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# WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

Official Organ of  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOSOPHY

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FIVE CENTS

## Conditions For Joining The Communist International

### Theses of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—At the instigation of Local (Winnipeg) No. 3 of the S. P. of C., the Dominion Executive Committee have decided to place the matter of affiliation with the Third (Communist) International before the Party membership for referendum. It is desirable that before the matter is decided upon the Party members should discuss the terms of affiliation and such other points as may relate to them. For this reason the terms of affiliation are printed in this issue. These are taken from the Theses presented to the Second Congress (July, 1920) of the Third International, by its executive. The document is printed in English and published in Moscow. The various locals of the S. P. of C. will no doubt discuss this matter, and we hope to be able to present the case for and against affiliation in these columns. Next issue will contain an article for affiliation from Comrade Kaplan of Winnipeg. A good discussion should take place, which, however, depends upon the Party membership and the interest taken by them in this important matter. The attitude adopted by the S. P. of C. towards the Second International is fairly well known, but for general information and in order to avoid needless argument over the remains of the Second International, we have printed in another column of this issue the D. E. C. resolution adopted in August, 1909, towards that institution. The serious attention of all Party members is now asked for upon the question of affiliation with the Third International. Those who wish to do so may now state the case as they see it, for or against. We hope in this way to acquaint the Party membership with the nature of the question to be decided, which is:—“Shall the S. P. of C. affiliate with the Third (Communist) International upon the terms herein laid down.” The date of referendum will necessarily depend upon the discussion that arises, relevant to that question. Send in your argument. The Editor will strive to be impartial.

**T**HE First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for the joining of the Third International by separate parties. At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress, in the majority of countries there existed only Communist directions and groups.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is assembling under different conditions. At the present moment in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and directions, but Communist Parties and organizations.

The Communist International is more and more frequently receiving applications from parties and groups but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really Communists.

The Second International parties and the groups of the “centre,” seeing the complete hopelessness of the Second International, are trying to lean upon the ever-strengthening Communist International, hoping at the same time however to preserve a certain “autonomy” which would enable them to carry on their former opportunist or “centrist” policy.

The Communist International is beginning to be the fashion.

The desire for certain leading groups of the “centre” to join the Third International now is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the Third International has acquired the sympathies of the major-

ity of conscientious workers of the whole world, and that it is growing stronger every day.

Under certain circumstances the Communist International may be threatened with the danger of dilution by the fluctuating and half-and-half groups, which have not yet done with the ideology of the Second International.

Besides, in some of the larger parties (Italy, Sweden), the majority of which are adhering to the point of view of Communism, there is up to this moment a considerable reformist and social pacifist wing, which is only waiting for the moment to lift its head again, begin an active “sabotage” of the proletarian revolution, and thus help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The union between the Hungarian Communists and the reformers cost the Hungarian proletariat very dear.

In view of this, the Second World Congress sees fit to establish the most precise conditions for the joining of new parties, and also to point out to such parties as have already joined the Communist International, the duties laid upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International decrees, that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The daily propaganda must bear a truly Communist character.
- All the organs of the press which are in the hands of the Party must be edited by reliable Communists, who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current well-learned formula; it must be propagated in such a way that its necessity for each rank and file workman, workwoman, soldier, or peasant should follow from every day facts, systematically recorded by our press day by day.
- On the pages of the newspapers, at popular meetings, in the labor unions, in the co-operatives, in every place to which the partisans of the Third International have access, they must denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but its assistants, the reformists of all shades and color.
- Each organization wishing to join the Communist International shall be bound to remove systematically and regularly from all responsible posts in the Labour movement (Party organizations, editor's office, labor unions, parliamentary faction, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and partisans of the “centre,” and to replace them by Communists without troubling about the facts that in the beginning it might be necessary to replace “experienced” men by rank-and-file workmen.
- In all countries where in consequence of martial law or exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of

lawful and illegal work is absolutely necessary. The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists cannot have any confidence in the bourgeois laws. They are bound to create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment may help the Party to accomplish its duty to the Revolution.

4. An insistent systematic propaganda and agitation in the army is necessary, and the formation of Communist nuclei in each military organization. The Communists must carry on this work for the most part illegally, but a refusal to do such work would be equal to treason against the revolutionary cause, and inconsistent with their belonging to the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda in the rural districts is necessary. The working class cannot gain the victory without having at least part of rural workers and the poorer peasants on its side, and without neutralizing by its policy at least part of the other inhabitants of the country. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a primary importance in this epoch. It should be carried on through workmen—Communists—having connections in the country. To refuse to do this work or to transfer it to trustworthy half-reformist hands is equal to desisting from the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of joining the Third International is bound to denounce not only open social patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism: it must systematically demonstrate to the workmen that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be able to save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist international shall be bound to recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the centrists, and to propagate this rupture among the widest circles of members of the Party. Without this condition a consecutive Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be realized with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself with the fact that such acknowledged reformists as for instance Turatti, Modigliani and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the late Second International.

8. In the question of colonies and the oppressed nationalities an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries whose bourgeoisie possess such colonies or oppress other national-

(Continued on page 8)

# Historical Review

**T**O some, the present system of society appears as the highest pinnacle of civilization to which man can ever aspire, the final word in liberty, democracy and justice; to others, it appears as the limit of hypocrisy, sordidness and brutality, the lowest depth to which man has fallen.

If we really want to understand capitalism, we will have to view it from a different angle, not one of ethics, nor of how near it has approached to a pre-determined plan or scheme. We will have to enquire into the conditions prevailing at the advent of capitalism; what alterations have been made, how much more man understands of natural forces, whether improvements have been made in methods of obtaining a living, and what are the tendencies of social evolution today. In other words, what has been the historic mission of capitalism.

A proper study cannot be made in the pages of the "Clarion," least of all in one short article, but we urge the reader to make use of the literature advertised elsewhere in this paper, wherein a much fuller and abler analysis is made; but we may be able to arouse the interest of someone to whom Socialism is new.

Feudal society rested upon land ownership and military prowess; production was mainly agricultural, and the workers were tied to the land, forbidden as a class to leave the manor or feudal domain upon which they were born. They had some land of their own upon which they worked to produce their needs, and in addition they were compelled to till the land for the requirements of their overlords, the feudal nobles, and their families. The food they ate was simple, but wholesome and plentiful at all times, except during such natural calamities as periods of famine, pestilence, etc., or perhaps during a war. They were certain of their living from day to day.

In the towns which arose, the making of necessary articles other than food products was carried on. The tools in use were simple, everything was made by hand,—it was a method which we know of as handicraft production. One individual owned all the tools necessary to his trade, and made an article from start to finish. If a carriage maker, for instance, he made body, wheels, seats, etc., and probably painted and finished everything completely. Owning the tools, he was the owner of the product of his labor. He worked by himself, or at the most, with one journeyman and one or two apprentices. The process was slow, but for quality of material, workmanship, and beauty of design, the goods of this period are not approached in modern times.

Life in general for the mass of feudal society, was simple. The horizon was limited to the doings in village or town, and its immediately surrounding country. It was a life of ignorance and superstition. A plague was construed as a visitation from God, and the remedy was prayer and fasting. The universe appeared peopled with devils and angels, fairies and witches.

