

# WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

Official Organ of  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOSOPHY

No. 839

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1921

FIVE CENTS

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

THE objections raised against acceptance of the 18 points of the Communist International by Local Winnipeg, representing as they must the opinion of the majority of that Local, cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. Both in the preamble and in the resolutions from No. 3, statements are made for which they have no proof, and matter not germane to the question is introduced.

Because some "Reds" imply certain forms of action for getting control of the power of State, or John Reed has an article in the "Workers' Dreadnought" giving a report of the "Delegates" to the Second Congress, which report must be accorded a certain amount of literary license, the terms of affiliation are not thereby either substantiated or disproved.

The article says: "The first clause in the conditions for affiliation says, 'The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be spoken of simply as a well learnt formula, etc.' What does this mean? The dictatorship of the proletariat must be propagated as an object to be obtained, notwithstanding that in highly organized and industrialized countries, when the workers gain control, the period necessary in the elimination of the capitalist class may be of short duration! A passing phase, and not a long drawn out struggle compared to the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production and distribution. If that is so, then how illogical it is to teach the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to speak of it, not merely as a well learnt formula."

What does Local No. 3 mean by "A passing phase, and not a long drawn out struggle compared to the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production and distribution?"

Do they imply that "common ownership, etc." is a struggle?

If so, what about?

To attempt to compare, in point of time, a condition which does not yet exist to a condition which has never existed, belongs to the religious world and not to that of monistic materialism.

The period during which a dictatorship of any class is necessary is determined by the degree of ideas and habits of thought antagonistic to the rule of such a class, which may be in existence.

The necessity of teaching an acceptance of the principles of the "Dictatorship," of training the workers to become habituated to the idea of its necessity, is one of the lessons learned from the Russian revolution. The assistance the academic Marxists, Kautsky, Huysman, MacDonald, et al., not to forget the S. P. G. B., have been to capitalist imperialism by their tearful denunciation of this "autocracy," must not be underestimated. Every newspaper report announcing "Revolts in Russia" is based upon these anti-dictatorship articles.

To imagine that the dispossession of the capitalist class brings an end to the necessity of class rule in society, is to ignore the objective facts of life.

The capitalist class is dominant because the subject class has a capitalist ideology. Ideas and habits of thought remain in existence long after the conditions from which they arose have passed away. Proletarian rule will be necessary until all danger of social disturbance, resulting from such ideas and habits, has ceased to exist.

The objection that the Third International considers parliamentary action of secondary importance can also be applied to the S. P. of C., with this difference, that while we do not consider parlia-

mentary action of much account in the struggle for power, we have no other programme for obtaining it.

Irrespective of who happened to be in attendance at the second congress of the Third International, the terms of affiliation are so definite as to prevent non-revolutionary bodies from joining, and also to cause such who had already joined to sever their affiliation.

It would have been better had Local No. 3 been a little more elaborate in their resolutions of objection, and also more accurate in their quotations from the Theses.

With reference to reason No. 3, the terms do not state that open civil war is in existence. "The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering upon a phase of civil war." What about the situation in the U. S. with its Red Raids, etc., or the situation during the general strike in 1919?

Perhaps Local No. 3 considers these affairs have no connection with the class struggle.

Number four has been dealt with in a previous issue of the "Clarion." Number five is answered by the introduction to the 18 points.

As to number six, it may be said that there is no struggle for political power in so far as the S. P. of C. is concerned. The activities of the Party centre around the education of the masses. The struggle for power calls for organization as a means to that end. In that struggle the Parliamentary activities of the Party are of secondary importance.

We can be declared illegal without joining the Third International any time the ruling class considers it politic to do so. The point is—that we have not got a disciplined organization which could function under such conditions.

World Imperialism brings into existence changes in bourgeois administration, as well as changes in the tactics pursued by the working class in its struggles with its masters. The conditions now in existence, in consequence of the deadlock in international commerce, are already reacting upon the workers. The failure of parliaments to alleviate the distress is becoming apparent, and with it a growing distrust of the parliamentary institution. Councils are being formed through which the unemployed voice their grievances. It is true that these at present are probably of a temporary character, yet at the same time it shows the tendency of the workers' movements.

The terms of the Third International demand that as a party we do many things which have heretofore been done by party members on their own initiative. If we, as a party, ever expect to attain political power on behalf of the working class, it is necessary that we be a disciplined organization. It is useless to dream of enforcing discipline during a transition period unless those wielding power are themselves disciplined.

J. KAVANAGH.

Calgary, Alberta.

