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# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL - DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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## A Rambler's Review

With what joy this news will be received by thousands of wayfaring and suffering human beings whose domestic happiness has been troubled by the high cost of living. The tidings are of such moment that the school children should be given a half-holiday; the emblems of justice flown from every flag-staff; and the Krupps in all the countries now at war, give command that the cannon cease their deadly slaughter for at least twenty-four hours in order to greet the joyful news.

Yea, let the rich forsake their plunder, and the slacker his case; those who are downcast and disheartened take cheer; for a wonderful thing has befallen the sinners in the seat of government.

No longer will the children die for want of milk, nor the housewife worry over the price of bread, sugar, potatoes, or Holy-oh-Margarine, for, have not those in high places spoken? (Ghosts of Sir Sam!) We are no longer to tread the wine-press in dishonor, for the ethics of property are now to be applied as a guard against extinction by the profit plunderers. The maiden may become a mother without any misgiving as to the economic results of such a holy bond. We shall eagerly scan the police court columns of the purified daily press to note the decrease of crime and the falling rate of those who seek destruction in despair, for the absence of poverty will help us to rise to the great nation-ideal of Ruskin. Carlyle's Hell will no longer deprive us of the happiness of a full stomach.

Rejoice and be exceeding glad! For the Government has passed an order-in-council giving city councils authority to gather together information in relation to the "High cost of living" and report to the Minister of Labor.

A recruiting advocate recently trying to impress on his audience that conscription was certain to come, declared that when that time arrived there would be two sorts of people in Canada, "wenters" and "soters." He forgot to mention that there are already two sorts to whom these titles might be applied—"wenters" who are offering their lives for their country, and the "soters," 4½ per centers—who are drawing "divvies" out of the nation's necessities.

Strange it is what memories and thoughts are aroused when one goes through a stock of old newspaper clippings. A few days ago my eye fell on a clipping from one of our Toronto papers which was evidently a piece of press agency copy sent out to advertise the United States Steel Corporation and its president, Mr. E. H. Cary. Three months ago he was being entertained and feted in Japan. Curious fact this because we are given to understand that Japan is the mortal enemy of the United States just as Germany for years was spoken of as the inevitable enemy of Great Britain. Of course he made a great hit when he declared that the business men of the United States would oppose any movement toward creating friction with the Flowery Kingdom. But let us point out that friction is inevitable from the very fact of Mr. Cary's visit. What was his idea in

visiting Japan except to see if he could not oust the Vickers-Armstrong combine from Japanese markets? Truly war between Japan and United States is inevitable, so long as the United States Steel Corporation turns a greedy eye on the enormous profits that Vickers-Armstrong are now reaping from the manufacture of guns and armour-plate for the Mikado.

While referring to the United States Steel Corporation, it is well to remind ourselves of the question of "Who owns Canada?" It is impossible to estimate the millions of dollars the United States Steel Corporation has invested in Canada. It is impossible also to probe thoroughly into the ramifications of this great steel octopus in Canada. It is well known that this powerful trust is holding in an undeveloped state several rich coal areas and ore-producing beds simply with a view to keeping them out of the hands of competitors. How closely the United States Steel Corporation is linked up with the Dominion Steel and Nova Scotia Steel, it is impossible to say; but if one studies the lists of shareholders and the directorates of these concerns, one notes an amazing identity of interests. Some day we hope to give a detailed analysis of the way in which twenty-three financial kings in Canada have transferred their enormous capital from land and other forms of investments to steel. It is indeed noteworthy how we have passed the iron age. Today steel is the basic factor in the economics of the world.

This war has indeed proved a splendid searchlight, seeking out the subterfuges of capitalist society. In their effort to eliminate German competition, our Imperial capitalists are now undertaking a scheme to provide technical education. In the words of a bill presented to the British House of Commons, this plot to educate the workers is conceived for "the interests of the trades, industries, and professions which particularly depend upon applied science." It is indeed worth while also to note that even in formulating a system of liberal education and a study of languages this phrase occurs: "an appreciation of the history, literature and civilization of other countries and to the interests of commerce and public service." It is needless to point out that behind this scheme, the capitalist is working to install the brain-worker in his factory roof alongside the manual toiler, where he can see that his brain works—by the results. The capitalist cannot soil his hands, cannot worry his brain over technicalities. It is almost needless to add that he must buy brains with, of course, the customary surplus value in return for his investment.

Ottawa has had its three days' wonder. Sir Sam Hughes is gone amidst the usual trumpet's blare and gaudy publicity. His place at Ottawa is said to have been taken over by F. B. McCurdy, around whose name there is a certain halo of financial strategy. It has been asserted that Mr. McCurdy has been closely connected with the Dominion Steel Corporation; and of course it has been denied, at any rate,

so far as present relationship goes. It is a curious fact that with the disappearance of the swash-buckling Sir Sam and the assurance of Mr. McCurdy's appointment, the stock of Dominion Steel becomes the best buy open to investors in Canada or in New York. So rapid was the rise in value of their steel stock that for a few days the financial market became quite excited. Have we here another opening for those "gentlemen's agreements" which are the fashionable methods pursued by the capitalist grafters?

Canada is once more about to face a second agitation promoted by the bankers and financiers to carry on a nationwide thrift campaign, the big idea being to provide the financial kings with more speculative material. Part of this campaign will follow the channel planned originally by the aristocrats and capitalist politicians in Great Britain who paraded the country urging the munition workers and plugs in every kind of industrial activity to forego their customary holidays and bank their money. In view of this it will be well if some of us look in the society and personal columns of our newspapers, where, of course, we shall find that "Lady Tweedledee has gone to spend the winter in Florida," while "Lord Tweedledee has just left for a vacation in California." Of course, we shall also find on the front page of our newspaper that the day before leaving, Lord Tweedledee made a tremendous speech calling upon every loyal citizen to make every possible sacrifice and put forth every endeavor to "see this thing through." And the unawakened, unclass-conscious plugs will fall for it as hard as ever!

At last even the small capitalist is realizing the process of economic evolution. For years those students of political economy who could probe economic questions without prejudice have asserted that the day of the small capitalist is past, that the day of the ombine, merger and trust is now here. In England and in Canada, as well as in most belligerent countries, hundreds of small factories on the outbreak of war, gave up their ordinary business and undertook the production of shells. Now we hear the plaintive wail of these small capitalists that they are threatened with death and destruction, not as a result of the establishment of socialism (which they used to cry out would be the end of all things), but by the establishment of great government-owned arsenals or by the growing power of the big steel corporations. What a wail it will soon become when the small capitalist realizes that he must fall within the working class.

The legal profession of Toronto, which is ever a good bolsterer-up of our capitalist system, has been scrapping amongst its members. Lieut.-Col. T. Herbert Lennox is a pugnacious soldier-lawyer, as one would pre-judge from his Irish descent. He is somewhat incensed at the fact that many young Toronto lawyers have so far hesitated to follow his lead and quite the statute books to take up the sword. His resentment has grown so strong that now he suggests compulsion for these slackers. Our interest is directed not in the question of compulsion, but in the remarkable fight which ensued because of Lieut.-Col.

Lennox's opprobrium. The legal profession took this attitude: "Why should one class be singled out for compulsion? When you cry slacker against a body you do a serious injustice." It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest, is the general retort. The oratory which this dispute brought forth was Billingsgate at its best. Of course our lawyer friends in their interviews to the press do not call to mind the many, many recruiting speeches addressed to Toronto audiences in which special attention was given to the necessity of conscription among the working class. They do not recall the scorn poured on the indifferent "unpatriotic" attitude of the workers, the resolutions and motions for a military and industrial conscription. When the taunt is levelled at their own class it reminds one of the bristles on a cat's back.

