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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Therefore, I am unhesitatingly in favor of affiliation, and I hope that the day is not far distant when ian, using the movement for personal ends and is we shall have a Canadian section of the Third Inter- not a Socialist, on his own confession. This Roy national, with former members of the S. P. of C. represented India at Moscow, and apparently made foremost in its ranks, preaching a philosophy of action rather than a philosophy of erudition.

W. MORIARTY.

Editor, Western Clarion."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the conditions of affiliation is the stres

upo'ı "dictatorship of the proletariat" in all propaganda. This phrase, used so often, has a great number of meanings nowadays. If that means that we are to do like some of the speakers, propagate the seizure of power by a few dominating the many, that will not assist us in our propaganda as workers here have suffered too much from the rule of the few already, and won't trust to the goodwill of any particular group seizing the reins against the rest. Why all this stress upon a phrase that has become popular since the Russian revolution, if, as Radek says,

it only applies to backward countries? Radek, writing upon this question in his "Development of Socialism from Science to Practice," says: "It might be fairly said that every revolution is undertaken by the minority, that the majority only joins in the course of the revolution and decides the victorious issue. Were it otherwise, not only would a dictatorship in the country with a proletariat minority like Russia be harmful as the followers of Kautsky maintain, but in a country with a proletarian majority, for which Kautsky and his school are gracious ly pleased to allow of a dictatorship, it would be entirely unnecessary. In such a country, the capital-

its would be so few in number that they would

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