The nobility had a somewhat wider field of activity. They carried on wars of plunder for the acquisition of more land. They had spices and fine raiments brought from the Orient, they engaged in statecraft, were wealthy and lived a life of splendor and comfort.

The clergy spent their times gathering tithes and doles, lived in considerable comfort and taught submission to the King and nobility, the Pontiff of Rome, and Holy Mother Church. The most influential of them had control of nearly all the education in such arts and sciences as existed. They also engaged quite considerably in statecraft and court intrigues.

There was in addition a class of merchant traders, which along with the serfs, as the workers under feudalism are called, are the classes most important for our present study. The traders took wool from England, finished cloth from Flanders, weapons from Spain, etc., and exchanged them for one

another or for spices, silks and luxuries from Eastern countries.

At first, they served the needs of feudalism quite well, and without elating, but in time they amassed wealth and became important enough to desire a voice in the management of nations. They were harassed and oppressed by the nobility in control of the State. Taxes were levied upon them when their trading caravans passed through a feudal domain, and at times after taxes and tolls were paid, they were robbed of their merchandise. Duties were placed upon the goods brought in their ships. They needed the aid of science in their struggles to navigate the world, and the Roman Catholic Church placed a ban upon the development of science.

Getting their living by buying and selling, they needed cheap and plentiful production, and the craft guilds (organizations of master handcraftsmen) had laws limiting production and keeping quality at the highest pitch. All these irksome restrictions forced upon the merchant traders the need to obtain control of the political powers, to use them in their own interests, and after a struggle more or less protracted, they acquired the reins of government, and society became greatly altered. They set about abolishing kings and nobles, or limiting their power; saw that trade was unmolested, and overcame the opposition of the guilds by abolishing them or appropriating their lands and property.

The method and motive of production changed. Whereas, formerly the necessities of life were produced for use, only the surplus being exchanged, soon things were produced, not for use, but for sale, for the realization of profit.

In the place of the artisan, working by himself with his own tools and marketing the product, the merchant now supplied raw material to the worker and took the finished goods to the market.

In the course of time, the merchants gathered together the workers to the extent of fifty or a hundred under one roof, and supplied tools and raw materials, paying the worker only a wage; a price for his energy—his labor-power. The merchants became capitalists, exploiters of wage-labor. At first, only the old hand tools were used, but co-operation and division of labor were introduced. To go back to our illustration of the carriage maker, instead of an individual making the full carriage, the work was divided between wheel-makers, body-makers, painters, etc., the worker thereby losing his ability to produce a complete article.

With the ever-widening markets, consequent upon the discovery of the new world and of sea-routes to the Orient, arose the demand for still more wage-workers, and it was met by laws forcing freedom upon the serfs. Not only were they given freedom to leave the manor or feudal land, but their own plots of land were taken from them by legal or by open violence. They were made free from all property in the means of wealth production. Without land, without tools, they too were forced to sell the only thing they had to sell—their labor-power. Production had become organized entirely upon a commodity basis.

A stream of profits flowed into the coffers of the capitalists, while the workers suffered poverty and degradation. Instead of living upon the land, and receiving wholesome food, they wandered in rags up and down the country, begging a meal and selling their energy wherever they could. In place of work in the open fields, they were crowded into ill ventilated, poorly-lighted factories, for long hours of the day. At night, they crept into garret or cellar and slept fitfully amid dirt and vermin. So great became the greed for profit that men, women and even children of seven years of age were forced into factories and mines for twelve, fourteen and sixteen hours a day. Such was the realization by the workers of the promised "liberty," "equality," and "fraternity."

During the period under review, other things had transpired which appear in more favorable light,

Science had been freed from the shackles of the church, and great strides had been made. Instead of the narrow confines of feudal society, men now spread out to the Americas and round the coast of Africa to India. Instead of a comet being communicated as a demon—which actually occurred in the 12th century—the telescope was invented and man started to study the heavens scientifically and to formulate laws explaining the formation and movements of heavenly bodies.

Geologists examined the earth's crust, and found it to be millions of years old, instead of merely 6,000 years, as taught by the church. A powerful blow was struck at religious dogma when the Darwinian discoveries in the field of biology, showed that far from man being created perfect, he had painfully and slowly evolved from primitive, ape-like animals.

The greatest discoveries and inventions were made in the tools of industry. The spinning wheel gave way to mechanical devices, such as the spinning jenny and spinning-frame. The power loom took the place of hand-weaving, and most important of all, the perfection of the steam engine by Watt in the middle of the 18th century. Previously, simple machinery had been run by means of wind and water, but the use of steam gave man a motor power that would work at all times and in well-nigh all places.

Since that time improvements in machinery and new discoveries and inventions have increased apace. We have had the discovery and use of electricity, telegraph and telephone systems, ocean cables, the automobile, and lately the airplane. All these increased the productive power of man to an enormous degree. Wealth has accumulated to an extent inconceivable in the Middle Ages, and only faintly realized today.

Did all these improvements lighten the labor of the workers? Not at all; everything produced belonged as always to the owners of the tools and machines, who were intent upon reaping profits, and the surplus instead of easing man's burdens, went for greater expansion and new markets were sought all over the globe. Whole races and even continents were subjected to capitalism. Instead of fights between petty principalities, war involved several countries in many parts of the world.

These huge undertakings, whether of war or of industry (such as the building of railways and steamships) could not be carried on by individuals, and so vast bodies of workers have to co-operate. Gigantic plants with modern machines cannot be owned by individuals, so joint stock companies, combines and trusts develop.

All this has still further increased the productivity of the worker, but he does not benefit by it, because as pointed out before, he does not own that which he produces. He receives in the form of wages just sufficient to keep him fit to work. Now that capitalism has spread all over the world, there are no more markets for the surplus produced; so that periodically we have industrial crises such as we see today, periods when the worker cannot sell his labor-power and faces starvation, or at best, bread-lines and soup kitchens, a little of the wealth he has made, doled out to him as charity. During so-called periods of prosperity he has to work long hours at intense speed, to live on adulterated food and dress in shoddy clothing. Green fields and natural beauty he sees perhaps once a year for a day or two; the rest of his time, when he is not working, is spent in the slum districts of cities. At work, he is largely reduced to the position of a mere machine-tender, and must suffer the sickening monotony of doing one or two simple operations hour after hour, day after day. Improvements in machinery and efficient systems tend to displace more and more workers, who compete with him for a job. In spite of his great productivity, he receives a far smaller percentage of his product than the workers of any other social system. His position grows steadily worse, while all the time he is harassed by thoughts of the uncertainty of his livelihood.

(Continued on page 3)

**THE WORKER MUST SOLVE HIS OWN PROBLEMS**

EVERY country in the world today within the confines of the capitalist system has its army of unemployed workers; its problem of crime, vice, and race degeneration as the result of a private ownership of the means of life. So improved is the machinery of wealth production; so thoroughly understood the science of mechanics and economics; so widely extended are the fields of their application that labor today can produce more commodities than there is demand for. And the result of this is seen in an ever increasing surplus being piled in stores, cold-storages and warehouses.

The underlying principle of capitalism is profit. All commodities are produced for sale, and until they are sold in the world's markets there is no profit.