Editor, Western Clarion,—

The decision in the matter of affiliation with the Third International, rests on the answers to the following questions:—

First.—Is the S. P. of Canada a party of Marxian Socialism?

Second.—Does the Third International uphold the principles of revolutionary Socialism, and conduct the class struggle along Marxian lines?

If the answers to both questions are in the affirm-

ative, then the question of affiliation can easily be decided, though the expediency of affiliation at the present time may be questioned.

In the above-mentioned manner the question of affiliation of the S. P. of Canada with the Second International, was decided.

Granting the asseveration of the S. P. of C. as to its Marxian basis; and judging the Third International by its actions, the objections to affiliation cannot arise from fundamental differences. The Second International was denounced by the S. P. of C. as an aggregation of pseudo-Socialists and fake Labor Parties who were betrayers of the working class.

This objection is also raised against the Moscow International, and is the only one yet put forward, that is worthy of serious consideration.

Surely Comrade McNey will put forward some more proof of the "stinkiness" of the organizations affiliated with the Third International than mere choleric denunciation.

True, many of the members of those organizations have been imprisoned and executed, no doubt through their inability to keep their knowledge of the class struggle "under their hats." Only arm-chair strategists can conduct a struggle without casualties.

However, it would not do to say that Lenin and the Russian Communists were not Marxists, but then we are reminded that "there are other Marxians," and I might add, "57 varieties."

The French philosophers of the 18th century sought for a perfect system, based on eternal reason. Comrade McNey discovered a perfect theoretical policy, 12 years ago, which is immutable, and on which the law of change itself has no effect.

Comrade McNey's assertions are not supported by facts, one in particular with which he is familiar. I will ask him to cast his mind back to the lumberworkers' strike in the Puget Sound district in 1917. Did the individual members of the S. P. of C. whom he asserts "never failed or refused to propagate scientific Socialism at all times and under all circumstances" do so then? Or were they indifferent to say the least, because of the "commodity" nature of the struggle? Or were there any "hidden views" that Comrade McNey offers four cents for?

The Syndicalist bogey-man set up by Comrade McNey receives a severe jolt when confronted with facts. The Syndicalists in the U. S. repudiated the Third International by withdrawing the referendum. However, enough votes had been cast to show that their membership was opposed to affiliation. In Sweden the Syndicalists hold mass meetings protesting against the imprisonment of anarchists by the Bolsheviks.

What is the Third International?

The Third International comprises the Communist Parties of Russia, Hungary and Germany, and when we speak of those parties we speak of Lenin, Trotsky, Bela Kun, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, names that will go down in history as those of the standard bearers in the first great conscious effort of the class-conscious proletariat to fulfill its historic mission.

Perhaps this is hero-worship, but being an ordinary plug I cannot, Stirner-like set up my own little ego to worship.

Comrade Harrington prefaces his objections to affiliation with the statement that "whether we accept or reject the terms of the Communist Interna-

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## THE S. P. OF C. AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page 1)

tional, we will find our actions will be used by master class hirelings to master class purposes."

Are we to infer from this that the taking of a referendum vote is a tactical blunder? Or might not his statement be misconstrued as placing party members who favor affiliation in a rather peculiar position?

First point of Theses: "The daily propaganda must bear a truly Communist character." This is a very important point, and no doubt requires considerable elucidation. A long dissertation on the economics of the slave systems of antiquity may, or may not constitute Communist propaganda. Under certain circumstances it might constitute capitalist propaganda, e.g., as a contrast between free democracy and chattel slavery. Liberal bourgeois publications frequently carry articles of this description.

Point eight of the Theses may prove a formidable obstacle in the minds of many comrades, against affiliation. Would the loss of Algiers, with its resources and man-power, be a mere trifle to French Imperialism? This is a subject that cannot be disposed of by a gesture.

The removal systematically and regularly from all responsible positions in the labor movement (party organizations, labor unions, etc.) of all reformists and partisans of the Centre, and to replace them by Communists, would no doubt involve us in bitter struggles.

However, considering the activities of some of our suspended comrades in the labor unions, directed against party members who refuse to pay tribute to certain "recognized" unions, those struggles would not altogether be a detriment to the party.

As to the matter of Right, Left and Centre groups in the S. P. of C., the present discussion may possibly bring them to the surface.

That the S. P. of C. has never wavered in its support of the Russian Revolution, is an admitted fact. There are also many groups of liberals who have also supported the Russian Revolution; the New York "Nation," "New Republic," and others too numerous to mention. To ask them to endorse the Third International, however, puts a different complexion on their support.

