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TORONTO, CANADA

April 24, 1917

# Forward" Editor Charged With Sedition-

Attack Upon the Liberty of the Press

By J. McArthur Conner.

On Wednesday morning, April 18, the offices of the Canadian Forward were visited by Detective Mitchell of the Toronto Police Force with the result that the following morning our Dominion Secretary, Mr Isaac Bainbridge, was summoned to appear at the Police Court to answer to a charge of sedition.

The charge is based on the printing of the Defence Speech of Mr. Fenner Brockway, which appeared in the "Labour Leader" Thursday, December 14, 1916, and sold throughout the United Kingdom. The case was widely commented upon in the British Press. The Christian Commonwealth, in its issue, of December 13, 1916, said:-

"Mr. Fenner Brockway has been sentenced to 112 days' hard labor for refusing to obey a military order. . In his defence, Mr. Brockway stated that he could have obtained exemption from all military service by undertaking work of national importance, but, beving "all war to be wrong," he refused to bargain with the military authorities. We sympathize with Mr. Brockway's idealism, we admire his courage and consistency; it is painful to think of him undergoing hard labor in prison. . . At the same time the fidelity to conviction and witness for what they believe to be the truth and

way cannot fail of their effect." Such is the opinion of one of the leading Christian papers in England, which is an ardent supporter of the War regarding the trial

right of fine spirits like Mr. Brock-

### A Reproduction and A News Item.

Towards the end of December the Labor Leader appeared in the Church Street Library and the defence could be read by all who visited the library. As Mr. Brockway is well known among the English-speaking Socialists throughout the world, the editor reproduced the article in the Canadian Forward, January 27, 1917, and the demand for the issue was greater than anticipated, with the result the issue sold out. In order to meet the demand 5,000 leaflets were printed of the defence. Hence the trial of the Dominion Secretary.

This then is a case where the authorities in the United Kingdom did not think that any harm was done by publishing the defence in the Labor Leader, yet here we have the authorities trying to curtail in Toronto the liberties of speech and press. Surely the authorities have forgotten the liberties allowed our forefathers in the Toronto press. For on December 30, 1837, in the Toronto Daily Mirror, we find an . article under the signature of William Lyon Mackenzie, which reads as fol-

"They have bestowed millions of our lands on a company of Europeans for nominal consideration and left them to fleece and impoverish our country-they have spurned our petitions, involved us

in wars, excited feelings of national and ner and hasten the dawn of Human sectional animosity in counties, town-



SAAC BAINBRIDGE, Lain

ships and neighborhoods, and ruled as Ireland has been ruled, to the advantage of persons in other lands and to the prostration of our energies and people." Mackenzie was allowed to write that, yet seventy-nine years later Mr Bainbridge is charged with sedition for reproducing the defence of Mr. Brockway which happened in the British press. Surely we must be losing in Canada the freedom of the press

A defence Fund has been opened, and we appeal to the readers of the Canadian Forward for financial assistance to carry this case through and preserve for this country the liberty of the press, which is one of the foundations on which British Democracy rests.

### Where We Stand

In the meantime the policy of the paper will continue to be the same which is based on the resolution on war. adopted unanimously at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, 1907, and reaffirmed unanimously at the Congress of Amterdam, 1910, and at the Special Peace Congress, held at Basle, 1913, which is as follows:-

If war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working class in the countries concerned and of their Parfiamentary representatives, with the help of the International Bureau, as a means of co-ordinating their action, to use every effort to prevent war by all means that seems to them most appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class struggle and the general political situation.

Should war none the less break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis to rouse the populace from its slumbers and hasten the fall of capitalist dominion."

Let us rally under the Socialist Ban-

Brotherhood.

### Taken From Press Reports.

Magistrate Colonel Denison commited Isaac Bainbridge to trial on a charge of issuing seditious literature. Bainbridge, who is editor of the Canadian Forward, official organ of the Social Democratic Party in Canada, and secretary of the party, pleaded not guilty to the charge. It is charged that he is responsible for the appearance and circulation of a pamphlet setting forth the defence speech of one Fenner Brockway, an English Labor man and editor of the Labor Leader, the British Socialist paper, courtmartialled at Chester Castle and sentenced to serve two months for refusing to obey a military order. Five thousand copies of this pamphlet were printed and put into circulation, according to the evidence of the police. The defence criticized English Tribunals, claiming that they did not administer the law and called war "murder," qualifying this, however, by stating that every soldier was not a murderer The British Government was not alone responsible for the war, and he condemned Great Britain's alliance with Bussia.

In spector of Detectives Kennedy was the only witness called. He said the circular had been sent to his office and that he had deputed Detective Mitchell to call on Bainbridge, who admitted he authorized the circulation of the pam-

"I asked him," added the inspetcor, "if these were his views, but he would neither deny nor confirm them."

The magistrate carefully read the pamphlet.

"This is certainly against the interests of the country, and its circulation is calculated to do harm," announced His Worship.

"Pooh!" exclaimed Mr. O'Donoghue, laughingly, "You could read as bad as that in Jack Canuck or the Catholic Register."

"Why don't you include the Orange Sentinel?" asked Crown Attorney Cor-

"I think this man should be sent to a Reception Hospital for a month," -. You came like one out of the night said Magistrate Denison, committing Bainbridge for trial.

"I don't agree with all that published, but I think people should be allowed to express their views, even if they are opposed to the Government," said Mr. O'Donoghue.

Mr. Bainbridge was represented by Mr. O'Donoghue, solicitor for the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, and elected to be tried by jury. Bail was allowed on one surety of \$1,000. The accused is well known among the Trade Unionists of Toronto, being a former officer of the International Union of Stonecutters. He has been a candidate at municipal elections.

HAIL! "RUSSIAN REVOLT"! Eugene Debs.

Out of Russia, the land of despotism and dungeons, of exile and death, to political agitators flashes the red flame of revolution in the night of Capitalism's war.

Democracy has seized the throne where yesterday sat the spawn of Ivan the Terrible.

The chains of Russian autocracy have snapped, and the people are free to govern themselves.

What they will immediately do with this freedom, what the significance and goal of the revolution, we do not as yet know. Much is doubtless hidden in the capitalist press reports. The outside world will probably be in the dark until the war is over.

But this we do know: that Socialists, and revolters against social injustice, representing the most radical elements in Russia-rebels who for years have risked the wrath of Czardom by their love for humanity-led the revolution; we know that a proclamation has been issued that decrees "an immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses; liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions, and trikes; abolition of all social, religious and national restrictions, . . . communal election to be based on universal

The press despatches further tell us that the Socialists are rapidly forming themselves into a political party. We know that Paul Miliukoff, who, when visiting this country a few years ago, was denied an audience by Theodore Roosevelt, then President, because he was a revolutionist and an "undesirable citizen" of Russia, has been made Foreign Minister of the new Russian Government; we know that the exiled Socialists and political offenders are home by this time from the hell of Siberia; that, according to press despatches, the glorious "grandmother of the Russian revolution," Catherine Breshkovskaya, 43 years in prison or exile, arrived in Petrograd, from the Siberain tomb to which Czardom had driven her, on Mar. 23; and that to-day the Red Flag of Universal Brotherhood floats over the Winter Palace of the Czars; and knowing these things, and with eyes looking forward fearlessly and hopefully to the triumphant International Revolution of the Workers, we can lift our voices in fraternal greetings, over continents and seas, with "All hail the Russian Revolt! Long live the Social Revolution!-Social Revolution.

### SOCIALISM.

To fill this earth with gladness and light;

You've opened a heaven before our eyes Wherewith to see through the centuries The reign of justice and the rule of

I have listened to the call of thy sweet

And the vibration of it has fired my

Onward, onward, to thy destined goal, For you are the hope of the world, The redeemer of all mankind.

SAMUEL BLAUNER. North West Side Y.P.S.L. Chicago, Ill.

### **CLIP AND COMMENT**

We take this opportunity of presenting to our readers the resolution presented to the Board of Education, Toronto, by the Educational Forum of the Social-Democratic Party. Also the "bull" criticism of that august assembly upon the question under consideration. We also append our reply to same, which the paid press refused to publish. And a little comment of our own to fill in.

#### Resolution.

363 Spadina Ave., March 20, 1917.

Board of Education, City Hall, Toronto:

Dear Sirs,—I am instructed to forward you the substance of a resolution passed at the Social Democratice forum meeting, held in the Musicians' Temple, University Avenue, Toronto, on March 11, 1917.

