

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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## What Of The Year 1918

### Seers of To-day Behold 1918 Bearing The New Social Order

At the request of the New York Call, Eugene V. Debs and several other prominent Socialists of the American continent were asked to give their views of the prospects of the Socialist Movement for 1918. Below you find the message of Debs and one or two others, which came in response to the invitation.

There are some few years which stand apart from the rest of historical time; years which through some peculiar combination of circumstances profoundly unusual move us as whole centuries cannot. Such years as the ones which saw the birth and death of Christ; the overthrow of the French Bourbons; the uprising of the peoples of Europe in 1848—we feel that whole epochs were summed up in these allotted spans of 365 days.

To this list of extraordinary years 1917 may well be added by those who have looked on it, as well as by future historians.

**Eugene Debs.**—Standing at the threshold of the new year, the Socialists of America have every reason for mutual congratulations, for renewed faith in their cause, for increased persistence in their propaganda, and for absolute confidence in the future.

The political victories of the Socialist party last fall served as a prelude to the national elections soon to be held, in which it may be fairly anticipated that from a score to half a hundred Socialists will be sent to the Congress of the United States. This will be the answer of the people to the assault upon the press and the suppression of public opinion by the present administration. The Socialist party was never before as united, as enthusiastic and determined as it is today. For this the plutocratic powers of persecution are entitled to their full meed of credit, and we accord it freely. Let the good work go on.

Never before, in all its history, has the membership of the Socialist party increased so rapidly as it is increasing to-day, and never before were the American people so eager and receptive for the message and meaning of Socialism as they are at the dawn of the new year.

Unity and solidarity of the workers of all countries is the inspiring watchword, and universal industrial freedom and Socialist democracy the shining goal of humanity.

In Russia the Bolsheviks are making a heroic stand for true democracy against the whole world's combined and corrupt capitalism and imperialism. In Germany the Revolutionary Socialist minority is steadily increasing, and its power growing, while that of the reactionary and betraying maj-

ority is disintegrating, and will soon disappear. In all countries the Socialist movement is alert and aggressive and gathering force, and the year 1918 will behold the greatest contests and the most portentous achievements toward worldwide freedom, democracy and brotherhood yet chronicled in history.

In contemplating the outlook for the new year, The Call may well congratulate itself. It has to its credit a splendid record of fidelity, courage and high purpose in the year just closed, and it is equipped for action as never before in the year now dawning upon the world.

Socialist greetings to all our Comrades everywhere with the sunrise of the new year. The "dear love of Comrades" binds us together heart to heart and soul to soul at every council fire, in every fraternity gathering and on every firing line in the great crusade, the holiest war, ever waged for the redemption of man and the freedom, peace and happiness of the world.

**Morris Hillquit.**—The old year is about to depart. Within a few hours the grim and demented old criminal will gasp his last baneful breath of hate and evil, and will join the perpetual procession of years in the dark shadow of the endless past. No one will shed a tear for him. No one will regret his departure.

A new year is coming. A suffering, bleeding world is awaiting the guest with hope and fear, with prayer and trembling. What will the new arrival bring us?

It may be continued war on the battlefields and continued suffering and gloom in the homes. It may be cessation of carnage and peace among nations. But, above all, it will be struggle for social regeneration and world reconstruction.

Of the dying old year is taking with him the old order into the dark shadow of the dark past, and the new year and the new years are bringing a new world. Whether the coming year will see war or peace, the world as it existed in the days before the war will never come back again. The senseless pitiless old world of privilege and oppression, of suffering and privation, the world of strife and cruelty, autocracy and class rule, is crumbling and perishing in the supreme agonies of the pain of its own making. The people are coming into their own in all lands. The pangs of the disordered world are but the pangs of childbirth of new and true democracy. In this grave historical process the ghastly war is only an incident. Its deep and all-pervading significance is the social revolution which is upon us.

The new world that will be ushered in by the new year and the years to come will be a people's world, a Socialist world, our world.

Courage, Comrades! Let us look the new year in the face with steady and unflinching eyes. Let us resolve to take our place in mankind's struggle for a new world, a happy world. Happy New Year, Comrades!

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it.— Abraham Lincoln.

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"Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all other liberties."—John Milton.

#### WHO ARE RUSSIA'S REAL REVOLUTIONISTS?

Mr. George Kennan is one of the ablest and best informed writers on the different phases of Russian life. He is, however, entirely out of sympathy with the aspirations of the Russian Socialists. Just now he is filling the Classic page of the "Newark Outlook" with tirades against the Russian Socialists. A writer who signs himself "Years for Liberty" propounded the following list of questions to Mr. Kennan, which he attempted to answer. The only point he made in his attempt was to give a lot of information to the Outlook readers, which all well informed Socialists were already familiar with, namely, the fact that many of the early Russian Revolutionists were autocratic and middle class, especially the university students. Mr. Kennan is in favor of a revolution that would leave him and his Russian and American friends lodged comfortably on the backs of the workers. He and his employers, the stockholders of the New York Outlook are the type of men Tolstoy had in mind when he said of them: "I find them willing and anxious to do anything for the workers but get off their backs and earn their own living."

#### The Letter.

Mr. George Kennan:

Dear Sir,—I have just been reading your article on the condition of Russia, in The Outlook for November 21, 1917. I would like to ask you a few questions on the condition of affairs in that country.

1. Who was it caused the Russian Revolution?
2. Who has for a hundred years been working against tremendous odds, against the whole police force of the Russian Government, in fact, striving to develop a sufficient Socialist and proletarian movement to overthrow czarism, autocracy, and bureaucracy, with capitalism, and establish a humane and sensible government?
3. Who was it, in the sufferings of this war, that finally consummated the arduous task, clearing the name of Russia of the great blot of the Czar and making the position of the other parasites of that country dangerous?
4. Who was it, in the streets of Petrograd, early in April, that fought against the Cossacks and won the battle for freedom, not in Russia alone, but for all the world, by her coming example?
5. Was it the capitalists of the

Russias?

6. Was it the Cossacks or the aristocrats? Or was it the Czar?

7. Was it the landowners, who for years have crushed the peasantry? Or

8. Was it the Bolsheviks, the Socialists, and the I. W. W.'s, as you call them?

Indeed, sir, from the remarks you have made in magazine articles and short stories, we had once thought you had some slight—as much as could be expected from a newspaper and periodical writer—sympathy for the down-trodden of the Russias. But it appears that as soon as the capitalist system is threatened you lose all that sympathy, even as Charles Edward and some others did.

You know as well as anyone else, that the Revolution in Russia was caused from start to finish by the Socialist and Anarchist group, that the respectable elements had nothing to do with it. You also know that, as in other similar cases, the bourgeoisie tried, after the proletariat had been successful, to assume the reins of government and block out the establishment of the social state. You know that the greetings of the press lagged and turned to despair when it was seen that this attempt by the bourgeoisie would be a failure. You know that the Russian Revolution has no more insidious foe than the plutocratic state of America. It is this fear for the plutocracy that leads you to denounce the revolutionists who are trying to make of this a real revolution.

But tell me, what do you mean by referring to the Bolsheviks as a "usurping gang"? They fought for the Revolution; should they not be the ones to profit by it? Whether you wish it or not, they will, or there will be another evolution.

Yours for Freedom.

#### THE HENRY DUBB PRIMER.

Do you see those pretty white jewels?

They are grains of sugar. They are produced by God, sun and unlynched Negroes.

If you had a pound of sugar and a ton of coal you could trade them for a yacht.

A yacht is much better than sugar, for it will not give you diabetes.

Rich people have sugar and diabetes. Which would you rather be; rich and diabetic or poor and diabetic?

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Do you see the man with the glistening forehead?

The man is a grocer and he is sweating.

Why is the grocer sweating? He is sweating because his heart is very heavy.

He is sorry because you can't afford to pay him 80 cents for eggs and he knows your baby is sick.

Are all grocers so kindhearted? Oh, my, yes.

#### The Bainbridge Case

There is nothing new in the Bainbridge Case. We expect he will get a hearing in Court on Monday, January 14th, when we hope to have him released on bail.

# What They Are Saying About Peace And War

Premier Lloyd George has restated the terms upon which the British Nation is willing to conclude an honorable and lasting peace. For the first time since August, 1914, the British Premier speaks out on behalf of the nation. Socialists congratulate him on accepting their peace proposal and believe that it is the first step towards a genuine democratic peace. Below you will find his speech compared with President Wilson's, and Lord Lansdowne's letter:

## Not War of Aggression.

"We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people," declared the premier. "The destruction or disruption of Germany or the German people has never been a war aim with us since the first day of the war to now. The British people never aimed at breaking up the German peoples or the disintegration of their estate. Our wish is not to destroy Germany's great position in the world, but to turn her aside from schemes of military domination to devote her strength to beneficent tasks."

