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Plans
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THE CANADIAN FORWARD

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL - DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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Austrian Socialist Minority Issue Secret Manifesto

Many of Them Pay the Supreme Sacrifice for International Socialism --- Court-Martialled and Shot for Having Manifesto in Their Possession.

(This manifesto is the work of a minority group of international Socialists in Austria. The issuance is secret, no signatures are attached, and its circulation in Austria is prohibited.)

The truth is stifled in Austria. The people are deprived of every opportunity of giving vent to their desperation at the ever-growing poverty and oppression, while being kept in ignorance of the real conditions. Liberty was never "at home" in Austria, but during the war conditions have developed such as only blood-stained Czarism has on its conscience. Not a vestige of the Constitution remains; freedom of speech is abolished, and the hangman is at work unhampered. The civilized world will some day learn with horror how political reaction in Austria is degrading the law into a tool of the war machine. Any and every attempt at political criticism is stifled by arbitrary secret methods, which in turn are justified on the pretext of military necessity. A whole army of censors is let loose against the press. They have organized themselves into secret tribunals, because from the lowest to the highest official they are too cowardly to accept the personal responsibility for their perfidious actions.

The raving against the press is supplemented by threats of the gallows and prison. Judicial murder has become a daily occurrence. We will not speak of the many death sentences pronounced on Techech citizens for the "crime" of having in their possession copies of the ludicrous "Liberation Manifesto" of the Czar. We simply want to show to what despotism the most harmless expression of political criticism is subjected. A German Socialist in Freiwaldau had some copies printed of a peace poem, which had appeared in the Austrian "Buergerzeitung," and sent same to a few friends. He was condemned to death for this offence, but his sentence was commuted to five years' hard labor. Such is the Austria which feels called upon to fight Czarism.

The voice of truth is stifled in Austria, and has not been able to make itself heard outside of the country. But there is a limit to all humiliation and degradation, and we, who are still international Socialists, now call to our brothers in all countries to tell them how we are deprived of the right to speak and the power to act. We want to assure them that we are firmly determined to utilize every opportunity in the interest of the Proletarian struggle for emancipation; that we shall remain true to our ideal, which was and always will be: **FIGHTING THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT.**

We know that in all places and directions there are comrades who feel as we do; but we do not over-estimate the

class consciousness of the masses. Notwithstanding that everyone despises the Government and that every official scorns and scoffs at the system while permitting himself to be used as its tool, we know to our sorrow how the multitude submits in passive helplessness to the powers that be.

The Austrians have become used to absolutism, and as is the case with all slaves, they have become accustomed to the loss of much of their self-respect. In fact, anything can be done with them nowadays. "Patriotic Enthusiasm" is manufactured a la Potemkin. From the Ministry down to the police, all departments of the Government have joined forces for co-operative extortion. Bohemia in particular is their field of activity; they extort expressions of loyalty and patriotic demonstrations in the papers; they extort expressions advertising the success of the war loan; they even force the hoisting of **BLACK AND YELLOW** flags on all houses. The infamy of this camarilla is only exceeded by the stupidity which believes that this infamy can remain undiscovered and go unavenged.

They have enforced the silence of the grave in Austria. But the time will come when not only the whole civilized world, but the people of Austria-Hungary as well, will brand this despicable "Art of Statesmanship" as it deserves. Though we are powerless to-day, the time will come when we will be able to fulfil the task designated by Marx: "One must emphasize the real pressure by adding more pressure, and in this way convey to the consciousness, the pressure itself—emphasizing the shame and disgrace by making it public."

We hate blood-stained Czarism with all our hearts, but we bear the same hatred to the Black-Yellow barbarism. We know that with the troops of the Czar the white terror would enter our country, but we also know that if the Austrian powers of to-day are victorious in this war, we would face a period of horror hitherto unknown. The ruling classes are full of the wildest schemes. They who left for the front crying "Down with Czarism" are planning to force on Austria the stigma of Absolutism. They started to "free Poland," but now openly discuss the fact that Poland which has come under Hapsburgian control, is to be subjected to the mailed fist of military dictatorship. The Poles will be "freed" from sending their representatives to the Duma, and they must indeed be happy in the thought that the Poles of Galicia, like the Poles of Russia, are robbed of their rights. Furthermore, the Slavs of the North, as well as those of the South, are also to enjoy the blessings of Austrian "kultur" in the shape of military dictatorship. This conjuncture of affairs is propitious to German despotism in Austria and to the des-

potism of the Magyars in Hungary. The Techechs, the Ruthenians, the Italians, and the Slovaks, whose "patriotism" was not great enough, are to be stimulated by the mailed fist to a deeper love of the fatherland.

In contrast to the monstrous plans of the present, and the still more monstrous plans for the future, we adhere to our conviction, which the Social Democrats have always tried to bring to the realization of those in power that Austria will become a democratic State, based on autonomous nationalities or it will cease to exist.

The Yellow-Black camarilla may revel in the idea that the same whip which is held over the people during the war will be used in times of peace. The bourgeoisie may cherish the delusion that the time is ripe to subject the ambitious nations of this country to their ever-grasping power, with the aid of their German ally. The governing classes in Austria never learned anything from the past, nor do they want to learn anything now. This is proved by their plans to make of Austria a "dynastic domain" instead of a home for its people. Austria can only be helped by a complete overthrow of the prevailing system, by a decisive victory of the national autonomy and the democratic right of choice.

We Austrians have been robbed of the most elemental rights. We have nothing to say in domestic affairs, and even less in foreign affairs. The shameful ultimatum to Serbia, fabricated with such unscrupulous cynicism, would never have been possible under the control of a Parliament. In spite of all the disappointment that we have lived through, we are still convinced that such a decision could only have been arrived at over the dead bodies of the Social Democratic deputies.

We Austrians no longer have any constitution, but we must not forget that the rest of Europe has only half a one. Everywhere we are confronted with the ignominious fact that foreign politics are barred from constitutional control. Vital questions pertaining to the destiny of the people, the decisions as to war and peace, are left to a camarilla of irresponsible diplomats.

Unfortunately, this absolutism escaped detection at the beginning of the war. The parliamentary farce to which the people are admitted, succeeded brilliantly. The representatives of the working classes took part in this farce in most countries. Instead of placing the responsibility where it belonged, and refusing to co-operate in Parliament, when "accomplished facts" were placed before them, they joined forces with the ruling classes, thereby strengthening absolutism. It never occurred to them that there was in reality no Parliament, and that from the beginning of the war it was simply a demon-

stration meeting in the service of the absolute regime.

In the domestic affairs of many countries the Parliament has deteriorated into an empty form, while in foreign affairs it is the mightiest stronghold of absolutism. The uncompromising struggle for the democratic republic is the imperative political duty of international Socialism. In all our future actions the following demands must be first and foremost: Democratic control over foreign politics; decision for war or peace by the people.

In foreign as well as in domestic politics the watchword must be: No solidarity with the ruling system in Austria. And yet the intellectual leaders of the Austrian social democratic party were not able to rouse themselves to this conclusion. But to take sides with the ruling class was only possible by ignoring the interests of the working class. They thus had to shut their eyes to the realities of the Austrian situation. They ignored the Czarism in their own country, so as to fight Russia with enthusiasm, they deadened their consciousness of the fact that their Government had incited a war so as to be able to speak all the more of the "self-defence of the Teutonic people."

Politically there is no unity in the Austrian Social Democracy. It is full of patriots of various degrees, from rabid German nationalists to dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries. The "Arbeiterzeitung" was the forum where this mixture of tendencies found expression. But after a war intoxication of short duration, the policy of the paper changed, and gave expression to a longing for peace. A guerilla warfare was still carried on with the censors, but remained within the limits of a friendly opposition. You cannot be in favor of war and carry on a policy against it at the same time. However, for the paper, patriotism proved stronger than Socialism.

The war had become a party matter, the party problem consisting in holding out to the end, or "holding through," as the Germans term it. Out of the political party there developed a philanthropic society on a big scale. We do not misjudge the success of this charitable activity, but it cannot take the place of the political function of the Social Democracy. Instead of exposing the present system by militant opposition in principle and holding it responsible, all efforts were directed towards palliative "intervention" in concrete cases.

The constitutional limitations contained in paragraph 14 saved the Social Democratic deputies from the embarrassment of voting the war credits. We do not know whether they would have disgraced themselves in the face of the outrageous provocation by Austria. We do know that very many were enthusiastic over the Social Democratic group in the Reichstag. The Austrian Social Democrats renounced their own policy and were taken in tow by the Germans. And thus they identified themselves with the tragedy of the German Social Democracy on and after August 4.

We are neither pacifists nor militarists, but something different. We Socialists do not seek the method of force, neither do we exclude it. Our method calls not for war, but revolution.

(Continued on page three.)

WHY EUROPE WENT TO WAR

NOW WE KNOW

By E. D. Morel.