When the stores, cold-storages and warehouses are overflowing with commodities, which there is no demand for, the workers engaged upon the production of wealth are turned loose from their jobs. And until this congestion has been relieved by the sale of these commodities, they must remain idle. As the productivity of the machine increases, as each part becomes more perfected, as the skill of the workers develops, it becomes apparent to the capitalist class, who own the machinery of wealth production, that less "hands" are needed, even in normal times when congestion of the markets is cleared, and a permanent pauper and criminal class is brought into existence.

The only remedy the State has ever applied to these conditions is the building of workhouses and prisons. The portion of wealth that a capitalist class hands to labor for work done in fields, mines, and factories is summed up in rags, bones and beds to lie on. The workers must continue to have these things whether they work or not. And when they cease to work they must borrow, beg or steal to have them. Hence it follows that in the older countries the workhouses, and of every country the prisons, are filled with physical and mental wrecks, the spawn of capitalist society.

If the present form of society remain in existence for another generation, and the rate of improvement in mechanical appliances increase (and the rush for oil as motor power, the potentialities of aerial navigation makes this likely), there must come a time when the workers must either fight each other—the fittest feeding on the bodies of the slain in order to live, or their masters who own the means of life will resort to lethal bullets and thus keep down the surplus of workers to suit their own needs. In France tremendous enterprises are toppling over from their inability to sell their commodities. Banks are failing to supply credits to save these enterprises from disaster; idle workers throng the cities; crime runs rampant; and, as it is in France, so is it in every country on a more or less prodigious scale. The future of society depends upon the working class.

When this class feels and understands the cause of all their troubles—the private ownership of the means of life, a class ownership of the machinery of production and distribution—they will begin to think intelligently as to how they can remove the cause. Intelligent thought will determine intelligent action, and intelligent action will express itself in the reorganization of society; of production for use instead of for profit.

As surely as the means of life controlled by a class for its own profit begot unemployment, pauperism, crime and war, so surely will production for use beget abundance, peace and social morality, and so bring into existence a greater degree of happy humanity.

R. K.

**HISTORICAL REVIEW**  
(Continued from page 2)

Capitalism has tunneled mountains, spanned the oceans, harnessed the wind, and brought the ends of the earth within speaking distance. It has wrested from Nature many of its secrets, has delved into past history and laid it bare for us to read, showing us that all things, this earth, man and societies are constantly changing and developing—

"So fleet the works of men,  
Back to their earth again."  
Ancient and holy things fade like a dream."

It has taken the workers from their limited surroundings and narrow life and forced them to wander all over the world in the maelstrom of modern industry.

Such is the history of capitalism. What has been its historic function? Society was organized in small, somewhat isolated groups, full of superstition and ignorance, producing with simple individual hand tools. Its mission has been to accumulate huge masses of wealth and centralize its ownership, to vastly increase man's knowledge of natural forces, and most important, to change the simple tools of the handicraft stage into the complicated machinery of today, which compels social production, thereby laying the basis for social ownership, to which it must ultimately give way.

Today it has reached the stage whereby all classes except two, are eliminated, leaving but a small class owning the means of production, and the large mass of society, the proletariat, which has no subject class to exploit, and therefore by winning its freedom, will bring slavery to an end.

W. H. C.

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We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government, all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-increasing stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

**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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- Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
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These classes are already well attended, and the number of members is increasing. The classes meet at 530 Main Street, Winnipeg, and all workers are requested to attend.



# Western Clarion

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## EDITORIAL

### UNEMPLOYMENT.

EVER since the ending of the war the wage workers of capitalist society have been subjected to an incessant propaganda directing their efforts towards increased production. Statesmen, bankers, pulpitiere, newsvendors and persuasive folk generally, have held up to our eyes a picture of the miserable situation we would find ourselves in if we did not enthusiastically put our shoulders to the industrial wheel and keep it turning. The reconstruction of a war-weary society depended, we were told, upon the co-operation of capital and labor, to the end that the channels of industrial life might again be lubricated, to allow the regular interchange of commodities between the various countries and so re-establish commerce upon its former business-like basis. The workers appeared not unwilling to enter the game of more production. In fact, from present evidences it would seem that they have given more than was returned to them, for they are now assembled in the various cities of capitalism in countless number, willing enough still to go on with the game of more production, yet with all the rules of the game against them. They are now out of a job. They are familiarly known as the unemployed.

The ordinary needs of man are food, clothing and shelter. When the worker of present day society finds himself in need of any or all of these things, what does he do to get them? Does he proceed to the store-house where food and clothing lie in abundance and help himself? Does he proceed to the occupation of a suitable unoccupied dwelling house?

He does not. He looks for a job. These things are not his property. He knows that in order to obtain food and clothing he must buy them, and he knows that in order to buy them he must have money. To get this he knows that he must find a job. The processes of present day production are so complex that he cannot employ himself directly in supplying his own needs. The labor process in present day society is sub-divided. The worker has been trained, for example, as a carpenter, plumber, tailor, shoemaker, ironworker. As an individual he is helpless in supplying his own needs. His energy in production is spent in the company of his own kind in the workshop or factory, where the labor of all is necessary to the finished product. The factory or workshop belongs, not to the workers, but to an individual capitalist or group of owners. So, in order to find a job the worker must ask leave of the factory or workshop owner to be allowed to enter the productive process. He makes his bargain. As a skilled or unskilled laborer he sells his energy, delivered daily at a given price; wages. Having delivered his energy he receives his wages, and with these he supplies his individual needs: food, clothing and shelter. The experience of the wage workers of present day society is that their "needs" under the system now prevailing are, speaking generally, sufficient only to maintain them as fit workers in the productive process. When the job is completed, and there is no other job at hand, while there is plenty of the needful things of life to be seen all around, these things do not "belong" to

them. These things are for sale. To buy them they require the money they receive as wages when working. When they have no job they cannot pay.

When working, they have produced more than they have received in return for their energy spent in the process. The surplus has been retained by their masters. Their masters own the machinery employed in the manufacture of commodities today. They own the workshops, mills, mines and factories. The labor of the workers attending this machinery of wealth production is so productive that it produces more than can be sold in the same space of time. So that periodically a glut occurs. Commodities are piled high in warehouses, awaiting sale, and in the meantime the workers stand idle awaiting a job. The more productive the labor process, the more frequent are the periods of over-production. Commodities, in one form or another, which constitute the wealth of society today are produced for sale. The labor process is so productive that the markets of capitalism cannot consume the output equally with it. When there is no market, production must stop until the goods on hand are disposed of by gradual sale. Therefore we have unemployment. Regular employment means regular exploitation. Unemployment means hunger and want. Hunger and want, if it lasts long enough, is dangerous for the owning class. Goods are for sale, but if there is no way open to the worker to find employment whereby he may sell his energy and thus obtain the means to buy, he comes dangerously near to a real consideration of the matter of property rights. This consideration is troubling the statesmen of the world today. The system they uphold and represent stands condemned as a system that cannot maintain its working population in production. By the same token it cannot feed, clothe and shelter them, and maintain its status as a system of private ownership in the machinery of wealth production. It is further threatened by the increased comprehension of the workers of their part in the process. They are learning that their supply of food, clothing and shelter is curtailed, not through their inability to produce these things, nor through their unwillingness to work, but through the fact that the things they produce, and are able and willing to produce in abundance are not theirs, nor the means they must employ in production. They are beginning to understand that capitalism has served its day and that the real obstacle to human happiness is the ownership of private property in the machinery of wealth production. No statesman of capitalism can find a "cure" for unemployment. Unemployment, as the problem presents itself to the statesmen of capitalism is a harder task to solve than they can solve. It will exist as a problem as long as capitalism lasts.