The Premier declared Great Britain was not fighting to take Constantinople from Turkey nor destroy Austria-Hungary. "We are not fighting," he said, "to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich lands in Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish."—Lloyd George.

"We do not desire the annihilation of Germany as a great Power."—Lord Lansdowne.

"The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and existence of their Empire a war of desperate self-defence against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its fairness."—President Wilson.

## Democratic Govt. Needed.

"Our viewpoint," the Premier declared, "is that the adoption of a democratic constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence the old spirit of military domination was dead, but that is a question for the German people to decide."

The basis of any territorial settlement must be government with the consent of the governed, the Premier asserted.

As regarded the German constitution, the Premier said Great Britain was not fighting to destroy it, although it was considered a military, autocratic constitution—a dangerous anachronism.—Lloyd George.

"We do not seek to impose upon her people any form of government other than that of their own choice."—Lord Lansdowne.

"The speech of Lloyd George was far more reasonable and calm, it was a speech of a man who felt his tremendous responsibility and who saw clearly, above and behind the battlefield, all the problems which would have to be settled afterward. How much better it would have been if no other than that kind of speech had been delivered since August, 1914."—Jas. Ramsey McDonald.

## Justice for Belgium.

The Premier said the first requirements always made by the British and their allies had been complete restoration of the political, territorial and economic independence of Belgium, and such reparation as could be made for the devastation of its towns. This was no time for indemnity, but he insisted on the fact that before there

could be hope of stable peace the great breach of public law in Europe must be repudiated and so far as possible repaired.

Although we agree with President Wilson that the breaking up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, he continued, we feel that genuine self-government on true democratic peace should be granted those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired a fair measure of freedom. If these conditions were fulfilled, Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of Europe instead of being an instrument of the pernicious Prussian military autocracy.—Lloyd George.

## When War Will be Won.

"We shall regard the war only as won when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished."—President Wilson.

"No one pretends that it would be right or opportune for either side to formulate an ultimatum, detailed, exhaustive, precise, with clauses, which to be excepted verbatim et literatim chapter and verse as the indispensable preliminary and condition of peace."—ex-Premier Asquith.

"Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence or payment for injury done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality. Next comes the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro and the occupied parts of France, Italy and Rumania."—Lloyd George.

"What are we fighting for? We are waging war in order to obtain reparation and security."—Lord Lansdowne.

## Justice for Small Nations.

"The complete withdrawal of alien armies and reparation for injustice done is the fundamental condition of a permanent peace. We regard as vital the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to the men of Rumanian blood and speech."

It is otherwise impossible to remove those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which so long have threatened its genuine peace. Outside of Europe, Mr. Lloyd George went on, he believed the same peace should be applied. He added, while we do not challenge maintenance of the Turkish empire in the home lands of the Turkish race, with its capital, Constantinople; the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to recognition of their separate national conditions.—Lloyd George.

## Must Remedy Wrong.

"The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest, and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

## No Dictation to Austria.

"We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to re-arrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands in all matters, great or small."—President Wilson.

## SUGGESTS LANSDOWNE, HENDERSON AND MACDONALD FOR CABINET.

Addressing the Union of Democratic Control recently at Leicester, England, Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, according to the Pioneer, Dec. 21, 1917, declared that the acceptance of the Russian appeal to throw overboard all "plans of conquest," including that of trade boycott, argued that though this was the first step, it was not enough. They must go further and initiate negotiations. Negotiations did not mean peace at any price; it might be that the negotiations would break down, but the only way to prove whether they would succeed or not was by trying. He thought there was every reason to expect that the negotiations would prove successful, provided we were prepared to make peace on a moderate basis.

The government had already allowed more than one opportunity for negotiation to pass, notably when the German offer to restore and compensate Belgium and give up Alsace-Lorraine was made last September to M. Briand. There was now a new opportunity, by taking part in the negotiations initiated by the Russian Government. Recognition of the de facto Russian Government was already being advocated in several quarters in this country. M. Trotsky was obviously endeavoring to prepare the way, not for a separate, but a general peace. He had said, "Our armistice is only the basis for a general armistice." That armistice was to last till January 14, and thereafter until concluded by seven days' notice on either side.

He had stipulated, in the interest of the Allies, that German troops should not be transported to the Western Front. If M. Trotsky was a gambler, the stake he was playing for was the peace of the world. Mr. Buxton said that if the present Government did not take any of the preliminary steps necessary to make a reasonable peace possible, they should be turned out and make way for those who would. Mr. Lloyd George was not the only man capable of saving the country. He suggested a Coalition Cabinet of Lord Lansdowne, Lord Buckmaster, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. (Applause.) Mr. Lloyd George had said there was no half-way house between victory and defeat. He (Mr. Buxton) said there was no half-way house between the "knock-out Government and a people's peace."

## FOURTEEN CONCRETE PEACE PROPOSALS.

Washington, Jan. 8.—Fourteen concrete peace proposals, laid down by President Wilson, in his address to Congress to-day on war aims, began with the declaration that the days of private international understandings

are gone, and that covenants of peace must be reached in the open. Briefly summarized, the other points were:

Absolute freedom of the seas in peace or war, except as they may be closed by international action.

Removal of economic barriers among nations associating themselves to maintain peace.

Guarantees of the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

Impartial adjustment of colonial claims, based on the principle that the peoples concerned have equal rights with the Governments.

Evacuation of all Russian territory and opportunity for Russia's political development.

Evacuation of Belgium.

Evacuation of French territory and righting the Alsace-Lorraine wrong.

Readjustment of Italy's frontiers along recognizable lines of nationality.

Free opportunity for autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

Evacuation of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro, and guarantees for all the Balkan States.

Sovereignty for Turkey's portion of the Ottoman Empire, and autonomy for other nationalities.

An independent Poland, with access to the sea.

General association of nations for mutual guarantees of independence and territorial integrity to large and small States alike.

## WHAT WAYFARER SAYS IN "NATION."

Much of the most important sign of the times is the revulsion of feeling and opinion of which the Lansdowne letter was the conspicuous sign. The letter has done great good, and has made a far deeper mark on men's minds than the public acknowledgment of its effect would suggest. But it is essentially a symptom. It heralds the advance of a moderate party which will go on till it displaces the violent men and the rash counsels now in the ascendant. A great body of thoughtful people of all conditions and tastes—Tories, Liberals, Labor men—see that the ship's course is wrong and must be altered. Coarse and empty speeches like Sir Edward Carson's, with its rough defiance of American opinion, merely emphasize this movement; and Mr. Churchill's rhetoric shows how pertinent a task it is to put a little thinking into our incorrigibly light-minded statesmanship. The reaction began with the Northcliffe letter to Mr. George. Its arrogance and indiscretion were equally alarming, for they brought home to many minds the disquieting thought that power lay where it had no right to lie. What redeeming force of intellect or character could be alleged to cover the writer's sweeping depreciation of his country and her effort? None. The letter was as empty as it was ominous.—"A Wayfarer" in "The Nation."

Then there is the Canadian election the results of which will be greeted with regret by every farseeing person. A racial dividing line is once more created in Canada, and the biggest, the wisest, and the least corrupt of Canadian statesmen—Sir Wilfrid Laurier—has been defeated. The great Empire builders are being rejected for the cheap jacks of the market place, and everybody is so absorbed in shouting and in emotional transports that they do not see what is happening.—J. Ramsay MacDonald in Leicester Pioneer.

In the capitalist's lexicon conservation means the conservation of private profits and private privileges.

Order a bundle of Forwards for distribution in your locality.

# ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

## COMMERCIAL COMPETITION.

In a pamphlet entitled "Big Business and War," published in 1915, Charles Edward Russell wrote as follows:

"The rest of the world stands horrified and baffled by the hideous spectacle of the European war. The Socialists alone are entitled to say:

"This cataclysm was the inevitable product of the system that we have denounced to you incessantly all these years. You would not heed us when we warned you that you were walking a perilous road. We told you that the economic system you maintained could lead only to destruction and disaster. The lure of profits deafened your ears to our appeal and blinded your eyes. This, then, is the result. You have sowed the wind; you are reaping the whirlwind."

"The greatest catastrophe of all human history did not come unheralded. It did not drop out of a clear sky, as some shallow observers perhaps believe. To warn of the steady, relentless approach of the world's climax of horror, a stalking spectre went before, which Socialists could clearly see and to which they pointed in desperate attempt to show the world what was impending.

"The name of the spectre to which they have pointed again and again in repeated, earnest, agonized warning is commercial competition."

Just so.

Therein, Russell tells the truth boldly and clearly.

He had a right to change his mind. Everyone has that right, even though he change from a correct opinion to an incorrect one.

