

## The Unemployed Problem

WHEREVER the capitalist system of production prevails, in America or the industrialized regions of Europe, the community from hand to mouth in such a way that its food depends on the effectual working of its industrial system from day to day. In such a case, any disturbance and derangement of the process of production always brings immediate hardship to large sections of the community. Such a situation we have with us in the present world-wide industrial depression. The hardships of such a situation fall with greatest force upon the wage-earning class. Partial and complete stoppage of production means a stoppage of income for the unemployed and a reduction for those who are part and even fully employed, due in the latter case to a general decline in the rate of wages because of the competition of surplus laborers on the labor market. So that, for the workers, there is an increased precariousness of livelihood, and a reduction in its standards, which at best are never far above the subsistence line.

Industrial crises were first noted and commented upon, as of periodic occurrence, in 1825. The period between the crises decreased as time went on, and some twenty years ago, when a chronic depression set in, which was only interrupted by the boom of the late war market. During that period the depression did not keep at one level, but had occasional lapses to lower ones. On the other hand, there were occasional spurts of brisk business activity, though at no time was industry as a whole operating at capacity or anyway near absorbing the whole working population. Always there was an ever-increasing industrial reserve army, and unemployment and want haunted the working class in the most spectre. This condition of depression in the industrial world is due to "over-production," which is the result because the productive capacity of modern industry constantly, and progressively as its methods improve, over-reaches the purchasing capacity of the market.

The war market, which stimulated production to an unprecedented extent, is finished, and capitalism is back to normal again. After the hell of war, the years of peace. We are "re-established," and under the sacred banner of "business as usual," the continuation of human lives goes on in the system of "hire and fire." Tools to be picked up or laid down as needed, or thrown aside on the human scrap heap in the slums as "unemployable," vast masses of workers drift restlessly over the country from town to town, from one seasonal occupation to another. Such a life constitutes a high suppression of the normal instincts of man. For immense numbers, the fundamental sex, parental, and creative instincts have not normal expression, and it is no psychology to tell us that the result is, to a broadly, unhappiness. The following phrases describe the environmental conditions which baulk human lives: "Monotonous work," "Dirty work," "Unskilled work," "Mechanical work," the "Serfdom of labor," "Insecure tenure of the job," "Winter unemployment," the ever-increasing concentration of the poor district with the crime district and the "restricted district of prostitution," the "open shop," the "labor turnover," "sour bunk," "poverty," the "bread lines," the "scrap heap," "destitution," etc., etc.

You of the "comfortable classes," super-skilled aristocrats of labor, professional and business elements who are hostile or indifferent to the problems of the indiscriminate masses, ever this social abyss yawns for you or yours and daily from your ranks they come hurtling down like fallen angels. A New York department store employing 3,000 "respectables," reports a yearly labor turnover of 13,000. There is a moral for you in the great lexiographer's saying, upon his witnessing Tyburn Jack hauled to the gibbet, "There, but for the grace of God, goes Samuel Johnson." Should the humanism of Johnson be beyond your capacity of feeling and understanding, on the lower grounds, then, of selfish interest, the abolishing of the abyss might engage your energies!

The question of unemployment is only a secondary and derived problem of the greater problem presented by the nature of the social economy of the capitalist system of production, out of which unemployment issues as effect from its cause. Therefore it is necessary to look into this social economy.

Looked at in a certain way, there are two factors in the process of production, essential and common to all states of productivity in all ages; these are, on the one hand, the material equipment and on the other, the immaterial equipment or knowledge of ways and means of procuring a livelihood. In modern times, the material equipment is such as, natural resources, mills, mines, factories, railroads, etc., and the immaterial equipment, is a vast, complex body of knowledge incapable of being possessed as a whole by a single individual or a group, but is in the possession of society as a whole. This productive knowledge is a social product and is the outcome of the accumulated experiences of the human race in the arts of production through all the ages. For this knowledge to become effective in the production of those things necessary to satisfy human needs and desires, it must have access to the material equipment, or means of wealth production.

The satisfying of human needs is largely a question of so much food, clothing, shelter, education, recreation, etc., and the problem of supply is to give the working population, scientists, production engineers and managers, producers and laborers of all kinds, who possess knowledge of the arts of production, access to the material equipment of production. Stated so, the problem appears as a problem in engineering, a problem of accounting and organization, a scientifically "matter of fact" proposition. And it would be so were it not that in the capitalist system of production today this knowledge of the productive arts has become separated from, or at best, only on sufferance of the capitalist owners has its functional connection with the material equipment.

This factor of ownership is the crux of the social problem. The material equipment or means of production are the property of a class who do not toil, nor is it necessary that they have knowledge of the arts of production; on the other hand, that knowledge is in the possession of a class who toil but do not own the material equipment. Because the material equipment of production is privately owned, monopolized by the capitalist class, it can not be had access to and put to use except on terms of a profit being realized through the sale of the

products. In other words, into that engineering problem of bringing the essential factors of production together, is injected, like a Munkay wrench into the cogs of a machine, the "rights" of private ownership in society's means of life.

What is the "right" of ownership that plays such havoc with our engineering proposition? Consideration of it shows that it can not be stated in mechanical terms, in terms of stresses and strains or quantities with which an engineer could deal. The "right" of ownership to a thing is a matter of imputation, a "right" given by custom, old use and want, traditional habits of thought, in other words it is a right conferred by social sanction which, in modern times, is enacted in law enforced by the power of the State. Presumably, should the general consensus of opinion change to that effect, then the law conferring a "right" could be nullified. The statement that the law of "property rights" rests on the general consensus of opinion is a broad one however, and has an important reservation. For we are informed by a present day sociologist, Professor John R. Commons, that in actual practice, "Law is not the expression of the whole of society, but of its sovereign element or social class." Karl Marx also stated long before, that the bourgeois State is but the executive committee of the bourgeois property interests. And so, underneath the skin of civilized man with his theory of law, we behold the barbarian who takes hold by matter of fact physical prowess.

Private ownership of the material equipment of production conceivably might be in accordance with social well-being where that equipment is small-scale in character, as in handicraft production, and widely distributed, thus conferring economic independence upon large masses of the people. The small-scale character of such industrial equipment, moreover, determines that work for a livelihood is the basis of industry and profit.

We are now, however, as a result of economic development, in the age of large-scale machine production, and ownership has become limited to and centralized in the capitalist class. Industry is now operated primarily for profit. The masses of the people, being divorced from ownership of industrial equipment and so without economic independence, are now wage workers existing by the sale of their labor-power on the terms of a commodity market. The products which the workers produce are the property of the capitalist owners of the material equipment. Out of the entire mass of produce created by the working class, it receives back but a small share. With each advance in the productive arts, with every new invention and discovery, the mass of surplus products, over and above those obtained by labor as means of subsistence, grows larger, glutting the markets and necessitating curtailment of production in the interest of profit. In truth, society suffocates from its own superabundance even while, and because of it, the majority of its members are in the verge of destitution, and many absolutely destitute.

Concisely formulated, the functional factors essential for supplying community needs are:

Material equipment of production, i.e., natural resources, mills, mines, factories, railroads, etc.

Immaterial equipment of production, i.e., know-

(Continued on page 3.)

# Harrington Reviews "The Communist Bulletin."

Published by the Canadian Section of the Communist Party of the U. S.

**A** LIGHT has risen in the East—the East which, after a feeble struggle surrendered to the general apathy prevalent almost universally during the latter years of the war.

The workers either contracted patriotism or professed it; their leaders secured fat salaries to preserve so desirable a State. The capitalists and their jackals, professional and business people, were by no means inactive; wherever a slave sought to voice the aims of his class he was, everywhere in the English speaking part of this continent at least, promptly silenced.

Now we may be wrong, but we have not heard of anything startling occurring east of Port Arthur and, making all allowance for bias in the part of our correspondents, we conclude that the workers have not given their masters much to worry about for a year or so at any rate.

But progress though temporarily stayed, will burst with power proportionate to the time she is halted, and overturn all barriers. This truth is made manifest by the appearance of "The Communist Bulletin," Vol. 1, No. 1, undated and without place of abode. To the latter conditions we have no objections on general principles, but oh! it's mighty inconvenient.