"The vital interests of Russia are as well understood by our loyal Allies as by ourselves, and that is why an agreement, which we concluded in 1915 with Great Britain and France, and to which Italy has adhered, established in the most definite fashion the right of Russia to the Straits and to Constantinople."—M. Trepoff in the Duma, Dec. 2nd, 1916.

"The extension southwards is for Russia an historical, political, and economic necessity, and the foreign power which stands in the way to this expansion is ipso facto an enemy power. . . . Hence it has become quite clear to the Russians that everything remains as it is, the road to Constantinople will have to be carried through Berlin."—Professor Mitrofanoff, in the Preussische Jahrbucher, May, 1914.

"Is it true that the St. Petersburg Cabinet imposed the adoption of the Three Years' Law upon this country, and is pressing to-day with all its weight to secure the maintenance of that law? I have not succeeded in obtaining light upon this delicate point, but it would be the graver seeing that those who direct the destinies of the Empire of the Tsars cannot be ignorant of the fact that the effort which is thus demanded of the French nation is excessive and cannot long be sustained. Is the attitude of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg based, then upon the conviction that events are so near that the tool it proposes to place in the hands of its Ally can be used?"—Dispatch to his Government from Barton Guillaume Belgian diplomatic representative in Paris, June 9, 1914. [Vide "Truth and War."]

"In Russian eyes the die is cast, and only a political miracle can avert war. A partial mobilization has already been ordered, and there is every indication that the whole of the vast military machinery will soon be set in motion. An Imperial manifesto is awarded to-night. Confident of England's support, about which doubts have mostly disappeared, the Russian public is prepared to accept war."—Reuter's telegram from Petrograd, July 29, 1914.

"The sailing of the British Fleet from Portland has created an immense impression, and coupled with Japan's pacific assurance, has more than confirmed Russia's determination to stand to her guns."—Reuter's telegram from Petrograd, July 30, 1914.

"The only thing which cannot be doubted is that Germany has been actively engaged, here as much as in Vienna in trying to find a means by which a general conflict might be avoided. . . . England at the beginning made it understood that she would not let herself be dragged into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan openly said so. This promised help is of the greatest weight and has contributed no little to give strength to the war party."—Dispatch to his Government from M. B. de l'Escaille, Belgian diplomatic representative in Petrograd, July 30, 1914.

"General Russian mobilization ordered midnight."—July 30, 1914.

"Crowds of thousands of people made demonstrations to-day before the British Embassy here. Sir George Buchanan, the Ambassador, appeared at the window and addressed the crowd. Amid frantic cheering he declared England's perfect sympathy with Russia. The Secretary of the Embassy, standing beside the Ambassador, then raised cheers for Russia."—Reuter's telegram from Petrograd, August 3, 1914.

"The existence of the agreement was already generally known, and this

knowledge probably helped to weaken the impression which otherwise the public announcement would certainly have made. As it was, it evoked virtually no open enthusiasm but the cries from the Opposition benches of 'bravo Sazonoff,' 'where's Sazonoff?' plainly indicated that members of the Duma were fully aware as to whose brilliant diplomacy Russia owes the prospective gift. . . . The progressive bloc has sent to M. Sazonoff a telegram thanking him for the agreement as to the Dardanelles and Constantinople achievement, thanks to his talent and patriotism."—Times correspondent's dispatch of the Duma's sitting of December 2, 1916.

Avowals at last, after 28 months of war! M. Sazonoff, Russia's ex-Foreign Minister, is surely entitled to the congratulations of his compatriots, or rather to the congratulations of those of his compatriots for whom the possession of Constantinople and the Straits has long been the cardinal and supreme aim of Russian foreign policy.

And to-day? What is the purpose to-day? It is to destroy the independence of Turkey. It is to undo three-quarters of a century of British foreign policy. It is to violate every canon, every precept invoked during that period to induce the British people to have faith in the perspicacity of their rulers. It is to destroy the balance of power in the Mediterranean, to revolutionize the strategic conceptions which have governed our Eastern policy for generations. It is to undo all that has been done before—accomplished with British treasure, sealed with British blood. And without one explanatory speech, without a solitary attempt at justification. The geographical conditions have not changed. Our tenure of power in India reposes upon the same basis, is open to the same dangers—only aggravated with Prussia no longer an independent State and with Russian Armenia in the hands of those who await their "prospective gift" from the immolation of British youth, from the tears of British mothers, from the mortgage of British wealth.

Bright's reply to Russell's claim to be defending the independence of Turkey, of Germany, and "of the integrity, civilization, and something else of Europe" was a claim on behalf of the blood of the nation. He claimed that the "blood of England" was "the property of the people of England," and that "the sacred treasure of the bravery, resolution, and unflinching courage of the people of England" were not to be expected save in the national interest.

Is it then a national interest that Britain should bleed to death in order that the Tsar shall ride in triumph past the Great Mosque at Constantinople? Are the bowels of Britain to be torn out in order that M. Sazonoff shall receive a second congratulatory message? Is the British working man to see a wider horizon of hope and opportunity opening for himself and his descendants because Russian Imperialism triumphs in the Near East? Does the experience of history teach us that alliances are eternal?

What are we fighting for now, gentlemen of the House of Commons? "For our lives?" How so when our adversary proclaims month after month, and week after week, his willingness to treat? "For Belgium?" How so, when our adversary proclaims that he has no desire to retain Belgium? For the liberties of the smaller nations? But what do the smaller nations think about it? Are they on our side?

Let it be well understood; let it sink into the minds of every man and woman of this country that the Russian flag can be hoisted over Constantinople only through the spilling of torrents of British blood, the death of hundreds of thousands of British youths, the expenditure of further enormous sums of British capital, and the prolongation of the war for an indefinite period.

If you endorse this bargain, concluded behind your backs, concluded without even an attempt at public justification, it is you who are ordering the spilling of that blood, it is you who are responsible for the unfathomable misery which will ensue, it is you who are signing the death warrant of countless numbers of your countrymen. It is you who are allowing the country to be hurried by rapid steps to national suicide.—Labor Leader.

CLIP AND COMMENT

Northcliffe runs a paper called Answers, which means when you travel by the train, he hopes you will stick to night and main.

The history of the war you get in Answers differs in some respects from the history you get in the Times, which is in some respects unfortunate, but at any rate it ensures that we get variety in our entertainment. Thus Answers on the 25th November:

It is known that the Kaiser never signed the mobilisation decree; the Crown Prince forged his father's signature.

Shame upon the lad with the big nose! Shame upon him! And you remember how the Financial News told us about his 150 wives!

Now in order to thoroughly expose the blackguardism of the Forger with the big nose (see our lower strata of cartoonists, passim) who has committed Mormonism 149 times (we have the authority of the Financial News for the statement it is necessary for Answers to boost the Kaiser in a fashion that must raise the patriotic hair on the bald heads of the British Workers' National League:

The Kaiser has never been popular in Germany. He was always regarded as pro-British. He's the eldest son of Queen Victoria's eldest child, you know! He spoke English before he could speak German, and he speaks English now better than he does German! My firm belief is—and, of course, you can disagree with me—that the Kaiser is not a man of war. He dropped Bismarck because the latter wanted another go at France. He has kept the peace for thirty years, and that's a pretty long time! If he had wanted war he had heaps of chances, but he didn't take them. What about when Russia was on her knees after the war with Japan? And what about when you were busy in South Africa? And what about when France lay like a little lamb, waiting for an eagle to come along?

If that doesn't get Northcliffe himself denounced as a pro-German, there's no justice in Europe.

Robert Blatchford blames Fred the Great for the war, and Will Crooks has had a natural animosity towards the Hun since he heard that the Kaiser as a little boy had bitten a British Ambassador in the leg.

The Bishop of London has more sense:

It is perfectly monstrous that nation should fight against nation and class against class because we have made such a miserable hash in distributing God's gift.—Glasgow Forward.

Here is a quotation from the Toronto World of October 2 to this effect: "And did these rather flippant apolo-

gists of Canadian politics ever read what the Labor Party has done in England; and what it has done for social uplift? . . . If it had not been for the Labor Party and its independence England would have been in a much worse position."

Declaring that anyone who takes up the cause of Labor is considered a crank by either of the old political parties, it asked this question:

"Why should labor of the country—why should not Toronto and the County of York, have four or five Labor men seats; another in Hamilton; another in London, and at least one in Winnipeg and one in Vancouver; several in Montreal, and two or three in the Maritime Provinces, and in that way by real force, secure better government and more progressive government for the country."

Let us remind the World that if it had the cause of the workers at heart, as it now pretends, it had a chance a few weeks ago, in the recent Toronto bye-election of supporting a working man. But it didn't. The support it gave was to one of the old party candidates, whom it now declares views every one as cranks who takes up the cause of the workingman.

THE SOLDIER'S WIFE.

I lie alone and dream, forever dream
Of war and you. . . .
Yet sometimes just a little fitting gleam
Of Hope slips through.

You may come home at last, some happy day,
To laugh at me—
You may return to kiss my fears away,
Alive and freeh

It may be so, and yet, this sullen day,
The Winter rain
Falls like a curtain, shutting Joy away
Beyond the pane.