But, his changing his mind does not affect the truthfulness of the statement we have quoted. It was true when he wrote it, and it still remains true, regardless of his change of heart.

It was commercial competition that brought on the war. The Socialists had for years tried to impress the truth upon the various nations and to persuade them to establish Socialism, which will abolish commercial competition and hereby abolish war.

The great need is to work for Socialism, so as to bring the war to an end, and so as to abolish the cause of war and thus prevent any repetition of the catastrophe.—Milwaukee Leader.

## VICTORIA T. AND L. GOES—ON RECORD AGAINST THE PATRIOTIC FUND.

Victoria, B. C., Dec. 21.—The Victoria Trades and Labor Council has gone on record against the patriotic funds and all other organizations soliciting financial support for war purposes. It will recommend to all its members that they refuse to contribute on the ground that all such funds should be provided out of the consolidated revenue of the country.

## LES MISERABLES.

Victor Hugo in 1862 wrote a letter to M. Daelli, the publisher of the Italian translation of "Les Misérables." It might have been fitly penned to-day without the change of a paragraph or sentence. The indictment of conditions existing then is just as eloquent an indictment of conditions existing to-day. Its noble plea for Internationalism is as much needed now as it was in 1862. We reprint parts of this letter written by Hugo from his place of exile in the Isle of Guernsey where he had been compelled to take refuge from the prosecutions of the then Thought Controller of France, Louis Bonaparte. Hugo had had the manhood to denounce this foe of liberty when he had France lying at his feet, and had christened him "Napoleon the Little" in contrast to the first Napoleo-

—The Great.—Editor, N. Y. Call.

You are right sir, when you tell me that "Les Misérables" is written for all nations. I do not know whether it will be read by all, but I wrote it for all. It is addressed to England as well as to Spain, to Italy as well as to France, to Germany as well as to Ireland, to Republics which have slaves, as well as to Empires which have serfs. Social problems overstep frontiers. The sores of the human race, those great sores that cover the globe, do not halt at the red or blue lines traced upon the map. In every place where man is ignorant and despairing, in every place where woman is sold for bread, wherever the child suffers for lack of the book which should instruct him, and of the hearth which should warm him, the book of "Les Misérables" knocks at the door and says: "Open to me, I come to you."

At the hour of civilization which we are now passing, and which is so sombre, the "Miserable's" name is man; he is agonizing in all climes, and he is groaning in all languages.

Like us, you have prejudices, superstitions, tyrannies, fanaticisms, blind laws lending assistance to ignorant custom. . . . The social question is the same for you as for us. There are a few less deaths from hunger with you, and a few more from fever.

Is it necessary to emphasize this? Must this melancholy parallelism be yet more completely verified? Have you not indigent persons? Glance below. Have you not parasites? Glance up. Does not that hideous balance, whose two scales, pauperism and parasitism, so mournfully preserve their mutual equilibrium, oscillate before you as it does before us? Have you not like ourselves an opulent war budget and a paltry budget of education?

Let us subject your social order to examination, let us take it where it stands and as it stands, let us view its flagrant offenses, show me the woman and the child. It is by the amount of protection with which these two creatures are surrounded that the degree of civilization is to be measured. . . . What is the amount of truth that springs from your laws, and what amount of justice springs from your tribunals. . . . Stay, let us pass miseries in review, let each one contribute his pile, you are as rich as we.

Alas, our brothers, you are, like ourselves, Misérables. From the depths of the gloom wherein you dwell you do not see much more distinctly than we the radiant and distant portals of Eden.

This book, "Les Misérables," is no less your mirror than ours. Certain men, certain castes, rise in revolt against this book—I understand that. Mirrors, those revealers of the truth, are hated; that does not prevent them from being of use.

As for myself, I have written for all, with a profound love for my own country, but without being engrossed by France more than by any other nation. In proportion as I advance in life, I grow more simple, and I become more and more patriotic for humanity.

Books must cease to be exclusively French, Italian, German, Spanish or English, and become, I say, more human, if they are to correspond to the enlargement of civilization.

In short, I am doing what I can, I suffer with the same universal suffering, and I try to assuage it. I possess only the puny force of a man, and I cry to all: "Help me!"

Ever since history has been written, ever since philosophy has meditated, misery has been the garment of the human race; the moment has at last arrived for tearing off that rag and for

replacing, upon the naked limbs of the Man-People, the sinister fragment of the past with the grand purple robe of the dawn.—Victor Hugo.

Justice walks with leaden feet and has lost her way and cannot find many of the court rooms of America.

Ideals cannot be killed by imprisoning idealists. You cannot stop ideas as long as one brain continues to function. Governments, churches, judges and jailors have tried it as far back as the memory of records go. But never have they been able to subdue the spirit of man. Ideas are contagious and, crushed to earth, spread over it.

Liberty is never a gift. It is always a purchase, and the price is blood and tears, happiness and the personal liberty of the individual purchaser. Liberty has always been the great temptation for idealists.

We are walking in the shadow of war. Most of us, however, have our eyes on the star of peace and liberty, and because a few are articulate, expressing our hopes and desires, judges are sending them to penitentiary, to the workhouse, fining them, taking their property, and even ordering them to be deported to Russia, the new home of democracy. If Christ gave out the "Sermon on the Mount" he would go to the workhouse for six months.

Are some of our courts the new Bastilles, with petty judges as the wardens? Judges with the dust of dead law and dead theories in their eyes and mouths and brains are stamping out free speech; are trying to shackle the brave spirits of those who see that the faults of liberty can only be cured by more liberty.

—Harry Weinberger.

## PAT FEARED THE WORST.

An Irishman coming out of ether in the ward after an operation exclaimed audibly: "Thank God! That is over!" "Don't be so sure," said the man in the next bed. "They left a sponge in me and had to cut me open again." And the patient on the other side said: "Why, they had to open me, too, to find one of their instruments." Just then the surgeon who had operated on the Irishman stuck his head in the door and yelled: "Has anyone seen my hat?" Poor Patrick fainted.—Argonaut.

## AUSTRALIAN VOTE DOESN'T SURPRISE.

Quebec, Jan. 9.—Capt. Carmichael, Australian Minister of Education, who is on his way home from the front on a six months' furlough, was in Quebec yesterday. He said that he was not surprised at the vote on conscription in Australia. "The Australians are a patriotic people," he remarked, and added, "In Canada you pass your measures first, and vote afterwards."

## NATIONAL REGISTRATION. Govt. Contemplating Real, Thorough Compulsory One This Time to Determine Labor Resources.

Ottawa, Jan. 9.—The Government contemplates a new and really thorough "national registration" scheme, with a view to determining the labor resources of Canada.

The National Service registration scheme of last winter was inadequate in that the signing of the cards was not made compulsory, and the information obtained as available man power was only approximate.

## IS BORDEN AND HEARST BEHIND SCHEME TO IMPORT CHINESE LABOR INTO CANADA?

Guelph, Ont., Jan. 9.—The Experimental Union opened its sessions yesterday at the Agricultural College with an attendance from all over Ontario. Dr. Zavitz in his report pre-

dicted a serious seed shortage in many lines, urging farmers to conserve all they could.

President Sirett of Brighton, speaking on farm labor, urged that before the labor market be further invaded for military purposes, that a central commission should be appointed to say what industries are essential, and which are not, and in this way bring the available labor power to bear directly on the necessary callings of the nation.

Touching on the labor situation, Dr. Creelman said that with a man, or a man and a half to the farm, the old plan of thrashing, by changing help, would next fall mean the stopping of fall work on the farm for a couple of weeks. As a remedy, he accepted the suggestion of Mr. E. C. Drury, that thrashers take their own gangs and cooks along and undertake to do all the work of thrashing at so much per bushel, say, five to nine cents. He suggested as a further means of relieving the general labor situation that 100,000 Chinese farm laborers be brought in under a bond for their return home when the need for their help is at an end.

Dr. Creelman reviewed at length the labor situation and intimated that in some circles the advisability of importing Chinese labor under bond was being considered. He was certain from results of 1917 that the tractor plow was a fixture and a success.

Sir Wm. Hearst, Premier of Ontario, speaking at the annual supper of the Experimental Union, called upon the farmers to exert their utmost toward the goal of greater production in 1918. He stated that the Agricultural Department wanted all the suggestions along agricultural lines which it was possible to obtain, and gave his assurance that they would receive due consideration. The labor question was dealt with briefly, Sir William stating that this would be a greater problem in 1918 than ever before, because more men were being sent overseas. He had faith, however, in the boys and girls of the high schools who had done such splendid work last year, and many of the returned soldiers would be able to assist in farm work this year.

Women in Toronto and Montreal have formed centres of the "Council for the Study of International Relations." Its object is to form up and down the country study circles and groups, who will enquire into and debate upon the problems of international politics generally and more particularly the means and origins of this war and the means of preventing future wars.