However, the Bulletin is here, and as it devotes some attention to us, and particularly to me, it seems proper that we should, as old timers, meet it at the camp gate saying, "Welcome little stranger, you are tardy, but——"

There are many familiar airs about this little stranger however, which cause us to reflect that we have met before, and we would advise him if he is solicitous of his incognito as his grimaces imply, to be more careful; writers have habits, and so have printers.

It would appear from our new recruit in the revolutionary struggle, that the workers of Canada have an additional burden added to their already too burdensome task, to wit, the removal of Harrington from their capacious backs. I here crave the indulgence of the "Clarion" readers while some personal matters are dealt with. There have been zealous comrades before who have undertaken to wipe the floor with me, and some have done it to the queen's taste and their own. I have no right to object to this as a matter of course, but I feel compelled to protest against the methods. Surely, being human, I have made enough blunders to require chastisement, without it being necessary to indulge in inaccuracies and then assume an injured innocence expression when such are pointed out. The same reflection is also offered on behalf of the S. P. of C. With a definite knowledge of all my shortcomings, and a keen desire to hide them, I am now confounded and utterly crushed by being chronicled as "the purest of all pure Marxists," as "this great 'Marxian scholar,'" My sins have found me out. It's coming to me for leaving Boston.

Let us now proceed to examine the charges: "..... not once has the party in a leaflet or article pointed out the necessity of a working class assault upon the capitalist state as the method for the overthrow of capitalism." Granted. We would have lied had we done so. But we have pointed out that such a course was A method for such purpose. (See our "Manifesto," page 42, and Preface to Fourth Edition).

Then we are accused of not having "dreamt of trying to mobilize the workers against the Imperialist War. Guilty as charged! Dreams are not our strong point. However, there follows a quotation from Trotsky to which I may return at a later date. Meanwhile, availing myself of the same authority:

"Had the Socialists limited themselves to expressing condemnation of the present war, had they declined all responsibility for it, and refused the role of confidence in their governments as well as the vote for the war credits, they would have done their duty at the time." ("Bolsheviki and World Peace," page 176.)

Anyone who cares to enrich his mind with something more substantial than dreams should read this entire chapter, pages 172-182.

Now we did much more than the limited task here assigned to Socialists; we held anti-war meetings and maintained ourselves against every assault, and we were the only ones who did so throughout the war.

We were able to do this because of our pre-war propaganda, and because we did not dilute that propaganda during the war. Our little stranger speaks from experience when he says: "It is easy to remain pure by doing nothing."

In his quotation from "the thesis on Parliamentarism," the slipshod mental laziness of our little stranger allows him to indicate paragraph 6 of "The Communist Party and Parliamentarism" as the source, whereas it is reproduced exactly from paragraph 7 of "The Communist Parties and the Question of Parliamentarism," a document contained in the "Theses" presented to the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This "Theses" here referred to which our friend quotes from is precisely the same document from which were reprinted the derided "obsolete Eighteen conditions." The quotation from paragraph 6 above referred to is:

"Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces it as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over parliament; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore, it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them. The question can only and exclusively be discussed on this plane." (Paragraph 6, page 4, "P. T. U. and the C. I." Theses adopted by the Second Congress, August, 1920, emphasis ours).

So much for the quotation: now our friend's comment:

"Did the Socialist Party of Canada ever formulate the question of participation in elections in that way? No; not even theoretically. And their election manifestos only dealt with the evolution of capitalism, the horrible condition of the worker under capitalism, and the solution is always vote for the Socialist Party of Canada."

Of course the inconvenience which we noted regarding the forced furtiveness of our friend is here apparent, in the great circumambient darkness which encompasses him; he must fail to see the things which are, and have, also, recourse to dreams. We can assure him that our election manifestos never have even suggested that a vote for us would solve the workers' problems. Far from it! We have even been accused out here of telling the workers that we did not want their votes, what we wanted was their attention. And if we were sure that such action would not reveal their whereabouts we would send them some which would demonstrate the truth of this accusation. In this respect we would like to see a meeting between the Western adherents of the "Theses" under discussion and our bashful friend, on this point; the discussion would be funny. For the rest, we again refer our friend to our "Manifesto," pages 42-47.

After this deliberate lie,—but no, let us delete the adjective—"hole in the corner conspirators" of whom Marx was so scornful cannot be expected to read correctly, albeit they did watch the "Clarion" for mention of the Third International, after this lie I am trounced unmercifully for suggesting that we would have to "indulge in all manner of tactics which heretofore we have looked up as, to say the least, futile." Thus:

"It is refreshing to hear this purest of all pure Marxists using exactly the same argument against the Communist International as is being used by the defenders of the Second International. This theoretician considers the tactics of the Third International futile after the lessons received in the Finnish, Russian, Hungarian, and German revolutions; only one living in a land of dreams could come to such a conclusion."

All right. Turn to section I, par. 4, of the Thesis

on "Trade Unionism and the Communist International," adopted at the Second Congress:

"The luke-warmness of the working masses, their theoretical indecision, their tendency to yield to the arguments of opportunist leaders, can be overcome only during the process of the ever-growing struggle, by degrees, as the wider masses of the proletariat learn to understand, by experience, by their victories and defeats, that, in fact, it is already impossible to obtain human conditions of life on the basis of capitalist methods of management; and by degrees as the advanced Communist workmen learn through their economic struggle to be not only preachers of the ideas of Communism, but also the most determined leaders of the economic struggle of the Labor unions. Only in this way will it be possible to remove from the unions their opportunist leaders, only in this way will the Communists be able to take the lead in the trade union movement and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism."

Compare that, and indeed the entire thesis with clause 2 of the conditions of affiliation, and then rave some more.

Then we read:

"The MacDonalds, Snowdens and Harrington's are opposed to the Third International because it does lay down the tactics to be followed and refuses to allow any affiliated party to 'indulge in all manner of tactics' "

Well, the other precious pair can speak for themselves, being in receipt of eats by virtue of their position in the labor movement. Doubtless clause 2 worries them, but it holds no terrors of me, seeing I am engaged the best part of every day rendering medical aid to a bunch of unhealthy flat wheels and box cars. However, the Third International does just permit all manner of tactics, and cannot avoid doing so, when they accept those who have been so engaged these many weary moons. The term Communist has no magic virtues, and the Third International has no alchemy whereby it can transmit the reformist into a revolutionist. For, apart from attempting to do what is not possible, according to the Theses quoted above, their aberrations range all the way from resolutions passed in Communist conventions, pledging Communists to work for the abolition of alcohol, and to join the Labor Party,—to Madeline's "The Real Lady Again," column in "The Communist," published by the British Communist Party. Small wonder the "Workers' Dreadnought" reviewer suggests that "there is room therefore, in the movement, for a paper appealing to those who like light fare, are not extravagant in their intellectual diet, and desire to keep their Communism respectable and away from militancy." (Jan. 29, 1921.) Our friend should know of some of these, as we shall see later.

Let us return to the Finnish, Russian, Hungarian and German revolutions. It is partly because of these that I consider clause 2 futile. Answer, friend, was it the Centrists, the Rights or the MacDonald's or Snowdens, or any of that tribe, who marched into Finland singing revolutionary songs, under Von der Goltz (see his diary)? Who suppressed the revolution in any of the three countries? Who suppressed the Paris Commune? Even one "living in the land of dreams" could find ample evidence that the mob which marches and fights for its master, does so and will always do so, in spite of leaders, Right, Left or Centre, so long as they see through their masters' eyes.

And while we are on this subject let us take up the question of denunciation. There are some ardent rebels who can satisfy their revolutionary ardor, and soothe their Communist conscience, by denunciation of all and sundry except the master class. Being the "purest of all pure Marxists" I can commiserate with these poor souls who, lacking the spirit of revolt, but consumed with its fire, leave the siring line, beat it back to the home town, select some "pacifist" walking down a dark lane, and from a secure distance bawl out various names. It is one of the most humane methods of fighting yet



evolved; it satisfies the attacking party and leaves the attacked uninjured. But alas, it will never prove effective for working-class purposes. Too bad!

There is real need "East of Port Arthur" for someone to seriously undertake the much needed task of enlightening the slave, and our friends, at some expense and energy expended devote almost the entire issue of a four page paper bawling at Kautsky, MacDonald, Harrington, etc., lying out-and-out in respect to the S. P. of C., and distorting even the words of their supposed friends, besides swiping wholesale, without acknowledgment, from the same source. And doing it all in sublime secrecy. Come into the daylight, friend, you at least have nothing to fear from the police!

