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Labor Produces
All Wealth
Unto Labor - It
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THE CANADIAN FORWARD

'WORKERS OF
WORLD UNITE'
YOU HAVE NOTHING
TO LOOSE BUT
CHAINS, AND A
WORLD TO GAIN.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL - DEMOCRATIC PARTY

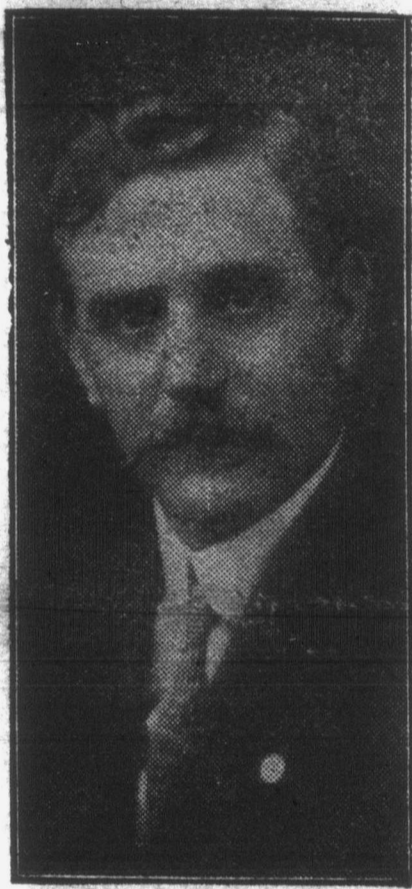
New Series, Vol. 1, No. 27

TORONTO, CANADA

DECEMBER 10, 1917.



THE DOMINION ELECTION RESULTS



JOHN W. BRUCE
Socialist Candidate for Dominion
Parliament in Toronto, West.

These notes were written the morning after the election. The results on the face of the returns, as reported in the Press, indicate that the Borden Government has been returned to power by between forty and fifty majority in the next Parliament.

The Labor candidates, while polling a respectable vote in all districts contested, appear to have been defeated at all points. In Hamilton they came nearer success than anywhere else.

There are no details at hand at this writing which permit of any intelligent analization of the results. The five Labor candidates in Toronto polled, in the aggregate, between thirteen and fourteen thousand votes. None of the Toronto Labor candidates succeeded in saving their deposits.

Labor in Canada, as a whole, has not yet learned to use its political power in its own interest, but it has made a beginning and the treatment it is about to receive at the hands of the victorious Capitalists—who will not fail to take full advantage of the stupidity of the vast majority of the toilers voting the public powers into the control of their economic masters.

This edition of the Forward will present many shortcomings but we promise you better things for the future.

The most disgusting spectacle met on the morning after the election was the headlines of the Toronto Globe gloating over the results of its own perfidy to the progressive forces of Canada.



LOREN CUNNINGHAM
Socialist Candidate for South
Wellington.



MICHAEL BUHAY
Social Democratic Candidate for
Dominion Parliament in a
Montreal District.

The Case of Comrade Bainbridge.

Comrade Bainbridge, National Secretary of the S.D.P. of C. and Editor of the Canadian Forward, is now serving his sentence in the Toronto Jail. They have put him to work in the tailor shop. We are glad to report that he is taking the medicine the Capitalists are forcing on him philosophically. His clear vision of what most progressive men of the past have had to suffer is more than sustaining him in this trying hour. Mrs. Bainbridge and the children are meeting the situation with courage and devotion, both towards Comrade Bainbridge and the cause he is being persecuted for upholding.

There is a slight chance that he may yet be released on points of law, his Attorney, Mr. Harding is presenting before the Chief Justice. If this effort is not successful the next move will be to circulate a petition to the Minister of Justice for a pardon.

In the meantime all readers of the Forward are reminded that it requires money for the Defence Fund and to take care of his family while he is paying the penalty of standing true to the cause of humanity in general and the working class in particular.

A word to the wise and thoughtful readers of the Forward on this subject should be sufficient. So send along what you can spare.

Everywhere in suering Europe the mass of people want peace, but their rulers, obedient to a remote and philosophical responsibility, which forbids then to allow the mere happiness of the present generation to weigh with them too heavily, have hardened their hearts. Everywhere the people of Europe want peace. The recent uprising of the Left in Russia owes its origin chiefly to the insistent demand in that country for peace. The people in Italian towns have rioted for peace and food. The retreat of the Italian army is due to a "demoralization" arising from a desire for peace and a lack of enthusiasm for a war into which the nation was deliberately bargained by its rulers. In France, too (it is well known, and was recently declared in the Chamber), the soldiers want peace and do not think insistence upon the "imprescriptable right" of France to Alsace and Lorraine sufficient reason for continuing the war. The desire for peace of the people of

Germany, at whose "natural docility" English and French venture to sneer, has voiced itself in an outspoken way in the recent naval mutiny.—G. S. W.

"PEACE" OF JUSTICE

"Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an 'enduring peace.' That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind."—From Wilson's reply to the Pope.

Socialism will not destroy religion, but it will destroy the religious hypocrisy that is typified in the building of costly temples out of rents that accrue from brothels and cheap groceries; a consummation devoutly to be desired by men and women to whom religion is an earnest reality rather than

a pretentious mockery.
—Appeal to Reason

Fighting Corruption.

Ottawa Citizen: Premier Brewster is undertaking to put an end to political blackmail in British Columbia at least to the extent of prohibiting campaign contributions by corporate interests. The law to be anything like effective must enforce full publicity of all contributions to the political parties and publicity of election aid in any and all forms. Cynical opposition to a proposed measure of publicity of campaign contributions has been put forward in Parliament in the past. It has been contended that a law could easily be passed but what assurance would there be of enforcing it? Political leaders in the House of Commons in the days before August, 1914, took the position that until the Canadian electorate purged itself of corrupt tendencies nothing could be gained merely by passing electoral reform laws.

"THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS HAS BEEN IN EVERY COUNTRY THE LAST LIBERTY WHICH SUBJECTS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WREST FROM POWER. OTHER LIBERTIES ARE HELD UNDER GOVERNMENTS, BUT THE LIBERTY OF OPINION KEEPS GOVERNMENTS THEMSELVES IN DUE SUBJECTION TO THEIR DUTIES. THIS HAS PRODUCED THE MARTYRDOM OF TRUTH IN EVERY AGE, AND THE WORLD HAS BEEN ONLY PURGED FROM IGNORANCE WITH THE INNOCENT BLOOD OF THOSE WHO HAVE ENLIGHTENED IT."—Lord Erskine, Defence of T. Pain, 1792.

WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING

UNITING FARMER AND CITY WORKER.

By C. M. Thomason, National Lecturer for Nonpartisan League.

The Nonpartisan League is an organization that has grown rapidly the past few years among the farmers of the Western States and the Canadian Prairie Provinces. The following statement of the aims of the organization by one of its official lecturers should prove interesting to Forward readers.

"Co-operative societies and associations, which in many respects have proven superior, from the standpoint of economy, to private ownership are now giving way to public ownership. This is necessary because small co-operatives cannot succeed in competition with powerful corporations. For several years the co-operative creamery in Minnesota and Wisconsin was a success. The corporation centralizer is putting them out of business—just like the large meat packers put the little packers out of business.

"In other words, co-operation must and is undergoing a period of evolution—passing from the small co-operative effort to the larger co-operation where in the state co-operates with the people.

"The small co-operative can no more compete with the powerful corporation than the small individual can.

"The small co-operative society in the midst of the gigantic corporations is like stopping the spigot and leaving the bung-hole open.

"The idea of co-operation in the Northwest started among the farmers and at first conceived only co-operative local grain elevators. The grain combine simply smiled and headed them off at the terminal. Then the farmers built a co-operative terminal at St. Paul. Then the combine grinned and headed them off the grain exchange. The farmers then established a co-operative grain exchange—and were met with the bludgeon at the mills. The little ideal which first demanded a local elevator has evolved now to a demand for state-owned terminals, storage plants, warehouses and mills.

"The Non-Partisan movement now sweeping the Northwest—operating at

SONG OF THE PRISONER

A dirge for Socialists, truth-seekers and editors who dare to criticize the existing state of anarchy and chaos.