## ...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 Bonstead 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 Advs. in the Directory for the sum of \$3.00 per year.

# THE INTERNATIONAL

## THE SPECTRE THAT HAUNTS OLD EUROPE.

Out of the confused welter of chaotic Europe in its desperate efforts to secure peace and carry on war at the same time comes a report from the correspondent of the London Daily News at Petrograd which he declares is alarming the German commanders and is calculated to alarm Great Britain at the same time. It is to the effect that a separate peace between Germany and Russia would be a disaster to the allies, and that both sides are working for it, though the Bolsheviks desire it to be accompanied by social revolution in Germany and are working with might and main for that object. "Trotzky," says this alarming dispatch, "is leaving no stone unturned to stimulate a revolution in Germany." He adds as an ominous detail that—

The fraternization of troops on the eastern front already has passed beyond the control of the enemy officers. Quantities of revolutionary literature printed in Germany is being distributed. An illustrated supplement contains, among other stimulating matter, a photograph of the German embassy here, with a huge banner across it inscribed, "The proletariat of all lands unites!" Underneath is written "These are the words of a German. Did von Hindenburg utter them? No. They are the words of Karl Marx. We shall be sending a Russian workman to live in the Russian embassy at Berlin. When will you send us a German workman as ambassador of Petrograd?"

Now, assuming that all this is so and that it is creating a deep impression among the German troops, why should it alarm Great Britain? If this should succeed, it would throw Germany out of the war at once and from the ruling class point of view render her as demoralized and impotent as is Russia; in short, deliver her over to her enemies, just as they now say Russia has been delivered over to Germany. Where is the peril? What is there alarming in this news to Great Britain? Why should she apparently prefer fighting Germany for another year or two at enormous sacrifice and with no positive certainty of a complete and decisive victory when this Bolshevik move, if successful, would immediately put Germany out of the ring as it did Russia? What does Great Britain want in this matter, anyhow?

The answer is not difficult. Social revolution in Germany would mean the end of the war, but it would at the same time mean the certain beginning of the end of capitalism throughout the world. And war for years yet is preferable to that prospect, even if it does nothing more than stave it off for the time being. It means that all the great powers are as yet far more fearful of social revolution than they are of war. But they are between the devil and the deep sea. What they want, a decisive military victory over Germany without social revolution as an accompaniment, is now, as the days pass, becoming ever more impossible. Hence, the growing alarm. It is an alarm, too, that it is impossible to have receive a serious reception without the abandonment of the accusation that the Bolsheviks are the stupid victims of Prussian autocracy and their leaders in the pay of that autocracy. If the other view is to be maintained at all, the Bolsheviks and their leaders must be recognized exclusively as revolutionists.

There cannot be the slightest doubt, also, that the Prussian autocracy likewise is alarmed over this situation and is fighting desperately to avert it.

They want a peace with Russia that will not incite social revolution in Germany. That is where the danger lies to them—a danger that also grows with every day that passes. And that alarm they share with the British ruling class. Both would prefer continued war rather than such an outcome, and the irony of the situation is that continued war would by no means help them to ultimately avert it; on the contrary, it would have the effect of making it more certain in the long run.

The situation is not one that was made by the Socialists, but it is one that they cannot avoid taking advantage of. They strove desperately for peace when hostilities seemed imminent in July, 1914, but in vain. And now, three years and a half after those fateful days, during which millions of human beings went to the shambles and a volume of misery unmeasurable descended on mankind, the wheel is slowly coming full turn, and as we draw near the closing days of the war we can see what it is now that fills the ruling classes of the world with fear; social revolution, irrepressible, inexorable, raises its head ever more threateningly, and this whether or not the war continues, whether or not separate peace is made. It is the one great fear that now haunts the European world, all belligerents alike.

There is good reason for alarm among the ruling classes; there is none for us Socialists. For we knew and diagnosed the ultimate condition from the very beginning of the cataclysm that is now loosening all the bonds of old society.

### DRASTIC HOUSING POLICIES.

The papers tell us that the Bolsheviks have adopted a novel and certainly revolutionary method of solving the slum problem in Petrograd, namely, converting the hotels and large mansions into apartment houses for the slum dwellers. A somewhat similar idea was on one occasion put forward by R. B. Cunningham-Graham, the well known British Socialist, author and traveller. He tells the story of one day meeting W. E. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, in the lobby of the British House of Commons. Gladstone stopped him and asked if it was true that he had advised the people of the east end of London (the slum district) to march into the west end and burn down the houses of the rich. Graham assured him there was no foundation for such a report, "But," he added, "if I were to advise them to take action along that line, I would tell them rather to burn down their miserable hovels in the east end and go and live in the west end."

### WHO AND WHAT IS LENINE?

The New York Outlook, one of the capitalists' most faithful and ablest retainers, pays the following tribute to our Russian Comrade, Lenine:

The sudden rise of Nicolai Lenine to temporary power in Petrograd leads naturally to inquiry as to what manner of man this is who now directs the action of the Bolsheviks, who treats with Germany for an armistice, who assumes to tell the Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy what their attitude toward war and peace should be. Most of us probably have heard of Lenine, chiefly as a furtive plotter, obscurely moving in the turgid currents of Russian politics. It has been generally believed that Lenine was a German spy. Kerensky would not allow him to show his face in Petrograd; when some one asked Kerensky if Lenine might not receive a personal assurance of safety if he

came as a delegate to a certain conference, Kerensky replied that he would not arrest Lenine when he was in the convention hall, but that he would arrest him anywhere else he found him. Yet, while it is more than probable that Lenine's designs are dark and treacherous to Russia, those who have followed the history of Socialistic writing know that he is a man of considerable ability and has long been prominent in that work.

The best account of Lenine that we have seen is contained in an excellent article in "Asia," the journal of the American Asiatic Association. It is written by Mr. M. J. Olgin, the author of a book commended in our "New Books" this week, "The Soul of the Russian Revolution." Mr. Olgin tells us that twenty-two years ago Lenine first appeared in Russian life as an economist and statistician. Four years later he put forth a book called "Development of Capitalism," which became a standard work in Russian economic literature and was highly regarded by the Marxist Socialists. Other books and articles followed; among them, was a fine translation from the English of Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "Industrial Democracy," a book of great value and known the world over to all students of industrial conditions. As Lenine plunged more and more into politics he became more bitter and impatient with the views of his opponents, and he is now, we are told by Mr. Olgin, "a man who sees life only from the angle of his own ideas." His slogans are, in effect: "The war ought to be stopped at any price; the factories ought to be taken over by those who toil; the bourgeois parties ought to be driven out!" In short, Lenine might be called, says Mr. Olgin, the "great Inquisitor of Russian Social Democracy." His influence with the labor classes in Petrograd is especially strong.

### THE SITUATION IN AUSTRALIA.

The recent victory for no conscription in Australia surprised and puzzled many of us, seeing that the Liberal-Labor combination—conscriptionist—won about two-thirds of the seats, and the straight Labor—anti-conscriptionist—got only a third. The following clipping sheds some light on the matter.

The popular vote cast in Australia at the recent general election has been compiled and shows that the Liberal-Conservative-Hughes Labor renegade combine polled 53 per cent. and the Labor party 47 per cent. of the total. This result is perfectly satisfactory to the Labor party members. The secession of the Hughes crowd of Conservatives and reactionists leaves the Labor party quite free to push along more Socialistic lines than ever, and the Laborites declare that when the war is over they will have some settlements to make that will not be to the liking of the fusionists. The latter compose such a peculiar conglomeration of ideas and interests that they can't stick together permanently. Already many workers who followed Hughes into the old party camp, largely for patriotic reasons, are returning to the Labor party.—Exchange.

### DOES MIGHT MAKE RIGHT?

Like a moth around a candle, the mind of man continually gyrates around the abstract statement that might does not make right, though every alleged proof apparently confirms the opposite view. Might is a material thing; right an abstract one, and the conjunction of the two is bound to involve hopeless and ludicrous contradiction. But apparently nobody can keep off the subject; even Socialists are fascinated by it, though they generally use it to point out the above.

Here we have Lord Milner declaring that the "law of the jungle" that might makes right, shall not prevail; that while Germany declares what was done to Belgium was right, and not wrong, the war must go on.

Germany's enemies are out then to prove that might does not make right. How do they propose to prove it? Why, by the use of might. Their might will make right, and that in turn prove, what? Why, that Germany's lack of might does not make right.

If the Germans are beaten, it will prove that might does make right; the might of her enemies.

If the Germans are beaten, it will also prove that might does not make right; that is, that German might does not make right. But it won't prove it to the Germans. They will never admit that.