To quote Comrade Harrington: "I do not consider rejection of these terms implies any disagreement with the methods and purposes of the Bolsheviks."

This is tantamount to stating that the way to agree with a proposition, is to disagree with it. Which reminds us of President Harding's reply, when asked if he believed that two and two made four. "That as a general proposition, he was in sympathy with the equation—but that time and circumstances might alter the sum," a reply which is not without some dialectical merit.

The sum of objections against affiliation resolves itself into a question of "political expediency." On this ground, and on it alone, is rejection admissible. If some Comrades will not admit that the question of possible suppression of the Party bears any weight with them, then, Kautsky-like, they will be forced to take up a theoretic position, to justify themselves. Their only possible position is in opposition to the interpretation of Marxism by the Russian Communists; which leads directly to the camp of Kautsky and Co.

To such elements in the party, now is the time to let us hear from them, so that we will be able to understand each other.

The attempts of Henderson, MacDonald, Thomas and Co. on the one hand, and Longuet, Kautsky, Berger on the other, to form Internationals, in opposition to Moscow, show the depths to which these people will descend.

The Proletarian Dictatorship in Russia, and the Third International, have been a thorn in the side of these social compromisers and manufacturers of democratic formula. The overthrow of the Soviet Government would be a consummation devoutly to be wished, in the eyes of these gentry, and prove a possible halt to the decay of their influence amongst the progressive elements of the working class.

The attitude of the Socialist organizations towards the Third International has, to a great ex-

tent, become the acid test of their understanding the slogan of the authors of the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Has this rallying cry no more significance to us than its usefulness in rounding off a peroration; or shall we in the "sight of all the world erect boundary stones by which the extent of the party movement will be measured?"

F CLARKE.

Editor, Western Clarion.

Comrade,—In an article in your paper of recent date entitled the S. P. of C. and the Third International, Comrade Harrington states that the objections which Comrade Kaplan dealt with re affiliation with the Third International are of no importance, and can not justify rejection of terms imposed. He however tells us that Comrade Kaplan has far from exhausted the objections to affiliation, and goes on to outline the objections which he thinks are of importance. Right from the outset let me state that the "important objections" that Comrade Harrington outlines I find, like those of Kaplan, to be of no importance, and likewise do not justify any revolutionary organization from joining the Third International. In dealing with the first point, "the daily propaganda must bear a truly communist character," he states we are not informed what this is, but we are told we must denounce not only the bourgeois, but its assistants, the reformers, etc.

Comrade Harrington although contending that denunciation rarely convinces admits the value of same when he states: "They have their uses and we don't overlook them." But is it true that the Communists do not tell us what they mean by "the daily propaganda must bear a truly Communist character?" I wonder if Comrade Harrington read the latest "Theses" of the Third International. He will find there 21 conditions for admission, and not 18 as he states. The "Theses" makes it very plain what is meant by communist propaganda. Com. Trotsky in his book "Terrorismus und Kommunismus-Anti-Kautzky," states the actual teaching of Marx is the theoretical formula of action, of aggression, of development of revolutionary energy, of the most complete conduct of the class struggle. By communist propaganda is meant more than merely explaining phenomena and justifying them, it is meant to direct them to action and overthrow. In spite of Comrade Kaplan's statement that the "joining of the Third International would involve submission to dictation from Moscow, as to tactics to be adopted locally, which only local knowledge and observation could properly determine and dictate," we find the class struggle is the same every where, and generally speaking the same tactics, action is necessary. The Third International does allow different tactics to be employed, but they must not in any way conflict with the general principles of Communism.

Now as to removing from all responsible posts in the labor movement, etc., all reformists, and to replace them by Communists, Comrade Harrington states that the ultimate utility of same is doubtful and such activity would involve us in a series of bitter struggles that would hamper and in the end nullify our educational work. Comrade Harrington admits he does not know the ultimate utility of removing reformists, etc., from responsible labor posts and replacing them by Communists, so the only thing he can do is to find out from those that do know. The Russian comrades know the ultimate utility of same, and as being an imperative necessity in the struggle against the overthrow of the bourgeois state. Of course it would involve you in a series of bitter struggles, and I am afraid it is precisely that, that Comrade Harrington objects to; as to nullifying the educational work, that sounds very much like a joke.