Resolved, that this public meeting call the attention of the Board of Education to the lack of facilities in the education of our foreign fellow-workers. And that, whereas no provision has been made to educate our immigrant foreign population on the history, language and traditions of our country effecting detrimentally the life of these new inhabitants. And, further, that illiteracy having exceeding baneful effects on the character of these people, often causing misdeameanor of the legal statutes because of lack of knowledge on the before-mentioned subjects, and that the Board of Education consider the advisability of opening up schools for this purpose; and that teachers be selected with a knowledge of the different languages in order that a common knowledge may hasten the unification of the different races in this city and country, on those things that are essential to their social welfare And would suggest, that an investigation be initiated by your board in order to find out how best to meet this great educational

Thanking you in advance for your consideration and action.

Yours sincerely,
J. BAINBRIDGE,
Secretary.

### Telegram's Report of Adverse Criticism, April 12, 1917.

"Bah! They want to get one of their men in here to teach," declared Trustee Noble.

'We have our day schools and our night schools, that is surely enough to accommodate all those wishing to learn,'' commented Trustee Steele.

Trustee Dr. Brown—"Insist on teaching English, and English teachers to teach it. It can be done, even if the teacher doesn't understand the language of the student, he can teach him by object lessons."

Trustee Noble—"Certainly, that's the way our babies learn to talk. They don't know the English language beforehand, but they pick it up mighty quick."

"I think we are doing all that can be done as it is," agreed Chairman Hopkins, "but we might write and ask them for more particulars as to their propostion." The rest of the committee, however, preferred not to bother with the matter at all, so the question was dropped.

### Reply Sent to the Evening Telegram Which They Refused to Print.

April 13, 1917.

Editor of Telegram, Toronto.

Dear Sir,—
I note in your issue of April 12, 1917, a report of the attitude taken by the Board of Trustees, arising out of our resolution of March 20th (re Education of our foreign people).

Permit me to reply briefly to the criticism (if criticism it can be called) that was levelled at the suggestons con-

tained in the said resolution. Trustee Noble seems to have fallen into the error so common to politician's (of misconstruing the intent of such resolutions). In your report, Trustee Noble's statement, "Bah! they just want one of their men in here to teach," is a reflection upon his intelligence-and a censure upon the sincerity of our motives. I would be very much obliged to Trustee Noble if he will point out when the Social-Democratic Party has lowered itself by supporting the patronage system or exerted any influence for the purpose of securing jobs for its members. It is admitted by all intelligent people, "that the problem of assimilating the foreign elements as a part of the Canadian nation is very complex."

We presented this resolution for the purpose of bringing this important matter to the attention of the board, in the hope that something might be done to meet the great need, as aproximaely 75 per cent. of the people referred to cannot read or write in English, and a large percentage do not possess even an elementary education in their own language. We fail to see how a resolution to refer this matter to their consideration can affect the appointment of teachers, and with the Harry Lee case fresh in one's memory, we are not so foolish as to imagine that a Socialis. would have a ghost of a chance at the job, anyway.

That Trustee Noble should fall to the level of ox-language in order to shelve a very important question is not very complimentary to those who elected him to attend to the educational needs of the community. Pooh, "Bah" Noble!

If the Board has already provided such opportunities for the education of our foreign-speaking people, it is evident there is something lacking, as we have frequently-been approached with the request to provide such teochers by the people desiring this education.

The insistence of Trustee Brown to teach English with English teachers i partially beside the question at issue, our main suggestion was: (1) To teach English to the foreign-speaking people; (2) That the teachers should understand the native language of the student. We do not say the latter cannot be done, but it could be done more effectively if the teacher understood the native language of the student." If the trustees are doing all that can be done, as stated by Trustee Hopkins—there's an end to it, but the problem remains

So far as the present administration is concerned, the features we complained of will apparently receive no consideration, and the lives of these people will continue to be sacrificed needlessly in following their daily avocations—which sacrifices can in many cases be attributed to illiteracy.

Yours for education.

I. BAINBIDGE,
Secretary Social-Democratic Party.

This same Trustee Noble has again been in the limelight. This time he is advocating sending the children out to the farms in order to facilitate production. This is quite in harmony with Trustee Noble's language, and it would probably be more in harmony with his educational abilities if he was put to mucking out the pig-pen; rather than fostering the kind of mal-education he is so insistent upon. Sample: History.

1. How much French territory is at present controlled by the Germans?
2. Who are the commanders in chief of the French, British and German arm-

3. What is a torpedo-boat destroyer? The piffling Telegram, April 20, 1917, reports this gentleman as stating: That 75 per cent. of the pupils never reach high school, and less than one per cent. ever pass the high-school examinations; therefor, "Back to the land."

Is it any wonder with the subjects taught that the mentality of the pupils

is so low? The admitted ignorance of the pupil is the exact compliment that that should be paid to the "Pooh-Bah-Nobles" of our educational administration We proceed at once to pay our compliments to Trustee Noble and those other Noble-ties who think like him, in the following Burnsian satire dedicated to "Brown and Boyd":

"There's Parson Brown and Parson Boyd,

A sense and larning, they are void; They're like the Bulls amang the kie, They say 'Bah' as we go by.''

Mr. L. Trotzky and several other Russian Comrades have been arrested at Halifax and interned with enemy subjects. It appears from press despatches that these comrades were intercepted on their way from the United States to Russia by the Canadian authorities. It has been stated that the reason for their detention was due to the fact that they were opposed to the War. In view of the amnesty granted by the new Russian administration to Political prisoners, it would be interesting to know why these men have been deprived of the Liberty we are supposed to be waging war for. The Minister of Justice is being interrogated upon this question.

### DO WE WANT WANT?

Wall Street and the ruling class in general are seeking to have it appear that we must go to war with Germany. The freedom of the seas, they tell us, has been denied us, and we must therefore, rush into the European war and have hundreds of thousands of human beings sacrificed to wanton slaughter.

The people of the United States and the people of Germany have not the slightest grievance against one another. Left to themselves they would be on terms of perfect amity and peace. They would not dream of flying at one another's throats and tearing at one another's vitals like wild beasts. It is not the people, but the ruling class of the United States and Germany that want the war, and they want it for purposes entirely their own. The people of both countries have everything to lose, including their lives, and absolutely nothing to gain by uch a war.

We are opposed to plunging this nation into the European slaughter. Every workingman should cry out against this unspeakable crime.

The false cry of "patriotism" and "preparedness" and "defense of the flag" and "honor of the nation" should not deceive anyone not feebleminded. Patriotism for their own profit is the real shibboleth of the capitalist class. They want war to serve their own ends and they declare it at their own sweet will. But they do not rush to the front themselves and have their own bodies shot into bloody tatters. They remain safely in the rear enjoying their luxuries and egging on their slaves as they slaughter one another without knowing why.

Let every workingman and every other man who abhors war and slaughter raise his voice in protest against the threatened war with Germany. There is absolutely no excuse for it. The working people will furnish the great bulk of its victims.

If the miserable pretext that is urged for hostilities is permitted to serve its satanic purpose and war is declared it will be not only the costliest war this country ever waged in respect to blood and treasure, but it will be to the eternal disgrace of the United States.

—Social Revolution.

When the plutocrats who own the country are in the front ranks of the army raised to wage war it will be time enough for their wage-slaves to bring up the rear.

The patriotism of the ruling class is

spelled p-r-o-f-i-t-s.
EUGENE DEBS.

#### GATHERING THEM IN.

A recent cable despatch from London says:—

"A Reuter despatch from Berne says the German authorities have suddenly called to the colors all officials of trade unions and socialist organizations. These officials, who aggregate 10,000 in number, have previously been exempt from military service."

The war grows more and more interesting. The trade union and socialist officials are not to be slighted. They, too, are to be given a chance to prove their patriotism by getting shot into tatters for their masters. The next in order will be the chambermaids and next the wet nurses, and finally the orphaus. They all have blood in their veins and they all need to be called to the colors.

Great is war! The European massacre proves it beyond doubt. Hurrah, for wholesale assassination! Hurrah, for the grand army of armless, legless, eyeless cripples! They are all patriots and heroes—in fragments and tatters. What a glorious spectacle, and how proud we should be of it! Now turn to the numberless widows with breaking hearts and the fatherless children thrown upon the world. Glory Hallelujah! Capitalism and slaughter forever!

Those who declared war still have all their fingers and toes intact. They are safe in their armored trains decorated with a basketful of hero's medals.

-By Eugene Debs, in Social Revolution, April, 1917.

### SOCIALIST BULLETS

The human race must first be sure of bread and butter before it can be sure of much else.

If Turkish rule ceases in Asia, it is likely that there will be development on a large scale, which will give employment to a large population.

If capitalists were the sole defenders of capitalism a Socialist victory would be easy of attainment.

Under Socialism the lazy man can be just as lazy as he pleases but his laziness will all be at his own expense.

The great conscripting law may take
Within its vice-like grips
The nation's men, but let it dare
To touch the nation's ships!

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him.—Bacon.

A good book is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.

—Milton.