Oh, yes, I'm guilty right enough;
It ain't no use to throw a bluff,
An' yet I guess guilty
Kin share the guilt along with me.
I ain't the sort to weep and whine—
But say, wot chance, wot chance was mine?

Born in a dirty, reeking slum,
Where decent sunlight never comes,
An' starved for food and starved for air
Through all my years of boyhood there;

But even then I might 'uv been
Reformed to be some use to men,
If e'ry time I left the trail
They hadn't jammed me into jail,
Where thieves and all that rotten crew
Would teach me worse than all I knew.
Oh, yes, I'm guilty, that is clear,
But e'ry guy who's listenin' here,
An' all you swells and goody folks
Who sniffs at me, and all such blokes,
Is guilty, too, along with me,
An' will be, till the world is free
Of stinkin' slums and rotten holes
That poisons people's hearts and souls,
An' cheats them from their very birth
From any decent chance on earth.
I ain't the kind to weep and whine—
But say, wot chance, wot chance was mine?
(Unknown.)

—Social Revolution.

the present time in 15 states, is pledged to the policy of public ownership of the means of converting the raw farm materials into the finished products. It seeks to bridge the gulf that yawns between the producer and the consumer—a gulf in which hordes of useless middlemen lie in ambush and prey upon the products of the farm on its way to the factory and prey upon it again on its way back to the consumer.

"Nonpartisan League recognizes that business and politics are very closely related—are Siamese twins. That politics secures the power with which to make the rules of the game of business. That's the reason it goes strong for politics—the reason it operates upon the political field.

"The farmer vote of the nation has always been considered as Conservative—and indeed has been such. It always offsets the radical vote of the cities. Politicians play the city worker against the country worker by telling the city worker that the farmer is making it all and go out into the country and play the country worker against the city worker by telling the farmer that the city worker is making it all. The Nonpartisan League is going to break down that wall of prejudice between these two elements and pool the vote of the worker on the farm with the vote of the worker in the factory.

I heard men speak continually of going to a "better world" rather than of its coming to them; but in that prayer which they have straight from the lips of "the Light of the World," there is not anything about going to another world; only of another government coming into this, which will constitute it a new world indeed; new heavens and new earth: "Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven!"—Ruskin.

A TRAGEDY OF WAR

Raw Officer—"That's a pretty awkward lot you've got now, Sergeant."
Sorely Tried Sergeant-Instructor—"They are that, sir. It's the like o' them, sir, as brings 'ome to us what a horrible thing this war is, sir!"—Passing Show.

HOW SHE WORKED IT.

Hub—I'm puzzled about the house money, Mary. If I give you a lot you spend a lot; but if I don't give you so much you seem to get along with it just as well.

Wife—It's very simple, dear. When you give me a lot I use it to pay the bills I run up when you don't give me so much.—London Opinion.

There have been all sorts of surmises as to the motives of Pope Benedict in trying to bring about peace. It's just a possibility that he is a real Christian. I had the notion that the breed was about extinct.

THE U. S. TRAITOR

We Have a Few of the Same Brand in Canada.

(By Berton Bailey in the American Marine Engineer.)
He hangs out a flag from his home and his office,
He always stands up at "The Star Spangled Banner;"
In talks and discussions he rails at the Prussians
And handles the Kaiser in virulent manner;
He always is present at loyalty meetings,
And up on the platform he pays for a seat—
(The price doesn't matter, his profits are fatter
Since war gave him chances of cornering wheat.)

He talks with emotion of "brave soldier laddies,"
Or "noble young jackies who sail on the foam,"
Then shoots up the price of potatoes and rice,
And other things needed abroad and at home;
He praises brave mothers who gave their sons freely,
Then soaks those same mothers for clothing and food—
But if you cry "traitor" this smooth speculator
Will think you are one of a lunatic brood.

Yet Benedict Arnold was only a piker
Compared to the man who amid all the strife
Will seize on the chances to force huge advances
In things that a nation depends on for life;
He did his foul work in the war of secession,
He poisoned our boys in the conflict with Spain—
High up on a gibbet we ought to exhibit
This traitor who holds up a nation for gain!

THE ORIGIN OF CRIME

Whence thinkest thou kings and parasites arose?
Whence that unnatural line of drones,
Who heap
Toil and unvanquishable penury
On those who build their palaces and bring
Their daily bread? From Vice—black,
Loathsome vice—
From rapine, madness, treachery and wrong;
From all that genders misery, and makes
Of earth this thorny wilderness; from
lust,
Revenge and murder.

—Shelley.

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

"Our country is the world—our
countrymen are all mankind."—William
Lloyd Garrison.
they appealed to my mind by their
melancholy.

Hoist the flag on your manure heap
if you don't want to be considered
unpatriotic.

The Pale Laugh.

The first time I gave it this name I was brought as a prisoner through a large gallery in a Russian prison. Many of my unhappy comrades, working in the gallery, watched me closely with their eyes. They were not allowed to say a word, or even to make a sign, but as I passed their lips formed something that resembled a smile. That resembled—for it was only the muscles in their white faces that were distorted into a ghastly smile.

The Pale Laugh. It was the greeting of a prisoner, nay, the greeting of all the prisoners. A greeting that meant pity, mockery, and pride.

The first prisoner I met smiled at me in this way. I had never seen him before, nor did he interest me, but I felt how my lips formed like his. Evidently I smiled too.

The Pale Laugh.

The real anarchist is the capitalist who acknowledges no law, either of nature or of man, except that of the survival of the wealthiest, the craftiest, the greediest and the most unscrupulous.

THOU SHALT NOT KILL.

Fire—and we fall—Oh, boys, ye fall as well.

O sons of workers here—Thou Shalt Not Slay.

Thou shalt not kill—To kill is all in vain,
E'en in our blood is promise of the day.

Throw down those arms and join us in the fight.

O sons of workers hear—Thou Shalt Not Slay.

If ye must kill—who are your enemies,
Who are your foes? Oh, ye must choose to-day.

Pause, boys, and think, then swing those rifles round:

Still even then we'd cry—Thou Shalt Not Slay.

—Gerald J. Lively.

O sons of workers hear—Thou Shalt Not Slay.

Thou shalt not kill—They bid ye shoot
Pour your hot lead into our tortured clay.

Thou shalt not kill—know ye the old command,
As old as Cain, as fresh as yesterday,

Say, be they gods who bid ye break that law?
O sons of workers hear—Thou Shalt Not Slay.

Thou shalt not kill—our mothers mothered ye,
We've shared your labors, shared your pain and play.

Ye are our kith and we are of your kin—
O sons of workers hear—Thou Shalt Not Slay.

Thou shalt not kill—our fight is all your own.
Why must ye stain with blood our upward way

Why beat us down? We lift ye when we climb.

-CIRCULATION BOOSTERS.

Long years of experience in all countries have proved the fact that literature distribution is the best means of Socialist propaganda. So get busy in getting the Canadian Forward into as many readers' hands as possible.

The Socialist book or pamphlet you give to your non-Socialist friend might not just catch him the right way. But a Socialist paper, made up of such a variety of matter cannot fail to contain something that will appeal to him. Get him to take the Canadian Forward for 26 issues—only 50 cents.

Geo. Bernard Shaw once said that he wanted to wear out, not rust out. Judging from the way subscriptions for this paper are coming in many of our readers are in imminent danger of rusting out. A few subs. will relieve our minds.

Reports from Great Britain and the United States and many foreign countries tell us of most gratifying increases in party membership and enormous increases in the Socialist paper circulation. Help to bring about the same pleasing conditions in Canada by gathering in subs. for the Canadian Forward.

Officer—What do you intend to do in America?

Immigrant—Take up land, sir.

Officer—Much?

Immigrant—A shovelful at a time.

No, the Socialists won't harm capitalists; it's capitalism, they're after.

A hypocritical bourgeois democracy rich as Canada or the United States is worse than an autocracy, as it has many tyrants in place of a few.

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

PUBLIC TELEPHONES IN MANITOBA.

By Geo. A. Watson, Commissioner of Telephones, Winnipeg.

