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THE CANADIAN FORWARD

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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December 27, 1916

A Rambler's Review

COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE THEM.

A Demobilization Problem.

One of the most serious of the problems that confronts Canada, as well as Britain, after the war is the question of the demobilization of war factories. The demobilization of the armies will in itself be a complicated affair involving a heavy strain on the country, but it will be more easy of accomplishment if arrangements have been perfected for the demobilization of all the military allied industries and their adjustment to peace conditions.

Already far-seeing manufacturers are urging on the British Government the necessity of insuring the country against violent slumps after the war. A writer in the trade supplement of The London Times points out that when peace comes there will be an enormous quantity of raw materials and goods on order by the Government. He suggests that any temptation to economize by breaking contracts and offering compensation should be resisted, otherwise the market will be flooded with raw materials and goods at greatly reduced prices, bringing ruin to manufacturers. Another suggestion made is with regard to the release of the enormous motor auxiliaries at the front. Thousands of motor cars, trucks, and bicycles will be discarded at the end of the war. The makers of these, desirous of preventing a slump on the market, propose to take over their own machines at a valuation and repair them for sale to the public. Any violent oscillation of the markets after the war should be guarded against, but as the manufacturers of war supplies have reaped a rich harvest it should be made difficult for them to deprive the general public of the legitimate bargains and fall in prices that peace must inevitably bring.

AS SEEN FROM THE LABOR BENCHES AT WESTMINSTER

(By J. R. Macdonald)

Carson's Capitalist contingent is angry—very angry. The British Capitalist Combine which, since the Germans have been cleared out of Nigeria, has reduced the price paid to the poor negroes for palm kernels by £4 per ton (from £14 to £10) and at the same time has jumped the price to the British purchased by about £10 per ton, is raging mad because the Government is not going to hand over the ex-German properties to the Combine at the Combine's own price.

The Government is actually "unpatriotic" enough to allow neutrals to come in and bid for the property.

If the Government were not itself actuated by Capitalist ideas and ideals, it would, as good business, have stuck to these ex-German properties and worked them for the State, as Northcliffe's Times has been suggesting; and a fat picking there would have been; one M.P., Bigland, declaring that there is a potential profit of £15,000,000 a year which could have been devoted to paying off the War Debt.

But the Government decided to sell

the properties to the highest bidder in accordance with the best anti-Socialist advice they could get. Now, selling to the highest bidder means that the Combine will be compelled to pay a market price for the properties, and



JAMES SIMPSON,
S.-D.P. Candidate for Board of
Control, Toronto.

Sir Ned and his friends were in a tearing rage.

Sir Henry Drayton, Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada, giving evidence before the Dominion Royal Commission, has recommended the establishment of an inter-Imperial transportation service to be conducted by the Imperial Government. He suggests further that for five years after the end of the war the ships now requisitioned for the transportation of war supplies should be used for that purpose, and that maximum rates for ocean freights should be fixed.

Anybody who still fears that the Kaiser is coming over here to impose Prussianism on us, has a curious mental make-up. Berlin Bill is hardly the sort of man to spend time and money (not to speak of cannon-fodder) in carrying coals to Newcastle, and if the job has been properly done already, Bill is not the boy to waste himself trying to do it again. Here is a list of questions being put by detectives to "a number of respectable citizens of Birmingham" (see Manchester Guardian Nov. 9, 1916):

1. Are you now or have you been connected with (a) the No-Conscription Fellowship; (b) the National Council Against Conscription; (c) the Union of Democratic Control, or any of them, or with any other society or body publishing matter directed against conscription or recruiting or the upkeep of military forces, and, if so, in what capacity?

2. Have you supplied any money to any such society or societies, and, if so, to what amount, and when?

3. Have you supplied any money either privately or through any society to which you belong or of which you have knowledge for the upkeep or support or payment of propagandists whose efforts have been directed against

the war either directly or indirectly?

4. You are required to produce for inspection your cheque and bank pass books and to answer any questions in regard to any item.

5. Have you done anything to prevent or attempt to prevent the circulation of literature as to conscientious objection amongst persons other than accredited members of the Society of Friends or Christadelphians or other bodies holding religious objections to bearing arms, or have you permitted



Dominion Secretary,
ISAAC BAINBRIDGE
S.-D.P. Candidate for Board of
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or been aware of indiscriminate circulation of such literature by any such society?

6. What assistance have you given or are you giving to any person or persons in regard to the circulation of literature which has been the subject of convictions in different parts of England under the Defence of the Realm Regulations?

7. Have you been present at or associated with or have you assisted with money or otherwise the holding of meetings in public or private at which speeches have been made against conscription or recruiting or the upkeep of the military forces?

8. Have you now or have you had on your premises or under your control any literature directed against conscription or recruiting or the upkeep of military forces or the prosecution of the war, and if you now have any such literature you are required to produce it.

9. In regard to the Societies mentioned in Question 1, have you seen any draft or proof of the publications of those societies before their dissemination, or have you asked to see such drafts or proofs?

10. After convictions have taken place in regard to the publication issued by the above societies, or any of them, have you withdrawn your support from the society in question or taken any steps to prevent further dissemination of the literature in question?

The country is going to the dogs. The Patriots have quarrelled. The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Moritz Mond has voted against the Prime Minister, Frederick Handel Booth has voted against Sir William Bull, Sir Clifford John Cory has voted against William Brace, and the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law has voted with me on the subject of pine nuts and drink trade marks.

Bad as all that is, things are even worse. For Mr. Bonar Law has taken

the gloves off to Sir Edward Carson. This is some of the sparkling dialogue which flashed through the speeches:—

Mr. Bonar Law—Nobody knows better than my right hon. friend that the resolution as it stands is absolutely futile.

Sir Edward Carson (pulling a long face and looking thunder)—I do not know that at all.

Mr. B. L.—My right hon. friend indulged in a good deal of rhetoric. I do not admire rhetoric.

Sir E. C. looks hang-you!—I'll pay-you-out kind of style.

Mr. B. L.—If the French Government had protested, "no one would have been louder in his condemnation than my right hon. friend."

Sir E. C.—Absolutely untrue!

Sir E. C.—Not at all. Nonsense!

Mr. B. L.—My right hon. friend is not very polite. . . . On this question I am as little likely to talk nonsense as he is.

And so on.

The pother was about sales of land, property, and trade marks in Nigeria, and there is a story and a moral attached to them. Sir Edward Carson and his friends, like Sir H. Dalsiel, wanted to keep everybody out but British-born folk. The bulk of palm kernels has been sent to Hamburg to be crushed, two British crushers not being enterprising or Napoleonic enough to take the trade. After the war, a committee of interested persons, with the exception of an official and another, was appointed, and it recommended that an export duty of two pounds a ton should be imposed on these kernels, but that the duty should be refunded on those sent to Great Britain.

I and one or two others objected that that was a scheme to exploit Nigeria in the interests of a few Liverpool merchants, that it meant robbing the native, that a ring would be formed to end competition and keep down prices. We were lectured in the best Presbyterian-elder style by Mr. Steele Maitland, and Mr. Bonar Law used a stolen letter to confound us. That was the first act of the comedy.

Now, Mr. Steele Maitland has come round and has rehashed our old speeches. Since the combine of merchants was formed after the war, he told us that the price of palm kernels paid to the natives had gone down, whilst their price in Liverpool had gone up; that whereas before the war the difference in price per ton between Lagos and Liverpool was £4 to £5, since then it has been as much as £14. The friends of the combine said freights had risen. Yes, but "not a fraction of the excess." That is proved by the increased profits of the trading companies.

The merchants took this drubbing from Mr. Steele Maitland as badly as they had taken it from me a few months before. They interrupted and buzzed, and every one who spoke for them was cheered frantically. It was a fine epul-

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A Rambler's Review

(Continued from Page One)

zie. One drank in great draughts of wisdom sitting, watching, and listening. One thought of vultures and the donkey boys of Egypt competing for the honor and profit of having your legs across the backs of their asses.

Their most successful spokesman was Mr. Higham, a Liberal, who had been trading with Nigeria for forty years. Frankly, he wanted trade. Sir Edward Carson expressed Mr. Higham's view later on, and more brusquely than Mr. Higham himself, when he said that, "the one object of this war is to smash Prussianism, and to smash the interference of Germany with our trade throughout the Empire." Murder will out. Well, Mr. Higham made no interesting speech full of information, but with no gleam of policy. It was very odd to watch how when he referred to Imperial interests, he really meant his own profits and convenience. It was naive and innocent, and not selfish. He simply had never thought it out. Instinctively he assumed: L'Empire, c'est moi, i.e., ma poche—in other words, "my pouch."

It was really an interesting day that Wednesday. The cash nexus was in dispute, and the House was far better attended than usual. There was fighting of the old style. It recalled the grand debate on whether controlled firms should pay the new excess profits tax or not. Listening to Sir Alfred Mond, I thought he had been speaking ever since that other memorable day. Opinion swayed now this way, now that. Finally, Sir Edward Carson's speech destroyed any good impression left by Mr. Higham, and an unexpectedly large majority supported the Government.