But enough of this particular article. Let us turn to the others. The opening words of the "Theses" are: "The daily propaganda must bear a truly Communist character." I said we were not informed what this required. I say so again after reading "The Communist Bulletin" and am inclined to add, unfortunately! But perhaps the daily propaganda does not include the weekly or the eight-yearly!

The filler under the article we have been discussing has this caption: "The Committee of the Third International Still Functions in France." Under this is an item culled from "L'Humanite," telling that a Propagandists' School proposes to instruct its students in the following: "How to Become a Speaker," "Practical Course of Public Speaking," "Socialist Organization," "Syndicalism," etc. Also lectures on "Theory and Economic System." Here, allowing for the possible inaccuracies due to translation was a ray of hope; our friends at least conceive education to be a part of Communist effort. Amidst all the stupid raving against education, here our very revolutionary friends see fit to caption an educational notice as the functioning of the Third International. But, alas, it was too much happiness. It was all the result of a printer's pic. This is how it happened, and our friend can herewith find further evidence of Harrington's cunning. There were two "fillers" on the "Bulletin" press when the "Clarion," with Comrade Kavanagh's article in it, arrived. One of these fillers was pulled out, and a note inserted that K.'s article suggested all was not dark in the West. Then the caption for the article removed was placed over the one remaining. A small matter truly, but—the wording was twisted.

In "The Communist," Jan. 27, 1921, a paper published in London by the E. C. of the Communist Party, and bearing a "truly Communist character in its daily propaganda," are two news items. One deals with the matter regarding educational classes; the other refers to a statement by the "Committee for the Third International," advising that they will remain and do business until the Communist Party was organized. This was the item which should have had the caption already quoted, but note, that "of" is inserted instead of "for." A printer's error is excusable, but such deliberate and constant twisting is, let us hope, not truly Communist in character.

There is an article on "The O. B. U. in Retrospect," which for pure unadulterated folly has not been duplicated since the New York "Communist's" ravings at the time of the Winnipeg strike. "Read, not to contradict, but to weigh and consider," as Bacon has it:

"The Winnipeg strike tied up the city for several weeks. Troops were quartered in the city and intimidated several demonstrations of workers. From a strike to raise wages the strike had developed so that the next logical step would have been a political strike against the capitalist state. But the Strike Committee refused to take that step, urged the workers to be peaceful, and indignantly denied trying to supplant "constituted authority" with a Workers' Council. The step towards a political strike was not taken because of the 'constitutional' prejudices of the Strike Committee, the absence of a revolutionary party willing to take the leadership of the workers into its own hands, the absence of illegal organs of propaganda which could have explained the situation to the workers and dispelled the deadly effects of the 'constitutional' appeals of their leaders; in a word, the absence of revolutionary proletarians."

To quote at this length is necessary, and at that I will leave it. Comment would be superfluous. Let us pass on to an article on "The Soviets." This article is taken from a Thesis by the Third

International, "When and under what conditions Soviets of Workers' Deputies should be formed." There was plenty of room for the entire Theses, there being two fillers, and all the paragraphs are heavily leaded, particularly the last page. But that would not do for our Communist friends, who have evidently taken a vow to abjure facts. Instead, the Thesis is boiled down somewhat, and to give it a local habitation, Canada is used in place of Germany, etc. At this point, however, I wish to refer our friends to the "Communist" (Jan. 27, 1921) mentioned above, and which they have laid under tribute: they might well have taken the first item in the paper to heart—speaking of certain tenets of the Fourth International which have been taken almost word for word from the Third, we find these golden words: "Imitation is flattery; but excess of zeal in this direction, one must remember, goes by the name of forgery." Of course it is not forgery, it is robbery. Forgery suggests a close imitation, but this travesty on the Moscow Thesis is more like the act of an idiot who, realizing the possibility of discovery, partially destroys the stolen goods, in the hope of being able to parade them securely in public.

The article might well be characterized by the words of Macbeth when apostrophising life, "A tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Our friends are good enough to give Moscow credit for a small portion of the article, but even at that they must make a hash of it. The Moscow document discusses the rise and fall of the Soviets of Workmen's Deputies and their transformation into Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The historical process is regarded and emphasized, and then we are told that these historical facts prove that certain definite premises are necessary for the organizing of Soviets of Workers' Deputies and the transforming of them into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Mark how our friends put this historical process. "When, then, and under what conditions should the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' representatives be formed?" The entire force of the matter is lost, by the absence of the concept contained in organizing one body and transforming it into another.

The concluding paragraph of this Thesis reads (Comm. Party Gt. B. edition):

"Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably become a parody of Soviets. The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically elaborated forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Our friends say, without however giving Moscow the credit:

"Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution become a parody of Soviets. The Soviets are the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

I suppose by using capitals where Moscow uses small type, we are compensated for the absence of words which would lend coherence to their stolen thoughts. But enough of this is enough.

However, I cannot close without mildly enquiring what our friends mean when at the beginning of the article on "The S. P. of C. and Communism," they refer to the obsolete eighteen conditions for affiliation, and towards the end wax indignant at the bare suggestion by me, of these eighteen points being changed.

But I swear to cease right here; if I look at that "truly Communist" propaganda again I will never quit.

The heavy type throughout this article originates with me.

J. HARRINGTON.

HERE AND NOW.

Following \$1 each—D. Pyne, J. A. Goodspeed, Wm. Van Vliet, J. A. Untinen, N. Booth, W. Hoare, A. Hallberg, I. Tisher, W. J. Kennedy, S. Johnson, W. B. Nicholson, O. Tenfjord, M. Goudie, J. E. Palo, T. Dorrill, J. Perry, R. E. Shaw, J. G. Brown, J. Naylor, S. T. Mitchell, J. Peacock, H. Willcocks, P. Doyon, W. Morrison, H. Lahti, C. Neil, A. Miller, J. Robinson, W. H. Cupples, P. T. Leckie, Geo. Silk, J. Coxon, G. W. Lohr, F. J. Nee

Following, \$2 each—A. Shepherd, W. S. Matthews, H. C. Mitchell, S. Earp, W. M. Brown, B. E. Polinkos, \$4; W. Clarks, \$3; M. E. Will, \$5; N. H. Tallentire, \$3.50.

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## THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

(Continued from page 1)

ledge of the arts of production—a social product in the possession of the productive workers.

Intervening between the above factors and their functioning primarily in the interests of the community as a whole is—the private ownership of the material equipment. In the interest of the owners, production is carried on primarily for profit, and community needs are only incidentally supplied and, for the individuals of the community, only in such fashion as their purchasing capacity affords them.

A short time ago the editors were shouting from the headlines "produce, produce!" And whenever a group of workers went on strike we were told how much labor time was lost and how much wealth; but they are silent now on this matter when millions in every country are unemployed, when the labor time lost, and the wealth which might have been produced, are beyond computation.

To what extent does private ownership of the material equipment interfere with the functioning of industry to its full capacity? There are eminent authorities in such matters who hold that through curtailment of production in the interest of profits, and through competitive waste, etc., production is carried on at something less than one-fourth of the industrial community's productive capacity. (See Veblen's "The Vested Interests," p. 81.)

Fellow-workers, it is necessary that we get the point of view of regarding the social organization for production, and in fact the whole social organization itself, or any of its institutions, as a production engineer regards his plant, that is, from the instrumental or functional point of view of its output; so in the case of society's form of economic organization or the social organization as a whole, we should regard them from the point of view as to their efficiency in furthering human welfare. Whatever is tried and found wanting in that functional respect must be discarded even though it be the legal "rights" of the capitalist class to property in society's means of life.

Otherwise, there is the alternative that capitalism presents, of social anarchy, of drifting down through long years of decaying social life, devastating wars, starvation and misery to final collapse of the social organization in utter chaos.

That outcome might seem unbelievable were it not that history shows so many examples of social orders as strongly and even more strongly entrenched in old customs, deep-rooted habits of life and thought as is the present order, and as strongly edged about by coercive force, but which did, nevertheless, perish of an institutional situation such as now confronts society.