I work all day, but the night I pray
That we may win. . . .
And sometimes I can hear the things
• you say
Through all the din.

I hear your boyish laugh, so unafraid,
Your whisper low
In answer to the frightened prayers
I've prayed. . . .
It makes me glow
Our love seems then so strong and pure a tie,
And doubt a sin.

Such love the very Furies must defy
And Heaven win!

Ah! Thus my spirit. But the flesh is frail.
This Devil, War,
Can make a lonely woman faint and quail—
Its flame and roar. . . .

It is not for her body that she fears,
'Tis for her Love. . . .
Could she but fight, dried all her futile tears!
Ah, God above!

For Us the festered horror of that Hell,
The blaze of Hate;
Not theirs the final pang—who fight so well—
But ours, who wait!
—Elizebeth N. Hepburn,
in N. Y. Times.

Every man is entitled to all he needs and no man is entitled to more than he needs. No man needs a million dollars. No man can use a million dollars on himself. So say Socialists. Are we right?

It is because Socialism is practicable and workable that capitalists object to it.



OUR BOOKSHELF

TIEHENOR'S "CREED OF CONSTANTINE."

(By Eugene V. Debs.)

The complete title of this latest book of Harry Tiehenor, the best contribution from his virile and versatile pen to current radical literature, is "The Creed of Constantine; or, The World Needs a New Religion."

The style of the author lends itself readily to the popular treatment of almost any subject, however dry it might appear to other writers, and in this latest work he has invested the early history of the Christian church with the liveliest interest and with all the glamor of romantic literature.

"The prophet of Christendom is not the gentle Jesus; neither is the gospel of brotherhood and peace the Christian creed. The prophet of Christendom is the Emperor Constantine, and the Christian creed is the decision of the First Council of Nice."

The Council of Nice was held in the year 325. This was a few years after Constantine's "conversion" to Christianity, or, more properly speaking, Christianity's conversion to Roman paganism. The manner in which the early Christian movement founded by Jesus was captured by the wily Constantine and converted to a ruling class "religion" is narrated in detail and supported by copious extracts from many of the ablest writers and commentators of ancient and modern history.

The story, in the telling of which Gibben, Froude, Comte, Darwin, Haeckel, and other historians and scientists are freely quoted, must be read to be understood and appreciated. Scarcely more than a hint of its interest and value can be given in the space of an ordinary review.

But it is in the closing chapters in which the author presents his "New Religion," that the solid worth of his work appears. In these pages he reveals himself as a prophetic soul with a social vision, and he writes as one inspired. Listen to him:

"Once, long ago, came one who voiced the hope and longing of the race with infinite love and passion. He told of a Source of Life and Love that the world had never known, of a common Father of a common humanity. He dreamed of a society strange and beautiful—the Brotherhood of Man. His teachings were garbled and doctored by the priests that wrote of him years after his tragic death, yet will we but search the sweet message that he taught, the burden of his soul can be found. He was not the tortured god of the dogmatic creeds—he was the lowly carpenter, the brother of the workers, the friend of man and the lover of woman. 'Call no man master,' said this sweet-souled carpenter, 'for ye are all brethren.' He wrote no book, he formed no creed. He simply trusted that the words he spoke and the dream he dreamed would some day

find expression and life in the soul of his class—the working class. He had come to set the captive free. Again and again his tender heart bled for all who bore the heavy burden, but with more anguish than all for woman, the doubly-chained captive. * * * The few preserved sentences that fell from his passionate lips—the scathing denunciation of the master class and the infinite love of the outcast—these are all I want. I turn from the dogmatic epistles, half ancient Judaism and half Greek mythology, and I go again with the Peasant of Palestine down the beaten path to Bethany, where in a humble home lived Mary and Martha. There I can still hear the music of his voice, the simple story of love and brotherhood, as on the vine-clad porch he told it time and again. And the little children, how they swarmed to meet him! He was their comrade, their lover, and the companion of their childhood. And now another voice, perhaps more stern than his, cries glad tidings to the woman and her child. It is the worldwide call of Socialism. Women, children, when every chain is broken yours shall be the greater freedom, for yours has been the greater slavery."

The writer than proceeds to present what to his social vision appears as the true religion and he makes it for all the race. It is in these pages that the author pours out his great heart to his readers. The voice of human brotherhood is distinctly heard there, not in pious platitudes, but in soulful plea for the emancipation of the oppressed and the crowning of emancipation with the brotherhood of the race. The new religion Tiehenor advocates is divine because it is rational and rational because it is divine; it is free from creed and dogma, free from sodden superstition and spineless servility, but packed full service, and brotherly love. It is a wholesome, sweet and serene-spirited religion and the day it dawns upon the world the world will be at peace and humanity will be civilized.—"Rip-Saw."

AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST MINORITY ISSUE SECRET MANIFESTO

(Continued from Page One)

The ruling classes are in this war to divide the earth. They are fighting for the control of the world. We have nothing but contempt for the doctrine that the proletariat must uphold the Imperialists of its country, so as to help increase the gain of the war. It is awful enough that the working class is the "tool of Imperialism" in this war; if the working class were to degrade itself into becoming a partner of Imperialism, it would be the grave of all hope for the future.

The aims on this war are purely the aims of the ruling classes. Our aim is not world power of an Imperialistic caste, but world power of the International proletariat. Whichever way Imperialism may divide the world, the task of Socialism is to conquer it for itself.

The old party candidate will promise you most anything you ask. He knows he is safe. He knows that capitalism, which you vote to maintain, will not allow him to keep his promises.

And now enforced starvation is hailed as a blessing by the capitalist class. We are told we have been eating too much. They who have been eating too much are not the fellows who are doing the starving.

Did you ever make a million? Well, others have made millions off the likes of you, and you never saw the millions, either.

Capitalist civilization has put the whole world in want. What is it that you want?

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.

CORRESPONDENCE

LINDSAY, ONT.

Ontario Executive report to hand. Our local has been badly cut up by war conditions. Many of the members have left town, consequently we have not done much propaganda the last year. We have hopes for the future, however, and anticipate running our usual course of lectures in the near future.

A. GOODWIN, Secretary.

GREENCOURT, ALBERTA.

An anniversary social has been given by the North Paddle Local No. 62, of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, January 6th, at Mayerthorpe, Alta., where a large party of ladies and gentlemen attended the same.

Mr. H. Thomas delivered a speech on the subject Socialism. Comrade Thomas is a very good speaker and during the course of his lecture advanced many very important arguments in relation to the industrial conditions obtaining in Western Canada. He pointed out that as soon as a poor man takes up a home—stead the extremely heavy burdens of taxation were placed very discriminate upon his shoulders, while the Railway Companies and the Hudson Bay Company were entirely relieved of taxation, notwithstanding that they had millions of acres of land in their possession.

He endeavored to show by contrast the difference between the function of capital and labor, which he did to the satisfaction of his hearers.

At the conclusion of his address, a number of questions were asked which received very courteous handling and left no room for dispute as to the correctness of the arguments he had advanced.

Our local is convinced that by such a speech some of the listening party who up to date did not know what Socialism was, will be encouraged and join our party. After this some refreshments were served, and, according to the latinistic saying: dum vivimus vivamus—while we live let us live—a dance took place, and we had a very educative and enjoyable time.

G. COFFEY, Sec.

HAMILTON, ONT., LOCAL 61.

Our local still continues to progress, and we have decided to keep our Sunday afternoon lectures going.

Last Sunday we had with us Comrade Max. Armstrong, of the Toronto Local of the Socialist Party of North America.

The lecturer spoke for almost two hours, was in fine style and gave a clear outline of the Socialist movement and philosophy. After pointing out the strong differences (opposition he called it) between his party and ours, he quoted numerous items of the capitalist press to show that capitalism was a failure as far as the workers were concerned, and that the class struggle was a fact, that the workers could not expect any hope from a class whose interests were so utterly opposed to that of theirs. That reforms were only palliations and that the only thing worth fighting for was economic and industrial freedom, the only true freedom which could only be obtained by the workers owning and controlling the means by which they lived. The logical method by which to accomplish this end was "Education and Political Action." At the end of the lecture questions, as usual, were asked for, several were propounded which Comrade Armi-

strong handled in a masterly manner.

We hope to have him down again in the near future.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

By Lucien Saint.

Washington.—Rowland H. Davies is at work for peace accompanied with profound and deceptive ambiguity. The news of it which the United States will hear will be to the effect that democracy has won—the militarist Russia and Monarchical England have attained laurels over Kaiserdom for the cause of the common people!

American public opinion today and for many years to come is almost certain to be influenced by British public opinion—by the rulers of the British Empire, to regain her lost military prestige, England must either fight on or else conclude a peace whose terms she herself will advertise to the world as a victory for democracy. This latter course, according to the inside advices from across the Atlantic received here, England will take.

Don't Be Fooled.

The working people of the United States must not be fooled by the terms of peace. They must not be drawn into the feast of International love and humanitarianism which will accompany the figuring of the terms of the treaty of peace. They must not think that this is the last great war because everybody including Germany, will declare it. The internationalism of the working class must not be surrendered to that of capitalism exhausted and war-worn.