No strike is lost that teaches the strikers that there is but one way to win a strike—at the ballot box.

Some of the craftiest scoundrels that ever erawled and crept through life by its dirtiest and narrowest ways will gravely jot down in diaries the events of every-day, and keep a regular debtor and creditor account with Heaven, which shall always show a floating balance in their own favor.—Dickens.

Let us all be students and all teachers; let us study capitalism and wageslavery and teach Socialism and freedom.

We must reach and leaven the mass; we must generate our own educational current and turn on the light in every brain.

Let us all unite in the great work of educating our class that it may fulfill its mission and bring freedom to the

APRIL 24, 1917.

d No 14

### **NEW STRATEGISTS**

By Robert Blachford.

We are a wonderful nation, and the mountain that has been in such sore labor will shortly bring forth a mouse—a wee, ridiculous mus.

In other words, the feeble outcome of the dark and hissing intrigue, the contemptible sequel to the portentous political crisis is a demand from Mr. Loud George that the war shall be conducted by a committee of three: Mr. Loud George, and two others.

"And straight against that serried host, forth went the dauntless three." They ought to have offices in Tooley Street.

At the time of writing the names of Mr. Loud George's fellow-strategists are uncertain. Perhaps their personalities do not matter; what does matter is the undoubted fact that they will be civilians. They will be all three civilians. Mr. Loud George's idea of conducting a war is to exclude all men of naval or military training and experience from the Board of Control.

Let us envisage that fact; let us grasp it; let us comprehend it with such intelligence as the gods have given us.

We are a great naval nation. Upon our Navy we depend for our food, our liberty, and our lives. We have the best and the most formidable Navy the world has ever seen.

And since the war began, more than two years ago, we have never had a sailor in the Cabinet, or on any of the numerous committees of war.

We have at present campaigns in the Balkans, in Egypt, in Asia, in East Africa, in the North Sea, and in France and Flanders, and since the death of Lord Kitchener we have not had a single soldier in the Cabinet or upon any of the committees chosen to conduct the war.

And now, after a prolonged growling and muttering storm amongst the civilian politicians, we are to be saved by Mr. Lloyd George and two other Mandarins. We are a wonderful nation!

We are a wonderful nation, and there is every indication that we shall stand it: this latest of the many political jobs through which our sailors and soldiers have fought and our people at home have suffered.

Our Navy is all right; our Army is all right; our naval and military commanders are all right; our people of all classe sare all right. Our fatal weakness all through the war has been our government, our cabinet of 23 civilians. The 23 civilians having made a mess of things, we are now told that three of the messers will now proceed to conduct the war as it should be conducted—according to the ideas of Mr. Lloyd George and his two assistant strategists.

Does anyone believe for a moment that the three selected civilians are the best men we can find for the purpose of conducting the war? Probably not one adult Briton believes anything so foolish. But the people will continue to allow it. They will continue to fight and pay and to suffer and to die, and the three civilians, selected from three and twenty failures, will be boomed and belauded as the prospective saviours of their country.

It is our way. A sailor at the Admiralty, a soldier at the War Office, any naval or military man on a war committee would be regarded as a dangerous innovation. We have always left the affairs of the nation in the hands of a family party of windy political contortionists, and we cannot shake ourselves free from the incubus of that fatal tradition.

Yet we are not logical even in our absurdity, or we should replace Sir Douglas Haig by Lord Haldane and Admiral Beatty by Mr. Winston Churchill. For if sailors and soldiers cannot safely be trusted to conduct a war why not put lawyers and stump orators in com-

mand of our fleets at sea and our armies in the field?

Doubtless a war cabinet of three civilians will be better than a war cabinet of twenty-three civilians, and we may be moderately thankful that the Cabinet of three does not include Mr. Asquith; but is it impossible for our people to realize before it is too late that for the conduct of the greatest war ever waged a cabinet of civilians, large or small, is not the right sort of cabinet at all?

If we want the war conducted in a warlike manner we need only a committee of two: General Sir William Robertson and Admiral Jellicoe. And that committee should be given a free hand and full independence of all civilian interference. Even so our commanders would be sufficiently handicapped by the flabby and timid conduct of our Foreign Office and by the wobbling and nervous procrastination of our domestic government.

For it is most flagrantly evident that the political mandarins who have presumed to interfere with our naval and military commanders have proved lamentably unequal to the management of the business for which they are supposed to be specially qualified.

The muddle and disaster at the Dardanelles, in Mesopotamia, and in the Balkans; the muddle over the recruiting and the exemptions; the muddle over the food prices, the coal prices, and the pensions; the ghastly blundering in Ireland would have convinced any nation but our own, that our government is wholly and radically unfit to govern.

These mandarins do not understand business, do not understand war, do not understand the people; and yet they have the unparalleled cheek to propose to start out upon a spouting tour with the object of rousing the country to make an effort. These mandarins, who have had to be periodically shaken out of their sleep and reminded that there is a war on, are now going to make rhetorical appeals to the people to get a move on. And while they are carrying out what one journalist has neatly described as a gas attack, the dauntless three, Mr. Lloyd George and two other civilian strategists, are going toconduct the war.

I write before the event, and it is still possible that the ingenious coup d'etat may not come off. I ought to say that these three modest gentlemen wish to conduct the war, and have threatened to resign if they are denied. It is an interesting little comedy, and we can only pray that Sir John Jellicoe and Sir William Robertson and Sir Douglas Haig and Sir David Beatty may stiffen their backs and refuse to let the civilian strategists do anything dangerously foolish. If our naval and military commanders resign the country may wake up and muzzle their mandarins: the whole twenty-three of them. -The Clarion (England), December 8,

### NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

This paper is published twice a month, and not weekly. As some of our subscribers are under the latter impression, we beg you to take notice that the Forward will be issued at the present rate until there is a change in prices of supplies.—Ed.

"La Societe des Gens de Lettres,"
Paris, has a special fund designed to
aid authors' widows. Mme. A. Barratin has willed half a million francs
to this fund. Some day the widows
of wage-slaves will be remembered. Or,
better still, the living wage-slaves will
insist on a natural social order. Then
neither widows nor others need fear
the penury that accompanies exploita-

The P. & O. Company is contesting the British Government's right to compulsorily acquire certain of its ships.

### MAKING THE FUR FLY

Eugene V. Debs is making the fur fly in his speech-making tour through the eastern states. The press generally is giving him considerable attention. In reporting his speech at Canton, Ohio, The Canton Daily News said:

Debs was forcible in his denunciation of class rule as opposed to a rule of the people. This condition, he told his hearers, was a survival of middle age serfdom, and the source of existing industrial evils, including war. War, said Debs, was the product of capitalistic oppression of the masses and the expression of capitalistic greed divided into different camps and fighting for mastery. America, he said, stood on the threshold of a world in travail. He warned his auditors against the tocsin of war which he said was being "sounded by the ruling class for private gain and continued subjugation of the workers," and that this propaganda was "urging itself in the guise of patriot-

Debs said in part:

"War is always dictated by the ruling classes, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain; but the battles are fought by the working class. They have everything to lose, even their lives.

"There is much talk at the present time of standing by the president. I am willing to stand by the president if he stands for the things I want, but when I look at the gang that stands behind the president, I know it isn't my crowd."

Debs said every tyrant in history had wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism or religion or both. Patriots, he said, were usually patriotic at long range. The people, Debs said, had too long been "lulled by the siren voice of the statesman who moved them to unreasoning frenzy by shaking the folds of his nation's flag and inciting them to organized murder on each other." Preparedness, said the speaker, was the first stage of war.

"I just wish for one coward nation," Debs declared, "a nation too cowardly to commit murder."

The Socialist party, Debs told his audience, was the only bona fide peace movement on earth.

"This peace movement knows no boundaries; it is international and its followers are moving toward a worldwide democracy," he said.

The speaker touched on the high cost of living and cited statistics in his contention that there was an ample quantity of food, but the it was being shipped overseas for purposes of private gain.

Debs told his audience that the workers were strong only when they learned to think, and that they were now beginning to use their brains as well as their hands. This awakening of class consciousness, said Debs, was mounting in an ever-increasing tide and foreshadowed the dawn of Socialism as the accepted political creed of the world.

The speaker compared present-day Socialist leaders with the rebel leaders of revolutionary days and the abolitionists who fought public opinion on slavery before the civil war.

### Sees Victory.

"The capitalists oppose the Socialists to-day, but their grand-children will place flowers on the grave of Socialists," said Debs.

The old order of society, Debs said, could survive but little longer and that Socialism would be then in order. The continued growth of the Socialist party, he said, sounded the warning of impending change. This swelling minority, the speaker told his hearers, will soon become the majority and with it would come the co-operative commonwealth

"Classes and class rule and their attendant evils of poverty, misery, turmoil and strife are inherent in the capitalistic system. This is because one set of men owns the tools with which wealth is produced, while another set uses them, and there is an irrepressible conflict over the division of the profit. The capitalist owns the tools he does not use; the worker uses the tools he does not own.