Regarding "Colonial Liberation," he states he can not see how colonies can be liberated, and to what advantage if capitalism still rules. Colonies can be liberated in spite of the fact that Comrade Harrington can not see they can, because they have been, and the advantage we know. I would only have to mention Ozerbijan, Georgia, Armenia, Persia; there liberation is a fact, and the advantages are well known. Comrade Harrington wants it clearly understood that he does not consider rejection of these terms implies any disagreement with the methods and purposes of the Bolsheviks. Of

course he does not state he does agree; you can take that just as you like. He concludes by assuring the Bolsheviks that so far as any assistance we can give them is concerned we will contribute a hundred-fold to their security by informing the working class of the Marxian philosophy in contrast to the feeble support of our joining the International. That is just what all Centrists say. It is true, comrade, that you offer revolutionary phrases, but since you admit that all you can give is "feeble" support by joining the Third International, your assistance you offer, I am very much afraid, will go begging.

What the International demands is strong support; this you can give by less talk and more action.

Your comrade,

SAM BLUMENBERG.

IN presenting a few objections against affiliation, I expressed the hope that whatever conclusion we came to, we would endeavor to face the facts. I know of many situations where some facts may be ignored to advantage, and I also know that under any conditions, there are some facts which cannot be ignored, without disaster to those who ignore them. We can struggle with some degree of success against the guile of an adversary, charm he never so wisely, but where we undertake to fool ourselves we are lost,—hopelessly. Of course we never are so foolish as to elect the latter folly consciously, but, what amounts to the same thing ultimately, we unconsciously permit our desires to cloud the real issue, and select only those facts which best suit our purpose.

Take Comrade Fillmore's article for affiliation; he entirely overlooks the real issue which is, not affiliation, but affiliation under certain specific conditions. These conditions he ignores entirely. I would not take issue with him in any of his points. I don't care whether we are dictated to or not, providing the dictating is in line with what I conceive to be in harmony with reality. If it be not, I am equally careless as to the dictator, whether Marx or Lenin, Moscow or Pumpkin Centre. The question is, can we accept the terms laid down, can we accept them without entirely changing our tactics, and is there any warrant for so doing? Dead men's bones, old party workers, "Dictatorship from Moscow," Right, Left and Centre, Red or Yellow, courage or cowardice, have nothing whatever to do with it. Let us forget them.

Comrade Kavanagh is in little better case, although he does discuss the terms. In the first place he argues:

"Objection has been raised against acceptance of the terms of affiliation because some terms apply to conditions not yet developed in this country.

"It should be obvious that terms laid down to cover all countries cannot be expected to apply in every detail to each and every country, but are applicable according to the different prevailing conditions."

I am certain this argument would go a long way toward having our application rejected, should we apply.

He says: "Clause 17 mentions this qualification."

Now clause 17 does nothing of the kind. Clause 17 covers resolutions, and the "Theses" we are discussing are decrees, which, while not unalterable, must nevertheless be accepted and lived up to, "not in words, but in deeds," as the E. C. says in reply to the British I. L. P.

If any one cares to read the foreword accompanying the "Theses," he will find just why these "most precise conditions" were laid down, and if he cares to take words at their proper value, he will realize that the principle object was to prevent anyone from joining and then saying: "Oh, this and that clause does not apply to us," go their old way serenely.

One thing is obvious, that no amount of self-deception can alter the intent and purpose of these 18 points, nor the fact that they must be accepted and lived up to.

Concerning the position and tactics of the Party in the past, Comrade Kavanagh says: "... it does not follow that the position taken in the past would be in line with Marxism, theoretical and practical, in the period we are not entering upon." Neither does it follow that it would not. Still, as a matter of actual fact Marxism, as we interpret and expound it, is a method of understanding social institutions,

their development or decay, and therefore if our position was sound in the past, it must be equally so as long as we maintain it, theoretically or practically.

Our understanding of any period depends upon our knowledge of Marxism; the correctness of our Marxism is entirely independent of any period. So far as our activities are concerned: let us review them. We have claimed that social revolutions are the results of certain conditions inherent to revolutionary periods; that these conditions are so pronounced, and regular, that they assume all the force of a scientific law. We hold that all human institutions are the result, and a proper understanding of them is to be found, in the method whereby man makes his livelihood. That with each radical change in that method, there follows a more or less rapid change in his institutions. We further hold that all class societies are constituted on force; that the elements of this force must be invested in the ruling class; that the prevailing ideas are those which best conserve the power of that class.

Looking upon society of this or any other period within capitalism proper, we see the prime factor of master class domination, in the hands of the subject class. Now this is a condition peculiar to capitalism alone. And we have been led, along with other working class parties (the Bolsheviks for instance), to assume that one of the greatest, in fact the chief factor, of modern master class safety, lay in the ignorance of our fellow slaves.