Only in the discarding of old traditional habits of thought and the acquiring of new conceptions conforming to the realities of today is there hope of laying broad and firm the foundations of a better social economy, and thus escaping the fate of other civilizations. Accordingly, this is written as a call to the working people who read it to observe, enquire and think. The S. P. of C. proclaims to all that it is the historic mission of the working class to free the productive forces of society from the bonds imposed on them by the needs of parasitic capitalism, and to establish, in the place of private ownership, the common ownership of the material means of wealth production. Only then, when free from the control of private interests, will the factors essential to production come together freely and function primarily in the interest of society as a whole; instead of for the profit of the capitalist class. Only then will be solved the twin problems of "overproduction" and unemployment, superabundance and dire need and distress. C. S.

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## A WORKING CLASS WELCOME

**D**URING the past week-end demonstrations of working-class fellowship, parades, meetings and receptions have welcomed Comrade W. A. Pritchard back from a Manitoba jail to the ranks of working class educational activity from which he has been personally separated for a year. The surging throng that shouted a welcome to him on his first appearance in Vancouver since his jail sentence indicates first, that W. A. P. is held high in working class esteem, and secondly, that his imprisonment along with that of his fellow "conspirators" has been the means of awakening an interest in their own affairs among the wage workers of Canada.

Press comments on local events are always a sure guide to their reliability on world affairs, in so far as they affect working-class matters. Now and then there protrudes a show of decency or indiscretion, particularly in the early editions of the daily press, but when we actually see a true statement of local happenings of working-class interest glaring at us in front page headlines, we are astonished at the inexperience of the news-vendor that allows him to be truthful, even for once. "The World" (Vancouver) actually had it that a bigger crowd met Pritchard an arrival than had met the Prince of Wales. Even "The Province," though it tried to hide its knowledge of the event, was compelled to print on an inside page a two inch item noting W. A. P.'s arrival, with special gratuitous mention of his sartorial equipment. "The Province" did not see fit to contrast Bill's reception with that accorded the Prince of Wales, to be sure, but its grudgingly snail notice of an event that it could not afford to completely ignore, serves as a guide to its working-class readers hereabouts of its estimate of what is good to withhold from their attention.

Pritchard's address to the jury in his own defence against the indictments seditious conspiracy and common nuisance provides an invaluable handbook of information covering the details of the trial and the events leading up to it. This book should be read by everyone; it covers a vast field of literature and Socialist propaganda matter, and as a Socialist propaganda pamphlet it is worthy of a place in the literature stock of any body of workers bent on the education of their fellows.

W. A. P.'s health has suffered through his imprisonment. Comrades throughout the country will join with us in wishing him a speedy recovery to his usual robust fighting form.

## LANSING'S BOOK.

**R**OBERT Lansing, former U. S. Secretary of State, has written a book called "The Peace Negotiations." We have not read the book which, we are informed by "The Province" (Vancouver), concerns the Paris Peace Conference, but we are interested in the discovery by "The Province" through Mr. Lansing, that the testimony of Wm. C. Bullitt before the Senate Committee of the U. S., September, 1919, was colored by a little political bias. Looking over the "Clarion" review (February 2, 1920) of "The Bullitt Mission to Russia," we find our comment on this particular point as follows: "Some notes made from various conversations with and about people prominent in the political life of the United States are included in

the testimony. These are obviously intended to exert some personal influence in U. S. politics and their presence lends an unworthy aspect to an otherwise very interesting document."

Wm. C. Bullitt went to Paris with Mr. Wilson. He was a member of the American Commission at the Peace Conference. He went in February, 1919, accompanied by Lincoln Steffens and Capt. Pettit to Russia to study political and economic conditions, and to report back to the Commission. His mission was undertaken with the knowledge of Lloyd George and Balfour, but was a secret mission so far as the general knowledge of the Peace Commission was concerned. His report was in favor of peace with Russia, whose peace terms, handed to him in Moscow 14th March, 1919, he conveyed to Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson prevented the publication of his report and it was not made public until Mr. Bullitt testified before the U. S. Senate Committee of enquiry into foreign relations. This is the report which Mr. Lloyd George professed not to have seen, but which Mr. Bullitt charges him with having read in company with his secretary, Philip Kerr, General Smuts and Sir Maurice Hankey. No doubt Mr. Lloyd George's silence was observed under agreement with Mr. Wilson. The report contained an outline of Mr. Bullitt's experiences and observations in Russia, and these were so favorable to that country and so contrary to the prevailing press lies that their publication could not be sanctioned by the Entente.

Seemingly, if we are to be guided by "The Province," we are to discredit Mr. Bullitt's testimony because it has a little political color shewn to them by Mr. Lansing. But we discovered the political coloring for ourselves something over a year ago, and that testimony, in spite of its drawbacks contains the official text of the peace proposals made by the Soviets in 1919. They have travelled a long way since then. Perhaps Mr. Lloyd George feels a little irritable when he looks at the Soviet's peace proposals of that date and the trade agreement now.

## JOHN HOUSTON.

News of the death of John Houston on the 11th March reached us too late for inclusion in our last issue. Old John was for several years an organizer for the S. P. of C., and his educational efforts were fruitful in many places from coast to coast. His friendship and admiration for the late D. G. McKenzie, whom he called "the great Mac," lasted over the years, and had an influence on his outlook on affairs and in some measure tempered his judgment. The workers of Canada have lost a willing and earnest co-worker. We are asked to publish the following:

International Association of Machinists.  
Victoria Lodge No. 111

Montreal, March 18, 1921.

To the Editor "Western Clarion."

Dear Sir,—Kindly publish the following resolution of Lodge 111, I. Ass. M., and oblige,

H. A. Spence, Rec. Sec.

Whereas, in the passing away of our ex-Bro. John Houston, the working class loses a fearless defender; and

Whereas this lodge and the organization with which the ex-Bro. was connected at the time of his decease, differed in policy with him at times;

Resolved, that Old One Eleven never questioned the sincerity or devotion of the late John Houston to the cause of the worker, and we will always recognize our ex-Bro. as having been an indefatigable fighter in the class struggle;

Resolved, that Lodge 111 Int. Ass. Mach. tenders this testimony to all and sundry.

H. A. SPENCE,

Rec. Secretary.

## SECRETARIAL NOTES.

In our last issue, in Comrade Harrington's article, page two, col. 3 (quoting Comrade Kavanagh) "Marxism, theoretical and practical, in the period we are not entering upon," should read "now entering upon." Also page three, col. 1, "African" colonies should read "American" colonies.

Comrade W. S. Matthews, secretary Local Victoria, writes us to say that Local Victoria has held four or five meetings in discussion of Third International affiliation. They are ready for the referendum any time. By the same mail A. B. Shaaf, Alta. P. E. C. secretary, writes to say that Local Edmonton comrades are greatly interested in the written discussion, and expresses the hope that the referendum will not be taken until the matter is fully discussed. H. H. Hanson, writing from Seal, Alta., expresses his satisfaction with the discussion so far as it has progressed, and hopes the matter will be fully thrashed out. His article appears in this issue. Comrade Kavanagh promises another contribution for next issue, commenting upon Comrade Harrington's in our last. So, too, Comrade Stephenson. We have been promised a contribution from him for our next issue.

Comrade Cassidy, last heard from was in Calgary. He has been round the Alberta farm neighborhoods, and indicates that he is likely to take refuge in Edmonton for the summer. At the same time he promises an article on the Third International for our next.

We are hunting up prices for binding and mailing charges for bound volumes of the "Clarion" for 1920. We expect the total cost with pre-paid mailing charges will be around \$4. Every Local should harbor a bound volume. See announcement in next issue.

Local No. 1 celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Paris Commune in the usual enthusiastic and robust manner. A surplus in cash of \$3 (per G. Sangster) has been handed to the "Clarion" Maintenance Fund.

## "THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO."

**O**NE approaches the task of writing about "The Communist Manifesto" with some trepidation. For the "Manifesto," small in bulk though it be, stands in a class by itself in Socialist literature. Not an idea of value is fermenting in the revolutionary movement today but can be traced in its few pages, if only in the germ. No indictment of a social order ever penned can rival it. The largeness of its conception, its profound philosophy and its sure grasp of history, its aphorisms and its satire, all these make it a classic of literature; while the note of passionate revolt which pulses through it, no less than its critical appraisal of the forces of revolt, make it for all rebels an inspiration and a weapon. Well might even a hostile critic ("The Socialist") say—"Though a man devote many years to the social theory, he will continue to find new, unexpected and striking truths in "The Communist Manifesto."

