

time that Harrington has spent in Canada in elucidating the class struggle to the working class. Instead of this being the case, we have the slanderous attack being made in an anonymous sheet labelled "The Communist Bulletin," printed in a hole in the ground, by a group of people who apparently fear even to attach their names.

Recently, several stool pigeons have been exposed; Waldie, for instance, in Vancouver—Waldie who was such an "actionist" as to propose the selling of machine guns to Albert Wells, of the "Federationist." The writer would not be surprised in the least, to read of the similar exposure, one of these days of members of the group, or the interests, responsible for the publication of "The Communist Bulletin." Parrot-like, these "actionists" take sentences, paragraphs, and even chapters from Lenin's denunciation of Kautsky, and others in Europe, and hurl them at those who try to apply their reasoning powers to the conditions for affiliation. To these fellows the conditions are of no moment. They have been drawn up in Moscow, so there's an end of the matter. To them it does not matter that we are able now to get out propaganda, restricted only by the number who prefer "action" to talking—who would rather "thwart" propaganda than "talk" propaganda.

The form that organization shall take is a matter of grave concern to the "actionists": whether we shall "organize" the working class into an industrial union, a geographical union, or a political party. Only last year the O. B. U. was rent asunder by just such petty squabbling. From these people you would gather that the working class was standing patiently outside the headquarters, just waiting until the discussion was over, anxious for instructions where and how the next move was to be made, and what it was, whether to demand smaller holes in doughnuts or march straight on Ottawa,—but ready to make it. According to the terms laid down by the Third International, we are required to fill all offices in labor unions with Communists; and of course, if done, that would be very good indeed; fine. Still, a good way in which to start out on such a venture might be to have a Communist Party made up of Communists to begin with, from which to draw supplies. Contact with the working class throughout the country, and observation of the interests, habits, and ideas of this class, shows very clearly that the number of Communists, so far, is exceedingly small, and that should all the posts in the unions be vacant tomorrow, and we be offered the chance to fill them, we would not have enough.

Of course, many will not agree with this; those, for instance, who can see in labor churches, open forums, Dominion Labor Parties, etc., support for the militant proletariat,—and not only support, but auxiliaries and recruits as well. Alas! that it should be left to us, to the S. P. of C., to bid them "Awake from daydreams to this real night." For, after all, Gopher City it not Petrograd; nor will thinking make it so.

One of the outstanding features of the "actionist's" arguments for affiliation with the Third International is his insistence on the formation of an illegal organization. We are instructed to do so in clause 3 of the 18 points, so to think of doing anything other must be reactionary; one cannot be a real Communist, or a Communist at all, unless he accepts all that comes from Moscow, without reservation—even the slightest.

Let me quote Comrade Lenin on the point. "Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal means of struggle are opportunist, for the bourgeoisie often (especially in 'peaceful' non-revolutionary times), use such legal means to deceive and fool the workers. On the other hand, they think that illegal means in the struggle are revolutionary. This is not true. What is true is that the opportunists and traitors of the working class are those parties and leaders who are unable, or who do not want to apply legal means to the struggle."

Again, Lenin adds: "But those who cannot co-ordinate illegal forms of the struggle with legal ones are very poor revolutionaries." Good; Lenin agrees in this with the S. P. of C. It is nice and, to say the least, encouraging, to have our stand

corroborated by such an one as Comrade Lenin. The conditions brought about by the recent war gave us the opportunity to find out who was who, and who wasn't in the class struggle. The master class of this country, following in the wake of its brethren elsewhere, decreed that Socialist literature must not be sold and, under various pains and penalties must not be discovered in anyone's possession. Now the S. P. of C. was in the habit of selling the literature thus suppressed. Being a "legal" organization and, of course, saturated with "bourgeois ideology" on the matter of legal procedure (as claimed by some of the "actionists," when we point out the absurdity at the moment of illegal organizations), it follows that the S. P. of C. would quite naturally submit quietly to the decree. But did it? I don't think it is necessary for me to point out just what happened. Possibly most of the "actionists" are not aware of what took place; these gallant comrades who now make so much noise and proclaim aloud their ferocity were unheard of and unheard during the period of the war. The "actionists" were inactive. It was the S. P. of C., that poor Kautskian party, that carried on the propaganda, sold the literature, and proved itself both willing and able to continue the work of the class war under no matter what trying conditions.

However, conditions are now somewhat different, and we are able at the moment to get out our propaganda without more than the usual hindrances, in fact, the S. P. of C. is the only organization in Canada that is doing it. From the platform we give undiluted Marxian Socialism. Some of the "actionists" don't like that name, but we can't help that: those are Marxian Socialists who now dictate the affairs of Russia. We get the literature of the class struggle, we have large and attentive audiences, and we find even among the farmers—far removed from industrial centres, the farmers who have in every country formed the back-bone of reaction against the industrial proletariat, we find, even here, an ever-growing class consciousness asserting itself. I speak of the attitude of the farmers from experience, having spent the winter among them, living with them and talking to them individually and collectively, holding two or three meetings a week, and in some districts one each night. Of course it was no doubt a waste of time to go ploughing through prairie snows to talk to farmers. It would have been better, perhaps, had we left the farmers alone, ignorant of the class struggle, recking nothing of their position in society,—alone with their private property concepts, and devoted our own efforts to work more patently savouring of "action."

