole body of divines of the Empire. I consider this was an improper way of examining the teacher and that the question was not based upon facts, because there is abundance of evidence that the conscience of the clergy has been offended by this verse of the National Anthem.

"The most damaging of the other charges was withdrawn by the teacher who laid it. She said that the disloyal remark was made by somebody else, and thereby showed an irresponsibility that should have discounted anything she said.

"One of the investigators charged the teacher with implicit disloyalty for telling the story of Tom Moore's famous Irish poem, 'The Harp That Once Through Tara's Hall.' She proved that she had used the notes provided by the Department of Education, read them to the investigating committee, and showed that she had not departed from her instructions by a hair's breadth. She was asked if she knew that Tom Moore was a Sinn Feiner. She said she did not, and was called an ignorant girl for not knowing it. Well, it so happens that Tom Moore was in his grave half a century before Sinn Feinism was heard of. She said she had obeyed her instructions, whereupon she was told that those instructions had been compiled by pro-German influence.

Born in England, Parents German.

"She said that she was born in England, though of German parents, and did not know one word of German. She was secretary of the School Patriotic League, and had friends in the trenches, and had not an atom of sympathy with German aims, yet she was treated with indignant surprise because she did not know she was a German citizen and did not know the laws of her own country—meaning Germany—which was again begging the question and treating the teacher unfairly.

"In my judgment the teacher is one of the most capable teachers on the Toronto staff, and to dismiss her would be a piece of gross injustice. I don't know what the women members of the School Board are doing or whether they are to have a say in the matter. It looks as if the whole thing was being done in a hole-and-corner, but the board members should know that they are representatives of the people who elected them, and not autocrats.

"There were some questions put to the other teachers that are quite indefensible in my judgment. They were asked if they had read Socialistic books and if they had Socialistic leanings, as if that were a crime. The undignified phrase 'Dirty German Socialism' was used in the prosecution. Now Socialism is a branch of economic philosophy that every university student has to study, and it is perfectly childlike to try to frighten teachers away from the study of Socialism as if it were a misdemeanor. Moreover, anybody with open mind must know that a vast amount of the most important legislation of the Empire in the recent times has been essentially Socialistic. Sir William Harcourt said twenty years ago: 'We are all Socialists now.' A prominent minister of the Presbyterian Church said in criticizing Socialism philosophically:

(Continued on Page 8.)

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

STRATFORD ELECTS SOCIALIST ALDERMAN.

Stratford, Jan. 11, 1918.

Dear Comrade:

I have a little progress that I am delighted to report. I hope you will find a small space in Canadian Forward that you may give a little publicity to our local's success in electing Comrade Newman to our City Council, polling 761 votes. He stood as a straight Socialist, which was given much front page prominence in the local press, but the very opposite to their expectations took place.

We also nominated Comrade Skidmore for school trustee, but another worker was unfortunately brought out against him through some misunderstanding, consequently our comrade suffered defeat. We shall still be here I hope to again contest our right to have some direct dealings with the education of our youth.

Should be glad to know if there is any chance of comrade Bainbridge being freed from durance vile. I wrote to the Unionist M.P. asking him to bring this case up when the House meets, but I have not much faith in this individual doing much for a Socialist after the intellectual mauling he got at our debate here during the election campaign. However, we can only try.

Closing, I am yours in the cause of Revolutionary Socialism.

W. Cole, Secretary.

Vanguard, Jan. 10, 1918.

Dear Comrade Mance:

Comrade Stirling arrived on the 5th and we had two very successful meetings to start him out with. The weather has turned fearfully cold again which will hinder him to some extent.

Stirling is a good speaker, and I know he will make a success if the weather permits the people to get out to hear him. I had a fine visit with him and enjoyed it very much.

Give Comrade Bainbridge the kindest regards of the comrades out here. We hope you will be successful in securing his release, as we need him in the work.

Since writing this letter I have had a charge of sedition brought against me and must go to Regina for trial on the 15th, to-morrow. I wired you the day I was arrested on Jan. 12th. I know this charge is false and do not believe the authorities will be able to prove it, although they have affidavits that I have done and uttered seditious things. Our organization here is weak but we will put up a fight anyhow, and hope the D.E.C. will lend what assistance they can.

Yours in the fight,

F. G. Wetzel.

P.S.—I was informed to-night that the case against me for sedition will be dropped with orders to discontinue my activity along Socialist lines.

BAINBRIDGE DEFENCE FUND.

Previously acknowledged . . .	\$583.90
John Robb	1.00
E. A. Rydberg	2.00
John Black	1.00
Andrew Larson	1.00
Jas. Beck	1.00
John Larson	1.00
Thos. McNarde	1.00
Torsington	1.00
Martin Larson	1.00
Russian Progressive Library	3.00
T. Robbey	1.00
J. Marks	1.00
Jas. Simpson	5.00
Total	\$608.90

Make all cheques payable to H. Perkins, 363 Spadina Ave.

THE FUTILITY OF WAR.

Mr. Philip Gibbs, whose splendid dispatches record the doings of our men during the recent attacks, has sent home the following account of a talk he had with a German Medical Officer. We wish it were possible to make those who are responsible for the continuation of the war realize what folly it all is, and what folly it appears to the men actually engaged in it. As far as we can gather, men are killing one another, not because they hate one another, but because their rulers are unable to agree. Surely the peoples of the world will soon wake up and put an end to the killing which every-thing, and for the payment of the body agrees will only leave Europe impoverished and ruined:

It was here that I had a talk with the German medical officer whom I had seen walking down between two guards close to Fricourt. After describing his own experiences during the bombardment this morning he laughed in a sad way.

"This war!" he said. "We go killing each other to no purpose. Europe is being bled to death, and will be impoverished for long years. It is a war against religion, and against civilization, and I see no end to it. Germany is strong and England is strong and France is strong. It is impossible for one side to crush the other, so when is the end to come?"