Socialism is making such strides these days that the churches are scared stiff. Recently I had passed over to me a pamphlet entitled "How God Sazed a Socialist," which is a four-page biography wonderfully entertaining in its view point, extraordinarily inspiring in its message. Indeed so attractive is it that I almost cast it aside as being a patent medicine advertisement. Evidently the writer has now reached the seventh heaven, for he looks back with dismay at the time when the vituperative element in his make-up had full scope, when his favorite papers were the Clarion, Labor Leader and Justice (in the Old Country), when Robert Blatchford's "God and My Neighbor," "Not Guilty," and other writings were his Bible, when Karl Marx's oft-misquoted statement suggesting that "the idea of God is a lie" constituted his creed of negation. But lo and behold that great day comes when John M'Neill, the well-known Scottish evangelist, carried him off his feet. "These Christians," says the repentant sinner, "are different from ordinary people. They seem to possess a peace that nothing could disturb; whereas now my life is soured. I delight in blasphemy and ridicule. The fascinating follies, which pass current for truth with so many Socialists, leave me bewildered as to where it will all end." When this brilliant renegade reaches the crisis of his narrative and career, he does it in these words: "On reaching home, I went alone with God; and never shall I forget the ecstasy of joy that flooded my soul as I knelt in prayer. It seemed as if the glory of heaven had flooded the room." I hope the room this hard ingrained sinner occupied was not one of those 8x5 dens which Glasgow citizens have to call their "home."

Roland Hill, the Toronto Star's special correspondent in Great Britain, certainly likes to give the dope good and strong. Our friend Roland visits Sir Percy Girouard. In the course of the interview he reports the following as a statement from Sir Percy: "Canada saved the situation for the munition workers in England by supplying machine tools and tool steel when there was a famine even in the United States. Canadian workmen have done well in munition factories." This is truly a soothing pat on the back from Sir Percy. It is an inspiring call to new efforts and patriotic fervor, especially from so high a dignitary. For was not

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# The Supreme Sacrifice

By MAX D. ARMSTRONG

(Editorial Note: The article by Comrade Armstrong will be continued in a later issue.)

Jack London, in a footnote of his novel, "The Iron Heel," says: "The people of that age (the capitalist epoch) were phrase slaves. . . . So befuddled and chaotic were their minds that the utterance of a single word could negative the generalizations of a lifetime of serious research and thought. Such a word was the adjective 'Utopian.' Its mere utterance was sufficient to damn any scheme of economic regeneration no matter how sanely conceived. Vast populations grew frenzied over such phrases as 'an honest dollar' and 'a full dinner pail.' The coinage of such phrases were considered strokes of genius."

To-day we have "scraps of paper," "rights of small nations" and the caption of this article, "The Supreme Sacrifice," used to describe the untimely deaths of so many men in the European butchery. Of course this term can only apply to the fallen of the allies, and is in no way applicable to the "duped" or "driven" soldiers of the Teutonic powers and their allies. This is self-evident. Sacrifice must be voluntary, and every one knows that every soldier of the allied powers is a volunteer, if not in form, at least in spirit, and has entered the conflict with an "intelligent appreciation" of the "tremendous issues" at stake, and with a cheerful readiness to lay down his life for "justice," "civilization" and "the rights of small nations." Beautiful self-sacrifice; generous self-effacement. Why do we all love unselfishness—in others and detest selfishness—in others?

As a member of the working class, I have had the beauties of self-sacrifice taught me since I was able to walk to a Sunday school. When I went to public school I was taught to think of others first. When I went to work I was told that the road to success was, not to try how little I could do for as much as I could get, but to do as much as possible and the remuneration would rise accordingly. In fact, I did reach that point where I had a vague feeling that I was a very worthless fellow, always self-seeking, and wholly destitute of consideration for the many good kind people, who spent sleepless nights worrying over my moral welfare, and how to provide me with work. As I grew older I began to meditate sadly on the frightful degeneracy of the human race since my grandmother's day, when the children were all good, and to marvel that after 1900 years of the gospel of self-sacrifice, and a large body of noble men devoting their whole time to preaching it both by word of mouth and daily example, the disease selfishness seemed to thrive enormously. Yet nobody admitted having it, though everyone agreed that all the ills of society grew out of selfishness. As I grew older and began to read the writings of great philosophers and uplifters of the human race, again I found the same lamentation about selfishness; the same praise of beautiful unselfishness, the same exhortations and entreaties that we should love one another, and bear each others burdens. And behold, wherever I turned my eyes all that I saw was selfishness, and everyone quite willing that some other should bear the burdens. Of course, as nearly everyone seemed to have a burden of some kind or other—the only advantage I could see in bearing each other's burdens, was an exchange of burdens. To be sure, every one was quite convinced that their burden was the heaviest, owing to the other fellow shirking part of his.

This remarkable state of mind affected groups as well as individuals. There was "the hard-worked artisan," "the tired business man," the "care worn statesman," and at the top, in pathetic loveliness, the monarch with the "bur-

den of empire on his shoulders." Now each of these were held up in turn as being the only genuine burden bearer, whose lot was unenviable. When the "hard-worked artisan" group complained about the weight of his burden, the "tired business man" informed him that he was selfish and thankless, whereas he should be contented and thankful that he had not the burden of responsibility which he, the "tired business man," groaned under. This information of course was imparted to the T. A. G. through the agency of the aforesaid noble men who devote their whole life to preaching unselfishness and the other gentlemen who write articles and editorials for the enlightenmen and "uplift of the toiling masses." I further marveled that when the price of anything increased, and that mysterious person the ultimate consumer complained to the retailer; he passed the blame on to the wholesaler, who in turn referred you to the farmer, manufacturer or trust. These, if they deigned to make any excuse, spoke feelingly about the exorbitant demands of labor. As the majority of the "ultimate consumers" are composed of this last named, it would appear that the U. C.'s are a very foolish lot of people, who believe they can grow rich by taking money from one pocket and putting it in another. The situation, reduced to its ethical basis, reveals the old commonplace—each group charges the other with greed and inconsideration for others, while amidst the clamor of mutual accusation the dispensers of ethics whine for Christian charity and forbearance.

Let us be serious. Why does the ethic, admired by all, and practised by none, seem to be in persistent antagonism with the most natural acts of men? Because man cannot live in society, as now constituted, and act any other way. He must obey the dictates of self-gratification.

Unselfishness is a delusion, like the flat earth of our forefathers. There is no such quality. It can arise as an ethical abstraction only in a society based upon conflicting class interests, and conflicts of individual interests arising therefrom. It is at bottom a class ethic, used by the dominant class in society as a check upon the natural disposition of the enslaved class to gratify self in any way detrimental to the interests of the masters. This is the basis of present-day ethics. Men seek to gratify their desires always. The primal desire is to get the best possible livelihood, food, clothing, etc., with the least expenditure of energy. This dictum is to political economy what the law of gravity is to physics. It is the law of life; the will to live, and then to live better. In obeying this law, the will of the two great divisions in society, masters and slaves, capitalists and wage-workers, is in conflict. The capitalist class own or control all the means (land, machinery, etc.) whereby the desires of man can be gratified. The wage-working class are destitute of such means. To live they must use these means. They are permitted to use them by their owners, not out of pure love, but of necessity, the owners being unable, and even if able, unwilling to use them personally. Property in the means of life is accumulated or acquired with no other end in view than that of avoiding work, i.e., getting a living with little or no labor, in obedience to the law laid down. The conditions under which the property owners allow the destitute access to the means of life are, that all the product in excess of what is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the producers as a class (preservation and reproduction) belongs to the owners of

the means of production. Competition for the privilege of using the machinery of production among the propertyless (and they are always in excess of the needs of the property owners) keeps their share of the product at the minimum of subsistence. Each of these classes impelled by the primal law try to get the most for the least; the employers to get the maximum of production for the minimum of wages.

Hence the cry for efficiency—the workers to get the maximum of wages for the least expenditure of energy. Hence the demand for an eight-hour day. (Remember we are discussing what is, not what the preachers of ethics tell us ought to be; we are using as our subject of investigation neither idiots or geniuses, but normal, average men.) Hence the mutual recriminations, the cries of "tyrannical methods of compulsion of organized labor," "capital must have consideration," "exorbitant demands of labor" and on the other side "bloodsucker," "sweater," "slave-driver." And, above all, is heard the voice of the ethic pedlars begging for Christian charity, and assuring us that there is not, and should not be, any conflict between capital and labor, if, etc., etc. Arising out of and inseparably connected with this great conflict of class interests, we find the interests of individuals, and groups within these classes, in continuous conflict. Competition among the workers for jobs; jealousy among them, carefully fostered by the employing class when it serves their interests, and competition for markets among the various capitalist groups producing the same commodities. We have been taught that competition is the main-spring of progress, the great struggle in which only the best survive. Those who preach this doctrine, as a rule, seldom feel the stress of struggle. Others sing the praise of competition when they are more than holding their own; success is then the reward of industry, integrity, and brains, but when overtaken and beaten we hear the cry "Live and let live" from the erstwhile victor, and the vanquisher is characterized as a grasping, cunning scoundrel who employs very shady methods. And again we hear the plea for unselfishness and brotherhood. Oh ye, of vast credulity! When will ye learn that all men are selfish; that life would disappear, in fact would never have appeared on this planet but for this quality. We must be selfish, egoistic, before we can be altruistic.