The properties are to be sold to neutrals as well as Britishers, because the Government is afraid of combinations, and hopes in this way to keep competition alive. The Liverpool merchants wanted to have the whole swag to themselves, and tried to make us believe that this trophy of war belonged to them. Of course, the properties ought never to have been sold at all. The Government ought to have kept them and leased them. But our war-triumphant Socialism has not gone so far yet as to secure that self-evident business proposition.

That was the chief debate of the week, but there have been some interesting incidents. Mr. Outhwaite is a red rag to the Hunnish bulls. When he gets up they roar like their ancestors of Basha. But he generally gets in. This week he wanted to know the relative proportion of men put into the field by the various allied countries, and was told he was asking an improper question. He had a card up his sleeve, however. Lord Northcliffe had been giving the information to a meeting of the Aldwych Club, and the purpose of the question was to show that Lord Northcliffe could say with impunity what Mr. Lupton and others would have to pay £100 for the pleasure of saying.

The Irishmen are still hostile, and swear to turnout the Government as soon as they can. At present they are improving the pay of the Dublin police, and are demanding that they should be allowed to join the Ancient Order of Hibernians as well as the Freemasons. This is all with an eye upon the future. It is a good thing to have policemen on your side. It is significant that reports of these Irish police debates and comments upon them were censored in the Irish papers.

Mr. Lynch, however, has the double duty to look after Greece as well as Ireland. He holds the King in tremendous contempt, and Mr. Venizelus in

equally tremendous veneration. He wants to know why we have no officially recognized the government of the latter, and the impression is abroad that Royal influences are against that. That is not so. It is not a King but a lady who is troublesome. Poor dear weak human nature! How the weakness of men write the really interesting chapters of history!

I think we are to have a secret session to discuss man-power problems. There have been secret conclaves of editors and journalists with Ministers, and the House of Commons is jealous. So within closed doors we shall probably sit and listen to stories of our successes and failures, our resources and our weaknesses, which the ears of the crowd may not hear and the tongues on the street may not utter. The last secret session was a farce. What we were told we knew before, and what we wanted to know we were not told. Apparently the advantage of a secret session is to enable the Front Bench to look mournful without the country seeing it.

In the House of Commons on Thursday last Mr. Philip Snowden asked the Prime Minister if an understanding had been agreed upon by the Allies that Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and a part of the Asiatic hinterland were to be the reward of Russian services in the war; and, if this was not the nature of the understanding, what were the terms of it.

Mr. Bonar Law: An announcement of this or any other matter on which the Allies may have agreed can only be made in agreement with the Allies.

Mr. Snowden: Has this House and the country no right to know what the objects are for which we are fighting?

Mr. Bonar Law: Yes, they have a perfect right to know, but I think the House of Commons will be willing to give the Government a certain amount of discretion in the matter.

German Peace Terms.

Mr. Snowden asked the Prime Minister if in view of the definite statement of the German Chancellor that Germany was only fighting a war of defence, that she desired nothing more than the security of her national independence and for her legitimate development, that she would restore the occupied territory on the west, and submit conditions in regard to other parts of the war area which might reasonably be made the subject of discussion: and whether, in view of the fact that he announced the readiness of Germany to give guarantees for the future maintenance of peace, he would take immediate steps to promote peace negotiations on these conditions.

Mr. Bonar Law: The summary given by the hon. member of the speech of the German Chancellor appears to me to be inaccurate and entirely misleading. As regards peace negotiations, I can add nothing to the public statements made by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Snowden asked in what respect the summary was inaccurate.

Mr. Bonar Law: In every respect. So far as I can gather, the speech of the German Chancellor was based entirely on the idea of a peace after a German victory.

OBJECTORS IN FRANCE.

Right to Communicate Their State of Health.

Mr. Edmund Harvey (L., West Leeds) has asked the Under-Secretary for War if he would say why, in the case of the seventeen conscientious objectors who were removed under escort to France while still refusing to obey military orders, permission had not been allowed to communicate their regimental postal addresses and the state of their health to their families; whether he was aware that anxiety has been caused to their parents by this absence of news, and whether he would

give instructions that these men may at least be allowed to send news of their health and of their regimental addresses to their relatives, and may be permitted to receive letters from their families. Mr. Tennant replied: I am afraid the facts as stated are not sufficient to enable me to express my opinion as to what took place in these cases, but I know of no instruction which would prevent these men from communicating the state of their health.

FROM A LABOR BENCH.

By J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.

Gentle reader! Nobility first this week. Captain the Earl of Winterton has returned from the front and has resumed his Parliamentary duties. Up to now he has shown great interest in Miss Hobhouse and in black labor. He is a war-at-any-price man, and I introduce him now to show the price that he and his friends are prepared to pay.

On Thursday he asked Mr. Bonar Law whether natives had been brought from South Africa to work at military and naval ports in France, and, "if so, will they be brought to ports in this country under the same conditions under which they work in France, and thus release for the army a considerable body of male white workers." "The whole subject is being carefully considered by the Government," replied Mr. Bonar Law. It looks as though "the black squad" were to have a new meaning in British industry. On this announcement there was some buzz on our benches, and the incident closed with an interjection which needs a paragraph to itself.

Mr. W. Thorne: "If all whites did their duty, there would be no need for blacks." After this generous invitation of the Secretary of the Gasworkers, we may expect to see negro gas stokers keeping our civilization going during the winter.

I often think that the most useful part of the Parliamentary day is question time. Then Ministers tell us things—sometimes, and sometimes do not tell us things. This week they have been trying to be silent. Thus: Mr. Lloyd George was asked on Tuesday if there was any precedent for "so gross and deliberate violation of a pledge" as in the case of the men of 41. Says he to himself: "Mum's the word," and said "nuffin." But later on he whispered so that we might not hear him: "It is not." That intervention of Mr. MacCallum Scott's to which I referred last week really has earned a peerage or some equally impressive war honor for him.

Then on the same day silence again shielded a Minister in difficulties. We wanted to know how it was that the War Office was trying to call up men who had been rejected and who had not been summoned for re-examination before the 1st September last. That, too, was a pledge. There were words, words, words. Finally, Mr. Pringle, cutting a long story short and coming to the point, asked: "Is it not the case that the man who knows his legal rights is let off, but that if he is ignorant you take advantage of his ignorance." Thereupon the Minister was affected with a loss of speech.

I linger over Tuesday's questions and produce another treasure. Everybody has now heard of Captain Colthuret who killed Skeffington and invaded his wife when she was putting her children to bed. He is insane, a Court Martial told us, and he is now in a lunatic asylum. "Is he still drawing Army pay?" asked Mr. MacVeagh. "He was retired on the 10th June," replied Mr. Lloyd George. "I did not ask about retiring; I asked about paying," said Mr. MacVeagh. "How can

I say?" said Mr. Lloyd George. "I have been at work all the morning, and I am telling you what I have been told to tell you." "All right," says Jerry, "I'll ask you again." I think we know the answer which like a fugitive rabbit in a hole does not want to come out.

That night from Lord Robert Cecil, we had a lecture on liberty and self-government, democracy and the House of Commons. In spite of the war and Rob Roy's articles, there is a suspicion about that our Foreign Office is not infallible and needs looking after. Some very respectable patriots call it stupid when they are not in war paint, are off the stage away from the pit, the stalls, and, above all, the galleries; and Mr. Ronald MacNeill wanted to be assured that it was handling Greece properly. A good many people don't bother about these assurances any more than they bother about assurances that a man inditing poems to a lamp-post with a bottle in his pocket is a loyal member of a Rechabite tent.

The Foreign Office, however, as that poet would probably do, not only refused the assurances but attacked the policeman—politely, of course, and like a gentleman, but attacked him all the same. Said Lord Robert:—

"We must carry on the government of the country, badly, I agree, but as well as we can do it, and we cannot share that responsibility with the House of Commons or with anybody else—not during the war."

On the 26th July, 1916, the Prime Minister said:—

"When you come to write the history of the war the responsibility for what was done must be shared by all sorts of people, and amongst others by the House of Commons."

"A most improper doctrine," Lord Robert Cecil comments.

I am greatly interested in the problem of Cabinet responsibility. In ordinary times I have no great faith in government by Committees, pace by Bradford friends and Fred Jowett. But we are not normal times. No alternative government is at present possible; there is no open criticism in Parliament; there is a general admission that the "badly, I agree" of Lord Robert's speech is pathetically true. "We claim the right to be allowed to muddle through and to put the responsibility on you in the end," is a doctrine which, to-day, means failure, waste of life, and military and diplomatic inefficiency. It also means that the settlement after the war is to be no settlement at all. But I return to the House of Commons.

On Wednesday the Government introduced to us again its miserable Registration Bill. "It is a poor thing, but it is the best we can do. Please adopt it and let us make the best of it." We wanted to patch it here and there, but the Speaker said "You cannot." Then member after member got up, and with one voice they shouted: "Thumbs down." The Prime Minister had to be sent for. He came in leisurely and sadly. Then he spoke, and pleaded for its life. But the crowd called: "We will not have this thing." So it was led away to the lethal chamber, where disowned products come to their end.