Under Government ownership, the telephone system of the Province of Manitoba has expanded year by year, the local and rural lines extending into the most remote corners of the country, until at this time but few districts remain to be developed, they being the new and very sparsely settled parts, the inhabitants of which are mostly foreigners who have not yet adapted themselves to the customs of the country. The underlying principle in connection with the development of the telephone system has been to furnish this great convenience to the people, and make it possible for them to enjoy in the fullest sense the advantages which invariably accompany telephone service, and to furnish the service at a price which will be within the reach of all. The idea of the system being a money making proposition has not at any time been a consideration, revenue sufficient to meet the expense of operation and maintenance, the interest on the investment, and a reasonable amount to provide for depreciation being all that is required.

It is nearly ten years since the Provincial Government acquired control of the Bel system, and during that time development has been continuous, until at the present time more than 50,000 business places and homes in Manitoba are connected with the system, and nearly 8,000 miles of long distance wire circuit link the Province together into a vast neighborhood.

It is not conceivable that a private corporation would have extended the system into the rural districts as has the government. Corporations usually want to see handsome dividends in sight before money will be forthcoming for development. With a government owned utility the case is different. The principle object is to provide the people with something which will ameliorate local conditions and thereby save them many dollars to put the dividends in their pockets. The bare cost of operating and maintaining the utility is all that the government requires.

After nearly ten years' test the people of Manitoba are perfectly satisfied with the operation of the telephone system by the government, and nobody would voluntarily change to private ownership.

SOCIALIST VICTORIES.

The increase of the Socialist vote at the recent election was immense, in many cases reaching as much as 400 and even 500 per cent.

In New York City the vote for Morris Hillquitt, the Socialist candidate for mayor, was 134,890. In the preceding election the Socialist had cast only 32,133, so that the vote this fall was an increase of over 400 per cent. Ten members of the State legislature were elected. 7 members of the city council and a municipal judge. The vote for Hylan was elected was 288,000; for Mitchell 145,000 with Hillquitt running third with 134,890.

This is a splendid showing. True, some over-enthusiastic Socialists had predicted the certain election of Hillquitt. But such hopes were unreasonable and based upon the usual exaggerated and unreliable reports in which too many of our Socialists, in common with most politicians, are inclined to indulge. Those who are accustomed to these matters were not misled by these reports and there is every reason to regard the Hillquitt and the general New York vote as a

very satisfactory and encouraging result.

In Chicago the Socialist vote was unusually large. It averaged about 77,000 which was an increase of nearly 500 per cent. over the vote in recent judicial elections. Six of the thirty-five wards were carried by a clear majority, and in several other words the Socialists came within a few hundred votes of a majority. The Socialists also carried 19 out of 29 of the outlying towns. This is quite remarkable in view of the fact that these districts do not as a rule have much of a Socialist vote.

In Cleveland the Socialists increased their vote nearly 400 per cent. and elected two aldermen and a member of the school board.

Rochester, N. Y., elected two Socialist aldermen, two supervisors and three constables, increasing their vote 500 per cent.

Toledo, O., elected four Socialist aldermen.

Byesville, O., elected a Socialist mayor, clerk, marshal and four out of six aldermen.

Piqua, O., elected the mayor and two aldermen.

Hamilton, O., elected two Socialist aldermen.

Elwood, Indiana, elected the entire Socialist ticket except one alderman. Those elected were the mayor, city clerk, assessor, two aldermen at large and two ward aldermen.

Eureka, Utah, elected a Socialist mayor.

Jenera, O., elected a Socialist mayor. Several other small cities report Socialist victories and a large increase in the Socialist vote.

Taken as a whole the results of the election indicate a very decided swing of the voters of the country to the Socialist movement. Of course it is well understood that a very large proportion of this increased vote is due to the anti-war, pacifist and pro-German element and is not, therefore, a real Socialist vote. It is rather, what is called a "protest vote," with perhaps less of real Socialist sentiment behind it than is usual in such cases. Much of it will not stay with the Socialist party after the war, and therefore we must not be surprised if after the war there is another recession of the Socialist vote. However, of those who are joining the Socialist party and voting the Socialist ticket now for the first time, a large proportion will stick to the party. So, in any event, Socialism and the Socialist party have made a very decided gain in this election.—C. D. T.

PRESIDENT WILSON TO POPE

"Responsible statesmen everywhere must now see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury."—From President Wilson's reply to the Pope.

JOTTINGS

Would it be confiscation or restoration to take from the capitalists the industries they have created by social effort and that are properly the property of society? Restoration, we think—a word the capitalists would do well to learn the meaning of.

The paper sole on your shoe is a mute tribute to the glorious efficiency of a system which makes things to sell instead of to use.

CLASS-CONSCIOUS COMMENTS

(By Phillip Thompson, Oakville.)

The question is sometimes raised as to the name by which this war will be known in history. Why not call it the "Big Business War"?

Even the vilest person has some good points. There is one thing I like about the "Mail & Empire"—its editor is no hypocrite. He is frankly Jingo and doesn't cant about this being a war for democracy and freedom.

The public is rapidly getting wise to the prostitute Capitalist press. Practically all the big New York, with the exception of the Hearst, publications opposed the candidature of Hylan for the Mayoralty, with the result that he was elected by an overwhelming majority.

Two Halifax, N. S., clergymen, Revs. Harold Roe and R. C. Tait, recently disguised themselves as mechanics and visited several dives where they incited the proprietors to break the law by supplying them with liquor. Then they laid information against the keepers and had them punished, thereby placing themselves on a level with the sneaks and blackmailers who make a profession of informing. Which goes to show that the moral standards of the churches which tolerate such contemptible actions in their ministers are considerably below those of a decent man of the world. And yet some people wonder why the workingman doesn't go to church.

The professional moral reformer, finding the most lucrative branch of his occupation gone owing to the enactment of Prohibition, is now turning his attention to sexual vice and its consequences as a promising field for exploitation. The newspapers are publishing column upon column of unmitigated rot upon the subject, from people whose real or simulated zeal is only equalled by their ignorance—most of them carefully ignoring the cause of nine-tenths of commercialized vice, Capitalist, exploitation, low wages, depressing social conditions and the general demoralization due to the war.

The utter failure of the attempts of the reactionary American Government to crush out Socialism by restrictive legislation, and the more brutal campaign of riot violence and outrage incited by Capitalism is shown by the result of the New York Mayoralty election. The vote cast for Morris Hillquitt was 152,178, as compared with 32,100 given to Charles E. Russell in 1913.

We don't hear our opponents arguing that Socialism will break up the home these days. In view of the wholesale breaking up of homes by enlistments and drafts even the most brazen-faced of the pimps of Capitalism hasn't the effrontery to reiterate this stale and silly lie.

Quite a number of preachers of the leading Protestant denominations have been telling their congregations to vote for the Unionist candidates. But what a howl these hypocritical clerical fire-eaters set up about "Romish aggression" and "priestly domination" if a Catholic priest ventures to touch on politics from the pulpit!

The windy-war political stumblers who are doing the dirty work of Big Business are threatening the workingmen with the loss of their jobs if the Borden outfit is defeated. They are asked to sacrifice their sons and brothers for the benefit of the profiteers and the glorification of the Jingo ballyhoos and the stay-at-home patriots.

At Midland yesterday the Hon. Newton Rowell asserted that Canadian industrial concerns would possibly be forced to close down if this country failed to continue carrying on the war, because of the refusal of the United States to forward raw supplies here.—Hamilton Times.

Yesterday's noonday meeting in the interests of H. M. Mowat was at the plant of the S. F. Bowser Company on Fraser Avenue, where Major Mowat was given a very attentive hearing. He emphasized the fact that if the Union Government were not returned to power there would be an absolute cessation of orders, with a resultant injury to business of grave importance.—Toronto Globe.

A KEIR HARDIE STORY.

The references in the press to Socialist "experiments" in Russia recall to the writer a good story told by Keir Hardie in the course of a lecture given in Hamilton when on one of his Canadian trips. One of the wealthy Bairds of Gartsherrie (an ill-favored name in Scotland) lay a-dying. Having lived the life of pleasure common to his class he had begun to speculate as to how he would fare at the hands of St. Peter. Feeling uneasy, he commanded that the "minister" be brought. To him he confided his trouble, and concluded by asking the man of God what he thought of his proposition to leave a good sum of money to the kirk in order to ensure considerate treatment from the keeper of the pearly gates.