Will our comrades of this extreme virility who are so profuse in their use of the word action, and who are contemptuous of "mere" propaganda and talking, just be kind enough to tell us what form the illegal organization will, must, or should take? A hint will be no better, perhaps, than a nod, but at least let us have it. Even if lost on us it still might help some one. It is possible, as I have said, quite openly to propagate the class struggle, nor is there anything touching on the conflict of interests between capitalist and wage slave which we do not explain from the public platform. Obviously then the illegal organization would not increase or intensify our propaganda in this field. We sell, unhindered, literature which gives the scientific explanation of the class struggle. I say scientific simply in order that it might not be understood that we teach the working class, either by word of mouth or by pamphlet, that Jesus was a Socialist, that the sermon on the mount is "it," that Socialism is Justice, or anything of that sort. There is no sound literature dealing with the class struggle which we could sell, that we do not sell. Therefore, since admittedly, our being illegal would not help us in this department of propaganda, in what department, or in what way, would it be of advantage? True, we may be prevented at any time from doing these things. One of these days I may be pinched for preaching Bolshevism to the staid, conservative "Boys of the Bulldog breed." But then, what difference would an illegal organization make in the matter? Ah! there's the rub! What does it matter how much propaganda is restricted or what does it matter how few are reached by education along class lines,—would we not be true Communists? Could we not then say, with bated breath, "Sh—h! We belong to the Third International; our headquarters are at Moscow! So we'd be bound to be

full-fledged Reds, no matter what our activities were,—and more than that even Comrade Lenin could not expect surely. No, no; but will some of these "actionists" just tell us what we can do illegally at the present time, that we cannot do legally except perhaps affiliate with the Third International and declare ourselves illegal, whether the bourgeoisie want us so or not. ACTION is right; it is about time we had some action; here we have a vast army of proletarians quite oblivious of the existence of a class struggle; here we have thousands more, disgruntled with the present administration of the master class, ex-soldiers many of them, infuriated at the heartless sordid treachery of their patriotic exploiters who have thrown them, along with the other packages of labor-power, on the scrap heap; men thirsting for some knowledge of the class war and getting it as fast as the S. P. of C. can hand it out; all this in spite of the "actionists," who have never been other than a stumbling block—a source of scandal—to the revolutionary movement. In spite of these conditions, and despite the fact of a temporary lull in the ferocity of the bourgeoisie and its tactics of suppression, we are asked by these enthusiasts to crawl underground and be revolutionary and happy in the thought that no matter what happens,—we belong to the Third International.

This article does not apply, by any means, to all who have advocated the S. P. of C.'s joining the Third International. For the most part the controversy in the "Clarion" has been carried on cleanly and without mud-slinging. Some of those who have been most strongly in favor of affiliation are very active in the revolutionary movement, such as Comrade Kavanagh; this without any deference to the latter comrade, with whom I disagree on many points. These, however, have not been in my line of attack, and do not come under my fire. I have carefully used the word action in inverted commas when speaking of those to whom I have reference. Summed up, the case is this. The best that we can do now is to achieve as much publicity as possible; the most effective manner in which we can help our Russian comrades is by making more Reds right here; and we can't do that from a cave in the Rocky mountains. The S. P. of C. in its adaptation to war conditions, illegally carried on propaganda; but there was no acting about that. It did the work, and did it thoroughly; it did not pull the cloak of the Third International over itself, and proclaim, "We are now a revolutionary party." No; there was no adoration of heroes, no fetish-worship; the comrades simply got busy and the work was done. I have no objection to offer to the clauses of the Third International, other than the ones referred to, and also, to the one in which we are called upon to support small nations, or colonial independence movements. I have not much objection to the latter, but would like to have some comrade explain in just what manner we could help, for instance, the Irish in their struggle, or the Indians, Egyptians, or Nationalists of Quebec.

To conclude, let it be remembered that the working class of this continent is not yet asking us to lead it out of the house of bondage. The time is here for more extensive propaganda,—that is all, and the action of the revolutionist must be in supplying this to his fellow wage-slaves through every avenue and channel at his command. The time has now arrived when we must rid ourselves of those whose actions consist merely in proclaiming themselves reds; or, in other words, what we most require today is fewer "actionists" and more revolutionists.

Yours for real action,

FRANK CASSIDY.

IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT AGAIN ACTIVE.

Comrades Joe and Mrs. Mallard of Edmonton Local, on returning from a visit to England, were ordered deported by the Immigration authorities at St. John, N.B., "as undesirable Socialists." The Workers' Defence Committee took immediate legal steps, instituted habeas corpus proceedings. James Law, secretary of the Defence Committee received notification from the Minister of Immigration, Ottawa, on the 12th April, that Mr. and Mrs. Mallard were to be allowed entry to Canada.