We were sad. What talented parents it had! They are conducting a mighty war and cannot produce a little bill.

Push "The Canadian Forward." It never was so much needed as NOW. It is for "the few against the world," whose failures are always victories. Every reader get a reader. Twenty-six issues for 50c.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

Notice to Locals.—We shall be glad to publish each week beneath this heading reports of the doings and activities of any local. Copy sent in should be written clearly on one side of the paper only. Reports should be brief as possible.

CITIZENS OF GUELPH, ONTARIO,

Opposed to Registration Unless All Industries Affected Shall Come Under Public Ownership.

A mass meeting was held in the Labor Hall, Guelph, to protest the action of the Government in calling for the registration of men eligible for military service. The meeting was attended largely by Labor men and Socialists, and it was agreed to call another meeting for the purpose of giving volume to the protest.

The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

Resolved: That we citizens of Guelph, in the Province of Ontario, in meeting assembled, on December 7th, do hereby oppose the scheme for national registration, unless all industries that are affected by registration shall come under the ownership and control of the nation; and all profits accruing from such industries be used for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

OPPOSED TO REGISTRATION.

Socialists representing the English, Jewish, Ruthenian, German, Polish, Lettish, women's and juvenile locals, assembled at headquarters of the party, corner of Dufferin avenue and Salter street, to discuss registration and conscription. The discussion lasted from 8 o'clock until nearly midnight, J. Penner occupying the chair. Finally the following resolution was agreed upon: "The Winnipeg locals of the Social Democratic party in convention assembled declare opposition to the action of the Dominion Government in imposing registration on the male population of the country. Our opposition is based on the following grounds: Recent events in Great Britain prove that registration is but the first step toward imposing conscription on the male population. If it is argued that all the country's resources should be thrown into the prosecution of the war, then we maintain the first step a responsible government should take would be to register and conscript the whole wealth of the country before calling upon the man-power of that country. On these grounds we believe that it is in the best interests of the working class to refuse to register."

Prince Arthur Hall was crowded last night with a down-town audience which met to protest against the increasing food prices and cheered the recommendation made by several speakers that the Government take over the food supply of the country.

The speakers were Messrs. C. P. Rice, I. Velicovitch, M. Buhay, L. Elstein, Miss R. Buhay and Mrs. R. W. Henderson.

The following resolution was carried with acclamation:

Whereas the price of food has arisen in the last two years and is still rising and whereas the food supply is being manipulated for the profits of monopolies, it is hereby resolved: (1) That the Dominion Government be urged to take over the food supply of the country; (2) That a maximum price be fixed on the necessities of life; (3) That a legal living wage be fixed; (4) That tariffs on the importation of food-stuffs be abolished.

COME TO THE LABOR TEMPLE ELECTION NIGHT.

The Women's Social-Democratic League has secured the Labor Temple for New Year's Evening, where they

will hold a reception for the Labor and Socialist candidates and their friends and supporters. The reception will be held in Room Two, and if that is not large enough to accommodate the crowd, the large Auditorium will be used for the occasion. There will be music to assist in cheering for victory and light refreshments to regale the workers for Labor's political cause. Of course, there will be speech-making by the candidates and others who have participated in the campaign.

Everybody invited. Admission free. Returns from the election will be announced from the platform. All welcome. Don't fail to be there.

NEW IDEA BAZAAR WAS A GREAT SUCCESS.

Women's Social Democratic League Nets Over Three Hundred Dollars on Their Broadway Hall Enterprise.

The bazaar and entertainment held under the auspices of the Women's Social Democratic League at Broadway Hall, Spadina Avenue, on Friday and Saturday evenings, December 8th and 9th, proved a splendid success from every point of view. The attendance was good on both evenings, and the young people of the various nationalities which go to make up the Socialist movement, had an all-round good time. The music furnished by the Young Socialist Band was thoroughly appreciated by the dancers, who took every advantage of it.

The booths were beautifully decorated and well filled with merchandise of every description, from household furniture to toys. The judges awarded the banner for the best decorated and furnished booth to the committee of the Women's League. The league's booth looked like a second edition of Eaton's department store.

Miss Ina Jaffray, of 44 Wyndham Avenue, held the winning number of the beautiful watch donated by Mrs. Rubin. She was also a successful contestant for the pillow donated by Mrs. Shapiro. The beautiful Irish chain quilt was won by Miss Pearl Cole, 321 Jarvis Street. If the party holding No. 327, drawn on the Teddy Bear and pillow contest of Local 87's Christmas treat, will make himself known he will find that he is entitled to the beautiful handworked soft pillow presented by Mrs. John Bruce.

The proceeds of the bazaar, which is divided between the Socialist Press, Women's League, and the Social Democratic Municipal Campaign Fund, will net over \$300. The Women's Social Democratic League desires to convey its hearty thanks and appreciation to all who co-operated to make their undertaking the big success which it turned out to be, and wish you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Old Party Voter.

(International Socialist Review.)

Into the Polling-place, and why not knowing,
Nor whence, like water, willy-nilly,
flowing,
And out again, when he has made the Cross,
Back to his fruitless, ill-paid labor going.

He, in his youth, did eagerly frequent
Old party rallies, heard great argument,
About the Robber Tariff, and the Trusts,
And come away, no wiser than he went.

With them the seed of Piffle did he sow,
In hopes of some cheap job, helped
make it grow,
And this is all the Working Class has reaped—

Their efforts help their leaders get the Dough.

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CAN WAR BE PREVENTED?

By William Stewart.

A correspondent who evidently thinks I am a superlatively wise person asks me to provide him with an answer to the question, "Can War Be Prevented?" and, as if anticipating an affirmative answer, he follows up with the further question, "How Can War Be Prevented?" I confess that though I am not without a fairly "guid conceit o' mysel'," I shrink back from such questions as these, especially when presented so bluntly and off-handedly. I feel inclined to pass the questions on to the readers of Forward. If I am asked, "Could the present war have been prevented?" I have a very decided answer, the articulation of which might land me speedily in durance vile. So I remain inarticulate, like so many others who have been thus effectively stricken dumb.

Can war be prevented? How can war be prevented? Many people besides my correspondent must be asking these questions to-day. In the presence of the evils of war, in the midst of what seems the greatest war in human history, they ask these questions, helplessly, and impotently; they ask these questions, as a fly caught in a wheel might ask the question: "Cannot the wheel be stopped?" The war is compelling them to question the necessity of war. When the war ends, will they continue to question? If not, if they cease their questioning, and if they themselves do not provide an answer to the question, then there will be more war.

Can war be prevented? Christians humanitarians, reformers, and especially Socialists, are bound to answer in the affirmative. Any other answer would be the answer of despair, the answer of Nihilism, the confession that the idea of human progress is a delusion; the unrealisable dream of unpractical visionaries. Yet even that despairful negation answers itself. For the vision of universal peace undoubtedly exists, and the power to conceive that vision implies the capacity to realize it. The answer therefore is, "Yes, War Can Be Prevented."

How can war be prevented? We are bound to try to find answer to that question also. The reason why it is not answered is because we turn away from it and say, "It is not practical politics." But we cannot much longer turn away from it. Either civilization must destroy war, or war will destroy civilization. Many people to-day are trying to show how war can be prevented. We have been told that the present war itself is a war to end war, that is, to prevent war; and doubtless many of the soldiers in all the armies are inspired by that high ideal, many have given their lives for it. Their belief, crudely stated, is that it is the other side that makes war, and if they can destroy the other side, there will be no more war. But, as that belief is to be found in every one of the opposing armies, and in every one of the belligerent countries, it is difficult to see how this war, or any other, can end war. To subjugate your enemy is all very well, but he is still your enemy, and you must keep him in subjugation; and that means war. You can only end war by making your enemy your friend. And you will never make him your friend by making war upon him. War will not end war. We have not heard so much of the "war to end war" theory during recent months. Rather, we have had "economic conferences." One-sided economic conferences.

There are others who are trying earnestly to show how war can be prevented. They, too, are making great sacrifices for their ideal. The conscientious objectors to war. They say the way to stop war is to stop fighting; to refuse to fight; and they act with supreme courage up to their principles. They are quite right. If there were no fighters there would be no war. The con-

scientious objectors of to-day are making apparent their idea of the ultimate prevention of war. They say, in effect, the alternative to war is peace, and they, individually, attest their belief in that alternative. Individually. "Aye!" but, say their critics, "what if your attitude were adopted nationally? By the British nation only? Are we as a nation, believing conscientiously in peace, to allow the other nations who believe unconscientiously in war, to trample us out of existence?" "Yes," reply the conscientious objectors, "let us try that way. It has never been tried. The object is to prevent war. It takes two to make a quarrel, and this would probably be found more true of nations than of individuals. There can be no war if only one side is willing to fight; the side that persisted would be guilty not of war, but of massacre, and civilization itself would be the protection from that." The conscientious objector assumes that the world has made some progress since the Age of the cave man. I am with the conscientious objector. Actually so far as he himself is concerned, he has prevented war. If he could make himself numerous enough, he would make war impossible.