"The minister," said Hardie, "being a fairly truthful fellow, could not allow himself to answer 'yes,' yet being Scotch, he could not say 'no' and thus lose the money, so he cannily replied, 'Weel, Mister Baird, it would be an experiment worth tryin'.'" —J. A.

Hunger is often a powerful thought stimulant for a Henry Dubb. It makes the blood go from the stomach to the head and enables ideas to circulate in the latter portion of his anatomy.

...PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS...

Kitchener Local No. 4, S.D.P. of C. intend holding their annual Christmas Entertainment on the evening of Dec. 27th at St. Mary's Hall. There will be a program of music, dialogues, drills, recitations etc. by the children and adults. Lunch will be served and an all round good social time. Socialists and sympathizers from near by places are invited to be with us. Yours in the Cause,

A. W. BOWLES, Fin.-Sec.

The Dominion executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

The Ontario provincial executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

Local No. 71, Toronto—Meets at 165 Van Horne street, every Sunday, at 2.30 p.m. A hearty invitation is extended to all friends and sympathizers. J. CUNNINGHAM, 12 Boustead Ave., Secretary.

Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee—Meets on the 1st and 3rd Sunday of each month. All comrades desiring to join party or organize Locals are requested to write, F. G. Wetzel, Box 151, Vanguard, Sask.

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

THE INTERNATIONAL

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA'S "SPLENDID ISOLATION."

Johna Wanhope in the New York Call.

Viewing the chaos that now exists in Russia, the attempt to make a summary from a recital of details is usually hopeless and merely makes confusion worse confounded. But there is one thing that stands out with tolerable plainness. The uncertainty that now exists as regards Russia's future course in regard to her allies is in the main due to their apparent ignorance, neglect or contempt of the tremendous revolution that has taken place there. They do not sympathize with it; they do not want to understand it; they care nothing whatever for the revolutionary point of view of the Russian masses, and make no allowances for it; in short, they will not in any way recognize it. They assume to regard Russia as not essentially different from what it was before the revolution, and treat it as such. And on this general assumption they express wonder, disgust and anger when the Russian people show signs of wavering as their ally, finally showering its leaders and spokesmen with oburgation, abuse and denunciation, supplemented with enormous volumes of lying fabrications and sinister motives attributed to these men. They are, in short, provoking the very disaster they dismally anticipate.

Naturally, the Russian people now want peace. They recognize that when the war began it was not their war,

but that of the czar and his regime, that they have since overthrown. And that they do not consider a separate peace with Germany is easily seen by their demands that their allies plainly state their objects in the war, a statement which they naturally recognize could be made to form the basis of a discussion with a general peace as its object. But this demand has fallen on deaf ears, and there seems not the slightest disposition to comply with it, though pretenses which only irritate revolutionary Russia, which knows them for what they really are. The result is that revolutionary Russia begins to regard her allies in the war as enemies of the revolution she has accomplished.

And yet her request most certainly seems a reasonable one from the standpoint of her own people. Naturally, they want to know what they are now urged to continue the fighting for. But the question arises, can the others afford to tell them? Can they afford to tell them the truth, whatever it may be, now, that lying no longer deceives?

And we make bold here to say they cannot. Revolution is not a thing to be parleyed with. These allied statesmen are not really stupid. They know that any compromise with revolutionary Russia, any understanding with it, based frankly upon its present revolutionary status, would infallibly accelerate and encourage similar revolution among the peoples of their own countries. Therefore, we have an im-

possible deadlock, with revolutionary Russia gradually drifting away from her allies, though certainly not in the direction of autocratic Germany, even if the drift is automatically in the immediate and temporary interest of that autocracy, as it relieves them of a former antagonist. But the German autocracy is, after all, no more happily situated with regard to the Russian revolution than are the ruling classes of Britain and France. For them to attempt to come to an understanding with revolutionary Russia would involve speedier danger of a similar revolution in Germany, and it will be remembered that the Russian revolutionists have always declared their object to be to bring about a revolution in Germany similar to their own.

In the final analysis we have capitalism and class rule confronting social revolution, accomplished and to all appearances permanent. Neither will give way. The Russians will fight for nothing that does not promise to conserve and maintain their revolution; they will fight for nothing that they consider might endanger it. To them that seems the acme of reasonableness; to the others it is exactly the opposite. And it must to all appearances ever remain so until one or other conquers; until Russian revolution is beaten down and czarism restored, or the revolutionary leaven of Russia leavens all Europe. Between the two conflicting elements—capitalist class rule, and social revolution in being and power—there seems to be no common ground, and in a certain sense, perhaps, the whole situation may be regarded as one great phase of the irreconcilable class struggle.

duced by contemplation of the actual physical horrors of the war. What good can come from all this shiftiness, this unmanly refusal to face facts, these lies?

Watch these newspapers of ours: see them, hesitating for a "lead" on some matter which has arisen, take a non-committal attitude; see them adopt a "strong" position; see them begin to trim; see them express opinions one week at variance with opinions which they expressed last week; see the veering of their opinions even from one day to the next; see them proclaim a victory, and then see the proclamation gradually qualified until it is the admission of defeat: see their efforts to convey false impressions, even when the news printed is literally accurate, by the headings they chose or by the arrangement of the news. Certainly similar phenomena may be observed in ordinary times, but in war time they are manifested in a very special degree. "Moulders of public opinion," do you imagine that the solution of the world's problems will be aided by your lies, your mental cowardice and prostitution?

G. S. W.

AND NOW HE'S FIRED.

"What do you mean by whistling like that in this office?" demanded the merchant.

"Well, sir, I thought I'd like you to know that I'm bearing up cheerfully in spite of my miserable salary," answered the clerk.

Reading Socialist literature, listening to Socialist lectures and chatting with Socialist friends are very pleasant and all very well, but more than these are required of a good Socialist. He must do something towards making more Socialists, such as getting subscribers to the Canadian Forward.

PATRIOTISM.

For an hour the captain had been lecturing his men on the duties of a soldier, and he thought that the time had come for him to test the results of his discourse.

Casting his eye around the room, he fixed on Private Murphy as his first victim.

"Private Murphy," he asked, "why should a soldier be ready to die for his country?"

The Irishman scratched his head for a while; then an ingratiating and enlightening smile flitted across his face. "Sure, captain," he said, pleasantly, "you're quite right. Why should he?"—Chicago News.

When convicted grafters sit in judgment it is no disgrace for honest men to be in jail.

The Orange lodges, which have run Toronto these many years, are up against Big Business in the matter of the Street Cleaners' strike—and what Big Business says goes.

"Loyalty," like charity, covers a multitude of sins.

The man who really loses his vote is the man who votes against his own interest. The man who loses a vote cast in his own interest, really saves

War Time Elections

It was a resident of Toronto (Goldwin Smith) who left us the reminder, so pertinent in these days of rampant nationalism, "Above all nations is Humanity."

Those who are filled with enthusiasm for a fight find it difficult or impossible to conceive that the failure of others to show a similar enthusiasm and to throw themselves into a fight can be due to anything other than cowardice. While in Montreal recently, Harry Lauder, who exhibits the combination, so frequent to-day, of piety with ferocity and hate, hotly attacked the French Canadians for their comparative indifference to the war. He said that they had only "bas and French blood" in their veins and practically called them cowards. I thought to myself: no body of men could justly be declared in this wholesale way to consist of cowards, and certainly the French Canadians are not cowards; it is only that Lauder has not attempted to understand their attitude and the reasons which account for it, but, possessed by the hot passion of war, is satisfied by denouncing them. It is exactly a similar emotional condition, I reflected, which allows people to dismiss the conscientious objector as a coward without making any attempt to understand his views.

I made this reflection on Harry Lauder's remarks in Montreal; and, surely enough, as though to confirm the justness of my reflection, I learned from the newspapers a few days later that Lauder had actually said in a speech at Toronto, "The conscientious objector was a coinage of the present war for the benefit of cowards."

And the war enthusiasts would certainly dismiss the Bolsheviks as cowards were it not that the Bolsheviks have recently demonstrated, in the Revolution, that they are not such in the only way which the war enthusi-

asts can now appreciate, namely, by engaging in fighting. Being unable to call the Bolsheviks cowards, the war supporters have to content themselves with calling them anarchists.