If the Germans are not beaten, it will prove that might—their might—does make right—to them, but not to the others.

The human mind can only run eternally in rings around this subject, and can never get anywhere. Might is definite and concrete, and can never get anywhere. Might is definite and concrete, and can be found from experience; right, on the other hand, is indefinite and abstract, and no amount of experience will enable all to agree upon it. The conjunction of the two things is bound to end in hopeless disagreement and mental contradiction. It is the perception of this that has generated the idea that "whatever is, is right."

Does might, then, make or not make right? The only possible answer is "wait and see." And mankind may wait to all eternity and never see, but the subject will never lose its fascination for the human mind. We are built that way. Perhaps, when we have solved the "fourth dimension"—if we ever do, and if there is such a thing—we shall settle this question—if it is a question.—New York Call.

### BAINBRIDGE DEFENCE FUND.

Previously acknowledged ... \$545.40  
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### 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.

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# 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.

**Advertising Rates—**

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**Correspondence—**

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

Vol. 2, No. 1 TORONTO, CANADA January 10th, 1918



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.



No annexation, no indemnities? Well, what are we fighting about anyhow?

The dove of peace is now hovering over the world. Let us hope that she will be able to find a landing place. The screeching war eagle has held away long enough for the present.

While the capitalist press throughout the world is vehemently denouncing Socialism and Socialists, the thing itself is coming so fast that it makes it hard for the most hopeful Socialist to realize it.

The great war, now fast coming to a close, was the result of accumulative capitalist and landlord mismanagement in the various countries. It is the mission of the Socialists and organized workers to bring about a world peace which will really make the world "safe for democracy" in all lands.

The Socialist slogan principal for peace on the basis of "no annexation, no indemnities" will likely put an end to great international wars for all time to come. Who can imagine capitalists or feudal lords going to war if there are to be no annexations or indemnities? As for the working people of the different countries, they have nothing to fight about. An equitable exchange of the products of their toil always proves mutually beneficial to all concerned.

The newspapers received a large portion of their reward for supporting the so-called Union Government during the Victory Loan Campaign and the late election, and now the railroad magnates have had between thirty and forty millions handed to them as double compound interest on the campaign funds supplied for use in the great camouflage which is now passing into history. Talk about Sammy Gompers' policy of rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies, he is only small potatoes compared to the magnificent way the capitalists reward themselves and punish the simps they deceived into returning the public powers to their keeping.

There are indications that the big capitalists and their political henchmen throughout the industrial countries of the world see the inevitability

of Socialism coming swiftly as one of the aftermaths of the war. Their principal concern now will be to bring it about in such a form as to leave them on the backs of the workers as collectors of interest on government bonds, etc., instead of as profit-takers. They will succeed in doing this unless the Socialists and organized workers are alive to what they are up to. They will do anything ostensibly for the people but get off their backs and earn their own living, to use the late Leo Tolstoy's epigram when discussing this subject.

The contest for Mayorality honors in the city of Toronto is between a hardheaded, closefisted, typical "business man" and a "good fellow." At the present writing it looks as though the "good fellow" will win, but as the late Sir John A. McDonald said so often: "Horse races and elections are very uncertain in their results."

**CALLS THEM HARPIES OF CORRUPTION**

**Miss Levinsky Condemns Incompetent Enumerators in the Recent Election.**

Because of the incompetence of enumerators in disqualifying some of her relatives from voting in the recent Federal election merely on account of their foreign-sounding names Miss Ray Lewis Levinsky expresses her sentiments in the following: "A man's a man for a' that,"

Thus sang a Scottish bard—  
And Europe's fields are wet with blood,  
For men are fighting hard  
For universal brotherhood,  
For equal rights and freedom,  
For justice and good government,  
For women, little children.

"For England, France, for Belgium's slain,"  
This is the battle-cry  
That urges our men forward,  
The pilots of the sky,  
That steadies the march of Death  
Amid the burst of shrapnel,  
That tears the gun from its fixed place,  
And builds in hell a chapel.

Look to your laurels, Canada;  
They've seen the Holy Grail.  
The Cross of Tau on their damp brow,  
Reward for scourge and fall.

Their spirits hover o'er us;  
Kneel Lady of the Snow

**YOUR DUTY TO THE "CANADIAN FORWARD."**

January 3rd will long be remembered by the Social Democrats and anti-militarists of this country as a "black letter" day. On the other hand, the conscriptionists and reactionists will herald it as a day of triumph—for on this winter day all men between the ages of 20 and 34 (who are not married and who are not exempted) become a conscript in the army. Canadians who "never would be slaves" surrender for the first time in their history the Freedom which has caused Canada to be sought after for many years. The home of liberty, where all the races of the earth could live in a melting pot as it were and develop into free loving Canadians.

Many believed that conscription was impossible without the consent of the workers. It is now asked: Why then have the workers consented? They have been cajoled, deceived and lled to by the public leaders. And as yet they do not know what conscription means. If they had been properly organized; if they had been educated; if they had not been led on by the ruffians of the press, then this thing would not have been. All this points to the importance of a party press which shall in and out of season agitate, educate, and organize. How then is it possible for us to get on without the Canadian Forward.

Surely readers of the paper to save our organ, in the dark days that are yet to be, and in the days that follow the war, we must organize our forces, and this is impossible without our party press and without the only organ of Democracy and anti-militarism in Canada—the Canadian Forward. Therefore we ask one and all our readers: What are you doing to help the paper at this critical hour?

If you are an anti-militarist you must aid the "Forward" to spread the light.

If you are a radical Trade Unionist, here is your journal.

If you are a Social Democrat the "Forward" needs no recommendations from me.

If you are a Democrat, remember the the "Forward" is the only Democratic paper in Canada.

If you are a follower of Christ you will find the "Forward" affords you the best reports of the activities of true Christians and is in every sense your paper.

If you disbelieve in war, read the "Forward" and help it at this critical time of need; you will never regret it.

And the next question is, How can you help the paper financially? First of all you could give a small donation monthly—even a ten cent piece would be acceptable. Or you could settle in your own mind the very least you could put your hand on monthly by passing round the hat. Thus, with your donation added to that of your friends, you could send regularly a

Before the host that died for you—  
Unfold, lady, and grow  
Away from petty factions,  
From bribery and greed,  
From stealing—yea, and know the word;  
You did a thievish deed,  
To rob from your own children  
Their right to cast their vote;  
By negligence or by intent  
'Twas done, and God took note.

A million winged sons can't save  
A nation from destruction  
If that same nation will not kill  
The harpies of corruption.

The morning of a new year dawns;  
They bring the Golden Fleece;  
Let each man pray in his own tongue;  
Mars sun has set in peace.

—Ray Lewis Levinsky.

**Rheumatism**

**A Home Cure Given by One Who had it**

In the spring of 1898 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.

sum, however small, to the "Forward."

If the donation is large so much the better; but supposing it is only 25 cents, don't despise the day of small things. Surely quite a respectable number of readers could get 25 cents and get three more to do likewise each month and thus make themselves personally responsible for \$1.00 monthly. Or some of you could form a league in some larger towns with the one idea of making the paper known and canvassing its claims. The league would not only canvass for subscriptions and seek to establish a Forward Fund, but would regularly every two weeks send a copy of the "Forward," together with a letter, inviting a perusal of the same and soliciting a subscription for the paper.

Every reader of this paper who reads these lines ought to make it a sacred duty to get funds for the "Forward" and to make the "Forward" known to the people as the only paper in Canada that caters to Democratic thought. Many who may not at first contribute to the journal might be induced to take it regularly for three months or so. Where there's a will there's a way however, and all those who want the "Forward" to live will immediately get busy. Let us consecrate Jan 3rd—the day of the triumph of reaction and victory of conscriptionists—and afterwards to one great cause, that of building up the "Forward" on an impregnable rock. Each one can do something; some can give much, some little; some can collect from their friends; others can make the paper known and seek subscribers to the same.

One hundred willing helpers are required. Will you be one? Will you help on a good cause? Don't all speak at once; but if you are willing to help write the "Canadian Forward," 363 Spadina Ave., and say what you can do. But let us all do something. Let us score a triumph for anti-militarism and Socialism. Don't let the militarist win hands down.

**CONFUSION ABOUT STATE SOCIALISM.**

The following is from an editorial in the New York Outlook printed in response to a letter which also appeared in that paper. The article is so timely and answers the points raised by many Socialists here in Canada that in the absence of the Forward editor the compiler of the contents of this issue has decided to give it to the Forward readers without further comment. It will enliven the next issue if some of you give your opinion on the subject.

There seems to be a very large number of avowed Socialists to whom the actual progress of the world in the direction of Socialism appears to be a sealed book; many who appear utterly oblivious to the fact that "state socialism," as it is called, is the gateway through which society must inexorably travel to democratic socialism.