Already the big monied interests in this part of the world are talking of what they call "the war after the war"—the fierce struggle with the nations of the world for foreign commerce. Already the United States Government is assuming the role of protector of United States capitalists in their scouting expeditions for foreign trade. The press is filled with articles dwelling on the necessity of increasing our production, or else of finding an outlet for our surplus production in foreign lands. The prosperity of the nation depends on the gross quantity of production, declare these articles, and the more we produce the more prosperous a nation are we.

This Is Capitalist World.

If from this moment on through the conclusion of the terms of peace the working class of the United States fail to grasp the significance of the new movement in international business, it will awaken later to find itself in ills. In spite of all the talk about democracy, the world, after all, is ruled by the capitalists. They control money and credits; they control the expression of public opinion; they control the great monopolies upon which the life of the peoples depend. These capitalists may want democracy for themselves, but they do not want it for the men who make the wealth that supports them and their system. In their eager rush for new fields of business, to conquer, the workers are to be left in the lurch. There is no proposition in the business world of America today which thinks of the workers first and of capitalists second.

Wages And Wealth Unchanged

The treaty of peace about to be concluded will doubtless reapportion territory and Kingdoms. But it will not reapportion wages and wealth.

There can be no peace, no stable lasting peace in industry till the workers are restored to their heritage, and till the cause of economic war, namely the exploitation of the democracy by the few, is removed and destroyed. Till then, the nations may talk and make peace terms, but the workers, at peace with each other, will continue their war against private profit and ownership of the means of production.—American Socialist.

We are closer to an age of darkness than we are to civilization.

Future of War and Peace

III.—The Insufficiency of Pacifism.

To a humanist it appears incredible that civilized nations should use war as a method for deciding their differences. Even the gains of the victor seem scarcely able to compensate it and justify the suffering and loss of life. Revolutions are sometimes fought for the benefit of humanity, but wars seldom. The present war has, of course, shown that mere humanist considerations are not yet, if ever they can be, of sufficient strength to prevent conflicts. The war occurred in spite of every kind of opposition, religious, socialist, and the arguments comprised under the head of the newer Pacifism.

Unfortunately, it must be admitted, peace doctrine is not an integral and living part of civilized religions—it might be of a number of unorthodox Christian sects or of Buddhism. The fact that in the warring countries the Church, whatever its form, has given its religious sanction to the participation of its particular nation, shows how far imperialist doctrine has invaded religious precincts. The ethics taught by the Church as of supernatural origin have shown their true character, their class and national limits. In nations at peace as well as in those at war the leading churches and religious divisions are so far in accord with national policies as to preclude hope of imminent aid from religion in establishing permanent peace.

It is quite apparent to all thinking persons that a minority of unarmed Socialist workingmen could not have prevented war amongst states thoroughly organized in the military sense and supported by the inflamed public opinion of the majority. It is a hypocritical wall this, "Socialists failed to prevent war," especially since it comes chiefly from those who never were Socialists or gave their energies towards keeping Socialism weak as a movement. Socialism could not save these people from themselves. Nevertheless, Socialists, with notable and increasing exceptions, did not remain true to the point of view of Internationalism Socialism. In supporting their own governments against other governments, Socialists gave up the class struggle for a national struggle. The explanation of this failure is not far to seek. Capital is not as international and harmonious as many Socialists, and others, believed—national interests still predominate overwhelmingly over international interests. This fact finds impression in the nationalist tendencies of even Socialist parties. Depending as they do for their strength and character upon the development which social forces take, internationalism can become a reality for the Socialist parties only when there exists a wider basis for it in the world's economic condition. Internationalism is therefore not dependent upon present actions, but upon actions future conditions will make necessary.

The main argument of later Pacifism was that war did not pay from a moral and economic viewpoint, not merely that it did not pay the loser, but that it offered no gains to the victor. It was considered a general illusion to claim that trade interests could be extended by armies and navies. Nor were colonies of any benefit or economic advantage to the owning power. It was impossible to destroy trade rivals by military means. Unless the people were exterminated they would remain as competitors whether defeated, annexed or compelled to pay heavy fines and indemnities. The annexation of territory did not mean a transfer in the individual possession of wealth, therefore a conquering nation could not grow richer by merely acquiring a new colony.

These are some of the Pacifist arguments. But the claims are not wholly correct. On the one hand, national necessity arrested the movement of last century towards free trade, and now the tide runs so strongly in favor of protection that even England's position after the war presents some doubt. On the other hand, whatever advantages may have been won in the past from the ownership of undeveloped territory, these advantages are gradually declining as development becomes more general. The Pacifist argument is likely to gain greater force in the future. But at the present time the gains from ownership and economic control are still abundantly sufficient to cause war.

A colony even when practically an independent nation, so-called, like Canada, may yet be of tremendous value to the "mother country." The ability of one nation to produce cheaper than another is not the only thing that counts in international trade, especially where colonies are concerned. Race and language ties play their part. Britain's trade with her possessions was, in 1900, ten times that of Germany's trade with British possessions. In 1910 Britain's investments in her colonies totalled nearly as much as in the rest of the world. Barriers may be interposed to prevent even the cheaper producer from capturing trade from the dearer. The surtax and preferential tariff can be employed, as they have been in Canada, to the obvious advantage of the English capitalists over the German amongst others.

But political alliance and ownership in the national sense are sought and fought for on account of greater needs than the mass of ordinary trade demands. They are sought on account of the demands of oil, iron, steel and railroad interests, for the purpose of gaining concessions for one thing. Steel gives our era its distinctiveness. Industrial supremacy tends to the nation which produces iron and steel in the largest and cheapest quantities. Germany's immense and increasing mineral production gave tone and power to German Imperialism. Development in new countries involves a large use of steel and steel products. The movement to open up new territory does not spring from humanitarian sources, nor is it accomplished by the export of books, manufactured food products or clothes. The desire comes from the need of utilizing promising fields for investment of capital, which means the building of railways and development of mines and other natural resources. The procedure is different from the mere sale of commodities, bought and paid for. The capitalists and financiers who wish to "penetrate" a country and develop it, are seeking an outlet for their capital and products. But their investments are necessarily in such a form that they return no immediate dividends. If it is quite unclaimed territory, the land is at once annexed to a particular flag, and the capitalists are given grants, rights and privileges of development, interest guarantees and other securities. If it is simply a backward nation, the investing syndicates may use the power of their governments to wrest concessions and guarantees from the country they seek to exploit. For the purpose of securing exclusive rights and privileges military force is available. Countries like Persia, China and Turkey have on the whole submitted weakly to foreign demands and the creation of "spheres of influence." But when any great power, or little power for that matter, seeks by political and military alliance or by conquest to gain an open field for itself throughout a large area coveted by other powers because of the advantages offered their capitalists, the conflict of interest may produce a war.

The French in possession of Morocco,

the British of Egypt, Persia divided into two spheres under Russian and British influence, Russia desirous of strengthening herself in the Balkans where Germany and Austria were striving to make their influence supreme, Turkey in economic dependence upon Germany—all these conditions bore within themselves the germs of war. And so long as capital must seek an outlet beyond home fields, so long as there are possibilities of gain in Morocco, Persia, China or other territory, so long will the clash of material interests contain the possibility of wars. Mere Pacifism is insufficient to bring permanent peace.

(To be continued.)

WAR AND PEACE.

By Walt Mason.

The bugles sound, the prancing chargers neigh, and dauntless men have journeyed forth to slay. Mild farmer lads will wade around in gore and shoot up germs they never saw before. Pale dry goods clerks, amid war's alarms, pursue the foe and hew off legs and arms. The long-haired bards forget their metred sins, and walk through carnage clear up to their chins.

"My country calls!" the loyal grocer cries, then stops a bullet with his form and dies. " 'Tis glory beckons!" cry the ardent clerks; a bursting shell then hits them in the works. And the dark-winged vultures float along the air, and dead are piled like cordwood everywhere. A regiment goes forth with banners gay; a mine explodes, and it is blown away. There is a shower of patriotic blood; some bones are swimming in the crimson mud. Strong, brave young men, who might be shucking corn, thus uselessly are mangled, rent and torn. They call it glory when a fellow falls, his midriff split by whizzing cannon balls; but there's more glory in a field of hay, where brave men work for fifteen bits a day.

The bugles blow, the soldiers ride away, to gather glory in the mighty fray. Their heads thrown back, their martial shoulders squared—what sight with this can ever be compared? And they have dreams of honors to be won, of wreaths of laurel when the war is done. The women watch the soldiers ride away, and to their homes repair to weep and pray.

No bugles sound when back the soldiers come; there is no marching to the beat of drum. There are no chargers speckled with their foam; but one by one the soldiers struggle home. With empty sleeves, with wooden legs they drill, along the highway, up the village hill. Their heads are grey, but not with weight of years, and all the sorrow of all worlds and spheres is in their eyes; for they have walked with Doom; they have seen their country changed into a tomb. And one comes back where twenty went away, and nineteen widows kneel alone and pray.