Because of his services to our own men he was given special privileges and an English soldier had brought down all his personal belongings.

New York, Jan. 13, 1917.

Editor Forward:

By the time you receive this I will be on my way west. There are fewer people on Broadway this morning than you would find on Hastings street at the same time; and yet, day and night, the low, rakish cars peculiar to this thoroughfare go grinding by every few seconds. The fact is that the mercury records a temperature below zero this morning, and even with the prevailing shortage of coal it is more comfortable inside than on the streets.

I started on my habitual walk an hour ago but after going as far as Fifth Avenue I decide that in such an atmosphere discretion was the better part of valor, and beat a hasty retreat to the old Marlborough House from where I am now writing.

Old King Coal is causing considerable trouble here. Several hundred thousand school children of Greater New York are forced to shiver at home instead of attend school, and the worst of all, it is reported that many industries must close down if these conditions continue; while it is said that one thousand apartment houses are without fuel. So much for the blessings of corporation control of coal mines and other public necessities. Even State Capitalism might be an improvement on what we now have and certainly could be no worse.

We are hearing now considerably regarding the conservation of labor, but what strikes me forcibly is the vast amount of man power wasting its time and efforts. Every hotel contains dozens of colored gentlemen and dark-eyed foreigners—the conquering races of America—and all with their hands out for tips. Yet to eliminate this class and the thousands who do nothing essential would involve the disruption of our precious social system. True, many might be forced to fight for freedom and democracy, and probably will be, but war, after all, is only incidental and no solution to the labor problem. Besides, warriors consume or destroy even more wealth than drones and lackeys do. One only

has to visit these great cities to realize the immensity of modern industry and especially the anarchy in production and even more anarchy in distribution which prevails under the competitive system. While hundreds of thousands of people in these cities are always hungry and miserable, we see here a vast labyrinth of stores and warehouses, whole blocks and streets filled with costly luxuries, wonderful tapestries, silks and jewels, works of art, comforts and luxuries—the products of labor of all lands; the toys of the parasitic class, uniforms and accoutrements that stand for death and destruction. And then we think how great is the power of Modern Labor and how rapidly slums and sweat-shops, hunger and rags, poverty and wretchedness would vanish from the world if only Labor and social forces were applied under Industrial Democracy and if production for use were to replace production for profit for that class which is master because of its ownership! This is the great dream of the Russian Bolshevik, and dreams which nations dream come true! But to the world's rulers the seizing of land and appropriation of banks and industries for the people is a hideous night-mare, for the habit might become international! Revolutions do not regard national boundaries, and if private property should surrender to the instincts of the common people to rule, what would become of the world's rulers?—a terrible question, is it not?

Saving Food For Our Fighters.

In the homes, hotels and clubs of the well-to-do people there are no symptoms of sacrifice or economy for our fight for freedom. I just finished a late breakfast and all around me men and women were enjoying the fat and juicy things of this great land. With a gentle tip for the curly-haired boy who poured and sugared my coffee, my breakfast cost nearly a dollar, and although it was sufficient for me, yet half the same sum would have commanded as much in Vancouver. If you think that eats and skilled labor are high-priced in B.C., just take a trip down here and you will know what the high cost of living really is, yet the average workers get little more than they did before the war!

The Philadelphia Bulletin of a few days ago gave the official figures showing that the cost of living has increased 88½ per cent. during the last three years. The problem, as I see it, is: How do the common people live at all? In these cities the wages of the average working girls is said to be Seven Dollars per week, and yet our chief priests and our hypocrites in general are constantly casting stones at these victims of the economic system which they support, and the representatives of capitalistic Christianity are forever wondering why the working classes don't go to church. It is safe to say that while I am writing here, tens of thousands of men, women and children are in this city shivering with cold and suffering from want of food and clothing. And this is the richest city of the world!

I sometimes eat at Child's Cafe, a sort of white lunch plus white-clad girls to serve you. In Child's, food conservation and patriotism are worked to the limit. "Eat less and win the War" is Child's slogan, everywhere displayed with Old Glory on top. It is a fact that in any of Child's institutions food conservation is a stern reality and the thousands who eat there must be underfed. I don't know if the mentality of the shop girls and the class which patronize Child's is capable of understanding the great economic question which involves them so vitally, but if so they should soon be forced to consider this problem. Twenty cents will go as far in the average cafe in Vancouver as

twice that amount would in New York at present.

Yesterday I ordered some bread and butter, and two tiny slices were brought in. I inquired if this was a sample. "No, this is the order," replied the waitress apologetically, "you know, our Allies must be fed, and Mr. Child is a great patriot." "He seems to be making us do the paying," I suggested. I then inquired if any butter went with the bread. "There is your butter," said she, pointing to a miniature platter near the bread. "Oh, I see it now, but Mr. Child should provide his guests with magnifying glasses," I said, "things would appear a little larger." She thanked me for the suggestion and agreed to transmit it to Mr. Child, as he was so anxious to serve food for our fighters for freedom. So then hurried to serve another guest with a banquet of pancakes and corn syrup, while I adjusted my high-power glasses in order to manipulate the precious butter everything is in proportion with Child's. In New York the sugar comes in the shape of a cube. In Philadelphia it is dispensed in a tiny envelope in a quantity of an average seidlitz powder. When I reached that critical stage where I was called upon to dump the sugar into my coffee without losing it, I remembered how the atrocious Germans are ever letting our deaths and destruction, and for the time I envied the Christian Scientist who fears no evil, who theoretically sees no difference between prussic acid, rough-on-rats, typhoid Germans or sugar—and I wished the war was over.

The Third International.