To attempt in a few paragraphs to summarize its contents would be foolish. It can be obtained so easily, and is so eminently readable, that to do so would in truth be "carrying coals to Newcastle." What we may profitably do is to consider the "Manifesto" in the light of events which have transpired since it was written, and so form an estimate of its present worth.

Written in the year 1847, by Marx and Engels, at the request of the International Communist League, many parts of it are of necessity antiquated, as, indeed, the authors point out in the preface to a later edition. In particular, sections iii. and iv., dealing with contemporary Socialist literature and the relation of the Communists to opposition parties, are now only of historical interest. The march of time has also rendered obsolete the tactical proposals at the end of section ii.

But the first portion, treating of the development of the modern capitalist class and its counterpart the proletariat, is still the best and most convincing exposition of the Marxian point of view, and well repays the time spent on reading and re-reading it. Here for the first time the world learned of that conception of history by which the study of social development matured into a definite science. The Materialist Conception of History runs through the historical part of the "Manifesto" like a golden thread. The transient nature of capitalist society is emphasized, and in contradistinction to Utopian Socialism—the rights of the workers are shown to be in accord with their social responsibilities.

To those who suffer under any social system is allotted the task of changing it, for they, and they alone, are asked to revolt by its injustices. But

(Continued on page 8.)



# The S. P. of C. and the Third International

Capitalism is international. One and the same firm and company owns capital and enterprises in various different countries. Also wage slaves, the creators of all the wealth, are international. One who today slaves and creates riches for the lords of France and England, after a few weeks may be seen bending his back for the benefit of the American parasites.

In the days of the Paris Commune the Bismark troops, i.e., the German troops, stood in readiness like cattle in order to crush the Paris Commune and to draw into a sea of blood the revolution of France if the Versailles alone were unable to cope with the situation.

The proletariat of Russia, single handed, crushed Czarism, knocked to the ground its bourgeoisie, and began to realize their future plans. Then the international bourgeoisie from all lands stretched out their hands and began to throw a loop around the neck of new Russia. They would have succeeded in choking her had it not been for the international proletariat, who raised their strong hands of toil and challenged "Enough. Hands off Russia."

Following the above, though brief reasoning, we see plainly that the class struggle can only be international, and therefore it is necessary to have strong international labor organization. Such a form of organization is the Third, or Communist International. There is no heavier crime than to ignore it and not be affiliated with it.

As to losing our legality and feeling reaction, we will get that some time anyhow. Our legality and charters have any meaning only so long as we slumber and are harmless to capitalism. As soon as we began to be active the police smashed our headquarters with all its charters and put our speakers and more active comrades behind the bars. Do you remember the sad happenings during the Winnipeg strike?

Long live the Third International

Let us, Canadians, be a part of it.

Local Lac du Bonnet,

(per J. Beckman).

Comrade Editor, —In discussing the affiliation with the Third International, one can not fail to see that this question is touching upon all human activity in every land and clime. And to confine one's thoughts on this question to our own national boundary or "continent" would hardly be doing justice to the question under discussion. All things within our objective—bearing on this question—must be considered, weighed justly. The creditable record we have made in the past shall continue in the future.

Stating the case in favor of affiliation, consideration for its growth, and its usefulness, must be taken into account, which to a great extent is contingent upon its future development.

The object of the Third International is to harmonize and supervise through a centralized agency, composed of representatives from all affiliated organizations, to better protect and facilitate the work of the world proletariat. Seeking to divert the strength of the whole to bear upon any given situation deemed warrantable by the executive as in the best interest of the proletariat. When the proletariat of any country rebel against oppression they are not confronted with capitalism of their own country alone, but with world capitalism. So it is obligatory with them, in order to wage the struggle more intelligently and with greater effectiveness, to create an International Union that will function on the same basis as world capitalism, in the interest of the proletariat. The vulnerable point in the proletariat defence has been lack of co-ordination. Its fragmentary makeup renders them an easy prey to their masters.

Now, some comrades seem to think that if we were affiliated with the Third International we would have to indulge in tactics that are futile. This I think is unsound, unless these comrades can point out where such terms have been imposed on any body affiliated with the Third International, or a case in point where no deviation from a course found

untenable has been held inviolable, or show cause for doubting the professed object of the Third International, or the intelligence of its makeup. For clause 16 in the "Theses" states specifically "that a programme in conformity with special condition of their own country" must be drawn up. Otherwise the interpretation of the clause in question is a supposition derived from straight-jacketing that clause, without considering its relative position to other points in the "Theses," made to meet world conditions, which must necessarily contain a certain amount of flexibility. If our propaganda is founded on the class struggle, and applied intelligently and directly to conditions arising from time to time, we may safely assume the other phases of this propaganda to be free to adapt itself to local needs.

Objection to clause 2 is taken on the grounds that "it would immediately involve us in a series of bitter struggles." Is not the class struggle a series of bitter struggles in all its phases? And unless we elect to become non-combatants by committing suicide, we have to put up with it 'till it is ended. And while educational work is of the utmost importance, it will not relieve us from having to change the system of production and distribution from private to collective ownership, which involves getting administrative powers, if our educational work shall bear us fruit in the way it is intended. The bitterness of the struggle will be accelerated as we approach the final downfall of capitalism. And if the observance of clause 2 (removing from responsible posts in the labor movement—reformist and partisans of the centre), would as stated "involve us in a series of bitter struggles," that presupposes the shady makeup of the party as at present constituted, which is doubtful unless a very narrow construction, as to the fitness of its intellectual makeup, is to be considered.

But if such be the case, the rupture would eventually have to come, if we are to carry the class struggle to its logical conclusion. The extension of time to better prepare for it is neither augmented nor diminished by joining with the Third International. For surely we hold no power up our sleeve that is capable of promoting the cause of the proletariat that we do not wield.

Criticism on formulae for building up the Third International is not, I think, well founded, for nowhere is it proposed to "amalgamate all freak organizations, and affiliate them with the Third International." When signing "articles of faith" as laid down in the "Theses," they will have to comply with these articles, by practically living up to them to the extent demanded by the "Theses," before admittance to the Third International can be obtained (having here regards to conditions indigenous to any country, and as such applied). The eliminating and replacement process which most organizations will have to subject themselves to in order to qualify will prove a strong guarantee against being swamped by freak organizations wishing to affiliate.

Notwithstanding the fact that heterogeneous elements were represented at the last congress of the Third International, that congress should be considered largely as being of a defensive character, obtaining support from as many sources as they were varied in divergent views, in order to better safeguard the revolution in Russia. Therefore the makeup of the last congress cannot be considered an infraction of principles, but the inclusion was made to serve a tense and trying situation. The uncompromising tone in the terms of affiliation cannot be doubted, and though it may be said that we have "freaks and faddists" in the S. P. of C., the stringent terms imposed upon them in the constitution excludes the possibility of them becoming a menace to the party. If the qualities of the terms imposed are scientifically correct, they command the respect and obedience of its members. The conditions for affiliation with the Third International can at least be compared favorably with the conditions for affiliation with the S. P. of C., when aim of objective and means whereby this is to be attained are considered.

When one of the comrades contends that "Herd-

ing them (the proletariat) into a freak organization and giving them revolutionary names will not unite them," we agree with him. But the inference cannot escape us, that reference is here made to the Third International as a freak organization, which is, I think, a far-fetched assumption. If all workers must be in possession of a scientific Socialist education before they can affiliate with each other, when will we have Socialism upon this basis? Or to what extent should we co-operate and affiliate with our fellow workers meantime? An augmented aggressiveness in carrying forward our work as proletarians (which the conditions for affiliation demands) cannot be interpreted as a departure from scientific Socialism.

The comrades of Local Winnipeg No. 3 in their reasons for non-affiliation state that "The proletarian dictatorship should not be advocated on account of its probable short duration." Comrades, the advocacy of the proletarian dictatorship, determines to a large extent the mettle of the comrades within our ranks. Upon the proletarian dictatorship is contingent the success or failure, when at the juncture of setting up a proletarian state, and the proletarian dictatorship is our only logical weapon of defence against those forces and elements seeking to frustrate and destroy us. It therefore should be advocated in the sense that its power be invoked at the point of necessity. Regardless of the temporary opposition we will meet with, its ultimate usefulness is indispensable to the revolutionary proletariat.

There is plenty of breadth and latitude in the terms of affiliation to meet all varying conditions, providing that we earnestly seek to carry on the class struggle intelligently and in the most effective way, as peculiarly adaptable to any country.