"But," here you expostulate, "do you deny the fact that thousands of noble men and women have given their lives for the good of humanity without hope of gain?" Again, I repeat, that in every such case they gratified self. Those who bring this objection can only conceive of self-gratification as furtherance of material interests. What they term unselfishness is merely a differentiation of selfishness; selfishness expressing itself in another form, made possible in man because of his complex nervous system; his inordinate love of approbation of the group, be it ever so small, in which he moves. This is seen in the surrender (not sacrifice) of pecuniary advantage for the gratification gained in the support of a cause, devotion to which has become a passion. This desire for mental satisfaction, the outcome of a highly developed nervous system, is in some men so powerful that to gratify it they will neglect the animal satisfaction of food and shelter. But it does not disprove the primal law. Even dogs can be trained to bear hunger in sight of food. This training in man is social discipline and gives birth to "the sense of duty." "What I ought to do" is in conflict with the natural dictates of the primal law, yet the primal law is still at work through an artificial or socially-produced medium, "sense of duty." The example of the "self-sacrificing" mother does not come within the realm of ethics at

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## CLIP AND COMMENT

London, Aug. 11.—Under the heading "Gambling in Bread," The Daily Express explains to its readers that the new rise in the price of bread which goes into effect in London next Monday is due to manipulations in Chicago.

"Circumstances," says The Daily Express, "appear to have conspired to enable the Chicago wheat market to indulge in one of its periodic gambles for the purpose of putting up the price against bread later. . . . While it is not believed that Chicago can create anything like a corner in wheat, there is a strong impression that operators in the Chicago pit are forcing prices as high as the market will let them go. Meanwhile supplies are rotting on the quays in Australia and being used as fuel, and large quantities are being held up in Argentina for lack of ships."—Canadian Daily Press.

It is easy to get up a scare against speculators and profiteers of any class. Surely the wise head that edits The London Daily Express must have seen long ago that the speculator must be eliminated, that production for profit rather than use must go, in short, that Socialism is the one and only sane cure for our present debilitated economic system.

"Just because Industrial Canada has sometimes been frank enough to tell the Government in plain language where it thought they were wrong, a few of the Liberal papers have chortled with glee, believing to see in our attitude an indication that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association was taking sides with the Opposition. We would like it to be clearly understood, once and for all, that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is no more taking sides with the Opposition than it is taking sides against the Government. The association has no politics other than the politics of endeavoring to secure better and still better government from whatever party happens to be in power. Its constitution precludes it from being partisan, for its membership embraces Liberals as well as Conservatives, Free Traders as well as Protectionists. It is hostile to neither party as a party, nor is it the slave of any political organization. It is glad to commend where it believes commendation has been earned, but at the same time it does not hesitate to criticize frankly and fearlessly where it believes the policy or lack of policy of any Government has fairly invited criticism. The jockey plies the whip not to punish his horse, but to spur it on to do its best. Industrial Canada criticizes not to embarrass people nor to hurt their feelings, but to show them how they can do better."—Industrial Canada, official organ of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

Aha! Here it is, the "Declaration of Independence" by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. At last we are happy to be informed that the bosses do not favor Grit any more than Tory, seeing that both are equally capitalistic. And note the illuminating confession—"the jockey plies the whip"—a naive intimation of the fact that the Government of Canada is not responsible to the people who elect, but rather to the bosses who control. Government by the people indeed!

By the way, is it any wonder that the Government's action in regard to the "High Cost of Living" problem ended merely with an order-in-Council. Surely the reason lies in the "jockey's whip-hand."

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



## OUR BOOKSHELF

### INDIA A NATION. Mrs. Annie Besant.

This is a remarkable book by a none the less remarkable woman. A marvel of clear thinking, and lucid expression, it is a clear, concise summary of the life, religion, and political aspirations of a wonderful people.

It is probably one of the best contributions ever made to the classic history of the Hindoo people, dealing with the religious, ethical, and political activities of a people not as seen by the outsider, but by one who by association and religious affinity is one of them.

This is the work of a student, a devout lover of the truth as she sees it, an earnest, persevering, and courageous woman with a mission to perform; the greatness of which is only set in relief by the nobility of her character.

The leading figures in Indian thought and culture are here presented with clear delineation, not with a view of placing them on a pedestal or perpetuating their memory, but for the great cause of enlightenment and liberation of an oppressed people.

A chapter is given to the economic questions affecting the people in which the word "drain" has been objected to, as connoting that the burden of the white man on India tends to exhaust her resources. Fifteen pages are given to consideration of an economic nature which leave no room for doubt in the mind of the reader that "India has for several generations been a prey to the profit-seekers of the Western World, who sought to gratify the bondholders and cotton gamblers of Britain, and others who were prepared to take more than they were prepared to return, at the expense of India's man-power and the perversion of her natural resources.

Many excerpts of speeches made by viceroys from the days of Lord Macaulay and others who held prominent positions in the Indian Civil Service are presented at great length. These in themselves are valuable to the student of Indian affairs, as they present the official views and policies of succeeding political parties in power at Westminster, and the deplorable consequences to the governed in India, by the pernicious system of exclusion to all things Indian in every department of state.

The Nationalist movement is almost analogous to the political groups in Ireland. In each case we find the irreconcilables, with their motto, "Home Rule or Nothing," and on the other hand the compromising element who were prepared to suffer indignities and work systematically for the redress of the social and political ills of the people as a stimulus to the greater accomplishment—"Self-government for India."

The chapter on education is extremely interesting, and leaves one deeply moved by the tragedy, enacted to keep the people ignorant and poor in order that they may be kept in submission. Education in the main is carried on by voluntary associations, and the government has signally failed in so far as the instruction given by the regulated body is exclusive of all things Indian. The book concludes with a graphic sketch of the government of India as an autocracy vested in the Secretary of State, and with a plea for nationhood in the following dramatic words:

"O English Nation! great, free, and proud, cannot you understand that your Indian brothers feel now as you would feel if a foreigner ruled your land. A stranger in your own country, with no rights save those given by authority!"

We recommend this book without reserve to all our readers.—I.B.

### THE POLICY OF THE ENTENTE 1904-1911.

A reply to Prof. Gilbert Murray by Bertrand Russell, published by the National Labor Press, Manchester, Eng. Obtainable from Headquarters. Price

The writer of this book is a son of Earl Russell and a grandson of one of the Prime Ministers of England who has lately joined the I.L.P. in the Old Land. He was only recently professor of mathematics at Cambridge University. Because he had identified himself with the Socialist movement, and has, during the war, helped to keep alive those traditional prejudices in favor of liberty which characterize his family and brought some of them to the scaffold, he was asked to resign his position at Cambridge. The military authorities in Britain likewise prohibited him from taking up a post at Harvard University and even went so far as to refuse him the right to deliver lectures in Britain during the war.

In his reply to Professor Gilbert Murray, Bertrand Russell criticises the policy of the British Government, urging that such criticism is more likely to benefit England than to injure it. In the introduction he says: "I consider that either a serious weakening by England, France, and Italy, and a serious strengthening of Germany, would be a great misfortune to the civilization of the whole world. I wish ardently to see the Germans expelled from France and Belgium and compelled to feel that the war is a misfortune for them as well as for the Allies. But there are other things forgotten by most men in the excitement of battle which seem to me of greater importance. It is important that peace should come as soon

as possible lest European civilization should perish out of the world."