They call it glory—oh let glory cease, and give the world once more the boon of peace! I'd rather watch the farmer go afield than see the soldier buckle on his shield! I'd rather hear the reaper's raucous roar than hear a colonel clamoring for gore! I'd rather watch a hired man milk a cow and hear him cursing when she kicks his brow, than see a major grind his snickersee to split a skull and make his country free! I'd rather watch the grocer sell his cheese, his boneless prunes and early winter peas, and feed the people at a modest price, than see a captain whack an ample slice with sword or claymore, from a warlike foe—for peace is wealth, and war is merely woe.

The average workingman works hard for his wife and children and then goes to the polls and votes against them. He doesn't know or he wouldn't do it, but it is what he does every time he votes for capitalism.

SOCIALIST BULLETS

"Slackers not fit for the Kingdom of Christ's herald: "Peace on earth, goodwill toward men."

How happy were the cripples, the widows and the orphans when they learned that Krupps could declare another 12 per cent. dividend.

The capitalists rob the workers and then ask the workers to protect them in the robbery. It is obvious that the capitalists have unlimited faith in the stupidity of the producers.

Workers make shells while politicians make issues; the next issue gives promise of being—"Bread or Bullets."

How superior a man is to a monkey! A monkey must be taught to act like a man, but a man can make a monkey of himself without instruction.

By the way, What is Pershing doing in Mexico? Had 'nt we better get the boys' out of the trenches by Christmas?

The high cost of living is going to make the contributions to Santa Claus light. Small merchants will soon see what the system is costing them.

The only remedy for a railroad strike, or any other kind of a strike, is one that the workers must apply themselves. The remedy is Socialism. The workers must apply it, capitalists will not.

Property has no rights where such "rights" interfere with human rights. Property is not sacred. Only life is sacred.

Every able-bodied man a producer or actually in some way useful to the producers—such is the demand of Socialism.

Socialism isn't going to make you a present of anything—it will simply make it possible for you to help yourself to the things you need.

Socialism will not only give every man the full social value of the product of his labor, but it will protect him in its use and enjoyment.

Two great questions are being asked. By the capitalist: Where shall I rest this Summer? By the toiler: Where shall I work this Summer?

Socialism will make this a happy nation of contented and prosperous workers. If you think that would be a bad thing, don't vote for Socialism.

If half the people were starving, the food trust would be all the more prosperous.

While labor may produce wealth, it is evident that labor doesn't use all wealth.

Soldiers have died on the battlefield and martyrs at the stake. Both were victims of nonsense, one willingly, the other unwillingly.



We are going to win this war—the CLASS War. Join up and do your bit. Attend your local. Send your own subscription in now. Hustle along the others.

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

To Our Contributors—

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

No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

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

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TORONTO, CANADA

February 10, 1917



The King can make a belted knight,
A marquis, duke and o' that.
But a honest man's aboon his might,
A man's a man for o' that.

—Burns.



ORGANIZED BRUTALITY.

Editorial comment on the latest Germanic note has suggested to our minds, what a strange medley this is to be sure. The ink-spillers of newspaperdom have been writing tomes of stuff on "the latest Prussian brutality." And while dilating upon the material considerations relevant to this matter and the gross inhumanity of such acts of frightfulness, some even expressing the hope that international complications might arise between the Triple Entente and the United States because of the latter's shipping interests, etc. One thought stands out pre-eminently above all others. Why do men discriminate in the degree and nature of Entente's criminal insanity and give no space or thought to the source and nature of such crime?

The Rule of Iron.

To people gifted with the normal amount of common sense, any intent to take life is a criminal intention; and the doing of the act "A Crime." If we are to censure the Germanic administration for its latest adopted tactics, we should at the same time pass judgment upon all political institutions, as they all rule with the right of might and not by moral sanction. The motives that control governments are in the main the same as those that control individuals. Ninety per cent. of the crimes committed to-day are the result of some material consideration that are rightly or assumed to effect the purpose in view. It is useless to dilate upon the right or wrong of such acts without taking into consideration the material considerations contingent upon such acts.

Truly did Frickske say: "Military necessity becomes a law unto itself," and we may say, for the benefit of our readers, that Lord Fisher of the British Admiralty has stated it as his conviction "that the most brutal methods to be employed in time of war are in the last analysis the most humane as they tend to hasten the coming of peace."

It is obvious "that the teaching of morals to a state relying upon force for its existence, is about as valid as teaching Yiddish to a piebald monkey," and not until the material assets of any country are subordinated to human

welfare, and the perpetuation of life rather than obsolete institutions, will we have the rule to save life rather than its antithesis; the destruction of life and its material sustenance.

Improper Motives.

Any act that results in human suffering, legalized or otherwise, which arises from wrong motives, becomes a crime. The degree or intensity of suffering resulting from such acts cannot be advanced as a factor that merits censure—but rather the motives that allow base material considerations to take precedence to human consideration. The only logical conclusion that can be drawn from the deduction of a state that rests upon force, whether expressed in the form of "legalized murder or piratical destruction"—is that the state is a murderer; and that the capitalist institution of property stands condemned in so far as it subordinates human interests to what is known as the material welfare of the ruling class.

President Wilson "Before and After."

In the last issue of the Forward we dealt at length with the Allies' view of Wilson's note to the Germanic powers. We notice a change in the political wind now the United States has severed diplomatic relations with Germany, and the things we inferred from Wilson's note as a far-seeing statesman in endeavoring to save American citizens from the European shambles, before the act—is now highly commended by his erstwhile enemies in this country, "the jingo press," as the wise and discreet act of an inspiring personality dominated by a great and noble purpose "after the act of severing relations has taken place."

Brasen Hypocrisy

We have no doubt that such a change in the affections of a belligerent for a neutral nation is not due to an additional star on the bespangled banner, but probably to considerations associated with the possible support she might render either of the belligerents. This uncertainty, however, has been laid at rest by Wilson getting on—what the guardians of our morals declare to be—the right side of the fence. The act has occasioned a few loud winks to be passed around amongst the "Wall Street specialists" as presaging an enormous increase in the United States

military and naval expenditures. The bankers, of course, whispered, more grist to the mill; and another wave of prosperity. We are not prepared to admit that the news occasioned the same degree of hilarity amongst the allied diplomats, as it did to the armament ring, or to Tommy in the trenches, and between the two latter for very different reasons. But this luke-warmness can readily be understood on the ground "That the Allies either want to preserve to themselves the right to protect small nations, or that the victory with guarantees might necessitate a still greater division of the spoil provided Uncle Sam pushes his nose into European geography"; it is not entirely unreasonable to suppose—"that the feathered nest of Uncle Sam will speak in terms of Kosher, when Turkey is thoroughly basted and nicely laid upon the table for those who are invited to the love feast—and peace terms become the order of the day."

AN ANTHOLOGY OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

N.B.—This is No. 7 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.

SOCIALISM AND EQUALITY.

By Philip Snowden, M.P.

The challenging declaration which shook thrones and made anointed heads tumble off their sacred necks, that "all men are born free and equal," has ceased to have more than historical value to us. It asserted the claims of a bygone age, the revolt of a generation which had outgrown its institutions, but which has now won its battles and has entered upon its rest. Equality in organic relationships is not an equality of uniformity or similarity, not an equality in possession, not an equality in ability or in kind of service expected. It is not expressed in the formula: "I am equal to you," but in this, "I have an equal right with you to self-development," and even that is limited to a development upon lines consistent with individual and social well-being. In the mouth of a budding criminal, for instance, the words would have no validity. No man has a right to be allowed to become a criminal. Under such circumstances, his right, as I have pointed out, rather consists in being subjected to such a restraint as will lead him into the ways of honesty and good citizenship.

Moreover, as society becomes more complex in its organization, the simple and literal significance of equality becomes more remote. Equality in a primitive stage of society may mean an equality of function, of possession, of enjoyment—

When Adam delved and Eve span Who was then the gentleman?—but equality in an organized community is the co-operation of equally free men in the work of the social whole—not the same work, not the same kind or importance of work, not work that is perhaps being paid for at the same rate, though pay must be adequate to the economic liberty of all—each man feeling no de-basement in his service and knowing that it is the best, or as good as he can do. The condition of equality is that under which self-expression is possible. Equality is, indeed, but an aspect of liberty. It is liberty to co-operate under conditions which conciliate differences of interest, and, therefore, is not at all inconsistent with the rational inequality of age, motherhood, difference of function, ability, nor with such formal inequality as arises from homage. It is only inconsistent with a subordination which

is not accepted by reason, and its significance in relation to actual experience is, therefore, in a constant state of change because the rationale of every system of relationship is constantly altering.

Thus, Socialism secures the ideal of equality by setting the individual free to co-operate in a social organism in the way best fitted to himself as a part and to the organism as a whole.