The plutocratic press makes one dizzy trying to follow its contortions. It is now half supporting Trotzky, but only because it cannot help it. Never before were these Eastern cities so seething with revolt against poverty, plutocracy and hypocrisy, and this revolt is assuming intellectual proportions which means trouble for property rights if it continues. Yesterday's "Call," the Socialist daily, had a whole page devoted to meeting and various activities of the Socialist Party in Greater New York and the circulation of the "Call" is increasing in leaps and bounds, while the Jewish "Forward" goes over one hundred thousand copies a day. The Socialists of New York elected five aldermen at the late contest, and Morris Hilquit polled nearly 150,000 votes and snowed under the Republican candidate, who was doubtless helped to defeat through the efforts of "Teddy the Terrible." And yet Hilquit ran on an anti-war and revolutionary platform.

(Continued on Page 7).

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.

Local No. 71, Toronto—Meets at 165 Van Horne street, every Sunday, at 2.30 p.m. A hearty invitation is extended to all friends and sympathizers. J. CUNNINGHAM, 12 Boustead Ave., Secretary.

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

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

THE INTERNATIONAL

JEAN LONGUET ON CONDITIONS IN FRANCE.

(By Tom Quelch.)

Our friend and comrade Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx, Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies for a Paris constituency, and leader of the French anti-war Socialists who are now a majority of the French Socialist Party, being in London to take part in the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, I seized the occasion to have a talk with him concerning his views in regard to the general situation, conditions in France, the Stockholm Conference, and matters of interest to the movement.

Longuet began by stating that the people of France wanted peace. They were tired of the war.

I asked him if it were true that the people living in the war zone were particularly jingoistic. He replied that the nearer the people were to the front the more they were in favor of peace. As an illustration, he instanced the town of Belfort, which is subject to frequent bombardment by the German army. "Our comrade Froissart," he said, "who is organizer of the Party, and a strong pacifist schoolmaster, has the unanimous support of the Belfort comrades. He is editor of the Socialist organ 'Germinal'—named after Zola's great novel—which appears twice a week and is only sold in Belfort and district. 'Germinal' has a circulation of over six thousand copies. It is an out-and-out pacifist paper—as far as the Censor will permit. I expect Froissart will be returned at the next election as deputy for Belfort. The Oise Socialist Federation—which is in the war zone—is entirely with the anti-war section of the party, as is also the Socialist Federation of the Marne."

Attitude of the French Soldiers.

Asked as to the attitude of the French soldiers towards the war, Longuet replied: "When they are told that English soldiers break up peace meetings they cannot understand it at all. They wonder if those soldiers have dropped from the moon. They are convinced that they could not have been to the front. The overwhelming majority of the French soldiers are with us in our struggle for peace. I have received thousands of letters from the front expressing pleasure at my attitude, and asking me to be more energetic in my efforts to bring about an end to the war. Many of those letters have come from men who belong to my own constituency. I have not received a single letter of protest. There is much grave unrest in the French army. I have heard also from reliable sources that similar unrest exists in the German army. Men from the front have told me of demonstrations when the German soldiers have shouted: 'Long live Liebknecht and down with the war.'"

The Question of Alsace-Lorraine.

"What," I asked, "is the feeling of the French people with regard to the proposed annexation of Alsace-Lorraine?"

"There is," he answered, "no decided feeling about Alsace-Lorraine. It is historically a Socialist question. Karl Marx bitterly protested on behalf of the old international against the annexation by Germany, but also did Bebel and Liebknecht. We consider that the people should determine their own destiny. The Socialist Party as a whole is agreed to a plebiscite to settle the question. The only possible reconciliation of France and Germany is through Alsace-Lorraine, and that must be brought about by a free vote of the inhabitants of those provinces."

After-War Problems in France.

In reply to a query as to whether

any steps had been taken in France to deal with after-war problems, our comrade Longuet said that very little had been done. "This will be," he concluded, "a great cause for possible revolutionary trouble."

The International.

"Do you think it will be necessary to constitute a new International?" I asked. "I do not see the need of it," he replied. "There is but one Socialist movement. In nearly every country it was represented by a united Socialist Party. Necessarily there will be an elimination of men who are no longer Socialists. I do not think it will be necessary even to expel even the whole of the German Socialist majority."

Stockholm.

Longuet expressed high hopes from Stockholm. "It will," he said, "strengthen the peace movement everywhere, particularly the German Socialist minority. It would pave the way to peace."

The Coming Revolution.

Referring to recent troubles in Italy, Longuet made a striking comparison of Italy with Russia, and expressed the opinion that undoubtedly the whole of Europe would soon witness a tremendous revolutionary uprising.—The Call, Britain.

WHO MADE THE WAR?

A Canadian Officer in the London Regiment, writing to Lieut.-Col. J. Obed Smith, says:

"I have, to begin with, the duties of Lewis Gun Officer and Work Officer to do at present, and when up the line I did Intelligence as well, therefore I am fully employed. The latter job gave me more to think about in connection with the war than anything I have yet undertaken. I had some nasty work, and I would like nothing better than to take the devils who are responsible for this hellish business and place them on the battlefield at night, alone with the dead; let them see what men are born for; let them see their friends with crushed heads and limbless bodies; make them lie in shell holes, with half a body protruding in an upright position; let them gaze upon a body on a stretcher, with the bearers dead alongside; and if these sights do not make them repent them of their crimes then, well might we all cry: 'Who made the War?'—From Canada.

BRAVE WORDS FROM GERMANY.

