

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

(Continued from last issue)

I SHALL now present statistics as to the relative numerical standing of the various occupational groups in Canada, taken from the last census returns (1911). Though somewhat belated they will still serve for comparative purposes, as it is not likely there has been material change in that respect. In the first group I have placed those occupations in which the workers are generally regarded as most susceptible to Socialist ideas, and in the second, those regarded as least so.

Total population, 7,204,838.

Most Susceptible	
Manufacture	491,342
Mines	62,767
Building trades	244,201
Lumbering	42,914
Transportation	217,544
Total	1,058,768
Least Susceptible	
Agriculture	933,735
Fishing and Hunting	34,812
Trade and merchandising	283,087
Domestic service	214,712
Civil and municipal government	76,604
Professional	120,616
Total	1,663,566
Total both groups	2,722,334
Male workers	2,357,813
Female workers	364,521

Clerical employments are included with the trades and, as clericals are not noticeably susceptible they should be deducted from the first and added to the second group. It will be noticed that the second group numbers over half a million more than the first, and that agriculture alone almost equals it in numbers. Let us now take a look at the rural population for an estimate of its character. Eastern Canada, by far the most populous section, exhibits a mass of reaction in the extremely conservative (in the ideological sense) farmer-fisher folk of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the Catholic peasantry of Quebec the capitalist farmers and "Orange" peasantry of Ontario. On the western prairies the farmers are technologically much more up-to-date, and because of that and other factors, are more open minded to currents of new ideas. But they are possessed of the strongly individualistic and shifty frontier spirit, and though by virtue of it some are often of radical tendencies, these latter are still of dubious standing to the Communist programmes. The western farmers, as a class, are a type whose habits of thought do not run on the socialized lines of the industrial proletariat.

As for the industrial proletariat of the cities and the lumbering and mining camps, the achievement of solidarity is for them, in Canada, a vastly more difficult matter than in older countries. The competitive conditions of employment here are enhanced by the constant drifting into and out of their ranks of wage workers who follow seasonal occupations and of struggling farmers fishermen and other small-scale semi-independent producers. In addition there is a constant stream of hopeful emigrants of various nationalities who meet with a cold reception, as new competitors in procuring and holding employment, from the Canadian and British born wage-workers. That, and diversity of language, ways and manners, all tend to create mutual suspicion and reserve, which do not conduce to ready fusion.

Other reasons for the backwardness of the proletarian movement in Canada are the following physical and historical conditions. Canada is a comparatively new and thinly settled country, a country of long distances between centres of population, which is a condition not conducive to maturity and cohesiveness of political life and thought. Its population is, comparatively only a lately assembled collection of people of mixed racial and national stocks without common historical experience. The working masses are not spiritually welded together by com-

mon endurance and struggle under age-long exploitation and oppression imposed by landed aristocrats or capitalists. And so they are without the strong, deep rooted, rational class hatred and antagonisms against the ruling class in Canada, which exist and have been handed down from generation to generation in Europe. So far as political struggle on class issues is concerned, except for that arising out of the Winnipeg strike, the experience of the people has been characterless. Another matter worth considering is, as to whether the "call of the last Great West" to the denizens of the old settled communities of North America and Europe had a selective effect, analogous to the Darwinian principle, in that generally, only the stronger individualistic temperaments, inspired to "get on in the world," broke the home ties and responded to the call. And finally, the working class along with other sections of the population, are very generally affected by the gambling predatory psychology of the land deal and real estate speculator. In short, taking them all in all, the masses of the population in Canada are a very thoroughly "bourgeoisified" people of the peculiarly reactionary American kind.

For the sake of comparison, without which just estimates can not be formed, I recommend readers to turn to chapter two of "Left Wing Communism," on "One of the Principal Conditions of the Success of the Bolsheviks," in which Lenin briefly describes the generations of intense political struggle and revolutionary agitation in Russia, which he considers made possible the success of the Bolsheviks. He well illustrates the cultural value of that historical discipline. The lack of such disciplinary experience by the workers of Canada should be matter for thought. In somewhat less degree the business and property owning class are under the same handicap, but they have no such difficulty of attaining a solidarity of interest and class consciousness, as the workers. Ownership of wealth and the manipulation of wealth for personal gain results in a habit of unquestioning respect for the institution of private property: they breed what is for convenient description known as the property instinct, which is a powerful and ever present determinant of class consciousness and class solidarity for common defence against forces hostile to the property institution. For reasons sufficiently well known the property instinct is on the alert these latter days, and all the instruments of offense and defense with which a dominant social class hedges itself about are functioning as the need is felt. Though intending to confine myself to a survey of the social situation in Canada, I must call attention to external influences which will powerfully condition its development. There is the nearness of the reactionary and powerful bourgeois republic to the south of us. As an off-set to this adverse influence there are the favoring European and general world developments.