Of the other ideal, wherein has there been, or how could there have been, fraternity under competitive industry. The desire for fraternity has haunted life like a vision of "the highest for earth too high." For fraternity is something more than sympathy and the like virtues, without which society could not have been, and could not have progressed on a normal road. Sympathy is a stream which gushes from the human heart when struck with sorrow, or love, or pity; fraternity is a bond of society knitting men together even when sympathy is not acting, co-ordinating their efforts to a common aim, and establishing the conditions of "each for all, and all for each." This, the French Revolution never brought about. The May Day dance of its fraternal enthusiasm died with the first sunset. The Liberal epoch never brought fraternity about, for it is found not in a state of political freedom only, but in one of economic freedom. Fraternity is not the negative state of peace with one's neighbors; it is the positive state of co-operative industry. It is the blessing which comes to men when human solidarity is established. It, too, requires the support of an economic organization.

Thus the Socialist State will fulfil the desires of Democracy. Like the pole star, these desires have remained fixed through the ages. The modern democrat, seeing his hopes and theories rising up like a brilliant constellation in a dark sky, may not be prepared to find in the writings of the ancients proofs that the same constellation guided them through the stormy waters of their politics. But it was so. There may be differences as to the propriety of slavery, the amount of power natural for the people to possess, the justification for holding property, and so on. These are the differences of time and circumstance. The ideals that made men seek new conditions, that made them strive, rebel, reform, have remained steady like a beacon light flashing through all time. The end of the State has never been wealth, nor military greatness, nor power, nor class ascendancy. "The truth is that the object of their association is to live well—not merely to live"; and "it is evident that a State which is not merely nominally, but in the true sense of the word, a State, should devote its attention to virtue." That is the end which Aristotle placed before himself. Ages have come and ages have gone since then. Many paths have been trod, many guides have been followed in seeking that end. It is still our search. In our desire to attain to it, we have preached principles, conducted agitations, proclaimed many aims, and promulgated many programmes. We have advanced, but have not reached the end. Socialism has now in the fulness of time arisen as the guide for the activity of to-day and the hope of to-morrow. Its revelation is: In the pursuit of virtue, the State must organize itself to co-operate with the individual; individual consciousness must find itself in communal consciousness; the Whole and the Each must now as One go out on the eternal quest for contentment and peace.

If you want to do your neighbor a favor, hand him a copy of the Forward. It might be the means of making a Socialist out of him and that's the greatest favor you can do any man.

We will do better in the spring.

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

BRITISH I. L. P. THANKS WILSON.

St. Bride's House, Salisbury Sq.,
London, E. C., 6-1-17.
The Hon. Dr. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States of America.

Dear Mr. President,

I am directed by the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party to send, with deep respect, their expression of profound gratitude to you for your noble and momentous action in addressing to the belligerent Powers your Note on the question of Peace. My Council, who speak with a special knowledge of public opinion in Great Britain, particularly among the working classes, desire to assure you that your action is gratefully appreciated by the sober and responsible sections of the British people. They know that the critical and unsympathetic response which has been accorded to your Note by certain journals in this country does not represent the feelings of the British nation. The desire to see this terrible war brought to an end at once is wide-spread among all classes, and your appeal has raised a fervent hope that negotiations may be begun which will lead to a settlement on such terms as will be just and honorable to all the countries involved, and which will begin the formation of a league of nations for maintaining Peace, to which idea you have given such valuable support.

Mr. P. H. Hickey (organizer of the Victorian Railways Union) was the speaker of the evening. His subject was "The Future of the Australian Labor Party." Mr. Hickey began by emphasizing that the Labor movement was world-wide. He said the interests of the workers everywhere were identical. The anti-conscription vote, in his opinion, indicated that the people were hostile to war. He believed the people were heartily and wholly sick of this horrible slaughter. His own view was that there was no justification for the existence of any Labor Party if it did not oppose war. Unless the Labor Party quickly made up its mind to be completely anti-militarist, it would show inability to seize the nature of its responsibilities and obligations. Mr. Hickey proceeded to pay a tribute to the Socialist deputies of Italy for their splendid anti-war fight. He also dealt with the attitude of the Socialists of other countries, and in this section of his lecture paid a tribute to the magnificent I.L.P. of Great Britain. He considered that the world was looking to Australia for a further demonstration of its courage in the way of backing up its great verdict of the 28th of October. He said that unless the people were prepared to end the war an eminent statesman had well said that there would be crepe on every door in the belligerent countries. If the working-class movement sat silent, if it endorsed this wiping out of civilisation, it had surely lost all sense of its duty.—Melbourne Socialist.

WAR HEROES.

With monotonous frequency, we have been forced to listen to frenzied militarists orate on the great moral growth that comes on the heels of Mars. We are given to believe that unless the cream of our manhood goes out to murder and cripple, mankind will lose its virility and become as soft as a jelly-fish. But now comes Dr. Jacques Loeb, the noted scientist who is head of the department of experiment of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Speaking on "Biology and the War," in New York City recently, this scientist contended:

"These war enthusiasts maintain that unless a nation engages occasionally in war it will lose all those virile virtues,

especially courage, which are necessary for its survival. We do not need to argue whether the acts committed in a state of homicidal emotions are the real or only manifestations of courage; we may also overlook the manifestations of virility left behind by invading or retreating armies.

"The assumption that virility or courage, whatever may be meant by these terms, will disappear if not practiced in this form of war, implies an unproven and apparently false biological assumption, namely, that functions not practiced or organs not used, will disappear in the offspring.

"There is a wide quantitative difference in the development instinct and of the power of inhibition in different human individuals, and these differences may be hereditary. Individuals with a strong homicidal mania, who just manage to suppress their paranoic tendencies, will welcome war, since it removes for them the burden of constant inhibition, and unfortunately such poorly balanced individuals too frequently have been leaders of governments."—Appeal to Reason.

"SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE."

(By Emanuel Julius.)

I went to where the blood-greased machines of destruction sang their war symphony as the death peddlers gyrated in their Dance of Death. Brazen, arrogant slayers had turned loose artillery dogs that bark in hell. Man-made birds spat down their condensed ire. Cyclones of steel aided the bleak, gloomy Reaper who gathers them in. A corpse-strewn field soon became a desert of graves. Armies of human mechanisms were feeding one another with capsules of concentrated wrath. The crime of Cain was multiplied a million fold. Militarism held its victims clutched in its fatal folds. Europe, smoking in her ruins, was wallowing in her gory maelstrom. For years, the fields had been sown with bombs. Blood had fertilized the soil. Their harvest of hate was ripe. I walked away from where the direful cannon frown and came to a shell-torn home. There I saw a lone figure. In this chaos he was calm. His hands held no hurler of missiles of death. A plow was his tool. And in that roofless hut lay this peasant's wife. The boom of the guns was forgotten as she moaned. More pain, but different. The woman was passing on life; the man was feeding the world.

Having delivered a lecture at Rouen (France), Emile Verhaeren, the famous Belgian Socialist and poet, was hurrying to catch a train to Paris, when he slipped, fell under the wheels and was killed.

Emile Verhaeren, known as the "poet of the factory, brickyard and quay," knew England well, and since the outbreak of war had delivered many lectures on the agony of Belgium. Born in the country at St. Amand, on the Schelt, nearly 62 years ago, his youth was full of storm and passion that has almost become a legend. From the quality of eager energy which characterized him still, it is easy to credit the tales told to illustrate the immediate vigor of his first spring at life. He grasped at experience with uncontrolled rapacity. He was impetuous, excessive, gluttonous of sensations, governed by no law save that of his own untamed nature in his student days at Louvain University, where he studied law—he was called to the bar in Brussels when he was twenty-six, but did not practice long—one of his fellow-students called him a "Redskin" because of his savage enthusiasms. He could not be trusted with books of any value, for

the reason that when he was pleased with a particularly fine passage in one he had the habit of crying out in ecstasy and flinging the volume up to the ceiling! In these days he lived on the third floor of a house rented by a cutter named Joris, and it is recorded that when Verhaeren had a visitor he would leap out on the landing calling "Madame Joris, Madame Joris, a cup of tea, please!" He did that no matter how many visitors called in quick succession, and it never seemed to occur to him that he might have spared Madame Joris trouble by asking her to bring a pot of tea.

Behind this terrific love of life, in all its multitudinous aspects and its extremist urgencies, lay a passion for reality which led Verhaeren into wilder and stormier quests. He roamed all over Europe, living in all the capitals, fascinated by the teeming life of humanity. He turned aside from the quiet places, where life stagnates or moves only sluggishly, and plunged into the modern monster city stretching out its tenacles over the country. "Just the industrial towns which had thus far tempted no poet; those towns which roll up the vault of their laden sky with their own fog and smoke, which confine their inhabitants in leagues and leagues of congested misery, that attracted him." He became a Socialist. Vandervelde, the leader of the Belgian Socialist party, became his friend; he helped to found the central organization in Brussels, lectured, took part in the party's projects and expressed in his poetry of this period the idealist and humanist impulse that underlies the Socialist movement.

