

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our friends say, without however giving Moscow the credit:

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

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

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

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

The heavy type throughout this article originates with me. J. HARRINGTON.

HERE AND NOW.

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

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

Total Clarion subscriptions from 11th to 28th March, inclusive—total, \$59.50.

THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

The joyful extra dancing hour (per J. Donavan), \$1.15; S. Arrowsmith, \$1; H. C. Mitchell, \$3; W. B. Nicholson, \$4; R. Dickenson, \$2; A. C. Roga, \$1; Commune Celebration (per G. Sangster), \$30; C. Neil, \$9; Geo. Silk, \$1.

Total from 11th to 28th March, inclusive, \$52.15.