Our immediate problem is to engage the attention of the workers so that they may understand, not only why they are out of a job, but that they may understand also what happens when they are in one. We are trying to make them see that their masters are just as anxious as themselves to see them employed, for employment means production, and production means profit. Unemployment is a capitalist problem. No relief measures can solve it. They may momentarily relieve distress in local districts. They may appease the angry wrath of the hungry stomach. But capitalism itself cannot solve the problem its own workings have engendered. This, along with its other troubles is throttling the system. Let the understanding of the workers themselves awaken to the fact that they must undertake to study their position as workers, employed and unemployed. In this way they will understand more than their masters and their spokesmen are willing to accept as a solution—that capitalism is doomed as a system of wealth production and distribution, and that the workers themselves must build the society that will take its place. The more of them there are who understand the better will they build.

### CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

W. K. Bryco, \$1; A. E. Egan, \$1; C. R. Johnson, \$1; Burnell, \$1; J. Moon, \$1; J. Wardrop, \$1.25; J. A. K., \$1; W. H. Herman, \$2. Total from 11th to 27th December, inclusive, \$9.25.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The Party Attitude: Adopted August 2, 1909.

N view of the fact that a demand has been made in various quarters that this committee take steps to affiliate with the International Socialist Bureau, it has now become necessary that the committee define its position on this question.

Whereas, the I. S. B. has seen fit to admit to membership and representation certain non-Socialist bodies, particularly the British Labor Party;

And whereas, such parties are not only ignorant of the principles of Socialism, but practice openly the most shameless policy of fusion and compromise with capitalist parties, advocating at most a number of petty, and in many cases reactionary reforms;

And whereas, such endorsement by the I. S. B. can only result in the encouragement and fostering of "fake" Labor and pseudo-Socialist parties to the detriment of the Socialist Party proper, and the misleading and betraying of the working class;

And such action also affords encouragement and justification for that element, existing to a greater or less extent in all Socialist Parties, which is in favor of opportunistic methods and compromise;

And whereas, this committee considers that the Party funds can be expended more usefully for purposes of propaganda and organization than in a way that has little more than sentimental value, of any;

For these reasons, this committee declines to consider any affiliation which entails the slightest suspicion of fusion or compromise. Such action would, moreover, be a direct violation of the Constitution of the Party, which expressly forbids any such action.

This resolution, in the above terms, to be forwarded to the International Socialist Bureau, to the affiliated Socialist Parties, and to the Provincial Executive Committees. In point of fact, to be given the widest possible publicity.

Passed in regular meeting, August 2, 1909.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

### HERE AND NOW.

Following \$1 each: W. Staples, J. Beckman, H. C. Carr, E. T. Palmer, F. H. Clarke, T. Richardson, I. Watson, J. McKinley, W. Green, J. Bone, A. A. Straws, C. Lee, N. P. Dougan, J. Sanderson, Allen Clark, H. Wilson, R. Walker, J. Livingston, P. Garvie, Sam Buch, A. Marow, A. S. Wells, O. Mengel, F. W. Kaiser, B. Dworkin, E. F. J. Hardy, W. C. Trueman, H. P. Graham, A. Jaskoff.

Following \$2 each: J. McDonald, O. Erickson, R. A. Feltmore, J. Schluheis, J. A. McD., J. Litter, W. W. Gower, Wm. Power, W. S. Matthews, W. H. Herrmann, K. Johnson, S. E. White.

A. Shepherd, \$1.50; D. Klempner, 50c; Sid Farp, \$8, Ed Fiala, \$3; W. Bennett, \$6; J. Moon, \$4; G. A. MacArthur, \$3; J. B. Ball, \$6; T. J. Davies, \$3; R. Sinclair, \$3. R. Taylor, \$3; B. E. Polinkos, \$3.

Total, from 11th to 27th December, inclusive, \$98.50.

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# McKenzie Continues the Criticism of J. A. McD'S Article "On Copying the Bolsheviki"

Editor's Note.—In this article Comrade McKenzie continues his criticism of Comrade McDonald's article "On Copying the Bolsheviki." In view of the length of this article a further reply by J. A. MacD., printed in the same issue, is hardly possible. He promises a further reply which we hope to print in next issue.

**M**Y criticism of Comrade McDonald's article "On Copying the Bolsheviki" was inspired by the fact that the parts objected to gave the said article a Menshevik, or if you like a Kautskian tone. In his reply he has not altered that tone, but seeks to prove the correctness of his attitude by quotations from the Bolsheviki writers themselves.

Admitting the truth of the quotations spoken of above, I must beg to differ with Comrade McDonald's interpretation of them as proof that Socialism does not exist in Russia.

He says that I have not offered proof of where the parts objected to contradicted the rest of his article. Unfortunately that I had left to the average reader's intelligence. So, in order to make myself more clearly understood, I shall have to elaborate on the points at issue (the parts objected to) and, for lack of space, ask the reader to carefully study the original article of my opponent and then form his own opinions therefrom.

Following is the part of the first paragraph I have taken issue with: "We understood, as we still understand, that **Bolshevism is not Socialism.** Our knowledge of Russian conditions, though perhaps meagre, was sufficient to acquaint us with the fact that this country was not yet ready for Socialism. Economic and social development had not reached that stage where social ownership of the means of production was possible."

"Bolshevism is not Socialism!" Of course not! Marlov the Menshevik, who is also a Marxian theorist of some repute, says so. Kautsky says so. And so do all the opponents of Bolshevism in every land and clime.

To say that Bolshevism is not Socialism is hardly correct. For, were not the Bolsheviks a political party advocating Socialism? In the appendix to "Lessons of the Revolution," by Lenin, "Bolshevik" is defined thus: "The most powerful wing of the Social Democrats, and the revolutionary party which achieved the October revolution, now in control of the government. This party expresses the desires of the whole toiling masses of the people, poor peasants as well as factory workers, to replace in the economic-industrial foundation the principles of private property and capitalism by that of national ownership and Socialism. The name 'Bolshevik' does not mean 'Maximalist' as commonly supposed, but 'member of the majority,' and it is derived from the fact that at a former congress of the Social Democratic Party, the delegates split into two factions, the majority or Bolshinstvo, favoring immediate proletarian action to hasten the coming of Socialism. Since 1905 the Bolsheviks have really been in a minority, until September, 1917, while the dominating faction was the Mensheviks."

In his reply Comrade McDonald says that "Socialism is a philosophy, a propagandist movement, and a form of society." If quibbling over terms would accomplish any thing I would be justified in maintaining that Bolshevism, "being a propagandist movement," teaching scientific Socialism merited the above definition. But that would get us nowhere. The Bolsheviks now call themselves the "Communist Party of Russia."

The relations between the terms Bolshevism and Socialism is similar to concrete and abstract, special and general. Let us consider Russia as it is today. At least on the basis of such information as we can depend upon.