"The working class alone made the tools; the working class alone can use them, and the working class must, therefore, own them."—American Socialist.

### TRADE UNION NOTES

The Federationist is in receipt of advices from a reliable source in Calgary which have a direct bearing on the migration of labor from the coast to the praires. These are to the effect that at the present time there is an abundanc of idle men in Calgary, that men are flocking in from the States, and that the farmers will probably use this condition of affairs as a lever to reduce wages, despite the fact that only recently they turned down a guarantee of \$1.50 per bushel for their 1917 crop, a price which would have made them open their eyes a year or so ago.

The advices received by The Federationist read, in part, as follows:—

"The influx of labor from the coast cities to Calgary just now, induced by the one cent rate offered by the C.P.R., appears to be entirely out of proportion to the demand for labor. I have met some friends from Vancouver who are keenly disappointed at the state of the labor market here.

"There is a little demand for farm help, and the general wage is from \$50 to \$55. In a few cases, where the men are known to be thoroughly experienced the farmers come across with from \$60 to \$65.—B. C. Federationist.

### 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.

The Ukranian comrades have divided the country into three sections, viz., West, Centre, East, each section having complete autonomy over the territory under its control, similar to the English provincial organizations.

The Lithuanian Local of Montreal desires to purchase suplies direct from the D. E. C. Later they will consider the advisability of forming a language section We will be pleased to hear from our Western Canada Lithuanian locals on this question.

### EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS.

Nothing is of more importance than the education, the true education of the working class itself. Every worker student. The rank and file, the common herd, so-called, must wake up, open its eyes, and set itself to thinking about its slavery and about how to break its chains. A few "smart" leaders cannot do this. It can only be done by the slaves themselves.

Too much dependence on so-called leaders has always been, and is to-day, the weakness of the labor movement.

Freedom must have its beginning in the brain and heart of the workingclass. Ignorance and indifference must be overcome and every union should be an educational center.

The workers must build up a political party of their own and use it in their struggle to abolish wage-slavery. But there is a difference between developing political power as a means of emancipation and chasing votes for the sake of holding office.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him.—Bacon.

# 

In its editorial comments on April 17 the Toronto Globe said: "A Labor Party for Greater Toronto is an encouraging sign of active interest in public affairs. Participation in politics will be more enlightening than criticism." Members of Parliament, both Liberal and Conservative, and in Federal and Provincial Houses, have also said that more Labor members would be welcome—that they were needed.

A party which is welcomed by "old" parties and spoken of favorably in the old party press, is not a party much feared. Capitalism in Canada is not afraid of a Labor Party. The old parties know from experience that there is a big difference between saying and doing, and a Labor Party such as is being agitated for, and has been organized in Toronto, will promise much, but will not achieve much. It is not dangerous—it has no bite.

A Socialist Party is different It demands the social ownership of capitalist property so that an end may be put to the exploitation of the working class. A Socialist Party is not "popular"it menaces capitalist profit. But a Labor Party does not concern itself very much with the exploitation by the capitalists Its demands are very moderate and "respectable." A common way in which labor leaders phrase their demands is the following: "We demand the eight-hour day. It has been proven that more can be done in eight than in ten hours, but the employers are so reactionary they do not even see this' The Laborites are right in asking for an eight-hour day, but if this very reform means a greater production and more profits for the capitalists, and if Laborites have nothing to say about this increased exploitation, they show themselves at the limits of their powers.

### The Vital Test

A movement must be judged, not by what it says it will do, by its ideals or claims, but by what it is and does. The Labor Party in Toronto, and in other parts of Canada, is composed of men who are dissatisfied with Liberalism and Conservatism, but are not in favor of Socialism, i.e., of demanding the whole product of their social toil. The Socialists criticise the Laborites not only for what they do, but for what they leave undone To accomplish many reforms is not enough. A party which appeals to the workers for support on the ground that it favors improved conditions will be opposed by Socialists who (though they also favor better conditions) cannot stand for the exploitation of the masses, on which point the Laborites refuse to stand for the work-

Miss Hughes might say that the workers cannot stop until they demand the whole of production; that Socialism is inevitable; that all things come "a step at a time," and by organizing Labor Parties the workers will learn to demand more and more, until eventually they demand the full programme of Socialism. Now, Miss Hughes may have a Socialist end in view, but her conception of how this aim will be accomplished is decidedly uncomplimentary to those organized in, say, the Greater Toronto Labor Party. For were it not for the prejudices of the workers, for their dead of the word "Socialism," for their inability to grasp the full meaning of the Socialist teaching, they might demand at once the full value of their product. But since these prejudices do exist, Miss Hughes would say nothing to the workers just now about Socialism, but have them organize first, become politically active, and then have them led gradually by the Socialists to ask for the abolition of capitalism. Miss Hughes as much as says that the Toronto Labor Party (and others) must become Socialist some day If that day is far enough away it does not matter much to them—but the members of the Labor Party joined it because Socialism was too radical. Yet it was best for the leaders not to tell the members that Socialism was right! Once having got them "in" the leaders would gradually unfold their aims so as not to rouse the original anti-Socialist prejudices of the members!

### Drifting Backward

This idea of drifting towards Socialism, a step at a time, may, however, belong only to Miss Hughes and a few others. Even if all Laborites possessed it the Socialists would nevertheless point out the inconsistency in the Laborites' position. Theoretically and secretly they are for Socialism, practically they act only for reforms, and do not show their colors because they argue that if they told the working people that the capitalist system exploits them and that Socialism offers the remedy, this would prejudice the workers!

But it is not true that all men in Labor circles consider Socialism inevitable and desirable Do Studholme, Richards, Watters, Marks, Stephenson, and others throughout Canada? Would any party they might organize be anticapitalist? These men have said little in the past about the surplus value the masses produce for Canadian employers. They have stood for better working conditions, better wages, shorter hours, but they have also stood for capitalist robbery because they have not stood against it. All the present demand for independent political action on the part of labor springs from non-Socialist sources and has non-Socialist aims, That is what the Socialists see and they would fail in their duty to the workingclass if they failed to point out that in the long run they will gain nothing sufficiently substantial from parties which hedge on the question of economic exploitation The only workingclass party which can achieve practical success is a Socialist Party-all other so-called workers' parties must be deserted eventually by the workers for the Socialist Party. A Labor Party deserts the workers from its inceptionthey cannot ultimately accept its compromising "principles."

It is useless to say: "Had the Labor men supported the Canadian Socialist movement more completely friction would have been avoided. The Labor officials were not Socialists and therefore would not support Socialism. The antagenism between Labor and Socialist Parties rises mutually, though Laborites asually accuse the Socialists of using destructive tactics. Labor parties in provincial and municipal constituencies have frequently sought alliances with Socialists. Alliances are part of Labor Party tactics Any future Labor Party in Canada should expect no alliance with a Socialist Party. If a Labor Party will ally itself with a Socialist Party, the Socialists know too well that a Labor-Liberal Alliance is also a possibility On the other hand the Socialists cannot seek alliances because they make demands which no other party can make. An elected Socialist will vote in the interests of the workers just as ably as a Laborite, but the Socialists stand for the abolition of wage slavery, while a Laborite holds his peace on this the most important and essential need of the working class

### Valued Criticism

In the March 23 issue of The Industrial Banner, the Socialists come in for a certain amount of criticism in a letter written by Mr. Urry. It is necessary to answer the charge that Socialists keep Labor divided by showing that a Labor Party does not ask for complete social ownership of means of producing wealth, that consequently a Labor Party remains silent on the question of exploitation, which makes it inevitable that workers who do not wish to be exploited must go beyond a Labor platform to obtain their emplete pro-while the Socialist party arrogate to themselves the sole right of representing, politically, the working classes, and will not work together with an I. L. Party, they are responsible for the friction that takes place. It has been proved by actual experience that workingmen in this district (Port Arthur-Fort William ) will not join the Socialist Party in large numbers while it employs the destructive criticism, even against Labor men themselves, that it indulges in." And again: ". . . . I believe the action of both the Socialist Party and that of the Social Democratic Party is not in accordance with real democratic liberation and will

never appeal to the working classes"

It would be fortunate if there need be no criticism. But this arises not merely form a critical spirit. It is called forth by the compromising attitude of Labor parties, and chiefly by their inadequate programs, which refuse to meet the full needs of the workers

A Socialist Party differs from a Labor Party just as a Labor Party differs from a Liberal Party. A Socialist Party demands for Labor all that Labor produces, and any party, including a Labor Party, which does not demand as much, stands to that extent for working-class exploitation, and must therefore meet with criticism from the Socialists. The platform of the Greater Toronto Labor Party has not yet been issued. It dare not intimate that its aim is Socialist, for that would be admitting that its originators concealed their ultimate aims from the membership. But it will not be Socialist, beeause it does not stand for Socialismif it did it would say so. Where there is a fundamental difference in position the weaker must be given up. There is rothing to do but face the situation. For Socialists to compromise and give ground and support to non-Socialist organizatins is not merely theoretically wrong-it is for us a practical blunder which would bring disastrous results.