The writer directs his chief attack against the foreign policy of the entente, which Professor Gilbert Murray had defended in his book "The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906-15." Students of foreign policy throughout the world have generally mocked at Professor Murray's version of Sir Edward Grey as being an over-fulsome eulogy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In Bertrand Russell we find a refreshing advocate of openness in diplomacy savouring somewhat of idealism. In his vigorous narrative, he uses Morocco as a medium for unmasking the sins of secret diplomacy, backing up his exposition by reference to the diplomacy that led to the partition of Persia by Russia and Britain in 1911 and the dismissal of Mr. Shuster (who formerly was an American financial official in the Philippines) after the Russian ultimatum had been presented to the Persian Government on November 29, 1911.

Perhaps one of his most effective chapters is that in which he outlines what the policy ought to have been. According to his viewpoint, in helping to suppress the Russian Revolution, we were not only committing a crime against humanity, but we were also preventing the refutation of the chief argument by which the military party has appealed to the ordinary citizen of Germany. The arguments of militarists have everywhere been based on fear. Powerful neighbors, they say, are ready to attack us. We must prepare or we shall be overwhelmed. Russia was the chief bogie used by the German militarists for their purpose. If the Russian

revolution had been successful and had met with successful outcome, this bogie would have ceased to be efficacious and a liberal programme in Germany would have stood a far better chance of fruition. By rehabilitating the Russian aristocracy, we took one of the surest means of reinforcing German militarism. The splendid appeal with which he concludes is well worth quoting: "The interests of the British democracy do not conflict at any point with the interests of mankind. The interests of the British governing class conflict at many points with the interests of mankind. The quest of a new colony does not raise the wages of British labor, but it affords posts for younger sons and attractive investments for capitalists. For this reason a policy of adventure and national prestige appeals most forcibly to the rich, while the wage-earning class, if it understood its own interests and were not caught by the glamour of jingo phrases, would insist upon a policy of peace and international conciliation. It is to be hoped that when democracy realizes, as it now will, its vital interest in foreign policy, it will compel the party representing it to adopt such a program as all phases of humanity would desire."

The book is exceedingly well written in a style that is both brilliant and interesting. For the information which it contains, it is worthy of a place in every thinker's library.

J.M.C.

### HOW THE CANADA BREAD COMPANY PUTS IT OVER; OR, THE IRISHMAN'S RISE.

The miserable wages paid by this corporation for some two years has been the cause of much dissension amongst its non-union employes, with the consequence that the company in the spring of this year saw the necessity of increasing the wages of its workmen by \$1.00 per week and the granting of a from \$3.00 to \$5.00 per week. We presume from what took place that the company were not dominated by humane or philanthropic considerations, but rather the trade incentive of cribbing other companies' business and getting the men to work live slaves in order to increase their earnings, the company thereby benefiting by the increased sales.

Commission is not wages and can be eliminated any time the company desires; at least, from what took place, we are justified in forming that opinion. The company posted a notice the day before that on which the men usually received their pay, stating that commission would be discontinued until bread reached the selling price of 10c. per loaf.

We are informed that the elimination of the commission hitherto paid has reduced the salesmen's earning power from \$3.00 to \$5.00 per week. We would like to know what justification the company have (other than their power to take) for such outrageous actions in view of the phenomenal increase in the cost of living.

It is reported the companies who retailed bread at a lower price than the company referred to have been whipped into line, and now the Canada Bread monopolists can increase the price without any adverse effect on their daily sales.

The workers of this company would do well to ponder the words of Karl Marx, spoken more than forty years ago: "If you refuse to resist the encroachments of capitalism you will be crushed down to the level of brute beasts."

### A Socialist Calendar..

We are preparing a beautiful high grade Socialist Calendar—a useful, attractive, educative piece of work. Order early from headquarters, supply is very limited.

## THE "CLASS - LINE"

### Picture One

The Duchess, who is very slight, was wearing a lovely gown of pearl grey charmeuse, made long and trailing, with a beautiful wide sable stole and muff, and hat of dull blue with plumes. Her daughters, Lady Maud and Lady Blanche Cavendish, were both dressed alike in suits of bottle green lady cloth with white fox stoles and muffs. Lady Maud's hat being small with sealskin crown and band of French blue, Lady Blanche wearing a black velvet picture hat.

Lady Hendrie looked handsome in a black velvet suit, black velvet hat with high upstanding osprey, and magnificent silver fox furs. Miss Enid Hendrie was in black velvet, with white hat and white fox collar.—Daily Press.

Your Excellency comes to us during a momentous period, when all the resources of our Empire are enlisted in the great struggle for liberty, humanity and the cause of free institutions, and when the energies of the Canadian people are pledged, heart and soul, to the successful prosecution of the war. In this stern duty upon which we entered with instant and unwavering resolve and from which we shall in no way recede, your Excellency may rest assured that no exertion can prove too exacting and no sacrifice too great to insure that the Empire our forefathers helped to preserve and extend, and for which their descendants to-day are proud to die, may be passed on in unimpaired splendor to those who come after us.

It is a source of gratification that at this juncture, when the aid of a wise and experienced counsellor is of paramount importance, his Majesty should be represented in Canada by the head of a family rendered conspicuous for centuries by high-minded devotion to the interests of the State, and by that zeal for the public welfare which has given permanence and strength to the British rule throughout the world.—Premier Hearst in his Provincial Address.

### Picture Two

Hamilton, Ont.—Machinists are still out on strike. Their fight for better wages and better conditions has been on since early last spring.

"In the factories of this town children from 11 years of age are employed at the most miserable wages. Especially is this noticeable in the factory owned by R. J. Ball, M.P., where young girls are employed in the manufacture of chairs."—Correspondent in Hanover (Ont.).

Fernie, B.C., Nov. 28.—This morning the Fernie coke oven employes laid down their tools in sympathy with the miners who suspended yesterday, demanding a war bonus increase proportionate with the increased cost of living.

The residents of Coalhurst this morning found themselves without water. The company operating the mines there also controls the water supply system, and without warning cut off the water supply to the inhabitants.

Toronto.—C. P. E. freight handlers have been on strike for more wages. The strike has made public the fact that the majority of these men, despite the enormously increased cost of living, have been receiving only \$10 and \$12 to keep themselves and families alive.

## A Socialist Christmas Card

Something new, something different, something really worth while. Prices on application.

The Forward Press,  
361-363 Spadina Ave., Toronto

## WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE NEW "LABOR" PARTY?

Is It Class-Conscious? -- Is It Anti-Capitalist? -- Is It Against Wage-Slavery?

The inauguration of a Labor Party in Toronto is now a matter of history, having now reached to full-blown status with a platform. As yet the baby politician is unnamed.

We are now in a much better position to judge of its merits and demerits. There is a great desire on the part of some of our members to ally themselves with this new party. We are informed that in Winnipeg some of our members have held cards in a similar organization for some length of time. We desire to point out to those who anticipate an alliance with the said bodies, that so far as we are able to judge of the principles and platform of the said party, it is a distinct contravention of our own platform and principles in so far as they omit mention of the class struggle and abolition of wages system. Nor do its promoters avow themselves even anti-capitalists. To those who sit in the seat of judgment the only constitutional procedure for us to adopt is to declare any such affiliation unconstitutional.

We are fully aware that such a rigid adherence to constitution would probably result in many secessions from the party, and that the changes in the relative position of our party to such organizations, undergone during the last three years necessitate a general referendum of the party members before we could be justified in taking drastic action that will undoubtedly have a very important bearing on the future of our movement.

Either we must conform to these changes in order to gain political prestige, or be prepared to allow those who have no objection to direct the workers in this time of stress, and merely concern ourselves with "theoretical nicety."

A comparative study of the Labor and Liberal platforms as outlined at the present time strikes a class-conscious worker as being singularly akin to each other. We do not mean to infer that they were drawn up by the same identical bodies, but, rather, that the mental attitude of each applies the

same process of deduction in relation to the present situation and leaves entirely out of consideration any tenet that would adversely affect capitalist profits in the main.

It is not our purpose to present any general adverse criticism at the present time, but we feel that the statement made by Miss Hughes calls for some reply. She criticized the Grits and Tories and urged the men to lay aside their Socialism in order to be united against the bosses. Let us say with all fairness to Miss Hughes that we admire her for her courage and sincerity; but would point out that neither courage nor sincerity are the basic factors in a political organization, and by no means as valuable as principles and intelligence. We possess a degree of both courage and sincerity and sincerely dare to challenge her wrath when she, a mere "Kindergarten Child in Political Economy," with only two weeks of labor in industry to her credit, who knows nothing about great working-class political movements and the travail of their birth, the wonderful accretions of knowledge that have come by experience, will glibly tell us to lay aside our Socialism—the thing we live for, fight for, and, if need be, are prepared to die for.