The conduct of the relations of the British Empire to foreign nations during this "war for democracy" is in the hands of—two Cecilis!

Have Sir Robert Borden or any of the members of his government any reasoned opinions at all about war aims or the nature of a desirable settlement? Is the Prime Minister a bitter ender; does he favor a restatement of the Allies' aims; does he believe in a negotiated peace or in a dictated peace? Really, the people of Canada have no idea as to what views their political leaders take of the profoundly important questions which the approach to peace raises, or, indeed, whether they take an yview at all of them. "Win the war," these leaders shout, and are content to leave the matter there. "Win the war" appears to be with them a mere cry; and, with a docile blankness of mind they are content to leave all questions relating to the purposes of the war and the terms of settlement entirely in the hands of the British statesmen.

It is proposed that after the war a Parliament of the Empire shall be formed and shall have a directing voice in the foreign relations of the Empire. If "colonial statesmanship" is represented by men such as those forming the present governmental class in Canada, it may be considered as certain that the British Foreign Office will have the colonial statesmen in its pocket and that for practical purposes there will be no better guarantee than formerly that Canada will not be plunged into war, as a result of secret intrigue by the Foreign Office, without the people of Canada having had any effective voice at all in the matter.

Apart from its sheer horror and the lamentable spectacle which it presents

of the older men of the civilized nations sending their young men out to kill each other because of the older men's disagreements, perhaps the most repulsive feature of this time of war is the debauched condition of the public mind. To men who regard mental integrity as more precious to humanity than any superficial patriotism or loyalty, the mental effects of war-making on the population engaged in it are peculiarly painful and repulsive. Delusions, distortions of the truth, contradictions, lies are never uttered so frequently or accepted so readily in war time. To those whose fundamental faith includes the belief that truth only can make the nations free: that only on truth can mankind build a fine and peaceful future: that the fundamental requirement for the salvation of human society is "veracity of thought and action"—to such war stands condemned, if for no other reason than its mental effect.

Lies, lies—how can any permanent good come from these? The deliberate sacrifice of truth and mental honesty to "patriotism" and war-time passion—can human progress ever be served by a process involving these? The deliberate cultivation of delusions, exaggerations or minimization so palpable as almost to be grotesque, unfairness—unfairness so great that sometimes one is almost nauseated,—of these things our newspapers are to-day so full as to produce a feeling of depression short only of that pro-

Organizer's Maintenance Fund

The Workers of Canada await the message of emancipation. Send along your dimes and nickels. Drops of water make the ocean; let us have a tidal wave for Socialism.

NAME.....
AMOUNT, \$..... c.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY..... PROVINCE.....

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

To Our Contributors—

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

Subscriptions (post free)—

Single copies, 5 cents; three months, 25 cents; six months, 50 cents; in clubs of six, \$2.50; twelve months, \$1.00; in clubs of six, \$5.00; United States, Great Britain and other countries, \$1.50 a year.

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Correspondence—

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363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

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December 10, 1917



It has always been the opinion of broad minded statesmen that to take away the liberties of subjects is to incite the license of rebels.—G. F. Stirling.



Democracy.

"He who murders confidence destroys the coming generation in its mother's womb."

This election is the fight of democracy against Canadian militarism, Canadian capitalism and Canadian press. And the people will win, even against such great odds, for democracy is always right.

It is inconceivable how any person opposing a referendum on the question of conscription can ever again profess to believe in democracy. It is still more inconceivable how any person supporting the Canadian leader whose government passed the recent

Franchise Act can ever again pose as a loyal citizen of Canada. That monstrous act of injustice has already roused bitter race hatreds which will endure for generations. It has in it the seeds of untold national disaster.

The betrayal in this act is threefold. It has betrayed the confidence of the Canadian people that the franchise, once secured, was a sacred right not to be tampered with, by establishing such a dangerous precedent that there is no citizen in Canada who feels as secure in his rights as a voter to-day as he did before the Act was passed.

It has betrayed those people from other lands who accepted in good faith the invitation of the Canadian government to come and help build up the country and has made the pledged word of Canada a "mere scrap of paper" so that no foreign born citizen of any nationality will ever again set any real value on the naturalization papers issued at Ottawa.

Finally it has betrayed those many men lying under little wooden crosses "somewhere in France" who went out to fight, as they believed, for a free and honorable Canada, while the politicians and the financiers stayed at home and made it into a little Germany.

The Franchise Act of 1917 cannot be undone and much of the harm resulting from it is irreparable, but it can be repudiated. By refusing to elect those candidates who have enrolled themselves under the banner of Sir Robert Borden the people of Canada can show that they are not willingly a party to it. And they will do so; for there is an abiding principle of decency in the Canadian people which will induce them to restore as far as is now possible the tarnished honor of Canada, and to seek to redeem a place for her among those nations whose word is to be trusted.

Francis Marion Beynon,
Formerly Editor Country Homemakers' Page, Grain Growers' Guide,
Winnipeg.

A Wrong Impression.

A discharged soldier fined at Carnarvon, Wales, on Saturday, for fishing without a license, wrote to the magistrates, stating that he was under the impression that all soldiers who had served in France had free access to all rivers.

Mr. Hanna, our so-called food controller, is a huge, hilarious, side-splitting joke. Perhaps the Borden Government thought we toilers needed something to cheer us up during these gloomy, war-weary days.

AN AFTER CONSIDERATION.

Sir Graband Batten was showing a very old friend and confident round his newly acquired and magnificently furnished mansion.

"I've racked my brains to think of a suitable name for this place," he told his friend. "I want something striking and appropriate."

"Well," remarked the friend, "it reminds me of some old Scotch castle. Why not call it Dunrobbin?"

"Not a bad suggestion," agreed the millionaire, "but it's hardly appropriate. I've no intention of retiring until after the war."—New York Globe.

Rheumatism

A Home Cure Given by One Who Had It

In the spring of 1893 I was attacked by Muscular and Inflammatory Rheumatism. I suffered as only those who have it know, for over three years. I tried remedy after remedy, and doctor after doctor, but such relief as I received was only temporary. Finally, I found a remedy that cured me completely, and it has never returned. I have given it to a number who were terribly afflicted and even bedridden with Rheumatism, and it effected a cure in every case. I want every sufferer from any form of rheumatic trouble to try this marvelous healing power. Don't send a cent; simply mail your name and address and I will send it free to try. After you have used it and it has proven itself to be that long-looked-for means of curing your Rheumatism, you may send the price of it, one dollar, but understand I do not want your money unless you are perfectly satisfied to send it. Isn't that fair? Why suffer any longer when positive relief is thus offered you free? Don't delay. Write today.

Mark H. Jackson, No. 616 Gurney Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.
Mr. Jackson is responsible. Above statement true—Pub.

A SOLDIER'S TESTAMENT.

In quarrels not their own,
And peoples called to reap
The woes they have not sown;
If all we who are slain
Have died, despite our hope
Only to twist again
The old kaleidoscope—
Why, then, by God, we're sold!
Cheated and wronged! Betrayed!
Our youth and lives and gold
Wasted—the homes we'd made
Shattered—in folly blind,
By treachery and spite,
By cowardice of mind,
And little men and light!
If there be none to build
Out of this ruined world
The temples we have willed,
With our flag there unfurled.
If rainbow none there shine
Across these skies of woe,
If seed of yours and mine
Through this same hell must go,
Then may my soul and those
Of all who died in vain
(Be they of friends or foes)
Rise and come back again
From peace that knows no end,
From faith that knows not doubt,
To haunt and sear and rend
The men that sent us out.
—Eques (Egypt), in The Nation.
If I come to die
In this inhuman strige,
I grudge it not, if I
By laying down my life
Do aught at all to bring
A day of charity,
When pride of Lord or King
Un-powerful shall be
To spend the nations' store,
To spill the people's blood.
Whereafter evermore
Humanity's full flood
Untroubled on shall roll
In rich tide of peace,
And the world's wondrous soul
Un-crucified increase.

But if my life be given
Merely that Lords and Kings
May say: "We well have striven.
See! Where our banner flings
Its folds upon the breeze
(Thanks, noble sirs, to you!)
See! how the lands and seas
Have changed their printine hue."
If after I am dead
On goes the same old game,
With Monarchs seeing red
And Minister aflame
And nations drowning deep



MR. HANNAS IDEA OF FOOD CONTROLL AS INTERPRETED BY THE FORWARD SPECIAL CARTOONIST.