Lenin, in reference to the Menshevik group says: "These gentlemen want Socialism dished up to them

on a silver platter. It cannot be. It will never be. The only way to Socialism is through a dictatorship of the proletariat."

Evidently Comrade McDonald does not agree with the above, for he is waiting for time to prove it. According to him, Bolshevism may lead to something other than Socialism.

It may be remembered that before the Bolshevist revolution took place most Marxists, including ourselves, were of the opinion that according to all the theories of Marxism, that Proletarian revolution would naturally take place first in the most highly developed countries, and if anyone would have told us that Russia, backward, illiterate Russia would be the first country to overthrow capitalism and introduce Socialism, we would have proved by every tenet of Marxism how that would be impossible. But it did happen in spite of the fact that "Economic and social development had not reached that stage where social ownership of the means of production was possible."

This caused many of us to again delve into Marx and we found out by the application of the materialist interpretation of history to Russian conditions how it did happen without committing heresy against the accepted faith.

In his pamphlet, "The Development of Socialism from Science to Practice," Karl Radek writes thus, pages 12 and 13, Socialist Labor Press, Glasgow: "The transition from capitalism to Socialism will begin when such sufferings have accumulated on the shoulders of the people in the capitalist state that they will no longer be able to endure the condition created for them by the rule of capitalism; they will rise against it. When in such a country the development of capitalism has proceeded so far that the most important branches of industry—trade and transport—are in the hands of capitalists concentrated into groups, then the conquering proletariat, organized as a power in the State, not only can, but must, endeavor to get into its own hands industry, transport and credit. The extent of the alterations to be undergone by these departments of the administration will depend on the degree of development of the various countries. Only those branches of industry which already are grouped and concentrated should perhaps be Socialized straightway, while agriculture, for example, should be Socialized only gradually, because of its dependence on industry and the cities. **This has been done in Russia** (emphasis mine). There the proletariat forms a minority of the population, but the Russian iron industry, coal mines, and naphtha wells, railways and telegraphs, are found together in the possession of a few persons; they are conducted by a small number of bankers, and they impose conditions on the whole of the agricultural country." And on page 14 he says, "The Socialist revolution begins in the countries where the capitalist order is weakest, and where the organ of oppression is in process of dissolution. **Here is the breach where Socialism enters** (emphasis mine). It is difficult to make a social revolution within the boundaries of a single state, for though it overcome the bourgeoisie in the one country it will be threatened by the capitalism beyond its borders. The Socialist Revolution can be victorious only when it prevails over the whole continent. But the Socialist revolution cannot wait until the proletariat of the world rises at a signal. And conversely, national revolutions, themselves a product of international dissolution, furnish the elements which hasten the revolution. Therein is found the answer to the first question which has forced itself on the attention of the proletariat. When can the social revolution begin? It can begin and it does begin in every country where the conditions created by capitalism for the workers are unendurable."

Note, the above. In other words the revolution is the starting point of the new form of society—Socialism. Radek calls the revolution the Socialist revolution, and shows the conditions necessary for it. He speaks here of the Proletarian revolution in general, and the Bolshevist revolution in particular, and refers to it as the "breach where Socialism enters."

According to Comrade McDonald, "A revolution has taken place in Russia." Not a Socialist revolution mark you, but "A resolute Marxian minority succeeded in overthrowing a weak bourgeois regime and inaugurated a system of proletarian dictatorship in its stead. While the new social form is not Socialism, but dictatorship of a minority, it warrants the support of all revolutionists, the world over. . . ." And so on to the end of the paragraph, page 2 last issue of "Clarion," which he gives us as an outline of the original article.

After reading the above-mentioned outline one gets the impression that a dictatorship of the proletariat will not be necessary in these more highly developed countries as a transition period to Socialism. Now listen to what Radek has to say in relation to this, taken from the aforementioned pamphlet, pages 17, 18: "In no country can the revolution begin as an action of the majority of the revolution. Capitalism implies not merely a physical mastership over the means of production, but also a spiritual dominion over the masses of the people, and in the most developed capitalist countries, under the stress of misery and dire need, under the burden of such consequences of capitalism as this war, the whole body of the oppressed arises. The most active are always the first to rise, it is a minority which carries out the revolution, the success of which depends on the fact whether this revolution corresponds with the historical development, with the interests of the masses of the people, who can shake off the rule of the class hitherto governing them. But first the creative and impulsive force of the revolution is required to rouse the great body of the people to liberate them from their intellectual and spiritual slavishness under capitalism, and to lead them into a position where a defense of their interests can be made. It might fairly be said that every revolution is undertaken by the minority, that the majority only joins in during the course of the revolution and decides the victorious issue. Were it otherwise, not only would a dictatorship in the country with a proletarian 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 capitalist class 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 the realization of Socialism either is an antiquated conception, or his dictatorship is as much justified in Russia as in any other country."

History proves the correctness of the above. Comrade McDonald does not need to prove to us that private capital still exists in Russia, and wage slaves are still exploited for profit. That is not denied. But will he deny that capital is restricted in Russia by such Soviet decrees, as for instance, "Workmen's control" labor laws, and by the fact that foreign trade can only be carried on by the State, and the gradual doing away of the monetary system (see "Soviet Russia," November 6th, 1920, page 454, by A. Goldschmidt). Besides industries already nationalized, such as those mentioned in my first quotation from Radek, and the

(Continued on page 8)

# Books Reviewed

**FIRST PRINCIPLES OF WORKING CLASS EDUCATION**, by James Clunie, Glasgow.—Printed by The Socialist Labor Press, 50 Renfrew Street, 1920. 2/- post paid.

One of the greatest and most difficult tasks of the Socialist movement is to educate the working class to its class interests; which necessitates a knowledge of Economics, History, Sociology and Philosophy. The so-called abstract sciences, which the apologists of the present system dare not acknowledge as sciences, or if they do, in a pseudo vulgarized form, as a scientific knowledge of such shows them to be the robbers they are, and therefore means their destruction.

Credit is due to Karl Marx and his co-workers, Frederick Engels and Joseph Dietzgen for first placing the above subjects on a scientific basis, now known as Marxism, or Scientific Socialism.

Various attempts have been made to simplify or popularize Marxism, especially economics, to induce a greater number of workers to take up the study of these subjects. As a matter of fact all these attempts at popularizing Marxism are solely for the purpose of stimulating a desire in the worker for study by introducing him to the elementary principles of the subject matter itself.

Indeed, Marxism can hardly be made any simpler than the authors have made it themselves without losing its scientific character.

The above named work by Comrade Clunie, bids fair to be a very interesting and instructive method of introducing the workers to the more serious study of these subjects.

The book is intended as a text book for classes and individual readers. It contains thirteen chapters with an appendix. Each chapter is illustrated by simple objective diagrams, which have proved an invaluable method to make the study interesting.

The first chapter, which is divided into four sections, deals with the historical and sociological development of the human race from primitive savagery to future Communism. The others deal mainly with economics. The appendix contains useful data and information which can be used in illustrating the various chapters.