Meanwhile, the conscientious objector, being in a hopeless minority everywhere, humanity, while availing itself of his propaganda and example, must look round for other means of preventing war.

A League of Peace! That is the solution towards which the eyes and hearts of peace-lovers are turning hopefully. A league of the nations of the earth, which shall agree to treat as an outlaw any nation which breaks the peace of nations. A league of nations which shall limit armaments, define national boundaries, arbitrate on causes of quarrel and enforce international amity.

All hail, the League of Peace! The long-looked-for herald of the universal brotherhood of man. Socialists of all countries will rejoice, but not too optimistically, having in mind that this League of Peace will still be a league of Capitalist Governments, and that such a combination, if unleavened by democracy, may bode ill for the workers.

Socialists have something to say on this question of the prevention of war. Socialists say that the way to prevent war is to destroy the cause of war. They believe that the cause of modern war is Capitalism. They are quite sure of this. They have no doubt about it. They appeal to modern history in proof of it. They believe that questions of nationality, of race, and of religion, would now find natural and easy settlement but for the underlying force of Capitalism.

It was not for love of the Hindoos or the Mohammedans that the French and the English fought for the overlordship of India. It was for dividends, and the English East India Company won. It was not for love of the noble red man that the French and the English fought for supremacy in North America. It was for dividends, and again John Company won. It was not out of sheer disinterested benevolence that commercially allied nations fought to keep Russia away from the Bosphorus, and bolstered up the Turkish sick man. As the years go by, the sides may change, but the impelling force remains the same. Contending vested interests are the cause of war. Wars are waged for territory, for "spheres of influence," for the control of markets. Capitalism is the cause of war. To prevent war you must destroy Capitalism. To prevent war, you must establish Socialism. You must establish it internationally. To establish it internationally you must have a league of workers as well as a league of governments. Only in this way will present enemies become future friends, and war become not only impossible, but unthinkable. Socialism says: Destroy the evil of war at its source; destroy Capitalism; and it appeals to the democracies of the world to unite for that purpose.

Liebkecht's Letters Present Position of Internationalists

German Socialist Explained to Military Court Last Spring Meaning of Cry: "Down With the Government!"—Socialists Must Fight Ruling Class of World, and Especially That At Home—Statements Smuggled Out of Germany.

While Karl Liebkecht, the most prominent and outspoken leader of the anti-Government or revolutionary Socialists of Germany, who is under sentence of imprisonment for four years and one month as the result of having taken part in an anti-war May Day demonstration in Berlin, was awaiting trial last spring, he sent two letters to the military court handling his case, in which he gave the reasons for his active opposition to the German Government and explained what the cries of "Down with the Government!" and "Down with the war!" heard at the May Day meeting were intended to mean.

It was Liebkecht's hope that these letters, which are a splendid setting-forth of the Internationalist point of view, would eventually be read in the Reichstag and thus reach the masses of the German people, but this was not the case. The letters were placed before the Parliamentary Commission which investigated Liebkecht's case, and on whose recommendation the Reichstag, by a vote of 229 to 111, refused to ask for his release, but this commission considered them so seditious that it did not include them in its report to the Reichstag, or to the Main Committee, summarizing them instead. Anticipating such a move, Liebkecht had made copies of the letters and managed to smuggle them out of prison to some of his trusted comrades, who, in turn, made more copies. Since that time three copies of the letters are known to have been sent out of Germany by the "underground route." One of these copies reached the New Yorker Volkszeitung, a Socialist Party organ in the German language another went to the Labor Leader, the official publication of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, and the third was slipped across the Swiss border for publication in the Socialist newspapers of the Alpine republic.

The two letters are given below in full, the translation having been made for the New York Times, and published on November 24:

I.

"To the Royal Military Court, Berlin:
"In the investigation of the case against me the records of my remarks need the following elucidation:

"1. The German Government, in its social and historical composition, is an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses; it serves the interests of the Junkertum, of capitalism and of imperialism, both at home and abroad.

"It is the unrestrained representative of the policy of world-wide expansion and the strongest promoter of competitive armament, and therefore of one of the most important factors in the creation of the causes of the present war.

"In partnership with the Austrian Government, it plotted to bring about this war and thus burdened itself with the principal responsibility for its immediate outbreak.

"It started the war with misleading the masses of the people and even the Reichstag (compare, among other things, the concealment of ultimatum to Belgium, the make-up of the German White Book, the elimination of the Czar's despatch of July 29, 1914, etc.), and it tries to maintain the war sentiment among the people by the use of reprehensible methods.

"It carries on the war with methods that are terrible, even when looked at from the standpoint that has prevailed up to now. The invasion of Belgium and Luxemburg; poisonous gases, which in the meantime have become of common use by all the belligerents; and then look at the Zeppelin bombs, which outdo everything and which are intended to kill all that live, combatants or non-combatants, within a wide region; submarine commerce warfare; the torpedoing of the Lusitania, etc.; the system of hostages and forced contributions, at the beginning especially in Belgium; the systematic entrapping of Ukrainian, Georgian, Baltic, Provincial, Polish, Irish, Mohammedan, and other prisoners of war in the German prison camps for the purpose of having them do treasonable war service and treasonable spying for the Central Powers—Under Secretary Zimmerman's agreement with Sir Roger Casement in December, 1914, regarding the organization, equipment, and training in the German prison camps of the 'Irish Brigade' composed of captured British soldiers; the attempts by means of threats of forcible internment to compel civilians of a hostile nationality found in Germany to do treasonable war service against their countries, and so forth. ("Necessity knows no law!")

"By proclaiming the state of siege it has enormously increased the political outlawry and the economic exploitation of the masses of the people; it refuses to enact any serious political or social reforms, while at the same time it tries to hold the mass of the people docilely in line for its imperialistic war policy by means of figures of speech about the alleged equal respect accorded to all parties, about the alleged abolition of unequal treatment in social and political matters, about the alleged 'Neuorientierung' (readjustment of political principles), and so on.

"Because of its consideration for agrarian and capitalist interests it has completely failed in its economic provisions for the people during the war, and thus smoothed the way for misery and the practice of revolting extortion upon the people.

"To-day it still clings to its war aims of conquest and so forms the main obstacle in the way of immediate peace negotiations upon the basis of renunciation of annexations and oppression of all kinds. Through its illegal maintenance of the state of siege (including the censorship, etc.), it prevents the public from learning unpleasant facts and the Socialist criticisms of its measures. Thus it reveals its system of seeming legality and 'fake' popularity to be a system of actual force, genuine hostility to the people, and bad faith toward the masses.

"The cry of 'Down with the Government!' is meant to brand this entire policy of the Government as fatal for the masses of the people.

"This cry is also meant to signify that it is the duty of every representative of the interests of the proletariat to wage the 'bitterest kind of war'—the class war—against the Government.

"2. The present war is not a war for the defence of the national integrity, nor for the liberation of oppressed peoples, nor for the benefit of the masses.

"From the standpoint of the proletariat it only signifies the most extreme concentration and intensification of the political subjugation, of the economic exploitation, and of the wholesale military butchery of the working class for the benefit of capitalism and absolutism.

"To this there can be but one answer from the working class of all nations: A harder struggle, the international class struggle, against the capitalist Governments and the ruling classes of

all nations for the wiping out of all oppression and exploitation, for the ending of the war by a peace conceived in the Socialist spirit. In this class struggle the Socialist, whose Fatherland is the International, finds included the defence of everything that he, as a Socialist, is bound to defend.

"The cry of 'Down with the War!' is meant to give voice to the fact that I thoroughly condemn and oppose the present war because of its historical nature, because of its general social causes and the particular way in which it developed, and because of the way it is being carried on and the objects for which it is being fought; and that it is the duty of every representative of the interests of the proletariat to take part in the international class struggle for the purpose of putting an end to it.

"3. As a Socialist I am a thorough-going opponent of the existing military system as well as of this war, and I have always supported with all my power the battle against militarism as being a particularly important task and a matter of life and death for the working class of all countries. (Compare my pamphlet, 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism, 1907, and the International Young People's Conferences at Stuttgart, 1907, and Copenhagen, 1910.') The war demands that we carry on the struggle against militarism with redoubled energy.

"4. Since 1889, May 1 has been dedicated to manifestations and propaganda in favor of the great basic principles of Socialism, and against every form of exploitation, oppression, and abuse; to the propaganda for the community of interests of the workers of all countries, which the war has not abolished, but has strengthened, against the workers tearing each other to pieces in fratricidal strife, for peace and against war.

"During the war this manifestation and propaganda is a duty doubly holy to every Socialist.

"5. The policy which I represent was outlined in the resolution adopted by the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in 1907, which pledged the Socialists of all countries, after having failed to prevent a war, to avail themselves of all methods to bring it to a quick end and to use the conditions created by the war to hasten the abolition of the capitalist system of society.

"This policy is meant to be international to the last degree. It lays upon the Socialists of the other belligerent nations the obligation of doing their duty against their Governments and governing classes, as I, together with others, did against the Government and ruling classes of Germany.