In Die Friedens-Warte, October, 1917, that true and constant advocate of peace principles, the friend and disciple of Bertha von Suttner, Dr. A. H. Fried, tells of a change that has come about in the governmental circles of the Central Powers with regard to pacifist ideas. Speaking of "the Utopians of eternal war and of ever-increasing armaments" and of the way they jeered at pacifists during the first decade of the 20th century, he says: "Their laughter has ceased. Even in Germany, even in high places, concessions are made to pacifism." Rulers begin to talk the language pacifists have long used. And the rest of his article is full of brave words, for he argues that "concessions" are not enough. Pacifism cannot be sundered from democracy. Pacifism is nothing more than the application of democratic principles to foreign policy. If the German Government is democratized, Germany will become an important and "trustworthy" member of a community of nations which will exclude the making of war. If it does not become democratic she will remain a state apart in the midst of international anarchy. Brave words in these days! Even braver words were spoken

by Professor F. W. Foerster, of Munich, in an address to the "Austrian Political Society" at Vienna, July 17, 1917, on "The Policy of Force and the Policy of Agreement." He shows how the State that pursues limited, selfish ends does as much harm to the world generally as the selfish, self-centred individual does to those around him. "All self-seeking, even national self-seeking, produces stupidity." "The best security for your own rights is a concern for the rights and interests of others." (Loud applause.)—C.E.P., in 'New Crusader.

CONFIRMS GERMAN MUTINY

25,000 Soldiers Desert and Form a Camp Near Kovno.

Petrograd, Jan. 11.—Confirmation of the report that an armed camp of 25,000 German soldiers have mutinied against being shifted to the western front, and are holding the forest near Kovno and are threatening an attack upon the other German troops from the rear if they resume the offensive against Russia, has been borne out by four German soldiers who recently deserted and who offered to enlist in the new international army now being organized to fight for Socialist principles under the direction of the bureau headed by Boris Reinstein, internationalist delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of America.

Lieut. William Mueller, 347th Infantry, signed this statement given to Reinstein.

"For some time the men under 35 years old have been taken from divisions on the eastern front to go to the western front, leaving only the older men in the divisions. Many soldiers mutinied and were forced into trains, but deserted in masses in the forest and soon formed a great army of outlaws with rifles, machine guns and even cannon. Already these men are strong, they have defeated the troops led against them. In one battle 250 loyal Kaiser troops were killed.

Efforts to cut them off from food and ammunition failed, because they descended on villages in force and cut up the troops sent to stop them. They also stopped trains, taking provisions and arms and winning recruits. They have sent word to the front that they will attack the German troops in the rear if the present peace negotiations failed and a new attack is made on Russia.

"The camp has been in existence several weeks. The Government is unable to bring troops to attack, as the mutineers capture the approaching trains."

A young gentleman purchased a new shirt in a certain shop, and on arriving home, fitted it on, but was not satisfied with it. The next day he took it back to the counter where he had purchased it, but this time a young lady was in charge of the department. "Excuse me miss," he said, "I bought this shirt here; can I change it at this counter?" "Oh! dear me, no!" said the embarrassed girl. "You'd better go to a private room."

Hoist the flag on your manure heap if you don't want to be considered unpatriotic.

Rheumatism

A Home Cure Given by One Who Had It

In the spring of 1888 I was attacked by Muscular and Inflammatory Rheumatism. I suffered as only those who have it know, for over three years. I tried remedy after remedy, and doctor after doctor, but such relief as I received was only temporary. Finally, I found a remedy that cured me completely, and it has never returned. I have given it to a number who were terribly afflicted and even bedridden with rheumatism, and it effected a cure in every case.

I want every sufferer from any form of rheumatic trouble to try this marvelous healing power. Don't send a cent; simply mail your name and address and I will send it free to try. After you have used it and it has proven itself to be that long-looked-for means of curing your Rheumatism, you may send the price of it, one dollar, but understand I do not want your money unless you are perfectly satisfied to send it. Isn't that fair? Why suffer any longer when positive relief is thus offered you free? Don't delay Write today.

Mark H. Jackson, No. 616D Gurney Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.
Mr. Jackson is responsible. Above statement true—Pub.

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN.

My Sister Women:

I have appealed to you so often; I thank you for the response; I am appealing over again.

The election has passed. The forces of re-action have won a seeming triumph. So they did when Jesus of Nazareth was murdered as a felon by the executioner's methods of those days. So they did in Spain when Ferer was shot at dawn; and in America when John Brown died for the slaves.

It is only a seeming triumph for the scaffold. I wait the future, and though evil is indeed upon the throne, the throne itself will totter and fall.

I want to tell you something you may not know. It is that the women of Austria and Germany have sent a message of love and sympathy to the women of the enemy, and are striving to keep alive the mother-love that is the hope of the stricken world.

I have just received a song book from my dear mother. She has marked the songs they sang outside the prison where my brother is still confined. "The people's flag is deepest red, it shrouded off our martyred dead. And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold their hearts' blood dyed its every fold.

They say the singing is to be stopped. It is winning too much sympathy for the brave souls who are suffering for freedom.

The authorities are starving them now. The bread ration has been so cut down that the poor men cannot have sufficient even of that terrible food to sustain body and soul. Yet the soul within them cannot starve. Over that the tyrants have no power. It has ever been so.

Remember Mr. Bainbridge and his heroism!

Women of the New Ideal, I beg you to be faithful. Please write to me in larger numbers, that we may strengthen and sustain each other.

Another of the marked hymns has a verse with which I will close this letter:

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak.
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think.
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

With kindest loving greetings to our members,

(Mrs.) Gertrude Richardson,
Swan River, Man.

Organizer's Maintenance Fund

The Workers of Canada await the message of emancipation. Send along your dimes and nickels. Drops of water make the ocean; let us have a tidal wave for Socialism.

NAME.....
AMOUNT, \$..... c.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY..... PROVINCE.....

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

To Our Contributors—

The columns of The Canadian Forward are open to contributions from all friends of the cause. Though we can by no means undertake to publish all we may receive, everything, by whomsoever written, will receive careful attention.

Subscriptions (post free)—

Single copies, 5 cents; three months, 25 cents; six months, 50 cents; in clubs of six, \$2.50; twelve months, \$1.00; in clubs of six, \$5.00; United States, Great Britain and other countries, \$1.50 a year.