I am of opinion that today, and for many moons to come, there is not, and will not be, any sudden illumination of that ignorance in this part of the world. I am just as firmly convinced that when such illumination does come, society will display, as was ever its custom, that infinite scorn for those who laid elaborate plans for its future welfare. A matter of historical record, whether we take the revolts of ancient Rome, or modern Russia.

Let us take another point. Comrade Kavanagh says:

"The objection to clause 8 I can scarcely conceive as being seriously intended. To classify international arbitration, or the League of Nations, with colonial liberation movements, seems an attempt at ridicule."

To be sure I did not mention either arbitration or Leagues but, disarmament otherwise, it was offered in all seriousness and without further sense of the ridiculous, other than suggested by the clause itself when read in conjunction with clause 6, or say with that part of the "Manifesto of the Third International," a document which bears the signature of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev,—"Liberation of the colonies can come only through the liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations." Or Lenin's answer to India's delegate regarding the enslaved Orient—"Communists should support national-revolutionary movements, but only when these movements are in fact revolutionary."

Observe that Comrade Kavanagh speaks of civil war, but clause 8 says specifically we must support "not in words only, but in deeds, all liberation movements in the colonies." This is very different from the basis of our comrade's argument, the validity of which I leave open; but can he or any other Marxist furnish reasons for anyone who has discarded bourgeois ideology supporting "all colonial liberation movements?" This would call for support to Quebec Nationalists and, much more to the point—the Boer secessionist movement in South Africa which, as a matter of tactics, would furnish unimpeachable testimony of political idiocy. Against such we advance the sane Marxist statement of the "Third International Manifesto"; these people "can gain independent existence only after the workers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and taken the power into their own hands."

As to the question of tactics, we read, "Every success of a revolting colony against an Imperialist State weakens the power of that State." Historically we find the reverse is true. To take but one example—Britain's loss of the African Colonies left her in a more powerful position than at any period in her history, and so far as dealing with revolution at home goes, the loss of all her colonies would not weaken her power. But—the same causes which

lead to that loss would no doubt leave her weak, and these same causes might give her ample means to crush a revolution at home; a fact to which Bavaria and Hungary can sorrowfully testify. Taken from any angle, "all colonial liberation movements" are, most emphatically, not a part of the task of a Marxist.

Let us return to clause 2, and my objection, wherein I said that its ultimate utility was doubtful, and that immediately we would be involved in a series of bitter struggles, which would hamper and in the end nullify our educational work. To me this is a delicate subject, so instead of amplifying that bare statement, I presumed as much on the intelligence of my readers, as upon my words, to make my point clear.

Perhaps this obscurity has caused Comrade Kavanagh to offer objections whose relevancy I am at a loss to understand. Nor can I permit these arguments to pass without comment. He says:

"If the theories we advance are scientifically correct and as such fit the facts of life, the more bitter the struggles the more will their superiority over the concepts opposed to them be demonstrated. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose, in every phase of the class struggle."

This is a mechanical progress with a vengeance; not that I object to a mechanistic theory, if properly stated, but let that go. However, if Marx has stated correctly the conditions under which society develops, certainly the struggle for municipal office or trade union control is not of prime importance.

Nor could the materialist conception of history prove its superiority over the religious conception, or any other, in this struggle, any more than a fight between say, "dragons of the prime" could demonstrate to the combatants the superiority of Darwin to Genesis. Men do not struggle in abstract terms, but in concrete reality. And the question which decides municipal elections, and trade union control, is the immediate and not the ultimate benefits, to the struggles, plus of course ever present and ever potent habits. Questions of wages and taxes are the issue.

And "recent events in local history" ought to have impressed that fact indelibly on our comrade's mind. The taxpayers of Vancouver have repeatedly in the last few years refused to permit any extra funds to be expended on public schools, although every artifice of reason and cajollery has been invoked, and the schools are in a deplorable condition.

In trade union circles any one of radical views, whatever might be the respect his intelligence and honesty engenders, is looked upon as a person unfit to hold office. The radical's position, and more so the Communist's, in these bodies depends upon quite other circumstances than struggles bitter or otherwise.

Further, no one, certainly not I, said anything about leaving any position in the hands of anyone. What I object to is clause 2, the contents of which are available to all who care to read them. This clause requires that we as a Socialist Party "shall be bound to remove systematically and regularly from all responsible posts in the labor movement . . . all reformers, etc., etc." Now, our experience has been that all men are liable to change, and particularly when in office. It would be incumbent on our part, unless mankind underwent a most drastic change, to remove some of those we had bitterly struggled to elect. Just how far such a contingency would prove the superiority of our view I leave to the "Clarion" readers.