Socialism, the only hope of an enslaved class, the principles for which our great and noble dead suffered the agonies of poverty, the loss of wives and children, imprisonment foul and brutal, they who died that we might live, who studied in order that we might understand the laws of life and point the way to freedom.

As well to ask the earth to stay her course, and the rich blood that made our banner red co-mingled with ours, be perfidiously turned to blue before a Socialist will turn his back upon the light that alone will illumine the way to his emancipation.

In reference to the statement of our friend Joe Marks, viz.: "There is a great need for a Labor Party, apart from the Socialist, or any organization

of reformers," we desire to state that Karl Mart was much more reasonable in his statement: "The tendency of capitalist production is not to raise wages, but to sink the average standard of wages; such being the case, it would be foolish not to resist the encroachments of capitalism, as such a refusal would result in them being degraded to one level mass of broken wretches beyond salvation."

We differ with the platform not so much for what it contains, but for the more important factors so singularly omitted, such as the abolition of the wages system, as the only permanent solution to the ills from which we suffer, or, the abolition of all forms of profit with which our social ills are a necessary counterpart.

The policy adopted by the labor organizations in time past has been—You must not form an organization in competition with those already existing, but stay with those already existing and bore from within. To do otherwise you become a scab.

We may be pardoned by replying, under the present circumstances you are "Political Scabs." Join up with the working class political organizations at present existing and bore from within also. Surely you cannot but admit that it would be in harmony with your logic as applied to the industrial field? Why not to the political field?

We have no desire to enter into conflict with any political organization of workers. We realize the necessity for unity, a unity based on intelligence, a unity of aims and aspirations. It is not necessary to begin where our fathers began. It is logical to begin where they left off. All that we ask of the worker is that he enter into the experience of those who have gone before, take up the fight where they left off. We are of one class. We have the same enemies to contend with. "Come up! It's lighter up here!"

Sir,—I do not know that I quite understand the article on "The Demand for a Distinct Labor Party in Politics"—and perhaps I might not agree with its veils. If the Labor Party it has in view as "truly a labor party" is one which stands firmly for the class struggle, then of course the S. D. P. should look with favor upon its growth. But why a new party in that case—does not the S. D. P. already exist? Undoubtedly there is much latent and active unrest in Canada, but it is of such a character as will under present

conditions express itself politically in more radicalism. The formation of a Labor Party in the Dominion, something like the Labor Parties in Great Britain or Australia, would never serve the ultimate interests of the workers in anything like the same degree as a possibly smaller and less ostentatious party whose views were clear and definite, one aiming to abolish capitalism. Floating discontent may organize a Labor Party, but unless it is class-conscious it becomes a capitalist weapon, and must ultimately be deserted by the workers themselves.

MERVYN SMITH.

Kitchener, Ont.

We discussed the subject of the Independent Labor Party which is being organized here and analyzed their proposed platform of principles. We have made several amendments and also certain conditions which we propose to submit to them.

As an addition to the platform, we suggest the following:

As it is freely admitted that the acquirement and control of a few, of the necessities of life of all the people is the cause of the present high cost of living, and of the deplorable condition of labor, and its helplessness to remedy matters under existing conditions, the following planks should take precedence in the platform, and the whole strength of the movement concentrated on their consummation.

The immediate acquirement by municipalities, the provincial or federal governments, of all grain elevators, storage warehouses, cold storage plants, abattoirs and other distributing agencies in order to relieve the farmer and consumer of the extortions of the middlemen and so reduce the cost of living.

The collective ownership and democratic control of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, express service, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large scale industries.

The collective ownership and democratic control of mines, quarries, oil wells, gas wells, forests, water power and of all large sources of electric power.

The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where impracticable the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation and exploitation.

CHAS. H. NEWMAN.

Niagara Falls, Ont.

## OUR LITERARY CAUSERIE

SHAKESPEARE'S AGE AND OUR OWN.

By Maurice Spector

What a certain critic has said of Plato may with equal truth, be allowed of Shakespeare: "He is for all time; yet to understand him rightly, he must be studied in relation to his own age." That is to say, it is impossible to abstract Shakespeare from the historical period in which he worked. For one need not be an extreme adherent of the theory that the environment is the greatest determining factor in an artist's development, in order to admit readily that the various characteristics of the great dramatist's age were far too significant to have missed exercising a pervading influence on his achievements. It is our present purpose to make a brief study of these characteristics and to compare or contrast them with the outstanding features of the Twentieth Century.

The spirit of the Elizabethan age was dominated by two epoch-making historical movements—the Renaissance and the Reformation. The former, by opening the flood-gates of classical culture, broke the spell of Europe's long intellectual torpor of the Middle Ages, and

inaugurated a period of enlightenment. The mind, released from the iron sway of mediaeval religious orthodoxy with its constant brooding on the problem of heaven and hell, was free now to speculate on new contents and new forms for those contents whether they dealt with astronomy or literature. The Reformation too, was not only a religious experience of the Northern European nations; it was also an additional invaluable impetus to the spirit of criticism independence and protest which is fundamental for all original thought. The outcome of the inter-acting influence of these two movements, was to make the Elizabethan Age eminently practical and positive. Accordingly Professor Dowden, a critic of Shakespeare, asserts that "in that period instead of substituting supernatural powers and persons and events for the natural facts of the world, men recurred to these facts and found in them inspiration.

As the "heirs of all preceding ages" we have naturally inherited and retained both the positivism and the protestantism of the Elizabethan Age. Superficially it might appear, then, that the form and spirit of the two ages under consideration were similar. But

in reality there is a profound difference owing to the very fact of the development of the positivism and protestantism which were only in their genesis during the Elizabethan Age.

The freedom of scientific research has become a matter of course with us and anyone attempting to restrict it would be justly considered an absurd anachronism. Science has in our days been so widely applied to practical life, and the development of machinery has been so amazingly extensive that the external structure of society would seem radically changed to a resurrected Elizabethan. Our methods of transportation communication and production, with all pertaining thereto, have made an industrial age. They have destroyed feudalism, with its problems and relations, and have instead raised new problems peculiar to industrialism. The class-struggle is now no longer between the noble and the burgher, but between the middle class—burgher class—and the proletariat. We read very little of any activities of the Elizabethan proletariat—it seems to have lacked effective protesting force and individuality; whereas the modern proletariat which daily streams in thousands in and out of the factories, is a power to be reckoned with in the social and political life of the state. It is the demos which is leading the new proletariat movement, this time not against religious corruption, but against social corrup-

tion and injustice. For here lies an important difference between our age and the Sixteenth Century—it is more concerned with social problems than with religious issues. And herein is evidenced the greatest positivism of modern democracy, which strives to solve practical questions of human social conditions rather than the problems of religion.

Democracy, the general critical interest and active participation of the people—the masses—in social as well as the political aspects of natural life, that is the concept which marks such a vestal distinction between our age and Elizabeth's. The latter was an aristocratic, monarchical age, to which democracy as we understand it, was unknown, or at least unfamiliar. It is indeed true that Puritanism had a democratizing tendency, but the prominence of the religious issue almost obscured the political in its struggle with the royal authority. The fact of the Restoration finally states the lack of fundamental democracy at that time.

As might be expected, the attitude towards democracy in political and social life of the two periods is reflected in their respective literatures. Elizabethan drama is said to be a drama without a "tendency," whereas modern drama is represented by a Shaw, an Ibsen, or Strindling, has a "tendency," that is,

(Continued on Page Six)



## ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

### AUSTRALIAN LABOR CONDEMN'S CONSCRIPTION

Now that conscription in Australia has been defeated by referendum vote, the majority over conscription being nearly 64,000, it is of unusual interest to read the manifesto drawn up by the National Executive of Australian Congress, which was printed together with the Trade Union Congress report. It was seized at midnight during a raid made on the Melbourne Trades Hall and the printers on July 29, 1916, and an offer was afterwards made to allow the manifesto to go forth if the passages printed in italics were excised, but the executive indignantly refused. Fellow-Unionists:—

Conscription is the law in Great Britain and in the Republic of France.