The bibliography of his works and of the critical studies of which he is the subject fills six pages at the end of Stefan Zweig's enthusiastic appreciation of the Belgian poet's life and work (translated by Mr. Jethro Bithell and published by Messrs. Constable, London, 6s.), and in that bibliography there are not half a dozen books in English. If it had not been for the war, it is safe to say that his name would have remained unknown for many years to come, save to the small band of cultured English people whom he has inspired with an intense admiration. His works include "Le Cloître" and "Le Aube (The Dawn)." The latter contains descriptions of an invading army plundering and burning villages and driving the terrible peasants before it.

Senator Louis Martin, of Paris, has written to M. Briand proposing a public funeral and that the body should lie in the Pantheon pending its removal to liberated Belgium.

TOTAL 1916 VOTE IS 597,864.

In his report to the executive committee, Secretary Germer stated that the 1916 national Socialist vote had finally been secured for all of the states and that it totalled 597,864 compared to 901,000 in 1912. He assigns several reasons to account for the falling off in the vote. They are as follows:

First—The general apathy that has prevailed in the party for the past three or four years and from which we have only in a measure recovered.

Second—The conflicting elements over the question of militarism and war which grew out of the European disaster. Under the slogan adopted by the democratic party, "He kept us out of war" many, who in 1912 voted the socialist ticket, as well as some who in the past have called themselves the "real marxian revolutionary Socialists," went over to the Wilson camp, while in some instances those who charged Wilson with being pro-ally, voted for Hughes.

Third—In addition to the war propaganda, the Adamson eight-hour law and a few other so-called labor laws

were instrumental in befuddling the workers.

Interesting reports were submitted to the executive committee by all of the foreign federations, most of these reports showing these organizations to be stronger than ever.

SONG OF THE SWORD.

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

The Sword sang
With a fierce note;
Its metallic twang
Stirred the pulse of the wielder—
Glory beckoned afar!

Sang the Sword,—
Of red blood,
Oozing from wounds,
Of cloven skulls,
And protrusion of brains,
Of severed limbs,
Of entrails and disembowelings.

The Sword sang—
The orphan cowered in the cave,
The widow's heart was chilled,
The babe clung to the dead breast.

Sang the Sword
In the hand of the Wielder—
Onward it pointed;
Followed the brand,
Lighting the sky,
Flaring the homestead—
Charred on the morrow the ruins—
Death in its wake;
Yet Glory beckoned afar!

The Sword sang
With sonorous twang—
Replied the vulture
Gorged with muchfeasting;
Echoed the weeping
Of women and children;
Rose up the pestilence,
Gaped wide the trenches,
Groaned the dismembered,
Cursed the despairing—
And Glory beckoned afar!

Ceased the Sword's song—
On the hands of the Wielder
Dried the dark blood clots;
Stilled is the tumult,
Vanished is Glory;
Victor and Victim
Lie silent in death.
—Womera, in International Socialist.

It is not unpatriotic to discuss the question of peace, or to advocate peace by negotiation. To be patriotic means to have at heart the welfare of the nation, the people. Patriotism does not require all citizens to think alike, even on the great subject of the war. Much less does it require the forcible suppression of minorities. Patriotism requires honesty and disinterestedness in the public service.

There is consequently nothing unpatriotic in trying to find out whether a peace arranged by negotiation will serve the world better than a peace decided by force. If the welfare of humanity can only be secured by completely crushing Germany, so that she will never be able to make war again, the fact should be capable of logical demonstration. It ought not to be necessary to suppress anyone who denies it, as we do.—Winnipeg Voice.

Socialists believe private property is a good thing. They believe every man should own private property and they want to establish a system that will give everybody an opportunity to own private property.

...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS...

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

WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING

Bright Clippings from Wide-a-wake Contemporaries

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

At the election of 1903 the socialists of Ladysmith and vicinity elected Parker Williams as the member for Newcastle district in the provincial parliament at Victoria. At the same time J. H. Hawthornwaite was elected by the socialists of Nanaimo. These two were re-elected and served together in the house for succeeding terms, down to about 1914, when Hawthornwaite resigned his seat in order to attend to private affairs of his own. As long as Hawthornwaite remained a member of the house, Williams, consistently posed as a socialist, and by following the lead of Hawthornwaite, did no violence to the Labor movement, as interpreted by that particular school of thought. Those who have followed the caecers of Williams, who have listened to his speeches, both inside of the house at Victoria and elsewhere, have long been painfully conscious of the fact that he possessed a limited economic knowledge, and in consequence of this, it was a matter of no surprise that even the best of his speeches never rose above the level of fretful complaining against society.

As soon as Hawthornwaite left the house, William commenced to wobble upon his unsound and unstable political legs. A matter of less than twelve months ago he wobbled into the Liberal camp, where he has since officiated as one of the chief boot-lickers to a joblot assortment of the cheapest and most mediocre tinhorn politicians that ever appeared upon the Canadian political stage, and that surely is the limit. The final act in the boot-licking line was recently pulled off at the Hotel Vancouver, in this city, when Williams did earnestly and tonguefully endeavor to remove the last vestige of filth from some very suspicious Liberal shoe leather. It is not for The Federationist to even insinuate that this distinguished contortionist received his recent appointment under the Compensation Act as reward for artistic work done with his tongue. It is far better that Williams be left to paint his own picture, draw his own moral and adorn his own tale. The following is offered as authoritative, as it evidently is Williams' own estimate of himself. It was addressed to Joe Knight of Lethbridge, Alta., during the election of three years ago:

"Ladysmith, B. C., April 7, 1913.
 "Comrade: I read in the last issue of the Fernie Ledger that a Labor-Liberal candidate is being nominated in the effort to prevent the workers of Lethbridge electing a socialist yourself, to the legislature. In British Columbia, until recent years, whenever the workers' candidate seemed to have a fighting chance, the Liberal party nominated no straight party candidate. Instead of this, with the cunning of the fox, and the unscrupulousness of the hyena, they selected in the ranks of Labor, someone whose vanity or cupidity was stronger than his manhood, and at the disposal of this thing they placed the Liberal machine and the funds to carry on a campaign. Funds contributed by the same men that the workers strike against, by the exploiters of the worker. This game to defeat Labor was carried on under the wing of Liberalism until in self defense the workers were compelled to devote more time to the Liberal opposition than to the tory government. It has ended by the wiping out of the Liberal party from the scene altogether in British Columbia.

"Apparently our experience is to be yours. Toryism fights in the open, with a spiked club. Liberalism steals up in the guise of a friend, and by purchase, by bribery, by fraud, and by duplicity, endeavors to defeat us.

"If there is any affinity between Liberalism and Labor, you should be able to detect it by the legislation of the Alberta government in recent years. What is the record? If Liberalism thinks that Labor is entitled to representation in governmental assemblies, how comes it that of all the number of members appointed to the Canadian Senate during the fifteen years of Liberal rule, not one representative of Labor has been appointed? Representatives of every other interest, whether legitimate or illegitimate, have been appointed, but from Halifax to Victoria during fifteen years the Liberal party did not deem it necessary to appoint a representative of the great class, the workers. Only when the workers show signs of electing a man who knows something of the fundamentals on which society is based does the Liberal party awake to its great love for Labor.

"I have sat three years in the legislature along with a Liberal-Labor member, but was unable to detect the slightest difference between the said gentleman and an everyday Liberal Tory.

"There is another side to this matter. Liberalism cannot put this trick through single-handed. The kinkpin of the whole perfidious deal is a Judas in our own ranks, someone whom Labor has trusted must become a renegade, must prove false to his own class. As time goes on, the struggle for bread grows more bitter.

"The unscrupulous among us finding it so, instead of doing a man's share to end the struggle, they sell themselves to the devil, and their class to a deeper hell of slavery, in the hope that as a price for their perfidy they may be assisted to climb out of the pit.

"Whether corporation thug, or agency spy, seah or harlot, that lends himself to divide the workers on election day by misrepresenting in the oath of a Liberal-Labor candidate, all are the shameless tools used by the house of plunder.

"Friend, as a Welshman, I am going to ask you a favor. If there is any bitterness, any enmity in your tones, quit socialist economic language and address the Welshman who would sell his own class.

"'Plowing the sand' is the name of speech used to denote useless labor, but 'Plowing the sand' is no more hopeless or useless than looking for good results from a scheme born in treachery.

"With honor for your success.

"Fraternally yours,

"PARKER WILLIAMS."

It appears to The Federationist that the reference made to a possible "Judas" in the above production is exceedingly timely and well worthy of serious consideration at the present moment. It might even be suggested that should ever such a "Judas" disclose himself "in our own ranks," be he given a short piece of rope and requested to be decent enough to follow the eminently commendable example of his scriptural prototype. If he should follow the advice and go and hang himself, he would at least escape the rather uncomfortable experience of observing during the rest of his life that every time his name was spoken in the presence of decent persons, their nostrils would be violently assailed.