It would not matter that the individual was suited to the office he held, and that his work satisfied the majority of those who paid his wages; if in our opinion he was a backslider we should be bound to remove him.

Again, suppose the I. W. W., who have been especially invited by Zinoviev to affiliate with the Third International were to do so. Their concept of a Communist would be totally different to ours. We should then have two Third International groups struggling to systematically remove each others choice. This is by no means a fanciful picture, as "recent events in local history" can testify.

And in these "bitter struggles" rarely are princi-

ples the chief issue; very often it is purely a question of personalities, and not infrequently the result of a bar-room wrangle, or a convention, or some other "plum" as recent local, and remote universal history painfully records.

The members, then, takes sides, from reasons devious and wonderful, spite, policy, friendship, jealousy, but unless thoroughly grounded, and animated by principle, seldom upon class needs.

Am I right? Can we expect men ignorant of social science to act with any class bias, regularly? Nay, I can with propriety ask, can we expect it regularly from the faithful?

I do not for one.

Man is not, despite all his boasts, a reasoning animal; conditions sway him, and bend him, and mold him, despite his philosophies and his creeds.

Knowledge, however, and association, are steady influences and more than ought else I think, should be developed.

To that end we have devoted our energy. We may never set the world on fire, but we can seek and accept the facts, so that should the world by any chance become ignited, we may have some members of our class on hand who will strive to control it, with what success I cheerfully resign to the future.

Not an ambitious task to be sure, but one commensurate with our strength.

J. HARRINGTON.

On the question of affiliation with the Third International, we are unmistakably confronted with impossible conditions. Indeed, it would be hard to draw up any set of regulations more stringently prohibitive, more impossible to perform—in their chief specifications, even allowing for all the autonomy demanded by local circumstances. (\*Note.)

What are we asked to do? To turn aside from direct educational principles, from the furthering of class knowledge of capitalist society, and directly challenge the established institutions of capitalism, powerfully entrenched in political domination. We become therefore, one of the great crowd of "Lo here, or lo there," tilting, not against the fundamental principles of society, but, in reality, against its effects, against the forces, brought into being to safeguard those very fundamentals.

We are asked to submit to repressive forces of the State; we are to engage in propaganda against "loyalty" and "patriotism," against Empire and Imperialism, i.e., against the prime necessities of capitalist society. And we are to do this, in season and out, openly and secretly, "legally" or "illegally."

We are thus brought, at one stride, within the pale of capitalist law. We lay ourselves open to its power; we become "seditious" and "treasonable"; outlaws, with no option but to submit. For, where is our support? The puny efforts of a class-conscious minority, able to do no more than protest against capitalist supremacy and tyranny.

In London, charged with just this very thing, Sylvia Pankhurst was sentenced to six months imprisonment, and the British workers not only accepted it, with stoical serenity, but later, on Armistice anniversary day—raided the office of the "Dreadnought," of which she was editor. Probably the comrades remember what happened to the youth who attempted the life of Clemenceau, and also what became of the actual slayers of Jaures, of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. And it can hardly be forgotten, that for far less provocation, Canadian authority, lately held Comrades Russell and Pritchard in duress, while over the line President Wilson recently could refuse, unchallenged, to release Eugene Debs, on Lincoln Day. And why? Simply because, in all these, and a host of similar cases, the workers did not know enough, did not sufficiently understand the workings of capitalist society. Being confused in principles they are divided in council, and hence, were powerless, either to help themselves or change the course of events.

If the workers in Britain and America, in France and Germany,—all of them in a high state of capitalist development, and organized accordingly,—cannot prevent such outrages on their own representation (and at that, the S. P. of C. would hardly admit most of them as Socialists), what chance is there, in a benighted country like Canada, where the capital-

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## Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,  
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of  
Canada 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.  
Phone Highland 2583

Editor ..... Ewen MacLeod

### Subscription:

Canada, 20 issues ..... \$1.00

Foreign, 16 issues ..... \$1.00

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1921

### RELEASED FROM GAOL.

THE release of the Winnipeg prisoners on the 28th February occasioned gladness to their families and a warm welcome from the workers of the whole country. Those workers who were able by their presence to swell the welcoming throng in Winnipeg, voiced the sentiment and appreciation of the workers of Canada for their spokesmen, who had endured unflinchingly the jail term of one year inflicted upon them by the State resultant upon the general strike of May, 1919, and the "conspiracy" charges connected therewith. While Comrade R. B. Russell was sentenced to two years, he was released after having undergone a year's imprisonment in Stony Mountain Penitentiary, and was welcomed back among his fellows upon his release which took place a month or two before that of his fellow prisoners. Their bitter experiences under the administration of the forces of the State will temper the attitude and utterances of the three released men, who have been elected, while imprisoned, as members of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. After his many years of effort towards the education of the workers, in season and out of season, on the street corner and in the halls, Comrade Armstrong will now find himself better able to carry the message of working class education.