"This policy has an international effect, as in spreading reciprocal encouragement from nation to nation it promotes the international-class struggle against the war.

"Since the beginning of the war I, together with others, have defended and given practical proof of this policy most openly and wherever possible, and besides, so far as possible, have entered into connections with those who shared my sentiments in the other countries. (For example, my trip to Belgium and Holland in September, 1914, my Christmas letter to the London Labor Leader in 1914, the meetings in Switzerland, which I unfortunately was prevented from attending in person through force majeure, etc.)

"6. This policy is not merely mine, to which I shall hold fast no matter what it may cost, but it is also that of a steadily increasing part of the population of Germany and of the other belligerent and neutral states. As I hope, it will soon become the policy of the working class of all countries, which will then possess the power to break the imperialistic will of the ruling classes of to-day and to shape the mutual relations and conditions of the nations according to its own will and for the benefit of all mankind.

"KARL LIEBKNECHT,
"Armierungssoldat. (Private in the Working Division of the rmy.)
"Berlin, May 3, 1916."

II.

"To the Royal Military Court in Berlin:

"In connection with the criminal case against me I remark further:

"1. High treason is the veriest nonsense for an international Socialist. He knows no hostile power which he could even think of 'aiding and abetting.'

(Continued on Page Six)

THE SPICE BOX

It is still the fashion in many districts to cover the wall with texts and mottoes—"Peace be Unto This House"—"Fear God, Honor the King"—"When you spit, endeavor to miss the porridge pot," and homilies of a similar nature.

So far the practice has not been greatly developed in the workshops and the factories, but a day may come when the profit shop walls will be adorned with such mural adjurations as:—

Love Your Boss.
The Shareholders Send You Best Wishes for Continued Activity.
The Foreman Will Tell You Whom to Vote For.

A correspondent informs us that some English Capitalists are already sticking up the following notice:—

LOYALTY.

"If you work for a man, in Heaven's name work for him. If he pays you wages that supply your bread and butter, work for him; speak well of him; stand by him and stand by the institution he represents. If put to a pinch, an ounce of loyalty is worth a pound of cleverness. If you must vilify, condemn, and eternally disparage, why, resign your position and when you are outside, damn to your hearts' content. But as long as you are part of the institution, do not condemn it. If you do, you are loosening the tendrils that hold you to the institution, and the first high wind that comes along you will be uprooted and blown away in the blizzard's track, and probably you will never know why."

ALBERT HUBBARD.

LET THEM TRY IT.

Though bread and cheese are out of reach and pickles cost a quarter each,

Though spuds are high and cake and pie

Their upward course have started;
Though all the average man can make will not supply his kids with steak,

And even beans exhaust his means,
We need not be downhearted.

For dieticians tell us that potato peel and mutton fat

Cooked up with rice are very nice,
As well as most nutritious;

That any hungry man will find that scraps of water melon rind

Will satisfy a taste for pie

And prove still more delicious.

These persons show us how we may exist on twenty cents a day;

That people feed beyond all need

They say is past a question.

They say if we would just collect the scraps that other folks reject

When we prepare our daily fare 'Twould benefit digestion.

As I'm not very long on pelf I'm going to do these things myself,

I'd like to find some healthful kind Of inexpensive diet.

And then about the cost of meat and other pleasant things to eat

I need not fret, but first I'll let The dieticians try it.

—James J. Montague, in N. Y. American.

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.

No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

All contributions intended for insertion to be addressed to the address given below, and must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Subscriptions (post free)—

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Correspondence—

All correspondence should be addressed to Business Manager, or I. BAINBRIDGE, Dominion Secretary, The Forward Press, 361 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

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"The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to lower the average standard of wages."—Karl Marx.

THE PERIL OF REGISTRATION.

It has often been said that "coming events cast their shadows before them." At the time of writing, the Executive Committee of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada are in convention with Cabinet Ministers for the ostensible purpose of discussing Labor's acquiescence to the registration act.

Another event that synchronizes with this event is the report of a speech by Sir Sam Hughes at Lindsay, in which he states that "conscription is a necessity," and suggests that Quebec will not place any serious obstacle in the way.

Side by side with these evil portents we get the usual soothing balm—that registration is not intended as a preliminary to conscription. No doubt, when we have the reality in the shape of the applied Militia Act, these honest and upright gentlemen will gloat on "how they put it over" in a similar manner to the conscriptionists in Britain.

If there is any virtue in a voluntary military system, then we say without hesitation, take care lest you lose your virtue. The militarists who are behind the registration move care nothing for virtue,—or a tinker's damn for the liberty of the subject. If the virtues of constitutional liberty are to be thrown to the winds, and the lives of our people are to be thrown into the balance against the central powers without a referendum of the people, then we say we demand our price: "Let all capitalist property be immediately thrown into the melting pot"; nay, let property go first, and thus establish in principle what has hitherto been accepted in precept, "That human life is of more value than property."

With us the final analysis is this: If the state is in danger, and that, for its preservation, our people are called upon to make the supreme sacrifice, then we

demand as compensation that this country shall belong to our children—and not, as at present, to a bunch of idle profit-seekers.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

N.B.—This is No. 4 of a series of passages culled from the works of the world's greatest sociological writers. In their final form these articles will make a worth-while anthology of Social-Democracy.

Every experienced politician knows that all great political movements were fought upon large and often distant issues, and that those of them were strongest which provoked most disinterested enthusiasm. All great historical movements have had this character, and for our own generation Socialism stands in that case. "Paid agitators" is, no doubt, the favorite refrain of those who know nothing about it. The truth, however, is that—to speak only of what I know personally—if I had kept a diary for the last twenty-four years and inscribed in it all the devotion and self-sacrifice which I came across in the Socialist movement, the reader of such a diary would have had the word "heroism" constantly on his lips. But the men I would have spoken of were not heroes; they were average men inspired by a grand idea. Every Socialist newspaper—and there are hundreds of them in Europe alone—has the same history of years of sacrifice without any hope of reward, and, in the overwhelming majority of cases, even without any personal ambition. I have seen families living without knowing what would be their food to-morrow, the husband boycotted all round in his little town for his part in the paper, and the wife supporting the family by sewing, and such a condition lasting for years, until the family would retire, without a word of reproach, simply saying: "Continue: we can hold on no more!" I have seen men dying from consumption, and know it, and yet knocking about in snow and fog to prepare meetings, speaking at meetings within a few weeks from death, and only then retir-

ing to the hospital with the words: "Now, friends, I am done: the doctors say I have but a few weeks to live. Tell the comrades that I shall be happy if they come to see me." I have seen facts which would be described as "idealization" if I told them in this place; and the very names of these men, hardly known outside a narrow circle of friends, too, have passed away. In fact, I don't know which most to admire, the unbounded devotion of these few or the sum total of petty acts of devotion of the great number. Every quire of a penny paper sold, every meeting, every hundred votes which are won at a Socialist election, represent an amount of energy and sacrifice of which no outsider has the faintest idea. And what is now done by Socialists has been done in every popular and advanced party, political and religious, in the past. All past progress has been promoted by like men and by a like devotion.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

CLIP AND COMMENT

For stating on Page 5, Column 3, that the man who is unemployed fixes the rate of wages paid to the man at work, and in Column 4 of the same page, asserting that trades unions increase wages, The Industrial Banner (Toronto) certainly takes the biscuit. We do not attempt to deny that the unemployed worker does affect the wages of those already employed. This is the law of supply and demand in operation. Nor do we deny that trade unions do not raise wages sometimes. But we do state that trade organization of itself can never solve the problem of poverty as it does not strike at the root of the problem—surplus value.

The effects of the war in Poland, says the New York Times, seem to surpass in extent and horror all those inflicted upon any other territory. According to a statement made by the Honorary Executive Secretary of Polish War Victims, "the latest authentic reports from Poland are that all children under 7 years of age have ceased to exist, having died from hunger and disease." When the war broke out there was in Poland a population of 34,000,000. At the end of the second year, according to the authority just named, 14,000,000 human beings had perished from various causes in Poland. The property damage in that country due directly to the war is estimated at about \$11,000,000,000. More than 200 towns and 20,000 villages have been razed to the ground; 1,650 churches have been destroyed. As an instance of the vastness of the destruction of human life occurring in Poland, the following is given: "In Galicia, Austrian Poland, in the district of Gorliczy, where a battle raged for several months, 1,500,000 civilians caught between contending armies, have perished right there from starvation while in hiding." All these facts help to emphasize the pitiful significance that the belligerents have been unable to agree on any plan for admitting American aid to Poland.

It will be as well to caution all labor unionists and socialists that capitalists are watching their efforts more closely than they imagine. In a recent edition of the Detroit Saturday Night, the editor took up much valuable space by giving accurate information on Detroit's Labor Day parade. Whereas, it was announced that 30,000 unionists would participate in a labor day parade, and at least one union paper found 25,000 actually in line, this wideawake editor, by three separate countings could only number 8,750, including more than 300 bandsmen. "It speaks volumes," says he, "for a city claiming a population of 750,000 when industrial conditions are so satisfactory to the workers that they do not feel the need of more extensive organization." A word to the

wise is sufficient. Next time you hear of a Socialist or Labor parade get there and swell its numbers.