Are We Near The End Of The War

By J. M. C.

This issue of the Canadian Forward will be in the hands of our readers a few days before Xmas Day. How near are we to the idea chanted by the angels at the birth of Jesus the Nazarene of "Peace on earth and good will to men" I am not prepared to say. Lately the way looked very black and dismal, when suddenly Lord Lansdowne's letter is published, and immediately the discussion on peace holds the attention of the people of this Empire once again.

The Forward (Glasgow), Nov. 3, 1917, says: It is now known that from the 1st September to the 1st October there were parpoulers for negotiations for peace being discussed on the basis of an official German offer through the medium of a Belgian Ambassador in Switzerland, to M. Briand in France.

"The German proposals were quite definite." (See Manchester Guardian, Nov. 23, 1917; the Daily Telegraph, Nov. 25, 1917,) "offering to

"Restore complete independence to Belgium;

"Cede Alsace-Lorraine to France;

"Cede Trieste to Italy.

"On this basis Germany desired compensations from Russia, and a French Colony from France.

"M. Briand immediately transmitted these proposals to M. Ribot, the French Foreign Secretary, who appears simply to have informed the Allied governments that he had received peace proposals which he regarded as a 'snare.' He told the French Chamber that he had heard a 'whisper' of peace, but the whisper of peace was a 'trap,' whereupon M. Briand demanded and secured a secret session to discuss the action of M. Ribot.

"Result—M. Ribot was fined, and even 'Jusqu'aboutiste' papers like M. Herve's Victoire declare that there is no harm in talking about peace.

"The Russian Government declared that it had received 'formal assurances' that Britain and France would not contract peace without Russian agreement.

"On 9th October the German Foreign Secretary Kuhlmann announced that 'never' would Germany make concessions regarding Alsace-Lorraine. The hope of peace had flown for another winter."

The Christian Commonwealth, Oct. 24, 1917, editorially says:

"Separate peace overtures have apparently been made to France, hinting at the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine, and these overtures have been rejected as an insidious attempt to divide the Allies. . . . If the enemy is prepared to restore Alsace-Lorraine and is also ready to make restitution and reparation to Belgium, two of the chief obstacles to peace are removed. There is utterly no reason that we can see why, if these proposals have been made, they need be discussed in an atmosphere of diplomatic mystery or why the mere receipt of such proposals should shake the foundations of any Allied Government. A good peace is the common interest of all the nations, and it is a matter of life or death to some."

Meanwhile the Kerensky Government falls in Russia by another Revolution and Lenine the Extremist becomes Premier, and L. Trotsky Foreign Secretary, and a Canadian Press Despatch to the daily press, Dec. 8, 1917, gives the following news items:

London, Dec. 8.—A Russian Government despatch dated Thursday and received here by wireless announces

that Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, has sent to all the allied embassies and legations in Petrograd a note intimating that the armistice negotiations with the Central Powers have been suspended for a week at the initiative of the Russian delegation for the purpose of providing opportunity of informing the peoples and the Governments of the allied countries the existence of such negotiations and their tendency.

The note adds that the armistice will be signed only on condition that troops will not be transferred from one front to another, and that German troops are cleared from the islands around Moon Sound. It generally indicates the points of the negotiations in accordance with the wireless statement received from Petrograd Thursday, and concludes:

Word to the Allies.

"The period of delay thus given, even in the existing disturbed condition of international communications, is amply sufficient to afford the allied governments opportunity to define their attitude toward the peace negotiations, that is, their willingness or refusal to participate in negotiations for an armistice and peace.

"In case of refusal they must declare clearly and definitely before all mankind the aims for which the peoples of Europe may be called shed their blood during the fourth year of the war."

Whether this is the beginning of the end and that all the belligerent nations will come together and settle their differences by negotiation rather than by more slaughter, time will tell. What a joyful Xmas this would be if an announcement to that effect were made before Xmas. God grant that we may soon have peace which the world now needs to prevent it from having a world-wide famine.

The Labor Leader recently had an article by Philip Snowden, in which he said:

"The threatened world famine is already upon us. From Italy, France, Austria, Germany, and from neutral countries there come appalling stories about the starvation of the civil population. In many of these countries food riots are of constant occurrence. In Italy there have been very serious troubles due to the scarcity of food. Recent food riots took place in Austria, during which the people plundered shops and did an immense amount of damage. Martial law had to be proclaimed against the civil population, and this led to disaffection among the troops. A communication from New York states that information has been received showing that German civilians are now getting rations which are less than half the normal standard for people in sedentary occupations and insufficient, for that reason, to maintain health. To the other horrors of the war, the starvation of the civil population, is now going to be added that of a slow and painful death by starvation. Nero fiddled while Rome burned, and the statesmen of the world, whose incompetence or immorality brought about this war, talk lying platitudes while millions suffer these agonies. How long shall this continue?"

In the words of Isaiah, "A terrible thing is now happening in our midst . . . and what will the end be thereof?"

Will it be a peace that will bring good will to all men?

Wage slavery is upheld by its slaves and must be overthrown by them.

FRANCES WILLARD'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM.

Frances E. Willard is recognized as one of the greatest women this country has produced. Her entire lifetime was spent in the advocacy of reforms, particularly temperance. The State of New York has honored her memory by putting a statue of her in Statuary Hall at the United States Capitol in Washington, D. C. Miss Willard's statue is the only statue of a woman found in that famous hall. This is what Frances E. Willard thought about Socialism. It is from her address at the national convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Buffalo in 1897:

Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not for a moment maintain a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands. But is it not the cruellest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a super-abundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured?

The reason why I am a Socialist comes in just here.

I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practical, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trust, whose single object is to abolish competition, has proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product, they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control the supply of any production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

The Military Revolution

(Continued from last issue.)

A recent writer reminds us that mankind may not be far from the discovery of a means of utilizing atomic energy. (It may be mentioned that modern scientific research has revealed the presence in the atom of a store of energy so vast that all sources of energy now used by mankind seem insignificant in comparison. The discovery of radium, fifteen years ago, suggested the possibility of using this store of energy.) If such a discovery were made, it would be possible to supply the needs of society with a very much smaller expenditure of labor than is now necessary. Women alone would be able to supply the

needs of society; and it would be possible for the whole of the male citizens to be permanently released from industry in order to devote the whole of their lives to military activity. Can it be doubted that such a condition would result in the extermination of civilization? And yet such a result would have followed from what should have been the most beneficent discovery in the course of human history!

The mode of escape from the paradox is not for man to refrain from directing his energies towards scientific research, but, by a cessation of military rivalry, to make unnecessary and pointless the application of scientific knowledge in the one direction in which it threatens to exterminate mankind, namely: to the development of means of destruction. Scientific knowledge may prove in application to be beneficent or otherwise according to the purpose and intention of the application. One or two illustrative instances of this may be quoted.

The commercial preparation of substances in which nitrogen from the air has been fixed is an achievement of recent years. This same very important achievement of chemical science may be said to have, according to the direction in which it is applied, two opposite effects; helping to conserve life and helping to destroy it. It is of first-rate importance in regard to agriculture; for it enables nitrogenous fertilizers to be obtained from the atmosphere, and thus solves the serious problem with which mankind was confronted by the approaching exhaustion of the Chili deposits of saltpeter on which agriculture had formerly relied chiefly for its mineral nitrogenous fertilizers. It is also of importance in providing a means of making the nitric acid which is so essential for the preparation of explosives. Indeed, it is almost certain that, had not Germany been able to make nitric acid from the air, by means of a process discovered in the course of his researches by the German chemist Oswald, she would, owing to lack of nitric acid, have been quite unable to continue fighting.

The triumphs of chemical science in regard to the preparation of explosives have similarly had both benevolent and malevolent applications. Explosives are used for the destruction of human life. They are also used, probably in greater quantity, in mining; and, indeed, the mining of the ores upon which modern life so much depends could not have reached its present development without the use of explosives. Explosives are also used in quarrying stone; they are also finding application for various agricultural purposes, such as breaking up of a hard sub-soil.