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Correspondence—

All correspondence should be addressed to
I. BAINBRIDGE, Managing Editor,
363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

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It has always been the opinion of broad minded statesmen that to take away the liberties of subjects is to incite the license of rebels.—G. F. Stirling.



The Socialist movement in old Cumnock, Ayrshire, Scotland, is making great progress. Cumnock with a population of five thousand was the home of the late Keir Hardie. The Socialist movement has just been successful in putting a third man into the town council, Mr. Livingstone Russell. The other two are Councillors Jas. Neil and Allan McCaul. During the year the Socialists held sixty-one public meetings with an attendance varying from 100 to 1,000 persons, and collections amounted to \$800.

"A man does not come the length of the spirit of martyrdom without some active purpose, some equal motive, some flaming love. If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great, and able men. Let me know more of that nation; I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands springing at their sides. I shall find them men of love, honor, and truth."—Emerson.

INTERVIEW WITH TROTSKY.

(By Arthur Ransome.)
(Special Correspondence of The London Daily News.)

Petrograd, Jan. 8.—I had a hurried talk with Trotsky at the Smolny Institute just as, after a final consultation with Russian members of the peace delegation, he was starting for Brest-Litovsk.

He was leaving with the mistaken conviction that the Entente Governments wanted Germany to succeed in making an advantageous separate peace with Russia, so that, guarding herself in the east, she might agree more willingly to surrender what the allies want in the west. The allies would then blame the Bolsheviks for the lost freedoms of Poland, Lithuania and Courland.

He was also under the impression that Lloyd George had made a statement that allowed such an interpretation.

I assured him that he was mistaken, but he was difficult to convince. He said:

"That is the allied policy."

I asked his opinion of a possible International Labor Conference to decide conditions of peace.

He said:

"It would do no harm."

Bolsheviki Will Fight.

I asked whether the Bolsheviks would fight in case the Central powers refused to accept the decisions of that conference.

He replied: "The question is not fairly put, for it does not guarantee that the Entente Governments would accept the conference's rulings. In any case the Bolsheviks will fight independently of the rulings of such a conference unless they coincide with the democratic peace desired by Russia. The attitude of the Bolsheviks would not be influenced by the attitude of the allies' Governments, but only by the attitude of the allied peoples."

Moves a Soldier at a Time.

I asked him what his own hopes were for a general and acceptable peace, and whether he thought the Germans desired such a peace.

He said:

"It is difficult to say, because Germany has not yet been offered the chance of a general and acceptable peace, but they must need it. To-day four German deserters came to me, a lieutenant and three soldiers, and told me of the difficulty the Germans have in moving troops from this front. They have given up trying to move large units. They take the men one at a time, and the men, knowing where they are going to be sent, jump out of the train and escape. At this minute in the Kovno district, behind the German front, there are twenty-five thousand German deserters concentrated together and armed with machine guns. The Germans have surrounded them, and being unable to get their own men to attack them, are trying to reduce them by starvation."

I asked him what terms he actually hoped to get.

He refused to be drawn out, and said, laughingly: "If we were really logical we would declare war on Britain now for the sake of India, Egypt and Ireland. You have read our peace declaration."

I protested that Britain made nothing out of India.

He replied: "Then give up being so altruistic. You British are the most chauvinist nation on the earth without knowing it."

He laughed again, shook hands, and was off.

LIBERTY.

And let me tell you what I mean by liberty of the body. It is to give to every man what he earns with his hands. And this great question of division has got to be settled even in the United States. Capital takes too much; labor gets too little. Labor will not always live in a hut with capital living in a palace. Flesh and blood are more sacred than gold, and the time will come when the law will see that every man has the right to life, liberty and the pursuit not only of happiness, but the right to catch some of it before he dies. I want to live until I find an aristocracy of honesty, of generosity; an aristocracy of intelligence; an aristocracy of heart and brain. I am sick of the old kind. I want liberty for every man. I do not believe in the law of supply and demand as applied to flesh and blood. If they who toil cannot have some of the good things of this world, then I do not want anybody to have them.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF GERMANY.

(By Stafford Whitby.)

The most conspicuous demand in war oratory at present is for the democratization of Germany, which, it is said, would guarantee future peace. Now the democratization of Germany might conceivably be achieved by the German people, or it might conceivably be granted by the German rulers. Let us glance at these alternatives.

Suppose that, in response to the appeals of the Allies, especially those of Mr. Wilson, or (what may be regarded as a more likely occurrence) in response to the appeals and example of their Russian brothers, the German people were to carry through a revolution and were to democratize Germany in earnest. Would the ruling class of the Allied countries feel quite happy? Would they not be disposed to think that Germany had become too much democratized; and might they not now say: "We will treat only with a 'stable government,' and, having destroyed Militarism, we will now destroy Anarchy?" Has their attitude been encouraging towards the revolution of the Russian people and towards the democratic principles of settlement formulated by the Russian people? Instead of responding to the idealism of the Russian Revolution, are they not, rather, inclined to echo the advice which Burke gave to the English ruling classes with reference to the idealists of an earlier revolution (the French Revolution), "Let us keep their principles from our minds; their daggers from our hearts?"

The invitation to revolt against their ruling classes, which in effect some of the chief spokesmen of the Allies have given to the people of Germany may well be contrasted with the attitude of the ruling classes in their 'own countries' towards the possibilities of revolution there. The ruling classes in Great Britain are calmly confident that a revolution by the people in their own country is the last thing that can be expected—or need be feared. Yet some of them ask a revolution of the people of Germany, whom they have continually described as exceptionally docile.

Revolution in England.

Indeed, a revolution is the last thing that the "comfortable" classes expect in England. In a recent issue of "Punch"—a periodical whose wit is peculiarly expressive of the outlook of the comfortable classes in England—there is a picture in which this attitude can be plainly read.

Scene: a drawing room.