Comrade Pritchard's welcome awaits him in Vancouver, where he is due to arrive on Sunday, 3rd April. Already various committees are active making arrangements to greet him.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

PETER Kropotkin died on February 8th, 1921, not many miles from Moscow, where he was born in 1842. His early years attracted him to studies in natural science, the investigation of which induced him to undertake some geographical expeditionary work which brought him notice in scientific circles in Russia. His first noticeable contact with working class matters and interests was in the '70's, when Bakunin's writings attracted him to workmen's and students' gatherings. In St. Petersburg he spent a few years lecturing to working men on scientific subjects. This led to imprisonment from which he escaped after two years. He lived for practically forty years in England, writing many books and pamphlets, thus making a meagre living, interesting himself in the promotion of anarchism. His anarchism was of course idealistic. With all the persecution he had undergone in Russia, he was an enthusiastic Slav still even in 1912, and while the Balkan war lasted. In 1914 he declared for the Allies, and exhorted his anarchist friends to war on Germany. He returned to Russia for the first time in 40 years after the March, 1917, revolution. He strove for the continuance of war on Germany. Yet following the November revolution, while he was in disagreement with the Bolshevik party, he raised his voice against the intervention of outside powers. His attitude towards the Soviets was expressed in his letter to the English workers last year—decentralization was required in order to meet his theories of anarchist communism. With all the drawbacks of his anarchist position Kropotkin was an earnest educator, and in spite of his "noble birth" his principles were the uppermost consideration always with him.

### SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Comrade Charlie O'Brien reports in a brief note that his case is again delayed. Propaganda work in and around Rochester, N. Y., is going on as usual, debates and lectures, classes on History and Economics have been well attended during the winter.

The discussion on the question of Third International affiliation has brought to us more manuscript since last issue than we have room for in the present issue. The latest to arrive is from Comrade Kohn, which we leave over until next issue.

Three new working class journals have come to us from other points in Canada since our last issue. "The Winnipeg Socialist" is published monthly for free distribution by Local No. 3 of the S. P. of C. Consequent upon the suppression of the "Western Clarion" by the censor in 1918, the Winnipeg comrades issued "The Bulletin," which had but a brief existence. In December of that year disruptive elements invaded the headquarters of the Winnipeg Local, burned their organizational effects in the street, and effected damage to such an extent that their propaganda work was for some time hindered and obstructed. Since then they have from time to time issued Manifestos and Bulletins as occasion arose, and the effort to establish a monthly paper for free distribution will provide a medium whereby they may address themselves particularly to the workers of Winnipeg, outlining their point of view on local questions as they arise. We cheerfully welcome the paper and hope for its success.

From Winnipeg also comes "The Soviet Aid," published by the Winnipeg Medical Relief Committee for Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. Moneys for medical relief may be sent to the secretary, F. W. Kaplan, 196 Henry Avenue, Winnipeg, Man. The paper is published for free distribution in order to voice Russia's present need for medical supplies. Future issues are promised providing the first issue proves by results to be justified. We hope these future issues will contain more original matter, and less of the stereotyped statistical data that we have seen published before. Incidentally, we have a Caledonian kick to register: The bundle we received, by express collect, cost \$1.90; the same could have been sent by mail at a cost of 56 cents. The observance of efficiency and economy will enlist working class support.

"The Communist Bulletin," published by the Canadian section of the United Communist Party of America, vol. 1, No. 1, price 5 cents, comes to hand without announced date of publication or place of birth. The paper is of four pages of three columns, five of which are devoted to "The S. P. of C. and Communism." This title clothes what is intended to be taken for a review of the position and policy of the S. P. of C. up to date. But it is incidental only to a mirth provoking outburst of exasperated spleen and spite, pronounced (in borrowed phrases) against the "cunning" Comrade Harrington. Jack won't grow any grey hairs over that we know, but since this anonymous literary trifler evidently considers himself to be serious, his example may as well be followed for once, for his own betterment. Comrade Harrington will not doubt have a word to say in our next issue.

It is unfortunate that "The Communist Bulletin" voluntarily chooses the martyrdom of the underground channel. This is of course quite theatrical. It is not quite so heroic, however, as its phrases.