As the author says in his introduction: "The actual lessons I have made as elementary as possible, classifying the method and leaving a great deal of the evidence to be gained by the reader and the class tutors." And: "My book does not pretend to be a treatise on economics, sociology, history or philosophy, but a suggested method of study to show the place, nature and purpose of these great subjects. The irresistible processes of evolution are about to impose a duty upon the working class wherein a knowledge of the nature and life of society will be required. My sole motive in writing this work is to stimulate in the minds of my class a burning revolutionary desire for education, for the logic of socio-human development now decrees that it is the mission of the toiling masses to mould a Communistic future."

He lays great stress on the fact that the great achievement of Marxism is its method. When we understand the method we can apply it to modern events, and thereby make the teaching of Socialism more interesting and useful.

Knowledge does not drop like manna from heaven, but the acquiring of it requires hard work on the part of the wage-earner student, more especially when he is employed at hard manual labor. But once he gets an insight into real knowledge, he will soon acquire the taste for more.

Like our great philosopher, Joseph Dietzgen, the author of this work is a manual worker too, as John Maclean describes him in his foreword to the book. It shows what a working man can do even with so many difficulties; that are the general lot of the worker. That fact alone should be enough to awaken some of the latent genius in our ranks.

As an introduction to the Classical Works of

Scientific Socialism, this work of Comrade Clunie's can be well recommended to all those whose duty it is to acquire the knowledge which is so essential to destroy the present system of production for profit, and to build up a better world.

A. McKENZIE.

**THE SKILLED LABORER**: Longmans, Green & Co., London, England.

This companion volume to the books, "The Town Laborer," and the "Village Laborer," by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, is in every way worthy of being accorded a place in the library of students of real history. For this is a most stirring narrative of the lives of our fathers, based upon facts gleaned largely from Home Office records, and presents a more thrilling recital of wrongs endured, and struggles waged and lost, yet not in the larger sense, for out of them has grown the modern labor movement, than pen of author could contrive. At the outset we are told: "The history of England at the time discussed, reads like a history of civil war."

From the struggles of the coal miners to organize, through the fortunes of the slaves in the silk, cotton, and woollen trades we are taken to the famous Luddite riots.

There is such a wealth of material, that one hardly knows how to do justice to it in any review, nor yet what extracts to place before prospective readers.

We have the miserable spectacle of men and women driven down from a fairly comfortable living, in their various handicrafts, to the most degraded existence possible. We see how it was that the early English fortunes were made. Out of the utter wretchedness wherein men, women and little ones died of sheer starvation, rose on the one hand, the present English oligarchy, and on the other organized effort, that will yet result in the complete abolition of the damnable conditions we, the descendants of those sufferers, still endure. It is interesting to learn that at a striking collier's meeting in the Tyne district, in the summer of 1832, a proposal was made to form a big general union, that would spread through out the country. DeLeon did not show the "how" of this;—he was not yet born.

We also find in every strike that the sinister figure in the background was named Jacobinism, even as today all labor unrest is labelled Bolshevism. These masters learn nothing new.

Just as intelligent working-class leaders are persecuted and blacklisted in this enlightened age, so was Hepburn, the miners' leader, then. As the orderly strike of today gives concern to the boss, so did that of the spinners long ago. General Byng anxiously declared: "The peaceable demeanor of so many thousand unemployed men is not natural."

And so then, at now, we find the "stools" and agents busily stirring up trouble and disturbance, so the military could have an excuse for action.

Did the poor starve in meek humility and patience, they were congratulated by the king and the clergy. Wrote the Vicar of Blackburn about the hungry cotton workers on strike in 1826: "To their praise be it said, there have been no symptoms of discontent, disaffection, or sedition." They have trusted in Providence, and God's servants will not forsake them." But as the author, with fine irony remarks: "Their trust in Providence gave way before the end of the month, and they transgressed the bounds of propriety in a serious fashion." So long as the woollen and worsted workers sent petition after petition to parliament, Lord Brougham could complacently say: "The people were still sound at heart."

But when the shearmen began destroying the gig mills, that interfered with their livelihood, it was suggested that "these turbulent spirits be the object of the press gang's attention."

The King could state to the starving Spitalfields

silk weavers, "His royal belief that under all circumstances they will remain steady in their attachment to his person, and will continue to set that example of industriousness, and good order, for which they had always been conspicuous."

But whenever this good order conspicuously appeared, and the distressed weavers struck work broke windows, and cut silk, then "vigilant action by the soldiers is taken against them."

These Spitalfields weavers, when well paid, were the cream of the working class of that day. The list of their intellectual pursuits is too extensive to give here, but it goes far to demonstrate what heights of culture can be attained by a well fed, clothed, and housed working class. Similar instances of care for better surroundings, when first well paid, are given of the cotton and woollen weavers. Drunkenness and degradation only appear where misery and desperation are. The whole history of this period is a lament of the dying handicrafts. A struggle between progressive capitalists installing modern machinery, and a working class that clearly saw their independence going, and labor displacing men's, and the barracking in top factories of a class of people who far more than the modern operatives strongly resented this drab and degenerating change in their circumstances.

Considering their lack of scientific knowledge, they most certainly cannot be blamed for attempting the destruction of the hated new machinery. The chapters on the Luddite riots bring out marvellous cases of nobility and heroism on the part of these starving men and women. Think of 12,000 men being offered in order to get information as to who took part in the Yorkshire riots. And in this countryside, where children literally died of sheer starvation, no takers could be found.

Take the attack on the Cartwright Mill, when two young workers in the attack were mortally wounded, left dying all night, in the latter end. Taken into the midst of their enemies for operators, later, and in the certainty of their dying, a man of God was kept on hand to incessantly torture them with beseechings and threatenings, to give up their companions. Think of brave young Beck when he felt his last moments near, beckoning to the eager clergyman to come closer. "Can you keep a secret?" gasped Booth. "Yes, yes," expectantly said his holiness. "So can I," answered the dying man. And both he and his fellow died without telling one single thing about the affair. The chapters on the Luddite riots are noteworthy also; because they show clearly that the instigators and leading spirits in the destruction, in Yorkshire and Lancashire at least, were spies and agents—provocateur, detailed by the Home Office, or by local magistrates. Some amusing clashes took place too, between the spies working for different parties, unknown to each other.

Many brave but misguided enthusiasts were betrayed to the gallows or transported, on the evidence of these vermin.

Yet, in all the turmoil and agony, we note distinctly the rise of the unions, fighting Combination Acts, treachery, starvation, any thing but clear as to their real status in society, but inevitably destined to find out in the course of years. The process is slow. The genius for organization cannot be doigned. The class instinct exists. What was needed then, and is needed most emphatically now, is what has come to be known as Marxist knowledge.

The outstanding fact in this book, to the mind of the writer, is this: While these working people were well aware that their masters were their enemies, and they could fight and hate them most heartily, yet, they were always willing (as they are today) to concede them a place in the scheme of things; they could not conceive of a society run

(Continued on page 8.)



# Materialist Conception of History

## FOR BEGINNERS

### LESSON VII.

Our last lesson, I said that common ownership of land was disputed by some of the capitalists' supporters.

Professor Huxley, who in a noted discussion with Herbert Spencer, acts as a champion of capitalism and calls Rousseau an ignoramus, has given a remarkable proof of his ignorance of the customs of savages, which he discusses with such assurance.