The overthrow of capitalism, whether by the majority or the minority, by peaceful means or by force, cannot be determined and worked out according to prescribed rule. But as varying conditions arise from time to time, these will have to be met with a corresponding change in tactics, such as the situation demands. Our propaganda must be directed to that end. Therefore an educational policy capable of intellectual attainment only, is fallacious.

The rapidly moving events exclude the probability of workers studying the class struggle out of books. They rather will attain to that understanding through contact with practical class conscious forces operating in their midst. From this position springs the obvious reason for clauses one to seven. Hence the necessity for the rigid weeding out process embodied in the "Theses." "Freaks and faddists" will not be an asset, but a liability which must be eliminated from our organization, and must not be allowed to hold responsible position in our movement. Their mischievous and insidious propaganda and tactics will have enough influence from without, to say nothing about giving official sanction to it within our movement.

In conclusion I wish to say that to admire ourselves for the wisdom we have exhibited in the past may be allowed its deserved recognition. But that is hardly sufficient to base the decision on whether to join with the Third International or not. If we are the metal we profess to be, we will step in and help to build up—both physically and morally—what our comrades in Russia made possible: A genuine proletarian international.

H. H. HANSON.

Undoubtedly the recognition by the Party of the pressing needs of the day is reflected in its proposed referendum, and naturally the consequent discussions will be of immense value as a means for measuring the revolutionary value of its teachings and propaganda in the past.

An analysis of the points laid down for acceptance by parties applying for affiliation, usually brings forth from the older comrades in the movement the cry that "this is precisely what the party has been doing for years." This being so, it should undoubtedly lead to affiliation, especially if the reasons of the party for refusing to affiliate with the Third International on the grounds "that this com-

mittee declines to consider any affiliation which entails the slightest suspicion of fusion or compromise," possess any real value at all. But we must recognize that such claims on behalf of the party may be questioned, and a further examination of the terms for affiliation may reveal to us the fact that we may occasionally have fallen down in our methods of application. Our educational policy has, no doubt, been of value, but during these stirring times should not our policy be to make rebels and not philosophers?

Comrade Harrington points out that "Our understanding of this (the Marxian philosophy) has led us to maintain a strictly educational programme. We have assumed the position that the development of capitalism would engender revolutions, and that an understanding of society, economic and historic, would secure the working-class against precipitate and futile action." And what will be the inevitable outcome of a continued adherence to such a policy? Are we not to learn any lessons from our historic understanding of society and apply and connect such lessons with the more modern phases of the class struggle? The horrible collapse of the Second International in 1914, by reason of its adherence to such a policy, and the marked contrast of the successful outcome of the policies of the Bolshevik party in Russia, proves beyond dispute the necessity of a centralized, disciplined party whose education shall not be confined alone to a knowledge of the historical and economic development of society, but will be extended to include a definite course of study of the revolutionary movements of society and their practical application, if our Marxism is to be Marxism, and we are to profit by revolutionary experiences of existing revolutionists.

Unless we possess the knowledge of revolutionary tactics, the revolutions that capitalism has engendered might well as not occur, for we should be placed in precisely the same position as the Finnish and Hungarian workers, and our actions then would surely be precipitate and futile. Therefore, our daily propaganda should be truly communistic, that is, preaching the necessity of discipline within the Party, preparing ourselves and the workers generally for conscious and deliberate action during the inevitable period of collapse, so that we may be able to crush the power of the capitalist State and to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat by transforming the proletariat into the ruling class.

A realization of what such preparation means will surely reveal the necessity for a more virile working class party. If our interpretation of the trend of present day events will allow us to proclaim the inevitability of another Imperialist world war, then surely we should prepare for such, not by fooling ourselves into a belief that the modicum of freedom allowed us by the bourgeoisie will still exist during a time of crisis, but by preparing a definite plan of campaign so that we shall be able to reap the harvest of such a field of discontent which a repetition of 1914 will present. This phase of the question is purely hypothetical, but surely we are all prepared to admit that the lot of the proletariat will not improve with the decay of capitalism, and the historical fact stands out that as the political stability of a governing class weakens, so does the true function of the State as an instrument for suppression and oppression become more pronounced. And by exercising its power the State will not allow us to carry on a propaganda of such virility as would tend to give the working class confidence in a party whose avowed function is to usurp the power of the State, but whose methods of propagating their ideas will not be able to raise above the repressive powers of the capitalist State they are out to crush. In anticipation of any criticism which may advocate the postponement of any idea of a Communist Party, while we are yet free to carry on legal propaganda, on the grounds of the inevitable repression which will follow the formation of a Communist Party, I might mention the sad plight of the Second International when they were robbed of the holy freedom which left them unable to function.

While section 4 may not affect the position of the Party to any great extent (since I interpret this section as being particularly framed for countries where conscription is practised in times of peace, as well as war), I will pass on to section 5, with a note in passing that the value of judicious propaganda among the troops is too apparent to need much comment, but which is so consistently neglected as to call for much comment also.

The Party is peculiarly adapted for rural propaganda, and it has no doubt carried on much useful work in rural districts. I feel that I am now treading on what is dangerous ground, for one whose experiences of the movement has been confined to the East, when I recall the stories often related of the pioneers of the Party who tramped the prairie propagating Socialism under conditions which would have broken the hearts of less determined workers. But it seems as though with the widening of the field for work, and the development of more easily accessible fields, the Party is slackening in its endeavors. The growth of farmers' parties proves that the farmer is beginning to realize that he is not receiving all that is coming to him, and a disciplined Communist nucleus in the various farmers' organizations would save our farmer friend many a wasted effort in the direction of the reform movement.

The section referring to persistent Communist work in the Trade Unions, when read in connection with Lenin's remarks concerning participation in reactionary Trade Unions, should be an eye-opener to the comrades of the Party who helped to invent and form the pure, class organizations which are to put the workers on their own feet. The desertion of the A. F. of L. by many of the oldest and ablest members of the Party, at a time when their work in the A. F. of L. was most needed, was a mistake in tactics which the movement cannot afford to repeat.

To attempt to deal with the remaining points would be superfluous, for the natural benefits accruing from the centralized organization and the enforcement of a more determined discipline would be apparent to all. Perhaps were we living in this happy state even the master class would be made aware of the existence of a revolutionary party, and by dint of hard work on the part of the comrades we might possibly reach the hearts (and minds) of the workers.

The recognition by the E. C. of the Communist International of the existence of the variety of conditions under which the different parties would have to work and struggle, proves that the E. C. recognize the peculiar conditions with which we are faced, but they also recognize that these conditions are concomitants of a system that presents the same evils of wage-slavery and degradation universally. Consequently the workers must be prepared for a universal struggle and to wage such a struggle effectively we must fall in line with other comrades who are conscious of what is needed, and offer to the enemy a united front, not of philosophers, but of rebels.

Therefore, I am unhesitatingly in favor of affiliation, and I hope that the day is not far distant when we shall have a Canadian section of the Third International, with former members of the S. P. of C. foremost in its ranks, preaching a philosophy of action rather than a philosophy of erudition.

W. MORIARTY.

Editor, Western Clarion.

Dear Comrade,—The letters in favor of joining the Third International fail to advance reasons why Socialists must affiliate. I am not a member of the S. P. of C. or any other party, but if permissible I wish to advance some reasons against affiliation.

The constitution, conditions of membership and Theses of the Third, are based upon the false notion that the workers are ready for revolution. The "Manifesto of the Third International," signed by Lenin, Zinoviev and others, states: "Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order."

The call for the Third International, signed by Lenin, the Spartacans and others, laid down mass action, and insurrection, etc., as the only methods and ignored entirely the importance of education in Socialist principles preceding action. This cry for action ignores the fact that knowledge of the road to follow and the objects of the struggle must precede action, if results are to be useful. The I. W. W. is the best example of believers in action and more action. The tragedy of their policy of ignoring education can be seen from the action of their boasted membership in Philadelphia of 3,000 marine transport workers. They loved to point to the job control of these members whose high initia-

tion fees were a flat violation of I. W. W. rules. Action was seen when they loaded munitions for Wrangel at Pidgeon Point, and after Communists had protested the 3,000 were expelled, but later taken in again, as the I. W. W. could not afford to lose them.