(Continued on Page 6)

# British Labor's Bid for Power

(By John Alexander.)

What I wish to say here is supplementary to the informing article, the Evolution of the British Labor Movement, that appeared in the Forward of December 10th. The movement in Britain, it seems to me, is the one, next to our own, that is of most account to us, as its success would undoubtedly react most favorably on the movement in Canada. Its progress, too, takes on an added interest since the adoption into the new constitution of the British Labor Party of a definite Socialist objective. This is stated as follows: "To procure for the producers, by the hand or by brains, the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service." There are several reasons that inspire one with high hopes for the future of the British Labor Party. That veteran, Dr. G. B. Clark (by the way, a co-member with Marx of the first International), is optimistic enough to admit the possibility of a majority at the next election. The Toronto Mail & Empire makes a similar admission in a recent editorial when it says: "The powers of plutocracy in Britain may be swept away in one election."

Perhaps the most concrete indication of the tremendous growth of Socialist opinion in Britain is the increase in the membership of the I.L.P., the propaganda body in the British Labor movement. In many cases, notwithstanding the conscription into the army of many of their members, locals have enlarged their membership by 100 and even 150 per cent. Old locals have been revived and many new ones formed. In several places halls large enough to accommodate the crowds cannot be procured. Last year the Labour Leader, the organ of the I.L.P., increased its sales by 25,000. Other Socialist papers, particularly those opposed to the war, also report large increases in circulation. Evidences that the workers in Britain are awakening to a proper sense of their own importance are found again in developments in the trade union movement. It is now becoming common for unions to demand a voice in the arrangement of the industries in which they are organized, a demand the right of which has already been conceded in several capitalist quarters.

The rank and file, too, show less and less a disposition to accept the decisions of their leaders unquestionably, proof of this being found in the growing influence of the shop committees and the frequency of unauthorized strikes. A serious endeavor is also being made to amalgamate competing unions, and a strong tendency towards industrial unionism is apparent. These features of the trade union movement are all to the good, as with a more enlightened membership a higher standard of service will be demanded of their Parliamentary representatives who form the bulk of the Labor Party in Parliament. Their evolutionary spirit reveals itself in the resolutions submitted for discussion at the next Labor Party Conference. It may also be remarked here that the perfecting of their organizations prepares them for the day when they will be called upon to assume control in the interests of the whole community, and tends to instill them with the will to do so.

In connection with the entry of the co-operative societies into the political field and their inevitable adhesion to the Labor Party, it might be pointed

out that while this move has been long advocated by many of their membership, there were two incidents which, operating in the same manner as the famous Taff Vale decision on the trade unions, finally forced their hands. First, there was the taxing of the "divvy," the Government declaring that it was so different from the profits made by a capitalist corporation and therefore subject to income tax. Then there was the cold-shouldering in the case of appointees to the boards dealing with the control of foodstuffs and their prices. Despite the fact that the co-operative societies, collectively, are the largest trading concern in Britain, representation was refused them on the said boards, men connected with capitalistic interests getting the preference. It has been reported that the co-operatives may establish a daily newspaper, an almost imperative requirement should the labor forces form the next Government, and a valuable adjunct in any case.

In addition to the organizations alluded to as making up the army of the workers, the war has produced still another—the War Veterans' Association. Unlike their sister body in Canada, the returned men in Britain are wisely associating themselves with the trade unions. According to reliable reports, the men in the trenches are well nigh unanimous in declaring that "things must be different" in Britain after the war. Past experiences have taught them how best to serve their own interests—by joining forces with their oppressed fellow-workers. Only in this way can they secure a stake in the country for which they have risked their lives, limbs and health to defend.

Regarding the matter of joining hands with the radicals, the left wing of the Liberal party, I should like to observe that while the policy might be questioned, it is undeniably true that such men as Hogge, Pringle, Ponsonby and Outhwaite have put up a much more creditable fight against the attacks on the people's liberties during the war than have most of the Labor party.

To these several bodies mentioned as being on the side of labor might be added the general labor or Socialist sentiment largely created by the war. The conduct of the Coalition Government in its tender regard for the profiteers and consequent neglect of the consumers has exposed, as no amount of Socialist propaganda could, the true nature of the old parties. They have piled up against themselves a huge mass of most damning evidence. Then the way that money has been found to finance the war and the vast measures taken to carry it on have been a lesson to the dullest mind. The plea of poverty put up whenever any scheme to lighten the workers' burden was urged has been exposed as a hollow sham. The arguments of impracticability brought against proposals for state ownership and control are now seen to be but capitalist subtleties.

Two important electoral changes are about to be made which also will materially aid the Labor party. The first is the extension of the franchise to six million women and four million men. The universal employment of women in the industries has no doubt quickened their interest in political representation. The granting of female suffrage will also allow many of its active advocates to again take up their work in the Socialist ranks and devote themselves to the education of their sex in the right use of the ballot. The enfranchised males will be chiefly

young men who are supposed to be overwhelmingly Socialistic in their views. The other change redounding to the Labor party's advantage will be the redistribution of Parliamentary seats. At present in the industrial centres, where labor always finds its strongest support, we find cases of one M.P. to 30,000 voters, and in rural districts where the squire holds sway one M.P. to 3,000 voters. In the bill about to be passed such anomalies will be largely wiped out. Taking Glasgow as a case in point, instead of seven seats it will have fifteen under the new arrangement. Here the I.L.P. alone is taking steps to find candidates for ten of these. Another beneficial reform is that the returning officers' fees, amounting to \$500 for each candidate, will in the future be paid by the Government.

Surely the prospects for the Labor party were never brighter, and there is no reason to fear that it does not fully appreciate its great opportunity to become a much greater, if not the greatest, factor in deciding under what conditions the workers of Britain shall live. According to latest reports 402 candidates will be put up. If the present total of members in the House of Commons is retained, 670, it will require a high percentage of gains to obtain a majority. Mr. Arthur Henderson has been appointed organizer-in-chief of the preparations for the election. Of course, the old capitalist party or parties can be depended on to concoct an election issue—the never-failing red herring—to divert the workers' allegiance to their own interests and party. There is, too, the possibility of the next election being a war one, brought about by a political crisis—genuine or trumped up. In such a case the workers would almost certainly be hopelessly divided, their patriotism being probably exploited on the issue of a military victory versus peace by negotiation, resulting in a new lease of power to the capitalists' party.

All that has been said on the premise that social evolution in Britain will proceed along a peaceful course. But famine (of which signs are already not wanting) may transform the naturally conservative Britisher into a revolutionary like his Russian brother. Like him, too, he would have no professional army to contend with in his strike for liberty. As in Russia, so in Britain, the Socialists would naturally take the lead, they being the one element in present-day society with the knowledge necessary to give the revolution intelligent direction.

(Continued from Page 5).

For them the great Socialist scholars, thinkers and publicists have written in vain. And for them the enormous changes that the war has already made in capitalist property relations mean nothing, indicate nothing, except perhaps a more intensified and longer continued slavery for the proletariat. They are not even "wise after the event."

We print in to-day's issue such a communication, showing as it does the complete confusion that exists in the minds of many Socialists concerning this matter. We ask our readers to note the extraordinary contradictions that run through it from the very beginning. First we are told that all our readers agree with us as to the significance of nationalism of railroads to the fulfilment of Socialism, and this is immediately followed by the assertion that state capitalism is "our most powerful foe." That government ownership of railroads is "no more 'socialistic' than the growth of trusts." It would, no doubt, surprise this correspondent to hear that practically all well informed Socialists do regard the growth of trusts as distinctly "socialistic." That they are certain indications of Socialism in the future

not only Socialists by many capitalists have long perceived. But we leave the letter to our readers and shall not further comment upon it.

That this outlook should still exist is certainly a reflection on the manner in which Socialist economics have been taught. It can hardly be contended that the pupils are congenitally ignorant, but for some reason—probably a fault of the teaching—the actual Socialist view of "state socialism" has not been clearly conveyed to them. Even Frederick Engels, the most clear, concise and powerful Socialist writer on this subject, appears to have largely labored in vain.

It may very possibly be that there is yet a preponderance of "utopian" ingredients in our Socialist thinking; an assumption that everything that is done to further Socialism must be consciously and deliberately done by and enlightened working class and a complete ignoring of the infinitely greater fact of the evolutionary process unconsciously initiated and carried through by the capitalist state itself, a process of which the ultimate ends, and even the indications, are hardly seen by capitalist statesmen. We have been perhaps so obsessed with the idea that we Socialists were ever and always must be the sole factor that we have never been able to actually comprehend the importance of the evolutionary process in capitalist relations, always judging the act by the immediate intentions and objects of those who inaugurate it. Therefore, because apparently the state control of railroads gives guaranteed profits to the previous owners, that is the entire application of the matter. It is a clever capitalist trick of no benefit to the workers, either immediately or in the future. It is this mode of thinking that, no doubt, gives rise to the fatuous criterion so often indulged in by Socialist agitators: "If this thing is for the benefit of the working class, I am for it; if not, I am against it." The ridiculous assumption being that everything that happens from now until the ultimate realization of Socialism must necessarily be "for the benefit"—that is, the immediate benefit—of the working class.