"The confident assertions," wrote the learned professor in the "19th Century" magazine of January, 1890, "that land was originally held in common by the whole nation, were singularly ill-founded. Land was held in private or several property, as the property of the public or the general body of the nation."

Let us see if we can find proof of the common ownership of land.

The German tribes, when first known, were in the lower status of barbarism. They used iron in limited quantities, possessed flocks and herds and cultivated cereals, but had not obtained the idea of private ownership in land. According to the account of Caesar, the arable lands were allotted yearly by the chiefs, while the pasture lands were held in common. When the Spaniards discovered Mexico, the people lived in communal houses, and held the land in common. The Pueblo Indians held their land in common. The Iroquois Indians had communal houses 100 feet by 30 feet by 20 feet high. They had the food in common, but each household prepared it for its own use. They had neither formal breakfast or supper, but ate when they were hungry.

When the communal houses were divided into private houses containing single families, the communal feasts in remembrance of the dead became religious gatherings. The Mexico Indians had communal stores looked after by the women, who kept a regular supply of food ahead.

The Maya Indians cooked their food in common, and carried the food to their dwellings to eat it separately.

One of Alexander's generals, 4th century B. C. (Strabo), speaking of Egypt, says: "The lands were cultivated in common by tribes or groups of relations, who shared the fruits of the crops in common."

The Scotch Highlanders in their clans had communal cultivation of land. We had the common land of Selkirk, where they had their communal riding every year to hold ownership of the land, and English history is full of data concerning the enclosure of the common lands.

There is not a human race or nation known, that has not had its communal village. Eskimo life is based on communism. What is obtained by hunting and fishing belongs to the tribe. An Eskimo cannot own more than two canoes.

The Brazilian natives hunt and fish in common, and having captured game, never leave the spot until they have consumed it.

The Bible shows the distribution of the common lands among the Jews.

The Australian and New Zealand natives were in the communistic stage when discovered.

Originally the Saxon tribes were an association of free communities, owning the land in common. With the common ownership of the land in England under the Mark system all Markmen possessed economic freedom and equality. There were no class wars because there were no classes.

The morals and ideas under this common ownership were vastly different from the morals which spring from the private ownership of the means of production today. All moral codes are a reflection of the existing economic conditions. This communism bred a moral code of equality. The bushmen of Africa who receives a present, divides it up with

the members of the tribe. A captured animal or booty he shares, and keeps the smallest share himself.

Kropotkin, in "Mutual Aid," tells us that the Fuegian, in times of famine, scours around in search of food, and when he finds it, returns to inform the rest of the tribe. The oldest members of the tribe proceeds to portion it out in equal shares.

In the Caroline Isles when a man sets out on a journey he carries no food with him. When he is hungry he enters a house, and without waiting for permission, helps himself. When his hunger is satisfied, he leaves without even saying thank you. He has but exercised a right of the tribe.

Morgan says, in "Ancient Society," "If a stranger entered an Iroquois house, no matter what time of the day, it was the duty of the women to put food before him. If he was hungry he would eat it, if not hungry he tasted it, as courtesy required he should do so and thank the giver. The words **thine** and **mine** have no equivalent in the Indian language."

Kropotkin gives an illustration of Communism in India, and shows that in parts of Siberia, although three centuries under Czarist rule, they still stick to the communistic customs.

The communistic trait is so strong in Russia that the colonization of Siberia is a history of hunting and trading guilds. All traders from the same locality going to the town hire rooms and a cook and eat in common, all paying an equal share of the expenses. The gangs of convicts on their way to Siberia had the same organization.

In some of the Caucasion districts of Russia up to the time of the war, even although they divided up the hay when cut, it is noteworthy that whenever the cuckoo announces the coming of spring, everyone in need has the right to go to his neighbor and take the hay he needs for his cattle.

In another part of Russia (the Kabyles) although they have private property, if anyone kills a sheep on a day which is not a market day, the village bell ringer announces it, and all the sick and pregnant women of the village may partake of it. Kropotkin tells us that when the peasants are broken down in misery they will migrate in communities, and build houses and till the soil in common.

Not only did communism maintain equality, it developed a fraternity and liberality that would shame the alleged brotherliness and charity of Christianity, and which elicited the admiration of all observers before the people had been deteriorated by booze, bible and brutal commercialism, and various other diseases of civilization.

A missionary named Heekewelder, who lived among the Indians, 1771-1786, says: "They believed a great spirit gave all things to all men, whatever liveth or groweth. They would lie down with an empty stomach rather than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty to a stranger or the sick, because they had a common right to be helped out of the common stock, for the meat that was taken from the woods was common to all, before the hunter took it. Hospitality was not a virtue with them, but a duty."

Dr. D. R. G. Briton, speaking of the religion of primitive peoples, says: "All tribal religions preach a dualism of ethics, one for the members of the tribe who are bound together by ties of kinship, and by union to preserve existence, the other for the rest of the world. To the former (own tribe) are due: aid, kindness, justice, truth, and fair dealing; to the latter enmity, hatred, injury, falsehood and deceit. The latter is just as much a duty as the former, and is just as positively enjoined by both religion and tribal law."

We did not have to go to primitive people to see this dualism. We had it illustrated during the war. In Ottawa, for instance, a recipient of the V.C., was placarded to be at a meeting, who had

killed 58 Germans. He was under arrest some time after for killing a man at home. We have quite a number of our savage traits with us yet, with all our boasted civilization.

The manufacturing class of England brought forth a swarm of economists, ministers, and other publicists, the general principles of whose teaching was a reflex of the code developed by the factory lords. It was Nassau W. Senior, the first political economist of Oxford, who sought to prove that the factory laws would be disastrous because all profit was made in the last hour of the day. The others who opposed were Bright, Cobden, Roebuck, Joseph Hume, and even John Stuart Mills, although he recognized that "upper class" morality was being brought to bear on the subject. In his essay on liberty, he says: "Wherever there is an ascendant class a large portion of the morality emanates from its class interests, and its class feelings of superiority, and the morality between the planter and the negroes, princes and subjects, has been for the most part the creation of these class interests and feelings."

The High Church of England, for instance, took the side of the landowners, while the evangelicals, non-conformists and independents generally sided with the factory lords.

Under feudalism, when land was the dominant factor in the exploitation of labor, it was unlawful to lend money for interest. Up to the reign of Edward the II. the common law, seconded by the municipal law, permitted no Christian to take interest. Luther said: "Every usurer is a thief." By the Mosaic law no usury, no interest, was to be exacted on any pretence. Luke VI., 35: "Lend hoping for nothing to gain." Now the banker and financiers are the pillars of the church. Law is also a reflection of economic conditions. Locke says: "Where there is no property there is no injustice."

And again: "No property no law." Maine, in his "Ancient Law," sees in economic development the cause of the modern renaissance of Roman law, and of the substitution of individualistic law for feudal law.

Stein expresses himself thus: "Property is the principal factor in the development of law."

Savign recognizes "that the earlier re-establishment of Roman law in Italian cities was due to the flourishing conditions of the cities. It was not by chance, but through the necessary course of events that Roman law was re-established and passed to German and French cities to correspond to like needs." In speaking of the legal system established in Italy towards the close of the barbarian invasions he says: "Had landed property been taken away from the Romans the preservation of the Roman Constitution would have therewith become impossible." Therefore property expresses law and property is an expression of economic conditions, so that law is not the gift of the gods any more than other ideas. The lawyers of France claimed that water rights belonged to the agriculturists in as much as manufacturers could substitute other power, but today these considerations have lost all authority because the manufacturing industries have become supreme.