The money of German capitalists represents the unpaid wages of German wage slaves, but it is not any dirtier than the money wrung by the masters of Canada from the blood and sweat of Canadian men and women. The hypocrisy of the prostituted press which has fattened upon the workers' enslavement, in professing to discover a taint in the red gold of its masters, can only fill intelligent people with disgust. Here in Toronto a woman working under a militia contract receives 25c. for a dozen finished shirts. Money in itself is neither German, English, French, nor of any other nationality. It talks all languages, laughs at all flags, and is as cosmopolitan, callous and unscrupulous as the master class itself.

There is a little article that everybody uses, and yet I never see it advertised. I look over the daily and weekly press in vain to find where it can be purchased. On this they are as silent as the tomb. In vain I look at the signs on the street, or in the shop windows for it. It is sold in every village and hamlet in the land, and yet no drummer ever carries samples of it and never takes an order for it. Its price never rises, and yet it pays handsomely all who deal in it. And, strange to say, there is usually but one place in a small town that keeps it. There is always a supply of it—never too much nor too little. It is never taxed, no matter how many thousand dollars' worth are in stock. There has never been any corner or speculation in it and its price at wholesale or retail is always the same. It has never made a millionaire or a pauper. The little thing is a postage stamp, and if all articles were produced and handled in the same way, there would be neither poverty, crime nor insanity in the world. Try it.

The Morning Post argues that the Germans are willing for peace immediately and would give the Entente everything they desire, but only on one condition, namely, that Germany be allowed a free hand in Central and South America.

"We understand," the newspaper adds, "that condition has been put forward, of course discreetly and unofficially, by the German Government, and that it has been rejected by the allies. But why should it be rejected? We are selling our South American securities, and if the Americans really want peace and do not object to having Germany for a neighbor, why should Britain intervene? Any time in the last ten years we could have had an agreement with Germany by allowing her a free hand across the Atlantic. Great Britain stands between Germany and America like the counter-scarp of a fortress, and if the Americans induce us to peace before this job is finished what they will have accomplished is to destroy their best defence against Germany.—Canadian Press Despatch from London, England.

Frankness is an unusual quality to find in The Morning Post, which for years has been the mouthpiece of England's aristocracy. It is well, however, to be at last informed in so diplomatic and so frank a manner that this world-wide war is no longer a battle "for the rights of small nations," but a capitalists' war to keep a keen competitor out of a profitable world's market.

"You are to be congratulated upon the "tone" of the paper. It does not insult a workman by assuming that his head is too empty to understand things decently written."

This is from one of the hundreds of splendid letters we have received in appreciation of The Forward. Its good work and good "tone" can be kept up only by your sending in sub. after sub. Hustle all you can.

Start the new year right by subscribing for THE FORWARD.

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

Comrade Th. Stanning of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark has accepted with his party's approval a place in the ministry of Denmark as minister without portfolio.

Before the war women were employed in selling departments and as cleaners in the great Krupp's works in Germany. How the hard work in the cannon factory affects the women is shown by the report of the Sick Benefit Fund for 1915, which gives the number of cases of illness among the women workers at 76.60 per 100, compared with 62.31 per hundred among the men.

In Shawnee, Okla., where the street car men recently organized a union, an agreement was asked for to include a raise in wages. The company turned it down, but after a two weeks' strike granted better terms than were asked for in the first place.

The final figures of the Australian referendum on conscription have been received by the High Commissioner in London. They show a majority against conscription of 61,000.

"Parents have no more right to keep back their girls from the factory than their boys from the ranks. The moral advantage of service far outweighs the moral danger of changed conditions. But, above all, you will escape the moments which come to any self-respecting girl or woman when she asks herself whether it is right or fair or decent that she should be having a good time while our men are facing and suffering what we hear of—and much, too, that we do not hear. It is no small comfort in these days to feel yourself clear of the disgrace of leisure."

"The disgrace of leisure!" For any able-bodied Canadian, whether man or woman, a life of leisure, at such a time as this, is a life disgraced.

SOCIALISTS GET TOGETHER?

French Wing of the Body Favor Resumption of Relations.

Canadian Press Despatch.
Paris, Dec. 18.—The Socialist Federation of the Paris district has passed a resolution, almost unanimously, giving favorable consideration to the possible resumption of international Socialist relations.

The resolution emphasizes the possibility of these relations with special reference to peace negotiations on the clear proposals of an exactly defined basis to be submitted by Germany and her allies.

"BUTTERNUT'S" PLAYFUL COMMENT.

Editor Citizen:—Will you permit me publicly to thank the members of the City Council for their very commendable action at Monday's Council meeting re "Oleomargarine"?

If Mayor Porter succeeds in bringing us through the year with "a surplus" in the civic treasury, and a prospect of oleomargarine on our tables, he deserves to be re-elected for life, I think.

I was so pleased when I read the good news that I composed a song—words and music—in commemoration of the event:

The chorus runs:—
"O Margarine, cheap Margarine,
Delicious, oily Margarine;
I hail thee as my household queen,
O Margarine, cheap Margarine.
I long for thee, I sigh for thee,
My children even cry for thee;
My wife has got her eye on thee,
O Margarine, cheap Margarine."
It is written in the key of M, with

a sub-harmony in the key of B flat, indicating the passing of butter.

In this connection—now that the prices of cereals are reaching such an altitude—would it not be possible, I wonder, to utilize the millions of tons of sawdust lying at the bottom of the Ottawa River as a sort of "filler" in the preparation of our modern "break-fast foods?"

Like oleomargarine, I have no doubt it could be made "chemically pure," and it would surely be "cheap." With plenty of "cheap" substitutes for our staple articles of diet; the extension of the franchise to women; the taxation of land values, etc., etc., Canada should soon prove an ideal place to live in, I fancy. Incidentally, Mr. Editor, do you not think the Citizen owes Canadian wage earners an apology for helping to foist this abomination upon them?—John Lyons, _____ Ave., Ottawa.

STATE MONOPOLY OF PICTURE SHOWS.

A London correspondent of the "Scotsman" learns that Russia contemplates the establishment of a State monopoly in cinematograph theatres. Apart from educational profit, it is hoped by this means to secure educational benefits. In Russia, as elsewhere, the sensational film is alleged to have made the picture-house a school of crime. It is understood that M. Sturmer, the President of the Council, has submitted the scheme to the Czar, who is believed to favor it, and a well known Russian impresario is mentioned as likely to be charged with its supervision.

TAKE OVER ELEVATORS, MILLS, ABATTOIRS, ETC.

Niagara Falls Council Calls for Government Control of Food Supply.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)
Niagara Falls, Ont., Dec. 5.—At the regular meeting of the City Council last night Ald. Lovatt moved, Ald. Gay seconding, "that in view of the fast-approaching crisis caused by the rapid and constant increase in the prices of the necessities of life, and in view of the recent action of the British Government to control the food supply of Great Britain, and also in view of the unparalleled spirit of patriotism displayed by the Canadian people, the City Council of Niagara Falls, Ont., hereby calls upon the Government to take over and control all grain elevators, flour mills, abattoirs, cold-storage plants, warehouses, and other food distributing agencies, in order to relieve the farmer and the consumer from the unpatriotic extortions of the middleman and the food speculator."

The resolution passed without any opposition.

THE STATE AN EXPLOITER.

The modern State, no matter what its form is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the making over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

Under the agreement recently secured by the anthracite miners from the operators they will receive an increase in wages that will amount approximately to nine million dollars during the next

(Continued on Page Seven)

LIEBKNECHT'S LETTERS

(Continued from Page Four)

He is just as revolutionarily disposed toward every foreign capitalist Government as he is against his own. Not to aid and abet an enemy power but to damage all imperialistic powers at the same time in international co-operation with the Socialists of the other countries' is the quintessence of his endeavors.

"He fights in the name of the international proletariat against international capitalism. He attacks it where he finds it and can effectively strike it; that is in his own country. In his own country, in the name of the international proletariat, he fights his own Government and his own ruling classes as the representatives of international capitalism.

"In this logical manner, through the national class struggle against war, the international class struggle against war becomes a reality.

"This is the sense of the words of Jaures that were chosen as the motto of my pamphlet, 'The Class Struggle Against the War,' which appeared at the end of March, 1915.

"2. If the German Socialists, for instance were to fight the English Government, and the English Socialists, for instance, were to fight the German Government, this would be a farce, or worse. He who fails to attack the enemy, imperialism, in its representatives with whom he stands face to face, but attacks it in the persons of those who are far away from him, and does so with the approbation and assistance of his own Government (that is, of the only representatives of imperialism that are directly before him), is no Socialist, but a wretched tool of the ruling classes. Such a policy is the promotion of war. It is not the class struggle, but its very opposite.