The majority of workers in Canada still consider it their policy to support Liberal or Conservative Party not a Socialist Party. Many hold a Labor Party preferable to a Socialist Party. But a Labor Party with no aim for the future, with no present conception of capitalist society, and no demand for common social ownership of wealth-producing agencies, might as well call itself by another name. It is not anti-capitalist. And since it has no voice to oppose capitalism, it fails to merit the support of the working classes. Dissatisfied workmen and trades union leaders may build up a Labor Party, but only clas-conscious Socialists can destroy the capitalist

MERVYN SMITH

### Labor's First Charter.

May 1, 1917, gives promise of becoming an Historic Land Mark of Social Progress, and more significant in view of the fact that Labor's Historic Banner, "The Red Flag," now floates over Russia and her dependencies. We call upon all Men and Women who labor in order to live, to make this event something more significant than a mere parade. May the spirit of May unite you in Mass action to end oppression in this our country as a herald of the coming day of our Social emancipation.

During one of the Samnite wars, in the year B. C. 309, and at the moment when the Romans wanted more money than they could collect, the consors issued a refusal to permit the collegium of musicians, or musicians." union, to

play at the feast of Jupiter at the expense of the city. It had been their annual custom to play at the shrine, and as they had always been lavishly rewarded, they took it for an unwarrantable deprivation. Besides this, being voting unions, they belonged to a powerful political body of many trades who elected into power the commissioners of the public works. These in turn appointed them to jobs under government employ. Braced by the justice of their right, they called upon their quinquennalis, or lord-master of the unions, who convoked their advisory board. On deliberation it was voted to resist the penurious demand and strike work, let the consequences be what they would. At the head of their military column, their red vexilum proudly waving at the front, they set up a march with this well-known flaming red banner to a distant town ,across the Tiber. They were aware that the superstitious Roman aristocracy would not dare to offend Jupiter, their great protecting divinity, to whose honor, not that of their own goddess, Minerva, were to be devoted these celebrations of music and praise. They judged correctly. But, being straightforward and ingenious, they knew only the honorable and manly way to win. They were not adept in the tricks of politicians, and as a conseuence got outwitted just as they were outwitted on a vaster scale by similar cunning, described in our chapter on the Roman conquests. The methods of this trick, as told by the historian, were as follows:

The Senate of Rome sent a commission to the neighboring town of Tiber, now Tivoli, whither the strikers had marched in a body, to ask of the political council of the place, its co-operation and intercession, with a view to induce the musicians to come out of their sulks, return to the feasts and give Jupiter the. music for nothing The reception was friendly. Negotiations were immediately opened with the strikers; but in vain. The workingmen were uncompromising. All solicitations were refused. It was now the very day before that set for the feasts. Fear that the gods would envelop them with wrath began to make Romans tremble. A stratagem was agreed upon. The musicians were to be asked to give a concert. At that pompous display they were to be inveigled into accepting potations which they seldom refused. Stuffed with wine, and when all were unconscious with inebriation, they were to be taken bodily in cushioned chariots back to the eternal city and landed safely at the Roman forum, where all was in readiness for the sacrifices of the morrow In the early dawn the sacrifices would begin. It was a cause of great sport for thousands. The multitude is a greater moral power to the workingman on strike than the councils of the great. And when they awoke from their stupor and found themselves suffused with a friendly hurrah of nearly all the population of Rome gushing with flatteries around them, they imbibed the full force of the joke by which they had been outwitted. They consented to play, but not until a stipulation was agreed to permitting them, annually in the future, to hold a jubilation, the 13th day of June, and march with their red flag and carnival uniforms through the streets, clothed with an accredited permission to solicit contributions for their benefit.

This surprising concession to them by the senate was fully equivalent to a complete success. Their strike had been won; for such a privilege accorded them in legal form was to go into practice the very next year and remain available forever, bringing them annual tribute, comfort and respect.

LESTER F. WARD.

If the working class refused to fight the battles of their exploiting masters not another war would ever be declared.

War is the crime of crimes and the monumental shame of civilization,

APRIL 24, 1917

# THE CANADIAN OR WARD

#### 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.

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April 24, 1917



The saddest sight in all the world is not a grave of the dead, grievous as that might be, but it is a grave of the living—humanity sepulched while yet alive.—Frances E. Willard.



### THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY.

The elements that make for Human progress are not embodied in present day legislative enactment, these are merely monetary forms or expressions of legalized robbery and repression. Justice is not to be found in the letter of the law; it is the spirit that giveth life.

Regenerated Russia is a typical example of the motive forces at work for the overthrow of Class privilege. The eternal spirit of revolt against arbitrary restrictions, the spirit that dethrones Czars may yet spike every gun upon every European battlefront. The time has come for the workers of all countries to realize that liberty cannot be given from above,—but must be taken from below.

What a travesty of the virgin principle of democracy is brought to light by the trial of men like Liehcknecht and Brockway, whose only crime was in daring to speak the truth as they saw it, and refusing to become traitors to their conscience and their class.

Behold those who sit in judgment who are protected by special privileges. Lawyers and Ministers do not have to fight for their Country, men who do not have to bear arms sitting in judgment upon those who have no true economic interest at stake.

There are two grades in present-day society who have no right to say you shall bear arms., viz.: The person who is protected from so doing by special privileges of law, and the person who is not in Khaki on route to the firing line.

Men will agree to participate in war on two conditions.

Firstly, to gratify some material incentive, or, seenodly, to satisfy a moral scruple.

In the absence of these two principles no person will agree to engage in War.

### A NOBLE STAND.

We hand the palm to our comrades in the States for their clear class-conscious declaration, who, notwithstanding the penalty they may incur by so doing, "Resolve to continuous, active opposition to the War by all means in their power." This attitude is worthy of the devotion it will call forth. A man who will not live or die for a great humanizing principle has not reached the stage of manhood. We do not mean to infer that all Soldiers are brutes, a man must be judged by his motives. It is the mal-education, and the hypocitical pretensions of a Ruling class dominated by an overwhelming desire for place and dominion that has produced the deluge of blood in Europe.

We are entirely in harmony with George Brandes when he said: "Great thinkers, good men, noble thoughts, high ideals, intellectual achievements, patient scientists and the undimmed truth—these are the forces that make for true progress; these are the froces that are worth more in a country than all the forces of race hatred, of militarism, of aggressive strength, and organized bruitality

### ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE.

Let no one be carried away with the notion that the battle for democracy is won and no further efforts are necessary upon the part of those who would be free, just because the Russian autocracy has been overthrown. That there are powerful interests in that country, as well as in all others, that will leave no stone unturned to reinstate the old regime and curb the aspirations of the democratically inclined, goes without saying. As "eternal vigilance" is said to be the "price of liberty," so it may be said with equal truth that it is also the price of everything else that makes for human uplift and a higher civilization. The reactionary elements in human society, those forces that predicate their pomp and power upon the enslavement and robbery of the wealth producers of all lands, loathe democracy as a cat loathes soap, and in spite of their lip-loyalty to her cause, they will as readily betray it as Judas betrayed the Master to whom he had professed devotion. Even in the most advanced countries of the earth, where governments are based upon the consent of the governed and subject to rejection and removal at the will of an enfranchised people, every trick and device that can be conjured forth from the prolifically

evil brain of high-class cunning and well-paid roguery, is utilized for the purpose of hamstringing democracy and thwarting its purpose. And if those who worship at her shrine are remiss in their efforts to maintain that democracy and extend the scope of its activities and its power, the little that has already been gained will be lost, and the world will relapse into a repetition of the dark ages of hopeless slavery out of which humanity has so laboriously and painfully emerged.—B. C. Federationist.

# AN ANTHOLOGY OF SOCIAL-DEMOGRACY

N.B.--This is No. 12 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.

Among certain races and in certain countries we have seen the most stubborn and deep-rooted conventions of honor entirely overcome. Few institutions, for instance, were as soundly entrenched in the world as the duel. It was founded on some of the finest instincts of humanity; on hatred to injustice, on honor, on aristocratic traditions and personal pride. In the 18th century the duel still flourished among Anglo-Sxaon nations, as well as among the Latins, Germans and Slavs. It is still ineradicable in Germany and France, but in Great Britain and in the United States it is as dead as it is in the Scandinavian countries. And if dueling could die a natural death, why can't we predict the death of war? But just as the duel could not be eradicated by decapitating the duelists, as Richelieu attempted to do, so militarism cannot be uprooted by munitions and conscription.