In both countries conscription has been used to render null and void all the achievements of trade unionism—to destroy customs, rights and practices—to dilute and whittle away—to put unskilled in the place of skilled, women in the place of men, children in the place of adults.

In both countries, conscription has been used not merely as an instrument of national defence, but as a bludgeon to break down the standard of the industrial classes.

In both countries conscription commences not in the seizure of the body for slaughter, but originates in the proclamation itself.

From that moment every subject within the prescribed ages is a potential subject of the sword. From that moment every industrial is a slave, every act of protest a crime, and every workman who rises in indignation against the destruction of some hard-won right or privilege of his occupation is seized, interned, deported, or conscribed.

In both countries the industrial magnates, the controllers of the ocean transportation and the great financiers have been permitted to wax fat on the slaughter. In both countries the suspension of trade union conditions, the coercion and the suppressive practices permissible under conscription has made trade unionism a mere name, a memory of the past, has made the workers the helpless victims of every grad-grind.

These things have happened in the land where "Britons never shall be slaves" and under the banner of Republican France. In neither country have the toiling masses been permitted to express an election opinion upon the economic serfage created by conscription—no more than if they had been inhabitants of the most absolute despotism.

The principle of conscription is one thing—its practice is quite another. In principle it is an instrument of national defence; in practice it is made an instrument of working-class subjugation. It is so under the Union Jack and the Tricolor of France, and since in Australia we have seen a slavish imitation of the laws, regulations and practices of the Imperial Government it behoves the organized toilers of Australia to speak and act before the clock of trickery is permitted to strike the hour of doom.

Because the proclamation of conscription is made the hour of the past, the democracy is too late, its lips are sealed, it can speak no more; every man is a soldier, subject to the laws, the decisions, and the abrupt penalties of the drumhead.

We place no value in the promises that conscription will not mean for the workers of Australia what it has meant for the organized working classes of other lands.

We remember the promises made dur-

ing the passage of the War Precautions Act, and under it and its regulations we have seen the suppression of speech and press, imprisonment of workmen, and unpunished brigandage on the part of predatory interests.

Control of the metal resources of the continent by men who were the intimate of the Germanic interests they introduced and fostered; control of shipments by Bell, by Darling, and allied interests; control of Commonwealth financial arrangements by bankers and stockjobbers, to all these is to be added, if possible, control of the lives and working conditions of the wage-earners by the bugle and the drawn sword of militarism—such are the contrasts that confront us.

Because of these facts the trade unionists of Australia have taken steps to guard the rights achieved by long years of sacrifice and toil. They will not lightly let them go. They will contend with all the powers at their disposal and all the resources at their command against the enactment in Australia of practices and conditions imposed, under the pretence of national salvation, upon the workers of other countries."

For these reasons and in order to meet any contingency that may arise, the trade unions met in congress. The congress represented 280,000 unionists drawn from all states. It did not represent the whole body of organized labor; but it did include in its representation the most powerful and most militant unions of this continent. Many organizations that, because of time, distance and expense, could not send a delegation, sent intimations of their views, and those views, in nearly every case, coincided with the decision of the congress. A week later after the congress, the Fraud Council—the supreme official body of the Australian trade union movement—at its conference in Hobart recorded opinions identical with those of the congress in Melbourne.

The need for the Labor Party to reverse the capitalists' style of war policy was emphasized by congress.

A resolution submitted in favor of a general cessation of work should conscription be brought in, was not carried, but it was agreed that if conscription became imminent a referendum of members of unions should be held to decide as to the calling of an industrial strike in Australia. The congress also agreed to co-operate in opposing political candidates speaking or voting in favor of conscription.

We gather no feeling of security from men who to-day are mouthing the platitudes of the traditional foes of labor, who sing harmoniously the praises of institutions they previously assailed. The vital interests of trade unionism demand it to be ready to resist every encroachment, no matter how it approaches, what language it speaks, or in what garb it appears. In this crisis the safety of labor is to be found not in blind faith or childish confidence, but in the organized watchfulness, and its rigid determination to uphold the decisions of the congress.

On behalf of the National Executive.

Signed (13 Signatories).

#### BENSON ON PARTY KICKERS.

"To build up the party, what must we do?" asked an interviewer of Alan Benson. He had been sitting. He rose now, his big frame erect, his big voice booming and his eyes flashing.

"One thing we must do is to kick out the gentlemen in our party who are fighting Socialists instead of outsiders," he declared. "I mean the few intellectuals, so-called, who spend the time between campaigns criticizing, fighting, hampering the party, and then before election time go to the capitalist papers with long statements as to which

of the two capitalist candidates they prefer.

"When I see a man who goes out to hamstring the party, to consume its vitality in wrangling and bickering, the question will always be in my mind: 'Is this man being paid to disrupt the party? Why does this man fight the party the way he does?'"

#### DEATH OF JACK LONDON.

Comrade London has passed the portal, fought his last fight, and paid his last debt.

The influence of his life's work will be felt for years to come. He passed away at his Glen Ellen Ranch, near Santa Rosa, California, a victim of uremic poisoning.

His tempestuous career began in San Francisco. Born of very poor parents, he had developed even at the age of eleven a mania for reading and took full advantage of the public libraries. So assiduous a reader did he become that very quickly he developed nervous disorder owing to lack of exercise.

At the age of fifteen he spent his pennies for beer instead of candy, as he thought it more manly.

He became an oyster pirate, shipped as a sailor on a schooner, and later went on a salmon fishing expedition, ultimately becoming fish-patrolman. In this position he had many wild encounters and exciting experiences.

From these early associations developed an innate love for all things natural, which gave him the ground work for his later literary attainments.

He was in turn novelist, Socialist, reformer and anthropologist. A resume of his books, "The Call of the Wild," "Before Adam," "The Iron Heel," etc., leaves no room for doubt that he had mastered the art of nature study.

He stands out pre-eminently for the scientific manner in which the great truths of biological evolution are presented, and even where the fictitious character of his fertile brain attempts to outline a dramatic scene on the stage of animal theatricals, there is withal a grain of truth.

From the day of dawn to the setting of his sun he was a man of his class, always fighting the battles of the downtrodden and oppressed.

He was a prolific writer, abstemious in his habits. He never presumed to be a moralist and hated the hypocritical veneer of our present social order.

It can be truly said of him: "Truly he lived his own life and the world is richer for his living."

He was twice married, being divorced from his first wife five years after the first tie had been made.

Labor to him was considered dignified in so far as it added to his experiences and knowledge.

He worked at shovelling coal and making jute, and closed his chequered career in the prime of life at 41 years of age.

### 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.

#### SPLENDID EFFORT BY WINNIPEG COMRADES.

**Wonderful Musical Event Staged to Support Paper.**

One of the rarest and most magnificent treats staged by the members of the S. D. P. of C. to aid any party enterprise was supplied by the comrades in Winnipeg on Sunday, Nov. 1.

Whoever it was that was responsible for this concert held in the Grand Opera House certainly showed a conspicuous taste and insight. The program presented a musical feast of wonderful variety and refined choice. The opening song and final glee were rendered by the In-

ternational Choir, whose activities have been previously noted in this paper. One of the unique numbers was a flute duet. The vocal items provided by Miss Olive V. Quast and Mr. Clayton C. Quast received a fine appreciation from the audience. Indeed, the whole program was a magnificent success. It is certainly unusual to find on a musical program of so high-grade a nature a quotation such as that from Richard Wagner, "Art and Revolution," which appeared on our comrades' announcement.

The success of this concert is perhaps best measured from the proceeds. We have our Winnipeg comrades to thank for a welcome cheque amounting to \$23.25. Splendid work! Who's next?

#### BIG UNDERTAKING BY TORONTO WOMEN'S S. D. LEAGUE.

Toronto Women Social-Democrats are going ahead in great style. A splendid effort is being organized to raise funds for the party through the medium of a grand bazaar. The hearty co-operation of every local and S. D. P. organization in the city has already been won and every worker is getting down to make a huge success. The Jewish organizations are furnishing two booths and a big crowd. Last year the proceeds amounted to more than \$300. It is anticipated that the present effort will bring an equal amount, seeing that greater co-operation and better location are offsetting to a great extent the lack of long preparation. Proceeds are to be divided equally between The Canadian Forward, Toronto Municipal Campaign, Jewish organization and the Women's Social-Democratic League. The bazaar will be a two-day affair, commencing on Friday evening, Dec. 9th. Saturday afternoon will see special attractions for the children.