The Colonel: "I'd take all those mutinous hound and put 'em against the wall." (? reference to the Bolsheviks.)

Aunt Jane: "But, my dear, the awful

thing is that it has spread to our own army. I heard two soldiers in the train to-day talking about their sergeant-major in a dreadful way."

At this the colonel and his soldier son are shown as grinning.

The point of the joke is the absurdity of thinking an uprising of the English proletariat possible.

Democratization a Guarantee.

Consider the other alternative: Suppose that being desirous of securing peace, the rulers of Germany were to conform to the Wilsonian condition, and make the constitution of Germany as democratic as that of Great Britain, France, or the United States. Would this action on the part of the rulers of Germany guarantee the presence of the real democratic spirit; and, more particularly, would it be any guarantee of the destruction of a militaristic spirit in the conduct of foreign policy and the incoming of a democratic one? Would this be any guarantee that the intellectual atmosphere of Germany, her press and schools, would no longer be under the control of the wealthy classes: of the capitalists and their allies the militarists? We have only to take a candid view of the so-called democratic countries to see that equal and universal suffrage offers no guarantee that the wealthy classes and special interests would be much less able to enlist the majority of the people in support of their policies.

If the general mass of men would but give their attention to the actual facts, and particularly to the facts of the foreign policy of the democratic nations, instead of remaining content with mere phrases, the unsoundness of the current implication that, should Germany "democratize," her foreign policy could never again lead to war, and that the peace of the world would necessarily be secure, would be at once apparent. But, unfortunately, there is no general acquaintance with the facts of foreign policy (and upon foreign policy, let it never be forgotten, depend the issues of war and peace), particularly during that significant period the decade following the conclusion of the France-British Entente in 1904, as they have been set forth by E. D. Morel, Bertrand Russell, and other writers. It would not be in the interests of war-time myths that popular cries should be brought to the test of facts; and, indeed, the majority of people are well content to accept the war cries, which excuse their war passion, without submitting them to any severe analysis.

True democracy Non-Militaristic.

The demand for the democratization of Germany owes its appearance of cogency to the just apprehension that the true democratic spirit could never inspire war. We may notice here an instance of the adoption by the ruling classes of a phraseology which exploits the finer apprehensions of the mass of men, such as we have occasion to notice frequently in modern society. Certainly it must be admitted—must, in fact, be urged—that the democratic idea is entirely opposed to war-making, and that a society, such as that which Social Democrats desiderate, in which the democratic spirit was truly embodied, would never engage in a foreign policy of an aggressive nature, and would be internationalistic and not imperialistic or merely nationalistic in its tone. Certainly a true democracy would never break the world's peace, but, when the democratization of Germany is urged to-day as a guarantee of world peace, those who urge it have in mind merely a democracy such as that possessed by Great Britain, or France, or the United States; that is, a capitalistic and merely political democracy. And the facts of diplomatic history say quite indubitably that such a democracy is no guarantee of a truly democratic and pacific foreign policy.

(Continued from page one.)

relies as the only way of achieving a lasting settlement on the application of the principle of allowing each people to settle its own destiny.

(f)—The Jews and Palestine.

The British Labor Movement demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return, and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g)—The Problem of the Turkish Empire.

The British Labor Movement condemns the handing back to the universally execrated rule of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The British Labor Movement disclaims all sympathy with the Imperialist aims of Governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If in these territories it is impracticable to leave it to the peoples to settle their own destinies, the British Labor Movement insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a Commission acting under the Super-National Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that Constantinople should be made a free port, permanently neutralized, and placed (together with both shores of the Dardanelles, and possibly some or all of Asia Minor) under the same impartial administration.

(h)—The Colonies of Tropical Africa.

With regard to the colonies of the several belligerents in Tropical Africa, from sea to sea—whether including all north of the Zambesi River and south of the Sahara Desert, or only those lying between 15 deg. north and 15 deg. south latitude, which are already the subject of International control—the British Labor Movement disclaims all sympathy with the Imperialist idea that these should form the booty of any nation, should be exploited for the profit of the capitalist, or should be used for the promotion of the militarist aims of Governments. In view of the fact that it is impracticable here to leave the various peoples concerned to settle their own destinies, it is suggested that the interests of humanity would be best served by the full and frank abandonment by all the belligerents of any dreams of an African Empire; the transfer of the present colonies of the European Powers in Tropical Africa, however the limits of this area may be defined, to the proposed Super-National Authority or League of Nations herein suggested; and their single independent African State with its own trained staff, on the principles of (1) taking account in each locality of the wishes of the people, when these can be ascertained; (2) protection of the natives against exploitation and oppression and the preservation of their tribal interests; (3) all revenue raised to be expended for the welfare and development of this African State itself; and (4) the permanent neutralization of this African State and its abstention from participation in international rivalries or any future wars.

4.—Economic Relations.

The British Labor Movement declares against all the projects now being prepared, by Imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an Economic War, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an Economic War, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defence be driven. It realizes that all such attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the British workmen see in the alliance between the military Imperialists and the Fiscal Protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defence of its own economic interests, and, in face of the world-shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation of its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of food-stuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The British Labor Movement accordingly urges upon the Labor Parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government towards commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, on Customs Duties being limited strictly to revenue purposes, and on there being no hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development by appropriate Government action of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, hours of labor, and the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression.

5.—The Problems of Peace.

To make the world safe for Democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the Treaty of Peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The British Labor Movement insists that, in view of the probably world-wide shortage after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis, for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community, on the principle of "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot be anticipated that in all countries the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of mil-

lions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several Governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the British Labor Movement holds that it is the duty of every Government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the Labor Parties of every country that necessity of their pressing upon their Governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings, and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor; and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any Government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which, if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of Government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

6.—Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparation of Wrongdoing.

The British Labor Movement holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication wherever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings, and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage-earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to ensure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by any International Fund, should be made under the direction of an International Commission.