What a multitude of prejudices had to be removed before the duel disappeared! Such scorn and derision as met the man who refused to challenge one who had insulted him! What a school for courage, honor and personal dignity the duel was said to be—for thousands of years! And yet, quietly, unobtrusively, it has been eliminated and forgotten by the most civilized nations in the world.

According to its partisans, its disappearance should have weakened the foral fibre of men, generated cowardice and a plebeian mode of thought. Yet no man in his senses considers the Americans or the English less manly than the French or Germans.

In a few small and slightly civilized communities the disappearance of the duel may, for instance, have increased the impudence of the press. Newspapers are now, perhaps, more circumspect when an offence may call forth a challenge. In larger communities, however-in England and American, for instance-men have not lost their honor since the duel disappeared, nor has life, on the whole, become less thrilling or noble. Nor has decadence increased; nor idealism diminished The disappearance of war would not be more fatal to the maintenance of the highest ideals of life than was the elimination of the

I wish that men would realize that true progress comes from other sources. Great thinkers, good men, noble thoughts, high ideals, intellectual achievements, patient scientists and the undimmed truth—those are the forces that make for true progress! those are the forces wheih are worth more in a country than all forces of race hatred, of militarism, of aggressive strength, of organized brutality.—George Brandes, in the Conservator.

Butter is eight shilling a pound, apples 2 shillings each, and boots ten pounds a pair in Petrograd. In Italy kitchen coal costs sixteen pounds per

### MAJORITY REPORT

### S. P. of A. CONVENTION

In harmony with these principles, the Socialist Party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislations for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to fight with all our strength against any attempt to raise money for the payment of war expenses by taxing the necessaries of life or issuing bonds, which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindle the fire furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right of strike.

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American people from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United tates has already accentuated, we demand:

(a) The restriction of food exports so long as the present shortage continues, fixing of maximum prices, and whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in their hands;

(b) The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage, and the marketing of food and other necessities of life;

(c) The socialization and democratic management of all land and other natural resources which is now held out of use for monopolistic or speculative profit.

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers against the vil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The ocialist Party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.—American Socialist.

The homage paid to a man because he has become a millionaire, is an act of worship at the shrine of modern Capitalism!

## ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

A CONSUMERS' LEAGUE.

A movement is on foot for the organization of a Consumers' League, and an esteemed contemporary refers to it as a movement unique in the public and semi-public life of Canada.

It is a curious fact that governments seem to exist for the benefit of sections of the people rather than for the benefit of the people as a whole. On every hand there are laws, regulations and restructions for the benefit of special interests. The general public is treated as if the chief purpose of its existence was to furnish taxes and profits. Tariffs, bounties, prohibitions and restrictions are all imposed for the benefit of special interests. It might almost be said that the only way in which governments recognize the existence of the general public is by the imposition of taxes and restrictions.

The fault, of course, is primarily with the general public. It has the kind of government it permits. The interests know what they want and how to get it. The general public is content with being allowed to amuse itself at intervals with a general election, when it enjoys the excitement of dividing into factions and fighting against itself. It is only during periods of unusual stress, like the present, that the general public is forced to a recognition of its own helplessnes. The demand for the organization of a Consumers' League is such a recognition.—Stratford Herald.

### DEFEAT OF THE REFERENDUM ON POLITICAL ACTION IS RE-PORTED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

While no official announcement has yet been made, it is understood that a recent totalling of the returns on the referendum vote as to whether the British Columbia Federation of Labor should enter the political field, indicates the defeat of the proposal. The vote on the proposal is said to have been very close, thus indicating that, even should the suggestion finally be declared as shelved, it represented the will of a very large percentage of organized labor throughout the province. It is understood that the sentiments as expressed by the locals was very decided either for or against the proposal, the percentage of cases where close votes on the subject were reported being very small. The referendum was held as the result of discussions at the January convention of the B. C. Federation of Labor at Revelstoke. The call for the ballot was sent out by Secretary Wells about March 1, with instructions for the vote being taken during the month. Whatever may be the final result of the referendum, it is certain that the widespread discussion of the subject has brought the question of Labor taking a political stand home to the trades unionists of the province in a forceful manner, and the defeat of the measure by a narrow margin would probably be a condition which would lead to its being again presented for a representative vote of the membership.

### ADMINISTRATIVE HEROISM.

The premier, in the House of Commons on Monday, stated in a modest-manner that it required some courage to do as his government had done in the matter of supplying the farmers of the Dominion with seed grain to the value of 12 million dollars, when a crop failure threatened the west. Most people who have followed Canadian politics for some years will agree with the premier. It certainly requires some courage to do anything for the people, particularly under the administration as constituted. It takes no courage to follow the example of the present (or

late) government in many cases; it has never been a particularly daring thing for the government—present or past—to accede to the wishes of the magnates, not for modest sums of 12 millions, but for amounts that would make the necessities of the western farmers look paltry indeed.

But the premier's statement is significant. Evidently the leader of the government considers that it was a magnanimous thing to do, this aiding the farmers. Not only was it generous, but it required courage. Why? Whom did the government fear? Since when has it become courageous for an administration to safeguard the basic industry of the nation?

The people would be interested to know more about this display of courage at a time when the country was wide open to war contract grafters, railway promoters, patronage touts, and all the evil brood of profiteers.—Ottawa Citizen, January 24, 1917.

### THE CLAIM OF SOCIALISM.

I have looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization.

This then is the claim:

"It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over wearisome nor over anxious."

Turn the claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed: discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we are doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us. What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is revolution.—William Morris.

All over the world the news of the Russian revolution has been received with great joy. Participation by the Socialists has prevented a serious split in the revolutionary ranks and the dream of Russia as a republic will shortly be realized. M. Kerenski of the Russian Revolutionary Socialists, has accepted a post in the new government as Minister of Justice, and his first act was the immediate publication of full amnesty.

Appearing before the Socialist assembly he mounted a table, with flashing eyes and passionate utterance, he announced that he had accepted the post of Minster of Justice. His address is as follows:

Comrades, in entering the Provisional Government, I/ remain a republiean. In my work I must lean for help on the will of the people. A must have in the people my powerful support. May I trust you as I trust myself? (Tremendous cheers and cries of "We believe you comrade!") I cannot live without the people, and if ever you begin to doubt me, kill me! I declare to the Provisional Government that I am a representative of democracy, and that the Government must especially take into account the views I shall uphold as a representative of the people, by whose efforts the old Government was overthrown. Comrades, time does not wait. I call you to organization and discipline. I ask you to support us, your representatives who are prepared to die for the people and have given the people their whole life.

Our comrades of the Second and

Fourth Dumas, who were banished illegally to the tundras of Siberia, will be released forthwith. In my jurisdiction are all the Premiers and Ministers of the old regime. They will answer before the law for all crimes against the people.

"Show them no mercy," many voices in the crowd exclaimed.

"Comrades," M. Kerenski replied, "regenerated, Russia will not have recourse to the shameful methods utilized by the old regime. Without trial none will be condemned. All prisoners will be tried in open court."

Comrades, soldiers, citizens, all measures taken by the new Government will be published. Soldiers, I ask you to co-operate. Free Russia is now born and none will succeed in wresting liberty from the hands of the people. Do not listen to the promptings of the agents of the old regime. Listen to your officers. Long live free Russia.

Los Angeles Socialists are trying to secure the adoption of the following proposal by their State organization with a view to having it ultimately incorporated in the National Constitution: "Any labor union, farmers' organization or co-operative enterprise, or any number of members thereof, shall be permitted to become Socialist Party locals, without regard to political subdivisions or geographical boundaries."

—American Socialist.

# JINGO WAR-SPITES OF U. S. A. TRY TO OUST SCOTT NEARING FROM HIS POSITION IN TOLEDO UNIVERSITY.

A crusade of lying calumny, supported by big business Plute's, is being waged by the daily liars (the Capitalist press) in order to wreak vengeance upon one of the most powerful antiwar spirits of the United States. The movement is likely to become a question of national concern by the way the Socialists and Labor men are taking things. Happily the intelligent section of the workers in the States have had ample time to learn the truth, "That speeches of Presidents and Premiers are valueless tokens in defence of democracy and liberty, when dictated by the big interests," and like we in Canada, are becoming familiar to the international character of Prussianism. We take pleasure in presenting Mr. Nearing's side of the question as a worthy pattern of courage and manliness.

How many of the presumed defenders of democracy in this country have given publicity to this attack of Prussianism in the U.S.