"Certainly, the international Socialist, and he alone, because he is carrying on the class struggle against his own Government, has the right also to attack the foreign Government. But in all countries, including Germany, there is sufficient energy, unscrupulousness, and demagoguery for that purpose, so the Socialist must devote his entire strength to the attack upon his own Government, so as at least to minimize the worst of the confusion.

"Therefore, I am not concerned here with the sins of others, but with those of the German Government; indeed, it is my duty to try to protect the foreign Governments against unjust charges, because lies should never be spared, and because to-day such lies serve better than ever the reprehensible purpose of inciting the nations against one another and of stirring up the war-hatreds.

"Wherever the occasion was offered I attacked the foreign Governments face to face in their own lands and in Germany when I thought it would be a success abroad in a Socialist sense or at the same time was attacking the German Government face to face by so doing. I shall never do it when I would thus be aiding and abetting the incitation to war.

"Because of my fight against Czarism and the Czar-like policy of the German Government, I was hounded for years by the German authorities. Because of that just before the outbreak of the war, and contrary to all parliamentary traditions, I was handed over to the court of honor of the Bar Association by a Prussian Chamber of Deputies that was filled with hatred and indignation; during the war, in November, 1914, the proceedings against me were closed with a verdict of guilty. I shall hand over the material which will show how I regard attacks upon enemy Governments in the present circumstances.

"3. It is inherent in the very nature of the conscious international struggle for the Socialist to look upon the co-operation of the Socialists in all countries as a whole, for him consciously to do his part in his own land in this division of labor for a common purpose, for him consciously to recognize his struggle and that of the Socialists in the other countries as functions that mutually complement each other, and thus he also consciously takes up the struggle against the governments.

"To emphasize this international point of view against the enemy in his own land might appear as a motive for excuse, for uncertainty, for irresolution—and thus weaken the class struggle. If this point of view must be expressed it should only be for the purpose of making propaganda among those who are to be won for the international Socialist policy against the war and in order to make those who are promoting this policy understand what they are doing.

"In such a sense and in such a manner the social revolution of the working class meets capitalism's war.

"KARL LIEBKNECHT."

EXAMPLE IS BETTER THAN PRETEXT

Mrs. Douglas McKnight (Bessie Hawley) will receive for the first time since her marriage, with Mrs. J. H. McKnight, at 244-Russell Hill Road, on Friday, Dec. 8th.

Mrs. Gordon Webb (formerly Miss Marion Dickinson) held her first reception since her marriage at the home of her mother, on Pine Crest Road, on Thursday afternoon, when she was looking very pretty in a shepherdess gown of coral brocaded silk, draped over a petticoat of cream colored Georgette crepe, and carried a lovely bouquet of white pom-poms and sweet-heart roses, tied with a bow of white satin. Mrs. Arthur Webb, who was also receiving, wore a charming dress of navy blue taffeta, with blouse of hand-painted marquisette. Mrs. Warren Chambers, the bride's aunt (who came over from Buffalo), was in black satin, with exquisite bead trimming. The drawing-room and hall were decorated with yellow and bronze 'mums, arranged in pretty baskets. The tea table was centred with Venetian lace and a cut glass bowl of pink roses and ferns. Mrs. W. H. Williams assisted in the drawing-room, and Mrs. James Knox poured tea, assisted by the Misses Margaret McCallum, Rita Harrington, and Dorothy Nicholson.

The auxiliary of the Women's College Hospital held a very successful tea and musicale yesterday afternoon at the beautiful house of Mrs. R. W. Eaton in Farnham Avenue. Mrs. Eaton received the numerous guests, looking very handsome in black satin gown, the corsage of black Georgette crepe over pale yellow satin, with necklace of pearls and diamonds. The artists contributing to the program were: Miss Vera Allen, Miss Kathleen Wallis, Miss Nas Gunn, Miss Mann, Miss Constance Buck, Miss Mildred Marsh, danced in the large hall at the end of the program. Tea was served in the dining-room, the table arranged with Cluny lace and a large cut glass basket of russet chrysanthemums, Mrs. Rutherford and Mrs. Bishop pouring out the tea, assisted by Mrs. David Nasmith, Miss Dorothy Reid, Miss Helen Blackford, Miss Helen Levisconte.

We presume that this is their practical method of practicing the much-talked-of virtuous economy. Could Capitalist hypocrisy be better exemplified?

...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS...

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Meets at Mrs. A. Martin's, 10525
98th Street, Edmonton, Alta.

WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING

Bright Clippings from Wide-a-woke Contemporaries

Winnipeg, Dec. 6.—The combined farmers' organizations of all Canada, representing sixty thousand affiliated farmers, known as the Council of Agriculture, have formed a political platform for the purpose of bringing about economic, political and social reforms. The platform was formulated in Winnipeg last week and announced to-day.

The reforms aimed at include the amendment of the tariff laws by reducing the duty on goods imported from Great Britain to half the rates charged under the general tariff, and further reductions in the remaining tariff such as will insure complete free trade between Great Britain and Canada within five years.

It also urges that the reciprocity agreement with the United States be accepted by the Parliament of Canada, and that all foodstuffs not included in the reciprocity agreement of 1911 be placed on the free list, that agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, fertilizer, coal, lumber, cement, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils be placed on the free list.

The farmers ask that the customs tariff on all the necessities of life be materially reduced, and that all tariff concessions granted to other countries be extended to Great Britain.

Direct Taxation Proposed.

For the purpose of raising an additional revenue to make up for the reduction caused by the proposed tariff reforms, direct taxation on certain things is proposed. These include a tax on unimproved land values, on all incomes over \$4,000 and inheritance on large estates, and a tax on the profits over ten per cent. of corporations.

The farmers' representatives believe in the nationalization of all railways and express companies; that natural resources be let out only on short-term leases by public auction; the publicity of all political campaign funds, contributions and expenditures before or after elections; abolition of the patronage system; Federal franchise to women; full provincial autonomy in liquor legislation, including manufacture, export and import; and direct legislation, including initiative, referendum and the right of recall.

The political outlook as far as Labor is concerned in Manitoba is distinctly encouraging. During the last half-dozen years the number of working class representatives in the municipalities adjoining Winnipeg has steadily increased, while Dick Rigg has broken into the Legislature, and the Labor forces politically are ever becoming more aggressive. The present situation is thus sized up by the Voice, Winnipeg's live labor paper, and will no doubt be interesting to Forward readers.

"A most marked awakening of the Labor forces of Winnipeg and district is the feature of the annual municipal elections. The Central Labor Representation Committee has even had its difficulties in the direction of restraining local branches from taking too much on their hands, and the Social Democrats have been in the same predicament. A good deal of this enthusiasm is due to the very efficient manner in which Labor men on the various Municipal Councils during the past three or four years have performed their duties and forwarded the Labor platform and principles. In the municipalities adjoining Winnipeg five Labor representatives were given acclamation when their names were again placed in nomination last Tuesday. In the city itself no acclamations were given as neither of the sitting aldermen have to seek election this year. There are Labor or Social Democratic candidates in six wards and one for the Board of Control. These men have all been selected very carefully by committees of electors in the

divisions for which they are running. It is tribute to the trades union movement that after the nominations were all made and had been endorsed by the central body it was found that each and every candidate was the holder of a current trade union membership card and that they have without exception been active workers in the organized movement.

"This, then, is the time for a great rally of the Labor forces. Work to secure the election of these men, and do it now."

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT.

The people of Australia are bearing their part in the European war. They are shipping a lot of wheat to England. They are sending away thousands of their wage earners to the trenches of Europe. But prices of bread in Australia are somewhere around forty per cent. below what we in America are paying.

When the Australian food gamblers decided to corner all the grain in the Commonwealth, instead of letting them do it, as we in liberty-loving America do, the Australian Parliament stepped in and seized the entire stock of grain. The Australian Parliament said that no producer or grain should sell his grain to any food speculator, and both farmer and speculator would be liable to punishment under military law if they took part in any such transaction.

The result was that the capitalist food speculators went out of business, the Government paid the farmer a better price than he ever got for his wheat, and the Australian people are getting bread 40 per cent. cheaper than we in Canada are getting it.

The people of Australia are not scared by the word socialistic. They like cheap and good bread.

Toronto parents are not to be asked at the polls whether they want compulsory military drill for boys from the third class up—at least, if the School Management Committee's decision is not reversed.

Almost without debate the committee turned down Trustee Dr. Hunter's motion to take a referendum on Jan. 1 on the question. There was no fight over it. The drill advocates had a big majority.

The repeal of the law against the sale of skimmed milk in New York City is suggested by a city health official as a way to reduce the price of this commodity.

We can outdo this scientific gentleman by suggesting the sale of water whitened by some cheap means. If we are going to cheat our stomachs to tickle our pocketbooks let us do the job thoroughly.

HUGE SHIPPING PLUNDER.

What may probably be regarded (says the Times) as the individual shipping investment which has yielded the largest profit during the war has just come to the knowledge of the London market.