The British Labor Movement will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation for damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned, to the persons

who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several Governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a Court of Claims and Accusation compensation awarded.

Appendix.

Declaration unanimously agreed to at the Conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of Allied Nations on February 14th, 1915:

"This Conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society, and of the policy of Colonial dependencies and aggressive Imperialism, against which International Socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every Government has its share of responsibility.

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the Governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

"While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances, and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

"Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the Conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist Imperialism. The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful Federation of the United States of Europe and the world."

The real meaning and interpretation of this war is that capitalism is giving itself the "happy despatch," otherwise known as "hari kari," the "dutch act," or in plain English, suicide.

How many of you recognize the thing now going on called the War, as the revolution you saw in your vision when in years gone by you closed your letters to your friends: "Yours for the Revolution"? Well, comrades, this is IT. You should not get angry because the capitalists and the remnants of feudalism helped you to it twenty-five years before it was really due as a natural evolution. Their ignorance and stupidity in reading the signs of the times was astounding.

A hypocritical bourgeois democracy rich as Canada or the United States is worse than an autocracy, as it has many tyrants in place of a few.

Is Capitalism More Powerful Than God?

(By James Connolly.)

Personally I am opposed to any system wherein the capitalist is more powerful than God Almighty. You need not serve God unless you like, and may refuse to serve Him and grow fat, prosperous and universally respected. But if you refuse to serve the capitalists your doom is sealed; misery and poverty and public odium await you.

No worker is compelled to enter a church and to serve God; every worker is compelled to enter the employment of a capitalist and serve him.

As Socialists we are concerned to free mankind from the servitude forced upon them as a necessity of their life; we propose to allow the question of all kinds of service voluntarily rendered to be settled by the emancipated human race of the future.

I do not deny that Socialists often leave the church. But why do they do so? Is their defection from the church a result of our attitude towards religion; or is it the result of the attitude of the church and its ministers toward Socialism?

Let us take a case in point, one of those cases that are being paralleled every day in our midst. An Irish Catholic joins the Socialist movement. He finds that as a rule the Socialist men and women are better educated than their fellows; he finds that they are immensely cleaner in speech and thought than are the adherents of capitalism in the same class; that they are devoted husbands and loyal wives, loving and cheerful fathers and mothers, skilful and industrious workers in the shops and offices, and that although poor and needy as a rule, yet that they continually bleed themselves to support their cause, and give up for Socialism what many others spend in the saloon.

He finds that a drunken Socialist is as rare as a white blackbird, and that a Socialist of criminal tendencies is such a rara avis that when one is found the public press heralds it forth as a great discovery.

Democratic and Republican jailbirds are so common that the public press do not regard their existence as "news" to anybody, nor yet does the

public press herald it forth as a great that certain criminals belong to the Protestant or Catholic religions. That is nothing unusual, and therefore not worth printing. But a criminal Socialist—that would be news indeed!

Some Sunday he goes to Mass as usual, and he finds that at Gospel the priest launches out into a political the honest, self-sacrificing, industrious clean men and women, whom he calls "comrades" are an indecent, dissolute sect, desiring to destroy the home, to distribute the earnings of the provident among the idle and lazy of the world, and reveling in all sorts of impure thoughts about women.

And as this Irish Catholic Socialist listens to this foul libel, what wonder if the hot blood of anger rushes to his face, and he begins to believe that the temple of God has itself been sold to the all desecrating grasp of the capitalist?

While he is yet wondering what to speech and tells the congregation that think of the matter, he hears that his immortal soul will be lost if he fails to vote for capitalism, and he reflects that if he lined up with the brothel keepers, gambling house proprietors, race track swindlers, and white slave traders to vote the capitalist ticket, this same priest would tell him he was a good Catholic and loyal son of the church.

At such a juncture the Irish Catholic Socialist often rises up, goes out of the church and wipes its dust off his feet forever. Then we are told that Socialism took him away from the church. But did it? Was it not rather the horrible spectacle of a priest of God standing up in the Holy Presence lying about and slandering honest men and women, and helping to support political parties whose campaign fund in every large city represents more bestiality than ever Sodom and Gomorrah knew?

These are the things that drive Socialists from the church, and the responsibility for every soul so lost lies upon those slanderers and not upon the Socialist movement.—From "Socialism Made Easy."

Young Socialists' Activities

The Young Workers' Club, organized Oct., 1916, and meeting regularly on Sundays at 194 Spadina Ave., Toronto, has been progressing steadily since its inception. Propaganda has gained impetus with the signing up of some live new members.

Amongst six subjects which were under discussion last Sunday were Zionism versus Socialism, Is War Beneficial, The Power of the Sword versus the Pen, and, it is pleasing to note, that in spite of the youth of these comrades—ages from sixteen to twenty—live participation was taken by every member.

Particularly worthy of note were the points brought out by comrades Stein and Collick, the former declaring that were England able and willing to present Palestine to the Jews she would undoubtedly exact ample tax or other remuneration for her kindness. Another comrade also made some splendid points on the subject Is War Beneficial? by answering the question "Yes" and "No." Yes for the capitalist on account of "the gain in markets," "exorbitant war profits," "increased control of labor," and no for the workingman, by the "slaughter of men," "the unreal prosperity,"

"military domination," "curtailment of free speech and press." Comrade S. Burden ably held the chair.

It is safe to surmise that the material in this club will in the future shape into the leaders of the movement.

URGES ALLIES TO STOCKHOLM Appeal Issued by Organizing Committee to British Workers—Labor's Aspirations.

(Special Despatch to "The Globe.") Stockholm, Jan. 10.—At a meeting of the Organizing Committee of the Stockholm Conference the following resolution was unanimously passed: "The Russian, Swedish and Norwegian members of the Organizing Committee of the Stockholm Conference send to the organized workers of Great Britain their brotherly greetings.