Even our criminal law is an expression of the prevailing conditions. Thus an agricultural state has heaviest penalties against invasions of landed property, while capitalist or commercial countries punish more severely the crimes of forgery and the issuing of false money.

I have endeavored to point out that ideas, laws and morals are a reflection of the means of production. Our next lesson will be on natural environment and its effects on the human race.

P. T. LECKIE.

## MCKENZIE'S CRITICISM

(Continued from page 5)

others are gradually coming under the control of the Soviets.

To show the nature of some of the restrictions, I quote the following on "Workmen's Control," taken from the "Bolsheviks and the Soviets," by A. R. Williams.

"I mean by control," said Trotsky, "that we will see to it that the factory is run not from the point of view of private profit, but from the point of view of social welfare. . . . For example, we will not allow the capitalist to shut up his factory in order to starve his workmen into submission, or because it is not yielding him a profit. If it is turning out economically a needed product, it must be kept running. If the capitalist gives it up, he will lose it altogether, for a board of directors chosen by the workmen will be put in charge."

"Again, 'control' implies that the books and correspondence of the concern will be open to the public, so that henceforth there will be no industrial secrets. If this concern hits upon a better process or device, it will be given to other concerns in the same branch of industry. Thus the public will promptly realize the utmost possible benefit from the find."—From an interview with Trotsky by Professor E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin University.

As to paragraph 18 of the original article by Comrade McDonald, it must be stated that if we take it as it is written it gives the impression that the Bolsheviks were guilty of a breach of Socialist principles by compromising with their enemies, etc., and it would have to be stated otherwise to offset that impression, and I still maintain that the majority of Russian workers are solid for Socialism. Otherwise it would have been impossible for them to withstand the repeated assaults of world capital.

As to the statement that while the revolution might be a good thing for the Russian workers, as many impartial persons and delegations had testified, it had a detrimental effect in many ways on the working class movement in other countries.

He refers here to the supposed attempts of various organizations in America and Europe to imitate the Bolsheviks by advocating "mass action," "suspension of education," and similar "actions."

One must remember that movements "founded on enthusiasm alone" and advocating such action as stated above, existed long before we ever heard of Bolshevism. What about the anarcho-syndicalist movements such as the I. W. W. in America with various counterparts in Europe founded wholly or partially on the anarchistic philosophies of such famous characters as Michael Bakunin, Johann Most, Enrico Malatesta, and others. These movements have lots of "revolutionary order" and plenty of enthusiasm.

As a matter of fact these "mass action" movements that my opponent speaks of are not "copying the Bolsheviks," but are simply practicing anarchistic methods which are as old as capitalism itself, in spite of the fact that they may imagine they are "copying the Bolsheviks."

The Bolsheviks did not act in that way.

I wish to call the reader's attention to this fact, that Comrade McDonald asserts and tries to prove that Socialism does not exist in Russia. Ask yourself this question: If I am building a house, I commence with the foundation and build gradually up from that. I cannot finish the structure at once. It takes time. Nevertheless the foundation is not a house, but one in process of construction. Apply this analogy to Russia. The Bolsheviks are laying the foundations of Socialism. It will be a long time before the structure is built to suit such an exquisite taste as Comrade McDonald's; but eventually it will be built, unless an alliance of the capitalist powers should succeed in destroying it, which is highly improbable now. To say that Socialism does not prevail in Russia is like saying that because I haven't finished the building of my house it does not partake of the nature of a dwelling.

In conclusion I quote the following from Radek's pamphlet mentioned previously: "The workers of Europe will, without a doubt, advance so rapidly in the near future that they will not have the time to

study the Russian revolution at work out of learned books; they will get a practical understanding of it before they are in a position to make themselves acquainted with its documents."

Apart from the "imputations" against my opponent in my last article, they were based on his article, and not against him personally.

As to the "more vigorous means" of spreading our propaganda, I intend to write something that may help along at some future time.

A. MCKENZIE.

## BOOKS REVIEWED

(Continued from page 6)

square deal, fair play, relief from the grind. To find out the absurdity of such a position, however much it may have been justified then by the general ignorance, students must study the works of Marx and Engels, they will grasp a philosophy there that nothing can shake, or disprove.

The book under discussion is published by Longmans, Green and Co., London, England. This feeble attempt to stimulate interest may not be entirely in vain.

F. S. F.

## Conditions for Joining Communist International

(Continued from page 1)

ities is necessary. Each party desirous of belonging to the Third International shall be bound to denounce without any mercy all the tricks of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not in words only, but in deeds, all liberation movements in the colonies. It must demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate in the hearts of the workmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the worker population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against any oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International shall be bound to carry on a systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist nuclei within these organizations, which by persistent and lasting work must win over the labor unions to the side of Communism. These nuclei must constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist nuclei must be completely subordinated to the Party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist international is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the Yellow Labor Unions. It must insistently propagate among the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must support by all the means in its power the international unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to reinspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, remove all unreliable elements therefrom, subordinate such factions not verbally only, but in reality, to the Central Committee of the Party, and demand from each proletarian Communist to submit his whole work to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. In the same way should all the periodical and other press and all publications be fully subordinated to the Central Committee, whether the Party as a whole at the given moment is lawful or illegal; it is quite inadmissible that any publishers abusing their autonomy might carry on a policy different from that of the Party.

13. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be organized on the principles of democratic centralism. At the present moment of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able to fulfill its duty only if it is organized in the most centralized form, if it is ruled by an iron discipline, almost a military one, and if its Party centre is an organ of authority with full power, enjoying the complete confidence of the members of the Party.

14. The Communist Parties of countries where the Communists may carry on their work lawfully, must

periodically weed out (by re-registration) the personnel of the Party organizations, in order to clear the Party systematically from all the petty bourgeois elements which inevitably creep into it.

15. Each Party desirous of belonging to the Communist International shall be bound to render all possible aid to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties shall carry on an unflinching propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport objects of military equipment addressed to the enemies of the Soviet Republics, and also by lawful means or illegally to carry on a propaganda among the troops sent out against the Workers Republics, etc.

16. The Parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old Social and Democratic programmes must revise them within the shortest time possible and draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule the programme of each Party belonging to the Communist International must be confirmed by the next Congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of nonconfirmation of the programme of any Party by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, said Party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

17. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of its Executive Committee, are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, must be organized in a more centralized form than the Second International. At the same time the Communist International and its Executive Committee are naturally bound in all their work to consider the variety of conditions under which the different Parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions shall be passed only on such questions, on which such resolutions are possible.

18. In connection with the above all Parties desiring to join the Communist International must alter their names.

Each Party desirous of joining the Communist International must bear the following name:

Communist Party of such-and-such country. Section of Third Communist International. The question of denomination of a party is not only a formal one, but it is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a desolent war against the whole bourgeois world and all yellow Social Democratic Parties. It is necessary that each rank-and-file worker should be able to distinguish clearly the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

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