And how compelling and caustic is that reference to "the unscrupulous among us * * * who sell themselves to the devil * * * in the hope that as a price for their perfidy they may be assisted to climb out of the pit." The first Judas got "thirty pieces of silver" for his. Since then, it appears that the price of perfidy has gone up, although the quality is much

the same. But what is the use in wasting time in sandpapering a Welshman? It is far better to let him do it himself, especially when he has such a thorough knowledge of his subject as has Williams. And who could draw his own portrait with greater fidelity than this same Welshman? Who could more completely sandpaper the cuticle of a modern Judas right down to the quick and the raw, than he? The Federationist makes no pretense of being either capable of painting the portrait or sandpapering the hide of any Judas, either ancient or modern, but merely attempts to faithfully chronicle the achievements of real artists in those lines. And by no means the least of these is the subject of this brief mention.—B. C. Federationist.

RIGG AND DIXON HANG ON.

Decline to Resign and Face Electors On Loyalty Question.

Winnipeg, Jan. 19.—Although both are bitterly opposed to National registration and believe there is no difference in the cause for which each side is fighting, R. A. Rigg, member for North Winnipeg, and C. E. Dixon, member for centre Winnipeg, announced they will not resign seats and test opinion of electors. Dixon says soldiers in the trenches are fighting a "myth." Premier Norris, on more than one occasion, has stated that men of their opinion should be in jail.

The fact that plain, every-day citizens have been wise enough to elect men in whom they could trust to raise their voices in the interests of the workers, and when these men were tried and proved true to their trust, the political interests of the old parties are thereby being endangered, hence this great anvil chorus is raised to try and discredit these men, with the result that they have overdone the stunt and the people are laughing at their frantic actions.

Question—Will the government take over the Western mines or will they allow the people to run short of fuel simply because the mine owners refuse to pay the miners sufficient to meet the cost of living?

The press have given the lead to a lot of people who like a creamphone, keep repeating themselves on the very popular slogan of eliminating these public men who have raised their voices in demanding equal service of capital and labor for the service of the nation.

We know the day of untrammelled press has passed with the advent of the censor.

It would be interesting to know what aims and objects that the Great War Veterans are organized to accomplish. Their present line of action seems at variance for men who have fought for freedom of the individual, free speech, right of public assemblies and political freedom, by the fact that they have passed resolutions that oppose all these essentials of democracy.

The government told the labor men that conscription was not contemplated, at least for the present. But the statements of Premier Borden and Mr. Rogers, above quoted, prove that conscription is contemplated. They convict the ministers of bad faith. It was undoubtedly understood at the Ottawa conference that the government had not yet abandoned faith in the voluntary system. It was implied that no departure from it would be considered till the registration plan had been tested. Yet in less than two weeks statements are made indicating the exact contrary. What degree of confidence can the people repose in ministers of this calibre.

Rogers we know, dislike and distrust. To the executive of the Trades Congress

last fall he gave what amounted to an assurance that conscription would not be attempted. In the early part of the war he was vociferous to that effect, as also were other members of the Cabinet, notably Sir Sam Hughes and the Premier. It is impossible to put any trust in Rogers. Yet we must not forget the doctrine of the collective responsibility of cabinet. What one minister says the others are supposed to endorse, and the statement of Mr. Rogers that the voluntary system is near its end must, unless repudiated, be accepted as a declaration of governmental policy.

In the end, however, the people of Canada will decide whether or not we are to have conscription. Premier Borden and Mr. Rogers, no doubt, have excellent opportunities for gauging public opinion, but they are not infallible. Premier Hughes of Australia thought he knew when he didn't. Labor has just as good reasons for opposing conscription in Canada as had labor in Australia and we serve notice on the government that the opposition of labor will have to be met. There is also the opposition of Quebec, which, though based on parochial nationalism and not on broad social and economic principles, must nevertheless be taken into account. And finally, there is the opposition, as yet unexpressed but none the less real, of a vast number of people who will not consent to be conscripted by Bob Rogers—Winnipeg Voice

HOW TO GET RICH.

By John M. Work.

You have often heard it said that the way to get rich is by saving money. This is correct. But not by saving your own money. Oh no! The way to get rich is by saving other people's money. You can figure this out for yourself. Suppose you saved one-third of your income. How long would it be before you become rich? About a thousand years eh?

You see it can't be done in that way. It might be started in that way. Some fortunes have been started in that way. But, just the moment when the first few dollars were saved, they were put to work saving other people's money. They were invested so that they would draw an unearned income.

This unearned income may be in the form of profit due to hiring workers and paying them less than they earn.

It may be due to selling goods for more than they are worth.

It may be due to owning stocks and receiving dividends on them.

It may be due to owning bonds or notes and mortgages and receiving interest on them.

It may be due to holding a figurehead office in a corporation and drawing a big salary for doing nothing.

It may be due to owning houses and lands or business blocks and drawing rent from them.

And there are various other forms which this unearned income may take.

You can rest assured that any person who is rich has got into that condition by using one or more of these methods, unless he inherited his wealth.

It follows that all riches are necessarily unearned. They do not belong to those who own them. They merely hold the legal title. In good rights and good morals, this wealth belongs to society as a whole.

Socialism will stop this accumulation of unearned wealth. The thing which makes it possible at the present time is the fact that the industries are owned by private parties and are therefore run for the benefit of the few.

Socialism will make the industries collective property. They will be run for the benefit of all.

Socialists lost; Socialism did not lose.

PLATFORM

Social-Democratic Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECRETARIAL NOTES

The new executive has not yet taken office. The D. E. C. report shows the financial state of the party to be solvent. We started the half-year with a cash debit balance of \$24.00, and ended with over \$470.00 to our credit. We have, however, to meet a large debit balance on the printing institution, which will change the aspect somewhat, but the balance sheet is decidedly encouraging.

Subscriptions to the Forward for the last two weeks amounted to \$22.00. This is not sufficient, comrades; every member of the party should accept it as part of his or her duty to get new subscribers.

"Executive bodies and locals can have their meetings advertised in our columns for 25 cents per issue."

I. BAINBRIDGE, Secretary.

PROFIT AND LOSS

(A Song of the Profiteers.)

Not of the fools am I who say
That war is waste and cannot pay.
Dear is grain, but I don't complain,
And human life is cheap to day.

Why must these wage-slaves grumble, pray?
No sacrifice too great, I say.
Our purpose one is to crush the Hun,
For human life is cheap to-day.

To it, my soldiers! Win the day,
And steal the Teuton's trade away.
The land I feed, (and you may bleed,
For human life is cheap to-day.

(Chorus)

War is waste and the cranks have said:
We gamble in ships, and coal, and bread,
And this is the burden of our lay:
Human life is cheap to-day.

—Albert Grieve, in Herald (Eng.)

Three hundred and thirty-three anthracite coal miners were killed and 6,958 disabled for periods greater than two weeks in the State of Pennsylvania during the first nine months of 1916. As the average wages of the miners of that State are only \$13.80 per week, it would appear that those who were killed were far more lucky than those who were only laid up for a couple of weeks or so.

Who is Your Favorite Movie Star?

Understand all spoken parts. Read the moving lips. A good Lip Reader understands every word spoken in the SILENT DRAMA. "Lip Reading in the Movies," just published, tells how. Contains a simple key for all Lip Positions and Movements which enables the eye to "hear" the conversation on the screen. Price 25c. School of Lip Language, Dept. C25, Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A.

Announcement.

The Toronto Social Democrats have organized a Lecture Forum.

The first of a series of weekly lectures will be held under these auspices in the

Musicians' Temple,
University Avenue,

—on—

SUNDAY, Feb'y 18th
at 7.30 P.M.

Speaker: **J. T. MILLS, Cobalt, Ont.**

Subject—"The Future Industrial and Social Development of Ontario."

WATCH THIS NOTICE.

SOCIALIST BULLETS

Josh Wise aptly remarks that nothing has such poor health as the goose that lays the golden egg.

Socialism was not hit by the election, but many who voted against it are going to get smashed square in the mouth by the high cost of living.

The capitalist system leaves men so insecure that even John D. is afraid to give away a nickle lest he starve.

The ignorant man is the fellow who doesn't know what you do. And there are usually things he knows which you do not.

The Australian government handles the entire wheat crop of the country. The middleman has been completely cut out. A sale of twenty million bushels was recently made to the British government. The Australian farmer received the full amount realized from the sale, less the government's commission of one-sixth of a cent per bushel. The way the Canadian wheat crop is handled is far better, however. The Canadian farmer had much rather keep a gang of middlemen and other blood-suckers, than to get too much for himself. He is not so avaricious and heartless as his antipodean prototype. He is decent, he is.

A Socialist is an individual who didn't vote for Wilson, though one who voted for Wilson may be a Socialist some day.

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- HISTORY OF CANADIAN WEALTH, \$1.25
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- The Changing Order (Triggs) \$1.00
- The War of Steel and Gold (Brailsford) 60c.
- Where You Get Off (J. M. Work) 10c.
- Socialism for the Farmer (Ameringer) 10c.
- The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery (Kingsley) 10c.
- The Peril of Conscription (J. Bruce Glasier) . . . 5c.

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