"I am opposed to tyranny, despotism and irresponsible power, whether vested in a king, kaiser or any other individual or group of individuals,

"I believe in democracy and in the brotherhood of all men. No community can endure which ignores the Golden Rule, the basic law of social life— 'Each for all, and all for each.'

"Millions of people the world-over are to-day seeking to overthrow German militarism. There are two methods of securing this result. The first way is to militarize all of the great nations. I am oposed to this plan, because I believe that the dearest liberties of democracy must be sacrificed in the process.

"There is another method of overcoming German militarism—to promulgate a higher ideal than the ideal of militarism.

militarism.

"Ideas and ideals are the most powerful and permanent things in the world, as your own history shows. A century and a half ago our ancestors immortalized themselves by broaching the idea of political democracy to a king-ridden world. Since that time the idea has encircled the earth.

"The only possible way to save the present-day world from militarism is to cut to the root of the problem and establish an industrial democracy,

which in its turn may prove a beacon light to mankind. If we adopt militarism, we lower ourselves to the level of German militarism. If we adopt industrial democracy we have an opportunity to raise them to our new plans of justice and liberty.

"I oppose militarism because I believe it stands for the brute in human nature, and that if we adopt it, the democracy is doomed. I hold to the doctrine—"Peace on earth and god will among men," because I believe that only thus can the spirit of man be emancipated and the human race be saved. They that take the sword shall perish with the sword. It is only those who are willing to overcome evil with good that can attain to the full promise of manhood.

"I revere the government that represents democracy. I honor the flag that stands for liberty and justice. So strong is my feeling on this point that I resent seeing the government turned over to an irresponsible plutocracy or an irresponsible bureaucracy, just as I resent having the flag, which is the symbol of our democracy, used to cloak special privilege and shameless exploitation.

"Militarism is the madness of the past—dragging us down and destroying us. The spirit of brotherhood and good will among men is the voice of the future calling us to a higher plane of life than humanity has ever known. To that future I have dedicated my life, and so I purpose to continue to the end of the chapter.

"SCOTT NEARING."

### LOANS

There's a war-incited nation
After loans;
Filled with hope and wild elation
With the loans.
There are many joyous cables,
There are papers full of fables,
And the international Babels
Tell of loans.

There's the people of the Kaiser
After loans;
And the British, nothing wiser,
After loans;
There's a subtle press, romantic,
Makes the French and Russian frantic
And the Serbian cut an antic,
Over loans.

There are clamorous Italians
After loans;
There are Turks in fierce battalions
Fed on loans;
There's the little yellow Jappie,
There's the Austrian fierce and snappy,
And the Belgians are made happy
With their loans.

When the war some day is ended
Over loans,
And the battered buildings mended
With the loans.
When the interest on reverses
And on vict-ries touch both purses,
There will be some fearful curses
Over loans.

The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief Magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures.—Junius.—Toronto Globe.

Canadian Copper Company have been granted 236 acres at the rate of \$3.00 an acre. All they expect to get out of the deal is nickel.—Toronto Star.

### ...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS....

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EX-ECUTIVE COMMITTEE Meets on the First Wednesday in

Meets on the First Wednesday in each month, at 8 p.m., at Mrs. A. Martin's, 10528 98th Street, Edmonton, Alta.

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

APRIL 24, 1917.

### WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING

Bright Clippings from Wide a-wake Contemporaries

CLEAR THE DECK.

By Jack Cosgrave.

It is beginning to be clearly discerned by workers that their organized movement for economic and social justice is alien in every country to every political system.

Every form of national and international government presupposes subjection of a proletarian class, and continuance of social conditions involving human slavery. There is no deviation, whether the country is pagan or Christian, a kingdom or democracy! The truth is being gripped that the Labor movement is purely an economic one, having no necessary connection or relationship with nationality, ethical or religious development. That the solution of the social problem depends upon physical rather than psychical forces, and the condition that will follow economic emancipation will not necessarily spell happiness and content, but freedom! The emancipation of the human race from economic thraldom is only the first step in the march of human pro-

Let the ground be cleared of all cant. The Labor movement, being at bedrock economic, is essentially materialistic in conception and scope, and represents the natural impulses of a hungry mob, pregnant with unlimited noblenesses, when free development is assured, rather than with the reasoned climax of attruist ethics.

Though it has to be accepted, we despise the intriguing and sordid side of the class war; but less do we accept, and more do we despise, a condition of educated or cultured opinion that gets satisfaction and content in a social state that involves human degradation and slavery.

Too long has the democracy been the plaything of a glib-tongued casuistry, that reasoned acceptance of its degradation and slavery as naturally or divinely ordained, and social deliverance only possible by the slow evolution of the superman. By such specious pleading has organized labor been disarmed in the past, and every effort frustrated by apostles of "education," or by those who control the looking for seats in Kingdom Come! 'The logic of established facts, and history down the centuries, proves that all ethical and religioussystems-when a crisis comes-count for nothing against economic stress, and the powers of wealth control.

The workers have little to learn outside of the one great virtue of class solidarity, that they must "by themselves be befriended," Their success depends upon the necessary readjustment of the structural and functional organization of Labor, that will enable it to coerce the state in its attitude to governmental problems, by dominating the economic situation: as employerdom does now. Success must depend upon this alone. It must be boldly admitted Labor is at war with society as at present constituted. Even a democratic state, that acquiesces in human exploitation, or degradation, has no rights or respect to claim from organized workers up in arms against it. What must characterize the organization of Labor's industrial democracy will be its structural and functional human relationship. There is no question of right or wrong. -It is a question of organized power.-Industrial Worker.

WAR AND CRIME.

By Willis Andrews.

Veraschagin, the great Russian painter, was once asked by a patron of art to paint a picture of what he considered the worst evil in the world—whereupon the artist portrayed upon canvas a

scene of war in its most hideous aspect and named it "Crime,"

This has added interest in view of the statement recently made by a prominent eastern clergyman, who says that war is simply God's plan to work out perfection in the human race. The thought has been taken up and reiterated by lesser lights of the cloth all ever the land. This attempt to place the responsibility for the worst of all crimes upon the shoulders of the Almighty naturally leads one to wonder what is really the province of the devil himself, for it makes of satan an aimless wanderer over the face of the earth without any known occupation.

Every warring nation assures the world that it is in close partnership with the Ruler of the Universe, and already in this country prayers are being offered up asking that divine guidance be given to the work of slaying fellow-Christians across the seas.

Tennyson wrote of the soldier:

"Theirs but to do and die, Theirs not to reason why."

It is high time that every man should begin to "reason why" when it is asked of him to pierce the quivering flesh of some man of whom he knows nothing and against whom he has no grievance.

#### MY COUNTRY.

### By Kate Richards O'Hare.

ist second." This bombastic statement has been made many times in the last few months by men and women who did not stop to weigh their words or realize the consequences of such an attitude of mind. Nor are the Socialists the only people who mouth such cant—Church members and Labor unionists are also guilty.

These human parrots overlook the fact that the very cornerstone of the Socialist movement is the international brotherhood of labor; that the basis of organized labor is the international welfare of the workers; and that the fundamental creed of the church is the brotherhood of all God's children. If God draws no national lines; if Socialism is international and organized labor knows no boundaries, how in the name of reason can a Christian, a Socialist, or a Labor unionist declare that nationalism is "first" and all other things "second"?

Europe is to-day a blazing example of "nationalism" first and all other things secondary. Two groups of the master class, which is also international, foment a war to decide which group shall have the lion's share of the profits wrung from the toil of the workers. these industrial masters were far too wise to allow the war to be known as a class war, so they moved their pawns, the kings, on the chessboard of life and war ranged between the nations. The workers of the nations at war were not consulted as to their wishes in the matter of war, the masters attended to all details. The workers were simply called from field and workshop to man the colors of their various nations and do the fighting and the dying while their wives and children paid the bitter price of war in hunger and misery and untold suffering.

When the master class sounded the trumpet of war, straightway the Socialists, labor unionists and Christians forgot their ideals, their principles and their vows. The Socialists became nationalists first, and Socialists second; the labor unionists became "patriots" first, and labor unionists second, and the Christians became soldiers first, and Christians second. The Socialists re-

pudiated internationalism, the labor unionists forgot the solidarity of labor, and the Christians discarded the "Prince of Peace" and embraced the war god of Mammon. Because nationalism was exalted above all else, Europe is one vast charnel-house, soaked with blood, reeking with the stench of putrid human bodies, scarred by trenches and shell, while famine and pestilence rages throughout the continent, kindling the fires of misery and hunger maddened revolt.

The ten million dead men who rot on the battlefields of Europe were nationalists "first" and Socialists, labor unionists and Christians "second." God knows they have paid in blood and death for placing nationalism above internationalism the solidarity of labor and the creed of Jesus Christ.