"We are glad to receive the invitation to the Conference at Nottingham, and we are sending our Secretary, Camille Huysmanns, to lay down there the views of the organizers of the Stockholm Conference, these having during several months been in contact with Socialist parties all over the world, and being thus able to endeavor to express the aspirations of the working class as a whole.

"The organizers of the Stockholm

Conference have a right to claim now that events have confirmed the view of the situation which they have taken since May, 1917. The Stockholm movement took shape and was brought about because of the Russian revolution, but it was in reality the transformation into action of the decisions taken at the International Congresses at Stuttgart in 1907 and at Copenhagen in 1910, which decisions at the time were supported even by British workers.

Seek Lasting Peace.

"Its aim was and is to re-establish the International, which by bringing about a general agreement on a democratic program would create lasting peace in Europe. The Stockholm Conference is the idea of the working class itself. It never was, is not, and never will be the vehicle of any Government. It carries on its own aims, which at the same time are the objects of the whole of humanity.

"From the very beginning Stockholm understood that the Russian revolution, which is a revolution for the whole world, could not conclude its work without very severe internal conflicts if it could not within a short time secure an honorable peace. The summoning of the International at Stockholm would have brought to the Russian working class the unity and power which it needed to escape the dangers of separate action and to carry on the fight for a general peace.

Allies to Blame?

"This policy, however, was not understood. The courage of Russia was crushed, and the hope of solution by summoning the International to Stockholm vanished. Thereby Russia was put in extremities. The result of the policy of refusing passports now appears in the dangers which a separate peace must cause and in the spectacle of reaction strengthened; lifting its head in Germany and Austria, while on the West front such a state of balance is effected that the war will last two or three weary years more before one of the belligerents can hope to have the decisive predominance. This would mean the sacrifice of millions of human lives and hundreds of billions in money.

"Shall the situation be saved? Can the probability of a separate peace be turned into the prospect of a general peace? The possibility of this is to be found in the tactics you have adopted. You have fixed your war aims; you will appeal to the Socialists in the allied countries to agree to these. Thereafter you will propose that your solution of the question shall be the program of the International. Thus you must come to a general conference which will be able to fill this historic task under the presumption that it will not allow the development of events to pass out of its control."

Socialism spells the downfall of the system which allows the capitalists to own the things needed by humanity.

In spite of all the foam and fury of the Press over the present bloody catastrophe, we know that the German people are not fiendish monsters. On Christmas Day, 1914, the British and German soldiers mutually agreed upon a truce; and in many cases actually came out of their trenches and exchanged souvenirs and gifts. Were the conduct of the war in the hands of those who are actually doing the fighting a speedy cessation of hostilities would be the result. The Christmas fraternizing among the enemy soldiers and the individual stories of the war from the trenches are clear evidence of the fact that the enmity is not between the workers, but between the rulers, whose willing slaves they make themselves. The German soldier, like the British soldier, is a just man, a worker dragged like him from production to the unholy task of destruc-

tion, for a cause about which neither knows much. I believe if we could unveil the deepest hearts of the soldiers of all armies we should find not cruelty but kindness, not enmity but love. Many beautiful things are done even on the field of battle, and often by enemies towards enemies. Speaking of the German hosts ranged against us, a writer in the Times Literary Supplement says: "These hosts are not inhuman, whatever evil design has ranged them against us, but men like ourselves to whom we also seem inhuman hosts; and if some voice from heaven could suddenly speak the truth to us, the weapons would drop from our hands and we should laugh in each other's faces until we wept to think of all the dead who could not share the truth with us, and the wounded who could not be cured by it, and the widows and orphans to whom it could not give back their husbands and fathers. For the truth, the ultimate truth, behind all arguments and national conflicts and all the pride of victory and shame of defeat is that we are men in whom the spirit is stronger than the flesh, in whom the spirit desires love more than the flesh desires hatred."

We must preach reconciliation. The day will come when Britain and Germany must come together again, when they must work together to build a new society, a brotherhood of nations cemented by goodwill. "What would victory profit us," asks the Times Literary Supplement, "if after it we denied our fellowship with them and so with all mankind? There is no half-way house in this matter. Either we are all citizens of the same city and war between us a civil war, a monstrous iniquity to be forgotten as soon as it may bring in peace, or else there is no city and no home for a man in the universe, but only an everlasting conflict between creatures that have nothing in common and no place where they can together be at rest." —Llewellyn Thomas, in Conservator, 1916.

(Continued from page three.)

No wonder the common people were not entrusted with the issue of war or peace at the ballot box. Henceforth it is believed that the various parties of plutocracy will unite and this will in turn clarify the issue between the masters and their subjects. In the great mental revolt which preceded the overthrow of present property relations, Russia leads the world. The Bolsheviks are wise in not taking American love for freedom any too seriously. This morning's "World" quotes the Petrograd Press, discussing the "splendid idealism" of the President as expressed in his late address to Congress. The organ of the Bolsheviks says: "The President is the head of a rapacious American imperialism and the greatest hypocrite history has ever known." This, I think, is unfair to the President, who is, after all, not the ruler of the United States; and the people of Russia should be here in order to realize what a lot of liberty we really enjoy. True, some of them do know this by experience. Last Sunday I heard Emma Goldman speak on the "Russian Revolution" in Chicago. Emma Goldman, Bill Haywood, Kate O'Hare and hundreds of what Miss Goldman termed the "American Bolsheviks," and some of our Canadians are now undergoing in the jails and penitentiaries of this "great democracy" the same penalties and for the same principles as made infamous the Siberian dungeons of despotism of old Russia. We must remember moreover that Trotzky, Goldman, Berkman and scores of other Russians know by personal experience the kind of liberty we enjoy, and naturally they have enlightened their comrades in Russia regarding the true nature of our boasted freedom.—W. J. Curry.