Or again, as a further example, may be mentioned the gas chlorine. It is probable that this was the first poison gas used in the present war. In this case again, the contrast, in the application of the results of scientific research, between a life-destroying and a life-conserving use may be observed. The chlorine, which recent scientific work made commercially available, is used, on the one hand for the sterilization of city water supplies, and is thus an agency for preserving the public health against disease; it is used, on the other hand, in warfare, and is thus an agency for destroying life.

The Solution.

The logical outcome of reliance as a guarantee of national security is the effort to establish world-dominance in a military sense. But, in the present period of history, when all the chief nations have felt the effects of the Industrial Revolution and of the Military Revolution, and when, as a result of the former, communication between the different parts of the globe has so developed as to make the earth one world, instead of, as at the time of

(Continued on Page 8).

The Evolution Of The British Labor Movement

It will not be surprising if October, 1917, is noted in future calendars of the British labor movement as marking the first move in that bloodless revolution which Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railwaymen's secretary, recently predicted. In that month two steps were taken—the adoption by the executive of the Labor party of a new party constitution, and the decision of a representative congress of co-operative societies to throw the whole of their great movement into the political field—that promise to change fundamentally the balance of political parties in Great Britain.

To appreciate the significance of those decisions it is necessary to compare the position of British labor three months ago with its position to-day. Down to August of this year all who believed in the need for a well established Labor party in Great Britain were uniformly pessimistic. The effect of the war on democracy was that Labor had almost ceased to count as a political force. On its industrial side it was always formidable, for the risk of a strike of engineers or miners was a danger no government could lightly incur. But as an organized political party resting its power on its command of the electorate the Labor movement by the end of the third year of the war had fallen on evil days. One school of Labor members in the House of Commons was under ban as pacifist, another as being mortgaged to the government. Whatever industrial unrest there was found new mouthpieces among the rank and file in the workshops, ignoring alike the titular trade union leaders and the political representatives of Labor in Parliament. The influence of the old Labor organizations was waning, and new associations, suspiciously fertilized by plutocratic patronage, were springing up in rivalry.

That was the position in August, when the discussions on British representation at the Stockholm Conference supervened to intensify existing controversies. Labor was known to be divided on the question, and every hostile critic—among them five-sixths of the London press—predicted a radical and lasting cleavage. There seemed ample foundation for the forecast. By all the omens Stockholm should have meant a split. In the event it has proved the starting point of an irresistible movement towards consolidation. The explanation of that dramatic change is not obscure. The danger of disintegration had become so grave that the choice lay naked and open between solidarity and impotence. With that knowledge weighing daily more heavily on the mind of Labor, a sudden political sensation resolved all doubts and hesitations. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the secretary and recognized leader of the Labor party, having found himself at cross purposes with his colleagues of the War Cabinet, severed his association with them under circumstances succinctly characterized in the terse declaration of Mr. Robert Smillie, the miner's leader, that "Henderson didn't resign; Henderson was chucked." There was sufficient truth in that interpretation of the facts to sting Labor into action. It saw or imagined a challenge and took it up forthwith. Unwittingly enough, Mr. Lloyd George had galvanized the Labor movement into new life.

The Stockholm question forthwith assumed a different color. It was affected not so much by the personal issue involved in the Prime Minister's

treatment of Mr. Henderson as by the instinctive reaction against the provocation conceived to have been offered to Labor as a whole. The government's refusal of passports, for example, was denounced as emphatically by Labor leaders opposed to the Stockholm Conference as by its most convinced supporters, and at a national Labor congress the proposal to send delegates to Stockholm was carried by a sweeping majority. It is true that at a subsequent congress ten days later that decision was only reaffirmed by the narrowest of margins, but the turnover of votes, due to an apparent change of front by the 600,000 miners, was the result of the miners' disapproval not of the Stockholm project itself but of the composition of the proposed British delegation. None the less the contrast between the two votes was striking. If the critics were to be believed it marked the total discomfiture of Labor, for though the earlier Stockholm decision was in fact endorsed it was by so narrow a margin that there was no prospect whatever of the issue of the necessary passports.

To all appearances those criticisms were fully justified. The crisis in the affairs of Labor had reached a head. The annual Trade Union Congress, representing the industrial side of the movement, was to be held just three weeks later. At that congress, it was confidently predicted, the Stockholm proposals would be finally damned. And since Stockholm had by this time come to bulk more largely as a symbol in the domestic controversies of Labor than as an objective actuality an adverse vote by the Trade Union Congress would have had devastating effects on the doubtful solidarity of the Labor movement. But no such adverse vote was recorded. A skillfully framed compromise motion, declaring for the holding of an international Socialist conference after due preparation in the different countries, was carried by an overwhelming majority, and Mr. Henderson, attending as a fraternal delegate from the Labor party, met with an ovation that set his own position out of reach of envy, detraction or malice. That was the first of three notable events which have changed the whole face of the Labor movement. The others, the framing of the Labor party's new constitution and the entry of the co-operative movement into politics, have already been mentioned and may now be more fully discussed.

The realized achievements and the still greater potentialities of the co-operative movement are imperfectly appreciated even in Great Britain. Over large areas in the industrial districts the movement is an integral part of the life of the working classes. The retail co-operative societies have a membership of between three and four millions, and thus claim to supply (since each member represents a family) something like a third of the whole population. Their trade over the counter in 115 reached a total of £106,000,000, the Co-operative Wholesale Society doing business to the amount of £57,000,000 in the same year. The whole of the profits of the societies, after the payment of a moderate capital, goes back to the consumer in quarterly dividends varying from five per cent. to twelve and one-half per cent. on the amount of his purchases. The movement is not entirely a commercial enterprise, since every retail society sets apart a percentage of its profits for educational and other constructive work. But hitherto it has steadfastly eschewed

political activity. Its members could hold what views they would and advocate them as they would. That remains theoretically true to-day, for the vote of the recent conference was merely in favor of running co-operative candidates for the House of Commons. No stipulation is laid down as to party color, but no one doubts that nine co-operative candidates out of every ten will stand virtually on a Labor platform. The two bodies will work separately, but in harmony. Where there is a co-operative candidate, he will get the Labor vote. Where a Labor man is standing, the local co-operators will back him. That, of course, is no radically new development. It is probably true already that most co-operators are associated with the Labor party or the Trade Union Congress or both. But many hundreds of thousands are not. It is the political influence of these hundreds of thousands that will be mobilized by the recent decision, while the rest will now be bound to the Labor movement by a triple tie instead of a single or a double.

Significant as the co-operators' new departure is, it yields place in importance to the simultaneous self-reformation of the Labor party. In the past that party has been a close corporation. In the future its doors will be open to all, whether brain workers or manual workers, who avow sympathy with its declared objects. Hitherto it has been a federation of trade unions and three small Socialist societies. Any would-be member of the party had to gain entrance to it through a union of one of the three societies. (There was indeed one class of exceptions to that rule, but it was so small as to be negligible.) Henceforward there will be organized branches of the party in every Parliamentary constituency, and every branch will accept individual members, whether they are connected with trade union or Socialist society or not. The appeal of the party is to be specifically to "workers with hand or brain," and the writer, the thinker, the lawyer, the doctor, the schoolmaster, the engineer, to whom the stated objects of the party commend themselves, will be welcomed into full co-operation and alliance, with rights of direct representation on the central executive. At the same time, women, who under the Representation of the People bill, now before Parliament, will form more than a third of the electorate, are to have the same place and power as men in the counsels of the party.

That is not the only change the new constitution has inaugurated, but it is by far the most important at a time when a new grouping of political parties in Great Britain is in visible progress. To-day all the old parties are in the melting-pot. The Conservatives are being weakened by the secession of a number of their second and third rank members, who are enrolling themselves under the colors of a new "National Party" aiming, with a great deal of sound and heat, at nothing in particular. The Irish are certain under any conceivable Home Rule settlement to find their numbers in the House of Commons greatly reduced. Liberalism is in complete disintegration. The right wing of the party has thrown itself into full co-operation with the Coalition government. The Center gives the government uneasy and unenthusiastic support on patriotic grounds. The Left, which is much more influential outside the House of Commons than in it, is openly ready to break with the party tradition and strike an alliance, if an alliance on reasonable terms is offered, with the independent and iconoclastic forces of Labor.