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

#### ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EX- ECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Meets at Mrs. A. Martin's, 10528 98th Street, Edmonton, Alta.

#### OUR LITERARY CAUSERIE

(Continued from Page Four)

the former drama takes no definite or particular stand on a certain question dealing with social or political life, while the latter is a direct criticism of some phase of modern life. This phenomenon is obviously a result of the fact that the Elizabethans did not feel any stir of social protest around them. The people were too absorbed in guarding and strengthening the foundations of English national liberty, to criticize existing institutions. A dramatist like Shakespeare, of the universal mind, is yet so far a child of his age that he ignores or holds up to ridicule the common people, but writes several plays dealing with English national history. It is on this ground that Whitman condemns the great poems (Shakespeare's included) as being "poisonous to the idea of the pride and dignity of the common people, the life-blood of democracy . . . They had their birth in courts . . . and all smell of prince's favors."

But how differently moulded would the contents of Shakespeare's dramas have been had he lived in our eventful century when the struggle for the attainment of social democracy occupies the chief place on the world stage. If modern social life contains such potentialities as inspired the work of a Henrik Ibsen, a Bernard Shaw, and an Anatole France, it is an interesting and fascinating speculation to consider to what extent it would have influenced the master genius greater than them all—Shakespeare.

The receipt of this paper is an invitation to subscribe. Fifty-two issues for \$1.00.

## WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING

### Bright Clippings from Wide-a-wake Contemporaries

#### The Strategy of Reforms.

(The Rebel, Texas.)

Bismarck's game was to grant remedial legislation far in advance of anything that has been tried in this country. Under Bismarck's guidance the German Parliament began as early as 1887 to grant public old age, sick, unemployed and death insurance, wiped out slums, destroyed poorhouses, established the eight-hour day, abolished illiteracy, erased child slavery, established government owned railways, telephones, telegraphs, markets, abolished homelessness until 86 per cent. of the Germans now own their own homes, etc.—all to the end that the slaves be kept well-fed and contented.

In short Bismarck frankly avowed that the purpose of these reforms was to "raise a bulwark against the rising tide of Socialism"—to take "wind out of the sails of the Socialists."

However, the German Socialists did not stop their agitation in the fool belief that the capitalist government would now cut its own throat by handing the workers freedom on a gold platter. Instead they communed among one another thusly: "Bismarck gave us Socialistic measure because our vote increased last election. So let us increase our agitation, education and organization still more and thus force him to hand us more than ever."

#### Lighting Labor's Way.

(Sydney Aust., International Socialist.)

We are a small party compared with the Labor Party. But we have largeness of purpose, clarity of vision, the enthusiasm of unhoped for reward, a great ideal to be accomplished, all unswayed by the lure of office or the desire for personal aggrandisement, that has cursed the Labor movement. And this being so, we are satisfied to keep on fighting in the vanguard of the Labor movement in the knowledge that we are blazing the trail that must inevitably be followed by those who fight in the great battle of working class emancipation.

#### A Contrast in Procedure.

(Toronto Star.)

The snow-cleaning days have come. Things would be made much easier for the householder if the procedure laid down for prosecuting the food monopolists were adopted for those who neglect to shovel away the snow. First the City Council would have to be "shown" that snow had fallen and had not been removed. Then a policeman would be sent to investigate. The policeman would report to the Council, and the Council would pass a resolution. The resolution would be sent to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa. The Minister of Justice would send a snow expert to visit the scene of the crime. The investigator would report to the Minister. The Minister would then, perhaps, request or instruct the Attorney-General of Ontario to prosecute the offender.

Instead of that, the householder, after a warning from the policeman, receives a summons, appears before the magistrate, and is summarily tried.

Or, to reverse the case, what a boon it would be to the householder if he could get after the food monopolist as quickly as the city authorities get after him for not shovelling the snow.

#### Wilson and Labor.

(American Socialist.)

Well, it's four years more of Wilson. It's scheduled, according to the inside dope here, to be four years of half-baked radicalism with the unavowed but earnest purpose of smashing the Socialist party and building up a Liberal party which will perpetuate itself in office ad infinitum. This is a phenomenon of the greatest significance to

labor—and the unexpected smallness of the Socialist vote is part of the story.

Wilson is not a labor President, never has been and never really will be. He may be a reformers' President, or a progressives' President, but not a labor President. While he is undoubtedly more intelligent and sympathetic with labor than Hughes—around election time—he is not fundamentally socialistic. He may take steps toward government ownership, which steps will draw into his train many more radicals, but Wilson will never take a step towards smashing the wage system or lessening the control of industry by the trusts.

#### The Fight Still on in Russia!

(New Review.)

During the war the Russian workers have not only managed to maintain their economic struggle, but organize a number of political strikes. In April, 1915, there was a large protest strike on the memorial day of the massacre of the gold workers in the Lena district, and 400 men were arrested. On May 1, 35,000 workers went on strike in St. Petersburg. In June and July the textile workers in Kostroma and Iwanowosnesensky engaged in an economic struggle ending with more than 100 workers killed, many wounded, and a large number of arrests. As a protest against these bloody events the workers in St. Petersburg organized strikes. The movement developed great strikes in August and September, when, after the dissolution of the Duma the workers demonstrated against the Government, their demand being: "Down with the Government." In September, 15,000 men were on strike in Nijni-Novgorod, and a large number in Moscow, Charkoff, and in the south of Russia. Not only has the war not crushed the revolutionary movement, but during the last six months the movement has gained in intensity.

#### War What For!

(Glasgow Forward.)

At one time the French called us Perfid Albion because we did it and denied it. Now here is the military correspondent, London Times, Sept. 31, 1916, openly admitting it and glorying in it, even during this great struggle for small nationalities:—

"Nobody in particular noticed that between 1878 and 1902 the British army added to the Empire an area of territory equal to that of the United States, but the British soldier naturally noticed it because he did it. In the mountains that girdle the North-west Frontier, amidst the rocks of Afghanistan, through the swamps and forests of Burma and Africa, on the veldt, in Egypt, and in the deserts of the Soudan, an Empire was being carved out by the old army in a quiet, unostentatious, but methodical sort of way."

The difference between British Imperialism and Pan-Germanism, is that the former operates solely for the welfare of the absorbed nationalities, in fact, does it at great personal sacrifice for their own good: while the latter, is it not exploitation, penetration, barbarization, sensualization, domination, bestialization, and several other actions which we cannot just remember at the moment?

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

## THE SPICE BOX

The development of capitalism does not retard Socialism. The only thing that retards Socialism is ignorance. Get busy and awaken the workers.

Capitalism is economic cannibalism. It is not how much an insect eats that makes him a bed bug. It is how he gets it. It is not how much a man has that makes him a capitalist—it is how he gets it.

To make a capitalist bouquet take an untaught famished child of the slums, a drunken wife-beater, a lost woman of the streets, a jail-made criminal, a sweater's slave, an unemployed workman, an overworked laborer, a broken-down pauper, a bowelless money lender, a time-saving politician, a fraudulent bankrupt, a jerry contractor, a dissolute aristocrat. All of these flowers are the fair product of the soil on which our present system is based. They form a bouquet which smells good—to the capitalist.

Labor trying to better its conditions by electing either of the old political parties to office is like petitioning the devil for a pass to heaven.

Rent profit and interest represent the difference between what the workers earn and what they get.

If you steal a meal you are a criminal, but if you steal a railroad or one million acres of land you are an ornament to society.

The capitalist idea of prosperity on earth is about the same as the devil's idea of prosperity in hell.

The slave produces for his own living. But for that privilege he must first produce for his master.

When a working man has a wooden leg he finds it hard to get along. But he thinks he gets along alright with a wooden head.

When the workers are too industrious, over-production is the result. The boss takes his ease, but the worker seeks the soup kitchen. Great system, is it not?