Can we Americans learn a lesson from the fate of our brothers and sisters in Europe, or must we, too, wallow in human blood and putrid human flesh. Must we endure the fires of the bankers, food speculators, and ammunition makers.

I am not pro-English; not pro-German; not pro-American, I am pro-working-class! Kier Hardie, sleeping beneath the heather of Scotland; Jean Jaures, dead by an assassin's hand; Karl Liebknecht, in a German prison, and Rosa Luxumberg, in her dungeon cell, are nearer and dearer to me than Rockefeller, Morgan, Schwab, or Dupont.

The world is my country, the workers are my countrymen, peace and social justice are my creeds, and to these and these alone I owe loyalty and allegiance.—Social Revolution

### THE WINNING OF THE WAR

At Home and Abroad.

(By H. M. Hyndman).

We have arrived at the most serious crisis of the whole war. Owing to the imbecility, malfeasance, and worse, of our own government, before and since hostilities commenced, this stupendous. struggle, which is in truth "the suicide of the white race," has lasted at least ten months longer than it need have done. If the British navý had not been deliberately hampered in its legitimate action by Mr. Asquith, Viscount Grey, and the foreign office, Germany would have sued for peace last year. The holocaust of men unnecessarily killed and wounded by this weakness or treachery calls for justice.

What we have still to do—though Mr. Asquith's coalition administration does not seem to recognize it—is to win. We have also to take care that after all the terrific sacrifices made to ensure victory, this nation and its allies are not cajoled into a ruinous peace. To say that the people of this country have confidence in our present rulers is ridiculous. They have not. Each day that passes they have less. There lies the real danger. Doubt and distrust are everywhere, and are spreading even to the men fighting at the front.

The navy is splendid. The army is splendid. The nation as a whole is splendid. Only the "politicians" are rotten all through. The war if lost, or not won, will have been given away for us at home.

Yet in spite of our government and its mismanagement, in spite even of the miserable fate of Roumania, Germany is being beaten. General Brusiloff says so, General Joffre thinks so, our own soldiers and sailors believe so. The greatest menace to modern civilization since the Ottoman Turks were defeated under the walls of Vienna is being crushed down-slowly but surely. But unless we common Englishmen insist upon vigour and determination, honesty and straightforwardness from our caucus of mediocrities at the top, the noblest of our race from the United Kingdom and our Colonies who have fought and fallen in the cause of freedom will have fought and fallen in vain, "Nous sommes trahis!" -we are be-

trayed!—cried the French in 1870. Englishmen foolishly laughed. But betrayed they were, as was afterwards conclusively proved.

Let us take care that we do not awaken too late to find that we also have men and women in control ameng us who prefer their faction to their country and sacrifice their patriotism to their pockets.

Now is the time for one great, persistent, determined, and organized national effort. The future of Democracy and Socialism for more than a full generation are at stake. I for one hope the New Year will see all Socialists and all common Englishmen combined in one great organization of the whole people, under competent and upright leadership, to secure victory over militarism and the triumph of democratic Socialism in this and other lands.—The Clarion, England, December 8, 1917.

#### PROSPERITY AND STRIKES.

It should appear curious to those who do not study economic causes and effects that the more prosperous a country is under the capitalist system the more discontented are the working class who produce that prosperity. This is an anomaly indeed and yet to the student of economics there is nothing strange about it.

The reports of the United States Bureau of Labor show that during the first nine months of the year 1915 there were 916 strikes and lockouts and that during the first nine months of the year 1916 the number had increased to 2,584.

The prosperity of 1916, if such it can ever be truly called in the present system, was far greater than that of 1915

Stage Employes' Union, No. 81, has and in fact greater by far than ever before in the history of the country. This abnormal state of affairs was of course produced by the European war. The exports from this country to foreign markets for 1916 aggregated more than seven billion dollars, or an average of more than five hundred million dollars per month.

Of course with such enormous exports of the countrys products, coupled with the monopoly control of what remains for the domestic market, the high cost of living is easily accounted for, and the high cost of living has more than absorbed the paltry increase in wages which has been granted, and as a consequence, the workers are not only not better off, but actually worse off than they were before their wages were increased and the cost of living more than offset the increase, and hence the multiplication of strikes and lockouts in all the principal industries of the land.

In the year 1916, by far the most prosperous in the history of the country, there were nearly three times as many strikes and lockouts as there were in the preceding year of 1915, when prosperity was just getting its start and the wage increases had not yet taken place nor the cost of living mounted to the incredible altitude which it now occurres

All of which simply means that prosperity for the working class is a fraud, a delusion and a false pretense under the capitalist system. The real prosperity is exclusively enjoyed by the capitalist class who pocket the swelling profits while the workers continue at their slavish basks for shelter and shoddy and provender enough to feed their labor power and keep it alive.

Socialism, the collective ownership of industry and production for the benefit of the workers will bring real prosperity to the country and bring it for all who are willing to do their share to earn it.

—American Socialist.

The force back of every great change in the form of society has been necessity—the necessity of securing a living. It is this necessity to-day that is forcing the masses to accept Socialism.

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Toronto workers are preparing for a great May-Day celebration. Representatives from ten different groups have already decided upon the form of manifesto, and we note a greater degree of unity amongst the different elements than at any time during the last five years. This is not the time to accentuate our differences; we are faced by a common enemy.

The Canadian Forward is tickling the palates of some of our sympathizers. A friend from Vancouver wires for 100 copies of the April 10th issue. Keep pushing We shall get results!

May the 1st .- The Sine-Qua-Uon of the Social Revolution is upon us. Do not be found sleeping at your posts. A martyred democracy calls you to arms! The land of promise beckons you to take possession.

I. BAINBRIDE, Secretary.

Editor Bainbridge Defence Fund.

To All Socialists and Sympathizers,-In view of the charge of seditious libel laid against Comrade Bainbridge by the Crown Attorney of Toronto, we issue a call for his defence. It will cost money to carry this case through, and we do not desire to be deprived of his services for lack of funds The freedom of the Socialist press is in danger. This is your fight. In view of a resuma of his case in another column of this issue, it is not necessary to elaborate here.

Into the breach, Comrades!

Make all cheques payable to I. Bainbridge, Dominion Secretary, at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto.

#### LIEBKNECHT'S SEAT TO BE FOUGHT.

Franz Mehring, of the Socialist Minority, who was recently released from preventive detention, has accepted an invitation to contest the seat rendered vacant by the imprisonment of Karl Liebknecht. German politics are growing more interesting. A Block, consisting of the Centre, Progressive, and Socialist Parties, under Bethmann-Hollweg, is now declared by the Conservative Imperialists to have come into existence, to complete the way to Parliamentarism."

We note, too, that journalists, as well as Trade Union leaders, are to be exempt from the new Civilian War Work Conscription.

"I see no solution for the problem until hunger compels capitulation."-Charles L. Eidlitz, president of New York Building Trades Employers' Association, during the lockout in July,

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"Workers of the World Unite"

A. W. MANCE, Chairman

#### AN ITALIAN SOCIALIST ON THE "BALANCE OF POWER."

From a report in Avanti we learn that, speaking recently in the Peace Debate in the Italian Parliament, our comrade, Claudio Treves, said:

"One of the atrocious idols that has plunged the peoples into war is the 'Balance of Power.' The 'Balance of Power' was born in England, where it was used as a weapon of English Conservative - Imperialism, sometimes against France, then against Russia, now against Germany.

"The policy of the 'Balance of Power' has led to the balance of armaments and therefore to the impotence of war to resolve difficulties by this means."

Referring further to the re-constitution of Poland by the Central Powers, Treves said:

"In place of Russian or German autonomy to Poland we suggest Polish autonomy to Poland.

"Small nations are constantly being sacrificed to their protectors, the Entente. Roumania . . . you have succeeded in dragging into the war, and in order to show your gratitude for her help you have agreed to close the avenue of her life and commerce with Europe by consigning the Dardanelles to Russia."

#### PRESIDENT HOOP BUT WILL NOT GO BACK.

Pressure of Organized Labor Compels Government to Recede.

What some regard as the closing incident in regard to the operations of the anti-registration committee, which gave rise to such commotion at the beginning of the year, came before the last meeting of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, when the announcement was made that the two suspended Letter Carriers had been reinstated and representatives of the association thanked the council for the manner in which it had sustained them Delegate W. H. Hoop informed the council that so far as he was concerned, the reinstatement would not be availed of, as he wished to further enjoy the sense of freedom which he had experienced during the period of suspension.

"The public be damned! I'm not running this road for the benefit of the public. I'm running it for my own benefit."-William H. Vanderbilt, of the New York Central Railway.

"The damned fools don's know what is good for them."-J. Pierpont Morgan, speaking of the striking steel workers in September, 1901.