That this point of view is false and foolish needs no argument. Between now and the establishment of Socialism it is almost certain that most of the things that happen will not be for the immediate benefit of the working class, and especially those things—like state control of railroads—that are inaugurated by capitalist and not by working class interests. There is no primrose path to Socialism; on the contrary, it is altogether likely to be even a rockier road than that which we have already travelled, and there never was, and never will be, an intelligent Socialist who will contend that "state socialism" is or was intended to be of any immediate benefit to the workers. But that does not in the least prevent it from being an indication of and a prelude to genuine democratic collectivism.

## GOV. WILL APPOINT SOLDIERS' SETTLEMENT BOARD EARLY IN NEW YEAR.

Ottawa, Dec. 21.—The government is receiving a considerable number of inquiries indicating a desire on the part of the returned soldiers to take advantage of the legislation passed last session to assist soldiers in settling agricultural production.

## THE KAISER MUST BE CUT DOWN OR CUT UP

"The Kaiser must be cut down and cut up."—Vide Press. Who is it crowds the cold stores with meat? Who is it holds up our harvest of wheat? Who is it says to us, "Thou shalt not

# The Kingdom of Shylock

(By Frank Anstey, M.P.)

## THE DAWNING SLAVERY.

"A tremendously powerful financial oligarchy is developing in the shadow of the war, the like of which has never been known in the world before—possessing more wealth, more power, more control over the destinies of the human race than any class or caste ever possessed. Beside this oligarchy, the old Roman Senate and the Venetian Council of Ten fade into insignificance. After the war the attitude of this oligarchy towards the workers will be ruthless and terrible."

—T. Quelch, in "London Justice," March 16, 1916.

The great financiers are running every Government—irrespective of party labels. In every country they devise "ways and means"; they "advise," and Governments are their executors. In every land, under every party, the shackles of the most degrading slavery are being rapidly forged. In every land the leechery of the bondholders becomes an increasing drain on the vitality of the people. "What use," said Chaumette, "is a constitution to a nation of skeletons?" And what use is democratic power, when its only result is the elevation of men who complacently walk in the footsteps of their predecessors, aping the manners, using the language, and pursuing the methods of the men they have derided, denounced, supplanted, and slavishly imitated? Thus we are faced with the fact that the ruling political party in every land is a mere instrument of the Money Bag, devising for Money Bag interests a national currency to be lent back at usury to the nation that created and sustained it. Such are the Morals of Robbery and the ethics of the political jugglers.

Great Britain is now (1917) spending £3,000,000,000 per annum on the war. Yet the more the banks lend the stronger grow their resources. They can lend ten, fifty, a hundred times the amount of gold in their vaults, and yet the gold remains—the only limit on "loans" is the capacity of people to carry the load of interest.

The currency created by the nation for the salvation of the banks is loaned back to the nation at perpetual and ever duplicated interest.

The "Round Table," in its article on "How Wars Are Financed" (June, 1915), said:—

"There must be sufficient time between the instalments of loans to allow the proceeds of the first to be expended by the Government, to pass into the hands of private persons and to filter back to the banks before the next instalment is called. If this condition be fulfilled, the nation can go on fighting for ever, as far as finance is concerned."

In other words, if these conditions be fulfilled, the banks can go on lending for ever.

Thus currency goes out in wages to soldiers and makers of requisites of war, passing along the channels of trade back to the banks for the next instalment. Thus the circle is complete. To the onlookers, there is a never-ending procession of cash. It is financial legerdemain. By it nations are deluded, defrauded and enslaved. Thus thousands of millions are loaned, yet as much remains in the vaults of the great banks as before the first penny was floated. With every new war loan the "rate of interest," the rate of blackmail, upon the struggling nationalities, is increased.

Thus in 1917 all previous 2½, 3½, 4½ per cent. blood loans were convertible into 5 per cents. to all subscribers to the "Great Victory" Loan Float—ever rising patriotism of the Parasites.

## AFTER THE WAR.

The war over, and the people under the burden of millions of interest, profits flow once more into the channels of industry at the higher rates of interest created by the war.

Out of the war will come for ever annual dividends in the shape of interest upon the money invested in blood. For this the people must toil.

Out of the war will emerge two classes—Bondholders and slaves to the Bondholders.

Lord Incheape, President of the National Provincial Bank of Great Britain and London director of the Australian Sugar, Shipping and Banking Combine, known as the Burns, Philp Company, said:—

"The heavy taxation in which Europe is involved to pay the interest on the money already borrowed, and on the hundreds of millions yet to be raised, will press heavily on the people. Their purchasing power will be reduced and their standard of life lowered."

England must recover herself in the markets appropriated by neutral nations, by nations upon whose industries sit no war burden. Whatever goes to the bondholders must come out of the flesh and blood of the workpeople. So

"The standard of life must be reduced."

The arms of Britain, France and Russia may be as triumphant as those of Rome in the days of its greatest glory—yet the workmen of all the combatant nations will emerge from the war steeped in such awful poverty, such abject slaves of Mammon, that they will wish they were dead.

All who come out of the war alive must be bled dry that interest mongering vampires within the nation may extract from the products of toil hundreds of millions per annum.

Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons (May 12, 1915), said:—

"Distress, Misery, and Wretchedness always follow a great war."

The English financial journal, "The Economist," commenting on the Lloyd George speech, said:—

"The standard of life must be reduced."

In Australia interest and other charges arising out of the war will increase the burden of taxation fourfold.

Productive and distributive costs will be augmented, prices will rise to the level of the increased costs, purchasing power will be correspondingly diminished. The returned soldiery, thrown suddenly upon a depressed and dislocated labor market, will engender amongst the wage-earners an agonizing struggle for existence.

## CAMOUFLAGE IN ENGLAND.

An Open Letter to Lloyd George, by Horatio Bottomly in "John Bull."

No doubt the readers of the Forward, in common with the readers of the news despatches concerning the war, get considerably mystified by the contradictions made in the speeches which are one day highly optimistic and the next tend to pessimism. This same mental condition seems to prevail in England, and the following letter printed in "John Bull" and addressed to Mr. Lloyd George will give our readers some idea of the camouflage that that gentleman and his colleagues are placing before the British public. The letter in part follows:

One of the many disadvantages of writing in a paper which has to go to press several days before its date of publication is that you are compelled to "budget" for what may happen in the interval—and in war, as we all know, it is the Unexpected that always happens. Thus, whilst the printing machines are belching out nearly two million copies of this issue, the House of Commons will be discussing the remarkable speech delivered by the Prime Minister of Britain—in the French Capital. And it is about that speech, mainly, that I want to write. Oh, that speech! I am not very much concerned with the Supreme War Council—so long as it doesn't interfere with Haig and Petain. As an Observing and Advisory body it is capable of good work, and should have been set up two years ago. And now that it has been constituted, it would have been wiser not to have talked much about it. Anything and everything which is calculated to assist the Allies to win the war should be carefully concealed from the enemy—not trumpeted from the housetops. That is bad strategy—the sort of thing which the Advisory Council itself should set its face against. Let the Kaiser think we are learning nothing from the lessons of the war—and don't tell him that at Versailles he will find a Supreme Council always sitting. You see, those Hun armén have a nasty knack of finding their way about! Only a few days before my recent visit to the Front, a squadron of them had made direct for a great Base Hospital sixty miles behind the lines, for the purpose of dropping bombs upon the American ward; but let that pass. Good luck to the Supreme Council—although I can't help wondering how much better we should have been even if it had existed at the time of the Italian disaster, for are not we assured that General Cadorna never anticipated any trouble and never applied to the Allies for help? If he, on the actual Front, foresaw no danger, how on earth

could any Supreme Council, sitting in Versailles have done so? And I recall this statement in the Queen's Hall speech of August last: "There are persons in this country who would set-up Committees to direct the conduct of the war. The nation has set up its own Committee, and that is the House of Commons." Still, what I want to talk about is the speech.