A few years ago a British steamer which had stranded on the South American coast was sold, as she lay, to

Sub Hustlers, and Local Secretaries, are requested to forward at once all monies collected on sale of Subs.

neutrals for £1,500 (\$7,500). The purchasers had her refloated and repaired, and employed her in trade. She has now been resold for £320,000 (\$8,000,000), being 200 times the price paid for her as a wreck. This yield takes no account of the cost of salving and repairing her, but presumably these expenses would have been very amply covered by her earnings since she was salved, including two years of extremely high freights. The present price merely represents the current value of tonnage.

WHY NOT CONSCRIPT THESE?

Start in on Munition Plants and Other Industries Run for Profit.

"Government contracts are very profitable, so munition makers promote war scares to keep their plants busy. The munition makers provide the hill-men of India, and other tribes with the modern munitions with which to keep up border raids which cost England millions, and the chronic revolutionists of Spanish America contribute immense sums to this world trust. The threat of the armor plate makers, to increase the price of their product by over \$200 a ton if the Government goes into the business, would be treated as treason if it came from organized labor. Only since commercialism became identified with war has it been demanded that human beings should give their all, while property should not only be free from requisition, but enjoy colossal benefits as well."—Frederic C. Howe, in Pearson's Magazine.

LEADING LIBERAL PAPER ON PEACE TERMS.

Is It a Hint?

The sky begins to clear somewhat. M. Renaudel, in L'Humanite (Oct. 16, 1916) has urged the French Government to declare what would be its conditions of peace.

Herr Harden in Germany has demanded the settlement of the war by arbitration (see Times Nov. 6, 1916).

The German Chancellor has replied to Lord Grey and has agreed to the League to Enforce Peace proposal.

And the Manchester Guardian, the leading Liberal organ in Britain, has begun tentatively and hesitatingly, it is true, but nevertheless has begun to suggest the cessation of the carnage in Europe by a negotiated peace. Here is the Guardian (Nov. 11, 1916):

The great question for us and for the world is whether anything can as yet be made of the desire, amounting to a yearning, for peace which German utterances indicate. Clearly as long as Germany seeks to play off one ally against another or to dispose of the territory of any member of the alliance according to her will and pleasure no progress can be made. If, on the other hand, the allies' terms were known and were moderate as regards Germany itself, it is possible that a spontaneous popular movement in that country would force the Government's hand, not without some tacit sympathy on the part of the Chancellor. It is not to be supposed that Germany entertains the same view of what is due to her allies as do the nations of the entente. It is not in accordance with her traditions or her principles to do so, and she is so completely the head of her alliance that she has only to say to Austrian, Bulgarian, or Turk "Go" and he goeth, or "Cede" and he will cede. On our side it is different. The allies of the entente will act together in full confidence and accord in the making of peace as in the making of war, and for this reason it is not possible, as some lovers of peace have too hastily assumed, for our Government to speak for all except after consultation with all. But it is open to the allied Governments to utilize the coming winter in taking further counsel with one another, and to re-

view the situation in the light of that which is perhaps the greatest change which the summer has brought—decisive evidence of a chastened spirit and a saner outlook among the German people.

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

(Continued from Page Six)

four years and still there are people who want to know if unionism pays.

The ladle or spoon is a device for carrying soup from the plate to the mouth. If there is a leak in the spoon, some or much of the soup will drop out—a loss that occurs between the hand of the soup-maker and the mouth of the soup-eater. "There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

Economy is sometimes—not always—a virtue. An economist once discovered that a leaking spoon would do him service if he slipped in his own soup dish between the soup-maker and the soup-eater and caught the leaking soup. In such way the wise economist could get soup without the trouble of making it.

"I never learned how to get rich, until I learned how to make other men work for me."—Andrew Carnegie, steel magnate, owner of mineral lands, etc., etc.

"Geel but that's dead easy," says the public utilities man; and he drills another hole in the soup-spoon, gets a "lot" of soup for nothing, thins it down with water, feeds it to the soup-eaters at so much per mile for transportation, requires his patrons to pay 5 per cent. interest on his "First Mortgage Railroad Investment Bonds," and insistently demands interest on the all water common stock that he has added to the transportation soup that the common soup-eaters may pay for and consume.

"Charge all the traffic will bear. Damn The Public!"—Vanderbilt, Public (?) Utilities Servant, and Railroad Magnate.

IT TAKES STRENGTH.

It takes great strength to train
To modern service, your ancestral brain,
To lift the weight of the unnumbered years
Of dead men's habits, methods and ideas.
To hold that back with one hand, and support
With the other the weak steps of a new thought
It takes great strength to live your life
Up square with your accepted thought,
And hold it there.

Resisting that inertia that drags back,
From new attempts to the old habit's track.

It's so easy to slip back—to sink—
So hard to live abreast of what you think.

It takes great strength to live where you belong

When other people think that you are wrong,

People you love, and who love you, and whose

Approval is a pleasure you would choose.

To bear this bravely and succeed at length

In living your belief—well, IT TAKES STRENGTH.

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

This paper is mailed only to actually-paid subscribers. One year, \$1; Clubs of 6 for \$5.

PLATFORM

Social-Democratic Party of Canada

We, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of, the International Socialist Movement.

By virtue of the ownership of the means of production and distribution (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) all wealth the workers produce, accrues into the hands of the capitalist class. This property the capitalist defends by means of the state (the army, the navy, the judiciary.)

The object of the Social-Democratic Party is to educate the workers of Canada to a consciousness of their class position in society, their economic servitude to the owners of capital, and to organize them into a political party to seize the reins of government and transform all capitalist property into the collective property of the working class. This social transformation means the liberation not only of the proletariat, but of the whole human race. Only the working class, however, can bring it about. All other classes maintain their existence by supporting the present social order.

The struggle of the working class against Capitalist exploitation produces a constant state of warfare between these two forces for the control of political and economic power.

As a means of preparing the minds of the working class for the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada will support any measure that will tend to better conditions under capitalism, such as:

- (1) Reduction of hours of labor.
- (2) The elimination of child labor.
- (3) Universal adult suffrage without distinction of sex or regard to property qualifications; and
- (4) The Initiative, Referendum, and right of Recall.

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- Socialism and War, (Boudin) \$1.00
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- Justice in War-Time (Hon. Bertrand Russell) . . . 45c.
- The Social Evil and the Remedy (J. H. Greer, M.D.) 10c.
- Where You Get Off (J. M. Work) 10c.

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SECRETARIAL NOTES

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Comrade A. Ackerley has quit his post as manager of the printing plant, this resulting in a certain amount of disorganization at headquarters.

The Dominion Executive are negotiating for the sale of the printing plant, and I hope to be in a position by the time the next issue appears to report success. This will not affect the appearance of the paper.

In the absence of executive and local reports, I merely wish to present the following notes:—

Note 1.—All executive secretaries are requested to have their reports at this office the first week in the New Year.

Note 2.—All subscribers who do not receive their copy regularly every two weeks are requested to communicate at once.

I take the opportunity of extending to all comrades my best wishes for the year 1917, and trust that you will make it the most enlightening and encouraging that we have ever experienced. Let the watchword be "Forward!" to Labor and to victory.

I. BAINBRIDGE,
Secretary.

GENERAL NEWS

Looking over the speeches delivered on the "Naval Aid Bill" in the Dominion House of Commons, May 15, 1913, I find a remarkable forecast made by Mr. W. A. Charlton, M.P., for Norfolk County, Ontario, which is as follows:—

"Unless these immense armies and navies are abolished except in so far as they are necessary for public service or possibly coast defence, one or two things will happen in the near future. The crushing debts of the nation will cause bankruptcy and disaster and panic such as the world has never seen or a great war, on account of its horrors and expense, will impoverish the nations."

MAKING SHELLS AND DIVIDENDS

In a Sunday School paper circulated in Ontario a writer speaks of the prevailing munition industry. He writes of a great steel industry whose stocks are listed in all our leading exchanges. Business was dull. There was fear that the great steel plant would have to close its doors and turn adrift 1,200 men. Then the Great War broke out, and has brought that community such prosperity as it has never known before. The writer takes all this for granted. The company now employs 6,000 men his only regret being that the plants work Sundays making little presents for the German (workingman).

Uniformity In Correspondence

Party Organization is greatly facilitated by uniformity in the make-up of letter-heads, etc. Local Secretaries are urged to place their next printing order with the Party's own Press. They can thus adopt the standard Party letter-head and keep their own press busy—at a saving to all.

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The above remark again shows that in so far as the supplying of what is necessary for man's wants is concerned the present capitalist is a failure, and inefficient.

It required the event of a great war to bring unparalleled prosperity or as a Montreal banker more cautiously expressed it, "war-time activity."

This company and many others could not employ men because they could not make profits and pay dividends. No consideration, not even the appeal of patriotism, would get them to run their plants. Sir Sam Hughes has made that plain. The Canadian manufacturers, he said, would not touch the munition contracts because they thought there was not anything in them. As soon as they found out that they were highly profitable they pestered the life out of him for contracts.

The Socialist says that the workers should own the steel plants, flour mills, machine shops, food factories, and a shut-down would only come when all producing members of the community had been supplied, along with their dependents, with such necessities and luxuries as they desired, and were willing or able to produce.

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