The Theses on the "Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" adopted at Second Congress of the Third International (August, 1920), and written by Lenin states: "In particular, it is necessary for the Communist Party and the whole advanced proletariat to give the most absolute and self-denying support to all the masses in a larger general strike movement which alone is able under the yoke of capitalism, to awaken properly, arouse, enlighten and organize the masses and develop in them a full confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat." (Emphasis mine.)

This teaching is unsound and is the whole philosophy of direct action revised. How questionable is the change in ideas due to strikes is seen by the English engineers voting for the leading employer who locked them out, and the results of 1918 general elections and recent state elections in England, where the employers' agents were given large majorities by the workers in a country full of strikes. Here in Winnipeg, after all the repression and persecution shown by the employers during the strikes, Russell Pritchard and Johns received a few hundred votes against the many thousands pooled for employers and other harmful candidates.

It is not easy to gather information about the parties affiliated or the activities of the Third, as little news is allowed to filter through. In fact many parties have not received invitations to join, or any literature necessary. Moscow derives most of its information from delegates who offer partisan views, and in present state of difficulty of communication there is only a semblance of an International. Wm. Gallacher, of Communist Labor Party of Scotland, has told us of his experience in Moscow. Many delegates there may have represented somebody, but it is doubtful. Just as Boris Reinstain signed the International Manifesto for the S. L. P. of America, while that body was attacking the very documents he signed, so many others had doubtful backing or mandates. J. S. Clarke, another Bolshevik (of Workers' Committees) tells us that he never knew the British Communist movement was so strong until he left Britain and came to Moscow. In "The Worker" (Jan. 29, 1921) he reports telling Lenin the "British Communist movement was a joke." The editor of the Mexican Communist Party paper—Gale's magazine claims "Socialist" (Jan. 6, 1921) that Roy, the Hindu Nationalist, has been in Mexico lately, and is an ambitious politician, using the movement for personal ends and is not a Socialist, on his own confession. This Roy represented India at Moscow, and apparently made it look as though colonies were lining up.

Apart from the difficulty of knowing little about the discussions in committee at the Congress, where important questions like the Labor Party were discussed, we have only the evidence supplied by Bolsheviks and their sympathizers, together with the documents reprinted or obtained from Moscow indirectly.

One of the conditions of affiliation is the stress upon "dictatorship of the proletariat" in all propaganda. This phrase, used so often, has a great number of meanings nowadays. If that means that we are to do like some of the speakers, propagate the seizure of power by a few dominating the many, that will not assist us in our propaganda as workers here have suffered too much from the rule of the few already, and won't trust to the goodwill of any particular group seizing the reins against the rest. Why all this stress upon a phrase that has become popular since the Russian revolution, if, as Radek says, it only applies to backward countries? Radek, writing upon this question in his "Development of Socialism from Science to Practice," says: "It might be fairly said that every revolution is undertaken by the minority, that the majority only joins in the course of the revolution and decides the victorious issue. Were it otherwise, not only would a dictatorship in the country with a proletariat minority like Russia be harmful as the followers of Kautsky maintain, but in a country with a proletarian majority, for which Kautsky and his school are graciously pleased to allow of a dictatorship, it would be entirely unnecessary. In such a country, the capitalists would be so few in number that they would



not be in a position to take arms against the proletariat. Thus the Marxian conception of a proletarian dictatorship as an unavoidable stage on the road to Socialism either is an antiquated conception or his dictatorship is as much justified in Russia as in any other country." (Emphasis mine.)

Here we have the dictatorship defined as unnecessary in the advanced countries, and by such a prominent Bolshevik official of the Third International as Radek. If they mean simply that the working class (as Marx puts it, in the "Communist Manifesto") must win the battle of democracy, acquire political supremacy and become the ruling class during the transition, why don't they say so? Why make as your object and insist upon propagating a condition which must in the very nature of emancipation, be a brief transitional stage?

What the Third International means should be clearly understood before joining, and their reply to the application of the Socialist Party of America is very informing on several points (see "Communist," U. S. A., Dec. 15, 1920).

Comrade Kaplan and others sentimentally appeal for Socialists to join because Russia is "engaged in the struggle against all force and fraud of the whole capitalist world." In their reply to S. P. of A., the Third International executive ridicule this reason. It is of course very gratifying to have the sympathy of the American Socialist Party because the Communist International is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world. This is, however, hardly a valid reason for a party's wishing to join the Communist International, or for the Communist International to accept such a party.

They further state: "The Communist International is no defensive organization. It is an organ of aggression, the General Staff of the World Revolution for the forcible overthrow of the capitalist state everywhere, and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Again they say: "The Communist International is an army in war time; volunteers who join the army of revolution must adopt its principles and obey its orders, submit to its discipline. None but revolutionary Communist organizations are accepted in the Communist International. They must adopt as their program the program of the Communist International — open revolutionary mass struggle for Communism, through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by means of Workers Soviets — accepting as binding all resolutions of the Congress and Executive Committee of the Communist International." ("Communist," U. S. A., Dec. 15, 1920).

This insistence upon "open revolutionary mass struggle" is again emphasized in the "Theses on Parliamentarism, Trade Unionism and the Communist International," adopted at Second Congress last August. This states:

9. "The fundamental method of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass action."

10. "The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government."

Such "mass action" means to rely upon the spontaneous instinctive uprising of bodies of people, and not the activity of informed organized workers. It has led to tragedies recently in the U. S. A., and the easy suppression of the workers by armed force. Yet one of the affiliated Communist bodies in Canada in their official organ the "Communist Bulletin," says of the Winnipeg strike movement:

"From a strike to raise wages the strike had developed so that the next logical step would have been a political strike against the capitalist state. But the strike committee refused to take that step, urged the workers to be peaceful, and indignantly denied trying to supplant 'constituted authority' with a workers council. The step towards a political strike was not taken because of the 'constitutional' prejudices of the strike committee, the absence of a revolutionary party willing to take the leadership into its own hands, the absence of illegal organs of propaganda which could have explained the situation to the workers."

They are putting the Theses into practice. But that way is surely the nemesis of propaganda, and leading the workers on to the shambles.

In the above reply to S. P. of A., the Third insists that acceptance of Workers Soviets is necessary as

the means of dictatorship. In the Theses just quoted they say: "The only form of proletarian dictatorship is a republic of Soviets." This is worth discussion, but their writings offer little information. The whole question of the superiority of Soviets is given small attention. The Bolsheviks themselves had to set up higher bodies such as the Supreme Council of Economy, etc. The visitors from Russia give little knowledge on the matter. Mensheviks started the Soviets in 1905, and Scheideman captured the Soviets in 1919 in Germany, because there is nothing in their form which makes them immune from reaction any more than other organs.

Sometimes we are told that the phrase Dictatorship is used to denote the denial of franchise to the bourgeoisie. But Lenin tells us in his "Proletarian Revolution," (p. 56), "the disfranchisement of the bourgeoisie does not constitute a necessary element of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In reply to the S. P. of America, the Third International states: "The centrist parties, the German Independents and the French Socialists are not yet acceptable for entrance into the Communist International. Yet they accept the program of mass action and dictatorship of the proletariat based on the Soviets. Any party which still advocates political democracy is a thousand times worse than these parties, it is a counter-revolutionary, a Scheideman party."

Whether or not the S. P. of C. position is opposed to political democracy I leave to the general knowledge of your members, but this statement is not in harmony with Radek's quoted before. Further, this attitude of hostility to political democracy is backed up by reference to the failure of parliamentary action, which up till now has not been Socialist parliamentary action, but the action of workers supporting their enemies.

True to the double attitudes adopted on various questions by the Third International, this denunciation of political democracy is in contrast with their support of the Labor Party. They now tell the working class to get control of parliament by means of the Labor Party. The "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Third International," adopted at second Congress, states the "Second Congress of the Third International must declare itself in favor of the Communist Party, and the groups and organizations, sympathizing with Communism in England, joining the Labor Party, notwithstanding the circumstances that this party is a member of the Second International." The purpose stated is "to accelerate the transfer of political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, so that the masses may be more rapidly cured of all illusions on this subject." Yet the Third International has told us that during the war "affiliation with the Labor Party then, meant an alliance with opportunism and in nowise a struggle against it." (Reply to I. L. P.) Curing workers of illusions by another illusion!

Is the opportunism any the less now? While parties in Third are allowed to belong to the Labor Parties it obviously cannot be a sound Socialist body to join.