## An Unhappy Speech.

Let us see exactly what it was that the Prime Minister said. The first definite statement he made was that "in a prolonged war nothing counts as much as a good conscience"—which, of course, is all flap-doodle. Nothing counts so much as good troops and munitions. Then came a compliment to Russia—"who now lies stricken through no fault of her own"—more flap-doodle! After that, we got a retrospect of past efforts at unification and co-ordination of the various battle fronts, and of conferences designed with that end. But it seems that "in the absence of a genuine Inter-Allied Council . . . there had to be an appearance of a strategic whole. . . . and it was solemnly proclaimed to the world that the unity of the Allies was complete. . . . That unity, so far as strategy went, was pure make-believe." Now let us stop there for a moment. It was none other than Mr. Lloyd George, who, after the famous Rome Conference in January last, came back and said: "I have just returned from a Council of War of the four great Allied countries upon whose shoulders most of the burden of this terrible war falls. I cannot give you the conclusions; there might be useful information in them for the enemy. There were no delusions as to the magnitude of our task, neither were there any doubts about the result. I think I could say what was the feeling of every man there. It was one of the most businesslike Conferences I ever attended. We faced the whole situation, probed it thoroughly, looked the difficulties in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them—and we separated more confident than ever." And who was responsible for the "Rome Official" message, after that Conference, that "At the conclusion of its labors the Conference once more recorded the complete agreement of the Allies on the various questions discussed, and it was decided to carry out a still closer co-ordination of their efforts?"

## What Has Happened?

That doesn't look as though the idea of co-ordination were a sudden inspiration—and I confess that I'm bewildered by the declaration of the Premier that all these solemn announcements were "pure make-believe." Well may I have asked, the

(Continued on Page 8).

## "Distress, misery, and wretchedness always follow a great war."

Awful is the price the workers must pay, so that Shylock may get his bloody "shentage." He will draw blood from sweating brows and hungry mothers all the days that God gives them life. This war weakens the workers and strengthens the Money Bags. This war means misery for the toiler, and "much monish" for the bondholder.

This war makes the living worker a slave, and fills the treasury of Shylock to overflowing.

Workingmen! You shall eat less—have poorer food—shabbier clothes—scantier furniture—fewer pleasures—and know more hardships than ever you knew in all your days and generation.

You want to know "Why?"

Is it not plain? If every year Shylock is to draw hundreds of millions more in interest from his investments on wasted lives and bloody slaughter, you who remain alive must slave for it and pay for it! All your days shall be "made bitter" with hard bondage." That is your future, workingmen. That is what they mean when they say "the standard of life must be reduced."

The workers come back from the war doomed to toil and pay annual tribute, not to the foreign conqueror, but to a small, exclusive, moneyed clique within the nation—the Kings of the Kingdom of Shylock.

These are the "conquerors"—these "Lords of Finance." Beneath their yoke must men of all nations tread.

"The hapless producer of wealth goes forth into a night illuminated by no star—he travels in a desert where the ever retreating mirage makes his disappointment a thousandfold more keen."

—"Labor Call," Melbourne.

(Continued from Page 7).

other day, "Who are the Liars?" Nor can I understand his statement that "personally he had made up his mind that, unless some change were effected, he could no longer remain responsible for a war direction doomed to disaster for lack of unity." When, and why, did this change of attitude come about? When did Mr. Lloyd George come to the conclusion that we were "doomed to disaster"? In February—after the Rome Conference—we were told that "the Balkans were the only part of the whole battlefield which for the moment need cause any anxiety to the Allies. On the Western Fronts—France and Italy—we have driven the enemy back in battle after battle." That was in a speech at Carnarvon. Then in July, at Dundee, we had a scathing reference to the "rabbit tactics" of the enemy, and were told that we were "pounding a sense of inferiority into every pore of the German military mind," and, finally, that when a proud army like that of Germany was driven to burying itself in the ground, "it was the beginning of the end." And, of course, we were assured that in France and Russia and Italy "men of every shade of opinion were co-operating to ensure victory against the common enemy." Well, that was July. Now we will come to August—to the anniversary of the war. What was the position then? Listen—this was at the Queen's Hall, London: "No one has any idea—no one in Britain, France, Italy, Russia or Germany, nor in Austria, how near the top we may be." What the dickens has happened to alter the whole mental outlook of the Premier? No reference to the Italian reverse can possibly explain it, for now even our victories in the West are belittled—if, indeed, not sneered at. In fact, there is one phrase so sinister that I want it explained. Mr. Lloyd George spoke about our "hammering at the impenetrable barrier in the West." What does that mean—that, in his view, Haig is merely wasting time and life and money in France and Flanders? It almost looks like it, for this is what followed: "When we advance a kilometre into the enemy's lines, snatch a small shattered village out of his cruel grip, capture a few hundreds of his oldiers, we shout with unfeigned joy." What fine reading for Berlin! Already we have the German papers exulting over "the most impressive praise of our military successes which has ever echoed from the mouth of a hostile statesman." As recently as the 16th October last we had the Prime Minister sending this cable to Sir Douglas Haig: "The War Cabinet desire to congratulate you and the troops under your command upon the achievements of the British Armies in Flanders in the great battle which has been raging since July 31st. Starting

from positions in which every advantage rested with the enemy, and hampered and delayed from time to time by most unfavorable weather, you and your men have nevertheless continuously driven the enemy back with such skill, courage and pertinacity as have commanded the grateful admiration of the peoples of the British Empire and filled the enemy with alarm. I am personally glad to be the means of transmitting this message to you and your gallant troops, and desire to take this opportunity of renewing my assurance of confidence in your leadership, and in the devotion of those whom you command." And now it appears that all the time we were just "hammering away at an impenetrable barrier"; that our plans were all chaotic and "doomed to disaster," and that the Prime Minister—whilst telling us that we were witnessing "the beginning of the end," and that no one knew "how near the top we may be"—and that all the Allies were working harmoniously together as the result of "most businesslike" Conferences—was imply indulging in a game of "make-believe," and was actually thinking of throwing up the sponge! It is all very mysterious—and very disconcerting. I can only express the hope that the debate which will take place whilst these lines are being printed may clear the air.

**What He Did Not Say.**

But what about the things he left unsaid? Why no rebuke to his colleague in the War Cabinet—the only military member—General Smuts, for telling us that "the war is over"? Why no castigation of Admiral Jellicoe, Chief Naval Adviser to the Admiralty, for "the war is all but won"? Why no denial of the report that in the opinion of the High Command in the West, given favorable weather, the enemy must collapse by the end of the present year? And why nothing about the ever-growing menace of the Pacifist movement? How do you think the Government is to-day dealing with it? I will tell you: by voting public funds to organize a campaign to counteract it! Very little notice was taken of certain proceedings in Parliament a week ago, on a "Vote for Expenses of the National War Aims Committee." Defending the expenditure of public money for that purpose, this is what Sir Edward Carson said: "An organized system of misrepresentation by the Pacifists of this country, for their own ends, is going on from day to day throughout the length and breadth of the land, and carried on in this kind of way—that where they find families afflicted by the sacrifices that they have made during the war, they do not hesitate to enter into the homes of very many humble people, trying to influence them against the carrying on of the war, which, if successful, would have the result that the whole of the sacrifices that have been made would

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have been made in vain. The matter is far too national a one to be left to any one class of rich subscribers." It was suggested that the Party funds might be utilized—but such an idea was ruled out as too preposterous. Those funds are sacrosanct—for use after the war! And so you and I have to pay to fight the Pacifists! Nor was a word spoken about the peril of the enemy in our midst—nothing about the denationalization of the alien. Nor anything about the scandals of certain recent appointments to new posts of wicked and dismal failures. Nothing either about the hushed-up scandals of Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles; nothing about those wonderful Paris resolutions of many months ago—which were to be put into immediate operation. These are the things which the public wants to hear about, and the neglect to tackle them is doing more than anything else to undermine the position of the Premier.

**The Old Game Again.**

Thus, all around us we once more see signs of the old Party intriguing, with its inspired press propaganda in the Daily News, Star, Spectator, and other "anti" Lloyd George journals, of the strict official Liberal type. On the other hand, we have the Man-

chester Guardian, in a clumsily concealed threat, suggesting that if the Prime Minister's enemies are not careful, he will turn round; and, by the disclosure of official documents, rend the Generals in the field. A pretty threat, truly! If it means anything—and the Guardian and the Prime Minister are close friends—it means that an attempt is to be made to shift the responsibility for all past blunders on to the shoulders of the soldiers. Indeed, there is the most cynical and callous recognition of this policy by the Manchester Guardian itself, which tells us that "it is unlikely that there is any popular force which could be mobilized at this stage for the "Hands off the Army" policy." Isn't there? I venture to think that Lord Northcliffe—scenting the little game intended—hits off the mind of the British public when, in his fine letter to Mr. Lloyd George, he says: "We have the most efficient army in the world, led by one of the greatest Generals." Heaven forbid that we should once more have the cry of "The People versus the Army." Remember that to-day, the Army is the People—and woe to the man who belittles it! Let the Prime Minister beware—Hands off Haig!—from "John Bull."

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