Such an alliance opens up great political possibilities, and there is little doubt that the new "individual membership" provisions in the Labor

party constitution will be a bridge over which a substantial block of the Liberal left will pass into the Labor camp. That process has palpable dangers. Labor will tolerate no dominance by intellectuals, and the intellectuals will not submit to bondage to a stereotyped and perhaps doctrinaire program. But those dangers can and must be avoided. Labor has great need of the brain workers, and the infusion of a progressive Liberal-Radical element will give the party a new strength and abalance. As things stand to-day the prospects of Labor are demonstrably more hopeful than those of either the Liberal or Conservative parties. That of course is spoken relatively. A Labor majority in the House of Commons is still far beyond the horizon. But as a political group Labor in the House seems certain to be greatly strengthened. At the 1906 election Labor fought fifty seats and won twenty-nine. In January, 1910, it fought seventy-eight and won forty. In December, 1910, the last general election, it fought fifty-six and won forty-two. The intention now is to put no fewer than three hundred candidates in the field, and, given the harmonious alliance that is promised between all sections of the new Labor movement, it is not putting it too high to estimate that at least half that number should be returned.

Much in any case has been achieved already. The past three months have seen the democratic forces in Great Britain both co-ordinated and consolidated. The one process has implied the other. The Trade Union Congress, the Labor party and the Co-operative Union are recognized as the undisputed representatives of democracy in its different aspects as they have never been before. Their spheres are defined and their relations are straightforward and friendly. The Trade Union Congress represents the worker as producer, the Labor party the worker as voter and legislator, the Co-operative movement the worker as consumer. The broad policy of each association—housing, educational and social reform, effective Parliamentary control of foreign policy, state ownership of the main instruments of production and transport, increased control by the workers of the processes of industry—is substantially the same, and the three bodies will become increasingly identified through their individual members. At the last Trade Union Congress the watchword "Every trade unionist a co-operator and every co-operator a trade unionist" found wide support. The formula, to fit the present need, must be widened to include the political expression of Labor activity. That would mean that every manual worker, and most of the so-called brain workers, would individually be a member at once of a trade union, a co-operative society and a local Labor party branch. The point has not yet been reached, but the ideal is coming rapidly within reach of realization. The mere process of realizing it may have a transforming effect on British politics.—H. Wilson Harris, London, in the New Republic.

FELLOW-SUFFERER.

A humane society had secured a show window and filled it with attractive pictures of wild animals in their native haunts. A placard in the middle of the exhibit read:

"We were skinned to provide women with fashionable furs."

A man paused before the window, and his harassed expression for a moment gave place to one of sympathy.

"I know just how you feel, old tops," he muttered. "So was I."

TO MATCH.

Life is short and so are most of us all through life.

(Continued from Page 6).

the Empires of Rome and of Alexander, virtually several worlds, efforts to secure world-dominance can never be permanently successful, and must lead to a more and more devastating rivalry, in which civilization will go down. Escape from the madness which lies that way must be found—escape by the cessation of armed rivalry and the development of international government and good will.

The most radical and certain means of avoiding the dangers with which civilized society is threatened as a result of the Military Revolution would undoubtedly be disarmament: the cessation of competition in the invention and manufacture of instruments of destruction.

If military competition continues after the war, its burden will become more and more intolerable. Count Czernin, the Premier of Hungary, has set this forth in plain language.

"In order after this war, with unrestricted rivalry in armaments, to be adequately equipped, the nations would have to multiply everything by ten. They would need ten times as many guns, munition factories, ships and submarines as before, and also incomparably more soldiers to man all this apparatus. The military estimates of all the great Powers would amount to milliards." And he went on to supply, in equally plain language, the solution of the trouble.

"Out of this difficulty there is only one way—namely, complete international disarmament. Gigantic fleets will have no further purpose when the nations of the world guarantee the freedom of the seas, and land armies would have to be reduced to the level required by the maintenance of internal order. Only on an international basis, that is, under international control, is this possible. Every State will have to give up something of its independence for the purpose of securing world peace."

Disarmament is a solution of the problem raised by the Military Revolution incomparably more satisfactory than such forensic schemes as compulsory arbitration or a League to Enforce Peace—much superior even to the semi-forensic League of Peace.

Territorial "guarantees" at the best cannot guarantee a pacific future for the world and at the worst act as the causes of new and bitter rivalries. And, with disarmament, they would automatically cease to have any claim to importance. In his Budapest speech Czernin said:

"If the international disarmament which we long for from the bottom of our hearts is accepted by our present enemies and becomes a fact, then we need no territorial guarantees."

The proclaimed necessity for the

transformation of the political system of Germany into one similar to the systems of the Entente countries (the so-called democratization of Germany) as a guarantee of security also loses point if disarmament is adopted.

Is it not then remarkable that Great Britain, whose statesmen have proclaimed time after time that her fundamental interest in the war is to end the tyranny of military competition, should have practically ignored the explicit declarations, in favor of disarmament made by the Hungarian Premier and embodied in Germany's reply to the Papal Appeal? Beyond printing them when they appeared, the newspapers have tacitly agreed to ignore these significant declarations, and have chosen rather to urge the people blindly to "get on with the war." It may of course be urged that the declarations of the Central Empires in favor of disarmament are not sincere; but at least, the Entente, if its statesmen are sincere, should explore these declarations. If suspicion of its enemies' sincerity alone dictates the refusal of the Entente to discuss an offer which goes to the very root of the matter, then such refusal can be regarded as only another and lamentable instance of that distrust between nations, and particularly between governments, which inspires military rivalry and leads to war and armament impossible. If as nothing more than as a token of its sincerity and of that trust without which neither a League of Nations nor disarmament can come about, the Entente should have expressed its readiness to take Germany at her word and should have informed the Pope that she too was prepared to join in making a glorious junk heap of the navies and arsenals of the world.

Disarmament is the one sure means of securing that which the Entente has proclaimed as its dominant aim in the war and which the most sincere of those who support the war certainly hold in view as their goal: a future free from devastating competition in armaments. And yet we are presented with the spectacle of the Entente statesmen deliberately ignoring the offer of another nation, now ranged against it, to disarm. Even if further discussion of the question would have revealed Germany as not inclined to put her verbal endorsement of disarmament into practice in a satisfactory manner, the moral responsibility of the Entente leaders to the human race in refusing even to discuss the matter is tremendous. Even if Germany's offer of disarmament is not now entirely sincere, the way to make it sincere is to treat it as such.

In conclusion let it be remarked in general that the problem with which the Military Revolution has confronted mankind is so serious that the terms upon which the war is concluded must be judged finally in its light. Terms

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of peace will be no good in so far as they tend towards the cessation of military competition; bad in so far as they tend towards its continuance or aggravation.

Stafford Whitby.

SECRET DIPLOMACY EXPOSED.

The publication of the Secret Treaties between Russia and the other Allies, by the Russian Socialists, is causing a lot of comment in the capitalist press these days. The most of the papers commenting on the subject are very bitter in their denunciation of this procedure and characterize it as an unpardonable breach of "confidence." The following paragraph from the "New Republic," printed in New York, throws some light on the subject as viewed from the saner element in the United States.

Whatever the character of the secret agreements between Russia and her western Allies, there appears to be no good reason why their publication should have been permitted to figure as a trump in the hands of the Bolsheviks. It was not to be supposed that the war aims of Russian Czarism would correspond with those of the Russian democracy. Nor was it to be

supposed that the war aims of the Allies, as transmitted to the Czar's government, are identical with their aims at the present time, when Russian imperialism need no longer be reckoned among the complicating factors of international politics. There was obvious reason why the Russian claim to Constantinople, for example, should elicit certain claims on the Adriatic and in Asia Minor on the part of the western Allies. Those claims have doubtless been abated with the withdrawal of the Russian Claim. Accordingly, what the Bolsheviks have published must exhibit only an historical situation rendered obsolete by the fact of the Russian revolution. The situation was contaminated with compromises, as was to be expected. It bears on the present situation only in so far as the western Allies have failed to make the revisions indicated by the new state of affairs, or have failed to convey to the Russians in unmistakable terms the more democratic war aims they now cherish.

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