The division amongst parties today into "Communist" and other fractions has not been caused by a grasp of Socialist principle, but by the activities of Moscow delegates, together with enthusiasm for Russia. Up till yesterday the membership of French and German parties were outside Third, but after a discussion on Soviets, dictatorship, etc., the delegates declared for it.

Sylvia Pankhurst told us that there are reformers in both Communist Parties in England. Serrati, the Italian delegate, who was highly praised as a Bolshevik by the Third International, asks: "How is it that the Russian Government, if it is so intolerant of opportunism—could offer some months ago £75,000 to the 'Daily Herald,' which upholds in England the policy of opportunist Socialism?" (London "Communist," Jan. 13, 1921).

He also objects to the agrarian theses as not revolutionary enough, and "does not share Lenin's belief that objectively, conditions are ripe for revolution, and that only leaders are in the way." The Communist Labor Party of Germany in their "Open Letter to Lenin," say: "The Third International believes that the revolution in Western Europe will be able to follow a compromise and alliance with

petty peasant, petty bourgeois, and even with bourgeois parties. The Communist Labor Party believes this to be impossible." ("Workers Dreadnought," Jan. 29, 1921).

J. S. Clarke, the Bolshevik Workers' Committee's editor, says, in "The Worker," Jan. 29, 1921) on his return from Russia: "We have the most cunning, most powerful and most politically and economically wide-awake ruling class on earth to combat. We have a proletariat as different to the Russian proletariat as chalk differs from cheese. Our proletariat can read and write, they are doped and have been doped for centuries; they are cursed with traditional ideas of freedom and superiority; they have to be uneducated. Our insularity, our dependence on other countries, and the relatively well entrenched power of our Menshevik opponents and trade union bureaucracy are other factors to consider."

Zinoviev at the Third International Congress in August, "expressed the fear that it might be dissolved by the petit-bourgeois elements which the irresistible sweep of the working class movement was bringing in without ridding them of their prejudices." (Communist," London, report of Third International). That this is possible can be seen by the reformers of yesterday "becoming" the Bolsheviks of today.

I hold that a real Third International must be based upon a recognition of the class struggle, thereby keeping out reformers, nationalist liberation movements and Labor Parties. Upon a recognition of the necessity of educating the mass of the workers, and political organization for the conquest of political power for Socialism.

Serrati, whom Zinoviev refers to as "your glorious leader," interviewed by Brailsford ("Daily Herald," Jan. 25, 1921), "complained of the impenetrable ignorance which even the ablest Russians display in judging Western politics. One may admire their driving force and their tremendous achievement but this ignorance seems to me to make affiliation under the 21 points too grave a risk." Space prevents showing the character of some organizations in the Third International, but we have the Unione Sindicale Italiani, and parties like the Communist Party in England, whose secretary (Whitehead) writes that it stands for: "Shorter working week for heavy and skilled labor," "Equal pay for men and women," etc. ("Workers' Dreadnought," Sept. 11th, 1920). The Communist Party in England have as their editor a well known Roman Catholic publicist, and we even have Bombacci of Italy (the extremist Communist) demanding "an energetic revision of the membership of parties in the Third" at the Second Congress. John Maclean, M.A., whom the Third called the leader of Bolsheviks in England, has a street named after him in Petrograd, but we find one of the planks in his Scottish Communist Party is "Home Rule for Scotland!"

Obviously there is much in the Third International of the material that ruined the Second.

I notice that these articles on Russia and also on the Third International contain several "kind" references to the S. P. of G. B. Faulkner asks if the Bolsheviks should have wired the S. P. of G. B., and Fillmore jokes about their small numbers. A writer signing himself F. Clark lumps them in with the holy-rollers and Billy Sunday. I would suggest that if these writers object to the S. P. of G. B. they should attempt to deal with their position and propaganda and not descend to sneering at them in an ignorant manner.

The writer belonged to the S. P. of G. B. for over 12 years, and knows their struggle against the appalling mass of confusion in Britain. Working against the Second International when Lenin and the mass of present Communists still believed in it, and attacking Kautsky while Lenin still called him a Marxist, the S. P. of G. B. carried on an unpopular crusade against reformism and syndicalism of every color, and with entirely voluntary work of its members has an influence far beyond its small membership. It has never shirked discussion and stands today for the position it laid down in 1904 because it still holds that its Marxian attitude is unshaken.

As I close this letter, I see by the organ of the Canadian section of United Communist Party of America ("The Communist Bulletin") that the S. P. of C. is told that in order to join it must make

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All "Clarion" readers in Maritime Provinces are asked to communicate with the undersigned at once. Comrade Chas. Lester will soon arrive from England, and will speak at all points where arrangements can be made. We shall need funds, and groups of workers in each place. Get busy, collect funds, arrange meetings, and communicate with me regarding same, etc.

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE,  
 R.R. 1, Oromocto, N. B.

any changes but any reader can see that none of the changes proposed is in the interest of Socialist (education of) working class interest. They say, "the programme of the S. P. of C. does not conform to the demands laid down by the Communist International, and is essentially the same as the programme of the parties of the Second International." "Mere weeping in the party press over the attacks upon Soviet Russia does not make the S. P. of C. any more radical than the I. L. P., which does the same and is at the same time a purely reformist party." They further state: "The S. P. of C. certainly has not been social patriotic, but they have been certainly social pacifist—not once has the party in a leaflet or article pointed out the necessity of a working class assault upon the capitalist state as the method for the overthrow of capitalism." They also argue that you should have tried to "mobilize the workers against the imperialist war."

This is the stuff acceptance of Third International policy leads to; assault the State with a working class against you; mobilize the workers during war time when they were intensely filled with war fever. Assault the State by resorting to street fighting, is the brilliant policy of these "Communists."

A KOHN.

## "THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO."

(Continued from page 4)

want and misery alone do not make for revolution. There must also be present either actual means of amelioration, or potentialities of such sufficiently developed to be recognized. The will to revolution is abortive without the means to give that will effect. Marx points out that the means to end capitalism have been supplied by modern industrial development, and that this development has been the historic purpose of the capitalist epoch.

Previous revolutions in human history were essentially "minority" revolutions, because the revolting elements were not welded together by any permanent identity of interests, but were allied solely by a common hostility to a dominant class; and as soon as the latter was overthrown the class distinctions within the revolting elements came to the surface, thrusting the lower classes into what was revealed to be simply another form of economic servitude.

It could not be otherwise. Property was so widely and diversely distributed that a single alignment of society into two opposing groups was impossible. A successful revolution directed against private property is only possible where property is so centralized that the subject class is able to see in the ruling class simply a personification of private property. The mechanism of capitalist production has accomplished this by destroying private property already for "nine-tenths of the population." Consequently, the next revolution, the Social Revolution, will have for its main object the destruction of "all private property relations" and with this, the "division of society into classes will come to an end."

The "Manifesto" affords the best example in political literature of the combination of theoretical principles with tactical needs; and because tactics must always be sought in the conditions immediately at hand, the "Manifesto" is today tactically valuable, except in so far as persistent stress in first principles is of tactical importance. Like all historic documents, it is at the mercy of the march of time. It did not attempt to take its stand upon any "eternal" principles, but based itself on the shifting scenes and fleeting forms of the society in which it had its birth. The extent to which the theories outlined in the "Manifesto" are still true of society today is the proper measure of the long-sighted penetration of its authors. If the value of a theory depends upon the time it endures, then one can say the "Manifesto" is a permanent contribution to the science of society.

Nevertheless, we should be misunderstanding the spirit of its authors if we attempted for one moment to give its findings the rigidity of a dogma or to make it anything like a touchstone for all time. Its limitations, though they be the ones to which all science is subject, are very real ones. It was circumscribed not so much in what it said as in what

## Literature Price List

- Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.  
 Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.  
 The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.  
 Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. 1, Marx). Single copies (cloth bound), \$1.00; 5 copies, \$3.75.  
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it was unable to say. We shall be paying its authors the highest tribute possible if we recognize this fact, and take up the task where they perforce laid it down. And how better can we gain inspiration than by turning to the "Manifesto" they penned three-quarters of a century ago, and catching some of the fire which still glows in its pages?

ANEURIN PEVAN.

—"The Plebs" (London).

\*Werner Bonhoff, Socialism and the Socialist Movement, p. 51