"Whatever is, is right," say our rulers. That is their standard of morality. Consequently all progress is revolution and anarchy to them because it is undesirable from their standpoint.

The capitalist institution known as the court of justice imprisons a tramp because he lives off the earnings of other people. Why does not the same rule apply to the millionaire?

It takes persecution to awaken class-consciousness. That is why the wage-slaves will surely kick at the prospect of conscription.

Wages mean robbery. If you were paid what you produce, the master would be in the bread line. "Capital," said Marx, "is unpaid wages."

Capitalism means profit. Profit means competition, and competition means war. War is hell, but capitalism is three blanks and an asterisk.

We would not suggest that conscription is wanted as a weapon to deal with the workers when the other business is finished with. We know that the good kind master is too fine a chap to do anything like that.

The latest achievement of science is the Deutschland submarine, which can cross the Atlantic and return without need of re-fueling. Capitalism has perverted science to the service of destruction instead of production.

## THE SUPREME SACRIFICE

(Continued from Page Two)

all. It is purely biological and is found in all the higher forms of life. It is the law of self-preservation expressed as rare preservation, and the idea of "self-sacrifice" never enters into the head of the mother. In the lavishing of affection upon her child, often to her own physical harm, she but gratifies self. Many indulgent "self-sacrificing" parents have absolutely no consideration for the children of their neighbors.

Another oft-quoted example of self-sacrifice is the early Christians. Karl Kautsky, in a controversy with E. Bel-fort Bax on materialism, says: "It is in my opinion possible to explain the aversion to earthly things and the longing for death in early Christianity by the material conditions of the time in the Roman Empire. It would, however, be preposterous to find a material interest as a cause for the longing for death." Quite true, but Kautsky overlooks the fact that not only were the conditions of life in the empire sufficient to rob life of all joy among the slave class, but death itself was but the gateway to glory—"spiritual" self-interest. "What profiteth a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul," i.e., immortality, or eternal happiness. The law of life, to live, and to live better, was merely pushed beyond the portals of death. And the faith of the early Christian was no pious hope: He was dead sure, or I do not understand history.

If Kautsky had turned to the 19th chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, he would have found some startling proof as to the disinterested and non-material motives of the early Christians. A certain young man came to Jesus and said, "Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" Jesus told him to keep the commandments. The young man assured Him that he had kept them all from his youth up and asked what yet he lacked. To which Jesus replied, "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." And the young man went away very sorrowful, for he had great possessions. The investment did not look good to him. Then Peter said "Behold, we have forsaken all and followed thee." What splendid sacrifice! But, alas, he added, "What shall we have therefore?" No, I am not attributing any "base, sordid, self-seeking" motives to Peter, as, according to the Gospel, he forsake all some time previous to making this enquiry. He was only obeying the primal law. And Jesus said, "Verily I say unto you that ye which have followed me, . . . shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." And this for the "sacrifice" of the possessions of a fisherman. What a sublime investment! The writer of the story wrote in obedience to the primal law. He could not imagine anyone giving up anything without hope for some greater thing or satisfaction in return. Casé thy bread upon the waters and it will return unto thee after many days—but-tered. Can you wonder that this story is popular in capitalist society, where equal for equal is andreamt of, and much for little is good business. But I now approach the "holy of holies," and lest I should give offence, I will take leave of Holy Writ and ask the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the nature of the "Supremest Sacrifice," the great example for all the "Supreme Sacrifices" of press, platform, and pulpit.

#### MAN WE'RE LOOKING FOR.

"He's so reckless he's always taking chances." "Oh, do send him to the Toronto Women's Social-Democratic League's Bazaar."

If wars had to be fought e.o.d. there would no longer be any war.

# PLATFORM

## Social-Democratic Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Every active mind is stimulated by the newest in literature. Here is a selection of the most recent publications from the English and American Socialist publishers. Prices are the lowest obtainable in Canada—no trouble over custom duty. Order direct.

- HISTORY OF CANADIAN WEALTH, . . . . \$1.25
- WAR--WHAT FOR? G. Kirkpatrick, . . . . 75c.
- Socialism and War, (Boudin) . . . . . \$1.00
- The War of Steel and Gold (Brailsford) . . . . 60c.
- The High Cost of Living (Kautsky) . . . . . 60c.
- Justice in War-Time (Hon. Bertrand Russell) . . . 45c.
- The Social Evil and the Remedy (J. H. Greer, M.D.) 10c.
- Where You Get Off (J. M. Work) . . . . . 10c.

**I. BAINBRIDGE**, Literature Agent,  
363 SPADINA AVE., Toronto.

### SECRETARIAL NOTES

Since the last report went out there has been a decided change for the better in regard to the number of subscribers, for the two weeks intervening we have received the following amounts:

Subscriptions . . . . .	\$ 119.75
Maintenance (Winnipeg Central Committee) . . . . .	23.25
Maintenance (Montreal Central Council, disbanded) . . . . .	16.00
Grand total . . . . .	\$119.75

Rutherford, Ontario, heads the sub-hustlers list with 36. Well done! Competition is the soul of business, let us have some more souls—we may save them.

### REPORTS

Alberta.—Secretary Martin, of the executive reports renewed interest amongst the comrades since the re-appearance of The Forward. Deep concern is manifested in regard to the character of the paper.

Manitoba.—Secretary Jolla, of the Ukrainian Federation, Winnipeg, reports that their members are deeply interested in our paper and desire to contribute, notwithstanding the fact that they are carrying on a live propaganda to procure finances for their language paper, "Robatchy Harod," for which purpose their organizer, Papovich, has secured over \$1,000 in the Eastern provinces.

We have much to learn from our foreign language comrades.

I am in receipt of Manitoba Executive reply to the charges of isubordination advanced by Winnipeg locals. This matter will be laid before the D. E. C. at next meeting. The International Choir Concert was a huge success.

Ontario.—Executive Secretary reports renewed activity amongst some of the locals. Hamilton comrades have the syllabus of their winter session prepared, and Comrade Jimmie Simpson will kick off for them on Dec. 3rd. Secretary Bainbridge will be there the following week to punch holes in "Capitalist Democracy and the War."

The Finnish comrades have organized a new local in Leveack.

Toronto Reds are getting off to a good start. All locals in the city are running a winter course of lectures, getting things into shape for the big bazaar to take place on the 8th and 9th of December, and trimming their sails for the January municipal campaign. Jimmie will be at his old game of showing up the maladministrators and punching holes in the "Retail Merchants' Association," etc., ad-infinitum.

Your Secretary will be in the run for Board of Education, and with a poll of 1,430 votes last year, looks like making somebody sit up and take notice.

Quebec.—Secretary Becker reports all comrades pulling for the Forward movement. The inactivity of the Do-

## Uniformity In Correspondence

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

**The Forward Press,**  
361-363 Spadina Ave., Toronto

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minion Government has stung them to action on "The high cost of living." A big mass meeting was organized by the Dem.'s in Montreal, 1,500 people being present (mostly plugs) to hear the Socialist interpretation on this engrossing subject. They not only got the capitalist's goat—but also bread and milk. It is very encouraging to see the other fellow getting it in the neck, but keep your eye on the Libs—we are in for a flood of "bourgeois philosophy" to cover up the bloody track.

A correspondent from Bury writes for information how to form a local. He was advised and placed in touch with the provincial secretary.

Generally speaking, people are becoming interested. The miners are coming on fine and orders for bundles are coming in strong.

The endeavors of your D. E. C. to place an organizer in the West has temporarily failed, on account of the Executive's low financial state and the difficulty in procuring a suitable man to undertake the work.

Your Executive has decided to send the Secretary through northern Ontario. They are of the opinion that the bracing zero weather and the smell of the pine groves will rejuvenate his health and at the same time build up the locals. Comrades and sympathisers are requested to study the virtues of economy until I can get there with my big black bag—"Just to relieve them of financial responsibility." Secretaries note—Send in at once if you want me to come to your town, stating likely dates, etc.

Attention.—All secretaries are instructed to send in their quarterly reports at once to their provincial secretaries so that we can get a line up for the new year.

Give me his name and \$1.00 for one year's sub. to the Forward. "Everybody's doing it." Do it now—lest you forget. "Hustle."

I. BAINBRIDGE,  
Secretary

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# THE CANADIAN FORWARD

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