For the purpose of analysis I have presented the Canadian situation as in a "state of rest." However, the world does move, even the Canadian world. The machine technology is here to stay, and more and more imposes its matter-of-fact discipline on all sections of the people, enforcing habits of life in conformity with the new ways and means of getting a living, and thus inculcating correspondingly materialistic habits of thought in even the most backward reaches of social life. There thus proceeds an irresistible shift to new bases of opinion marking the decay and destruction of those institutional concepts, traditional habits of thought and standards of judgment, conventions of law and custom, metaphysical, "natural" or "divine" rights, all of whose validity rests only in that herd-like habit of conformity to old use and wont which causes the workers to accept without question the present order of things in bourgeois society and to give it loyal support. In addition to this measured change in ideas determined by the mechanical facts of industry, the economic conditions which result from machine production force the masses of the people into a critical attitude towards all phases of the social organization

More and more the workers are becoming conscious that wage-labor is the condition of economic slavery, as the capitalist system manifests more clearly that profit extracting is its economic function. Under stress of crucial conditions, such as we are now undergoing, of some duration, we can expect leaps forward, analogous to mutations of structural forms in organic life, to the new social concepts and ideals of Communism.

But there is not in my opinion, promise of an immediate revolutionary situation in this country. We must bear in mind that the social revolution we have in prospect is not a peasant revolt or a revolution purely political in character. A preliminary to the Communist organization of society is the uprooting of the institution of private property in the means of life: an uprooting of an institution that has been the very foundation of all hitherto existing civilizations and which is, consequently, deep-rooted in social habits and loyalties. And that purpose requires something more than a revolutionary mood to carry it through and maintain it. I am convinced that those who understand and accept the Communist position are in a fractional minority in Canada. If there were 50,000 (a liberal estimate), they would still amount to only about 2 per cent. of those shown as following gainful occupations. We, as Communists, are submerged in a mass of reaction and the movement is still in its propaganda stage. Therefore, to help on, in collusion with the impersonal forces of change, the disintegration of bourgeois habits of thought in the minds of the workers: to propagate the concept of the class struggle and to advocate the economic programme of Communism as the alternative of capitalism is, I maintain, the function of the Socialist Party of Canada in the present circumstances of the Canadian situation. I hold that we in Canada are the best judges of the Canadian problem, both as to the internal situation and its external relations, and therefore should retain to ourselves full discretionary powers to deal with it. And, as acceptance of the terms of affiliation would deprive us of full discretionary powers, I am therefore against affiliation.

Reader! Decision on this matter, one way or the other, does not entail a declaration of Communist faith! Be self-critical. See that your decision is not merely an emotional compensation or that it is not the result solely of bookish and human contacts within the exclusive circles of the revolutionary movement! The method of reasoning in Marxism is the objective method! Study facts, things, conditions!

C. STEPHENSON.

WE ARE SEVEN.

Three earls, two dukes, one lord, and one marquis. This is only a small part of their takings, and they are "only seven," and there is a big crowd besides them. The following figures were given in evidence before the Coal Commission of the annual sums received in royalties and wayleaves by seven of the principal royalty owners:—

Marquis of Bute	£115,772
Lord Tredegar	83,827
Duke of Northumberland	66,000
Duke of Hamilton	100,000
Earl of Durham	38,000
Earl of Ellesmere	26,000
Earl of Dunraven	64,370

Total £493,969

I think we should appeal to the Labor Party, the I. L. P., and the Churches (all denominations) to have a week's special prayer for the conversion of these men. Ramsay and Philip and Arthur might lead off. Arthur, as you know, is president of the "Brotherhood," and Clynes and Thomas might also be asked to assist.—"The Socialist," Glasgow.