### THE S. P. OF C. AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page 3)

istic mind of the average worker is demonstrated, wherever he speaks, wherever he marches in procession, wherever he utters a protest, or voices a resolution?

Undoubtedly, we are in the hands of the powers that be at any time, and at any given time there is always present the ready will to suppress and subdue—if circumstances will permit. But there is the rub—the circumstances. Individuals and minorities acting ahead of conditions, can be—and will be—crushed. But not so with society at large, because in society itself resides the power, the resultant of economic conditions. And although education is not our objective, although its acceptance is beneficial to society in changing social relations, still that education cannot be forced on society, cannot become its vitalizing energy, until social con-

ditions determine its advent. The unfolding of the economic process (and this implies the totality of social organization, effort, and activity), and the furious shocks of rude experience, is the only school wherein we learn, and is the only real source of power, equipping us, at one and the same time, both with the will—forced upon us by dire necessity—to re-model society, and also with the weapons requisite to compass the change.

We are asked, further, to dispense with the services of our representatives, in whatever department they may be, unless they prove themselves thorough-going Communists. But it is not mentioned how we are to recognize them, how we are to know (as a class) who really represents working class interests. And that is the crux of the question.

Changing their representatives, industrially, socially, municipally, and politically, is precisely what the working class is doing right along. It can hardly be supposed, that in doing this, the workers harbor the delusion that they are helping the capitalist class. On the contrary they harbor the opposite delusion that, thereby, they are acting in their own behalf. Those whom the workers elect as their representatives must be regarded in that status, and held to act with that authority.

If the workers choose another than Communist philosophy, then Communist philosophy must stand aside, for it is but a minority, facing the powers of the State, and supported by the mass of society. It must wait until the choice falls upon itself—or more probably, until opportunity offers the occasion of dictatorship, in the interests of classless society. Indeed the 18th condition sums up the whole matter—and incidentally begs the question at issue; "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" Exactly. Until the workers as a class comprehend the significance of capital, until they have acquired at least the rudiments of social understanding, nothing can be done. Or in other words, until they can "clearly distinguish" between a name and a principle, they must grovel along in their slavery.

It may be objected that tactics must change with changing conditions. Quite true. The tactics of the S. P. of C. is the propaganda of social education, because it realizes that without knowledge there can be no security. And while admitting that society has developed and changed, and with it, the working class, that development has been technical, the change has been in the organized relations of production. But outside of that technique, morally, ideally, intellectually, the working slaves, in the mass, are sunk in the black depths of social misunderstanding. Hence the tactics of the S. P. of C. require no change, since the prime condition of their existence is unchanged. Yet, in that persistent propaganda, in the truest meaning of the words, lies hope and triumph. Hope, because it works in harmony with the laws immanent in social evolution; triumph, because it is founded on incontrovertible fact.

To continue that propaganda of education, therefore, unfettered by restrictions that are meaningless, because impracticable, and aided most magnificently by the ever-quickenning urge of the economic forces, is the certain road to final achievement. By developing social knowledge we develop social revolution, because we develop the understanding of the principles, which make that revolution inevitable; and not only lay the foundation for success, broad and deep and secure, but at the same time render an assistance to our indomitable comrades in Russia, which, though it may lack the pageantry of the spectacular, is infinitely more effective because, in the crucial moment, it acts with the certainty of law.

G. ROSS.

\*Note.—Articles 6 and 7, and in a measure 8 and 9, are, with minor reservations, practically what we are doing now in critical form; while the rigid application of article 14, has earned for the S. P. of C. the scornful epithet of "Impossibilist."—G. R.

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# Some Contradictions of Capitalism

ALL their lives the working class have never done any thing but work, eat, sleep, and work again. So accustomed are they to their conditions of labor they can form no conception of their being different and, consequently, are destitute of any desire to change them.

Neither do they compare the great display of riches by a class, that never took an active part in their production, with their own lives of toil, want and worthless condition.

They build mansions for the idle rich, fill them with the comforts and luxuries only a parasitical class can find time to think of, and never see the contradiction and incongruity between the homes of a capitalist class and their own smoke-begrimed hovels, in a society whereon the benign god Democracy smiles happily. So used are they to all this they accept it as unchangeable, as something that ever was and ever will be.

And yet it is easy to understand the cause and development of this acceptance of their fate and their portion of the wealth they produce.

From birth influences have been continually moving in a certain direction, their thoughts and ideas have all been consciously moulded into these channels of static reasoning. They have been watched and trained with great care; smooth, dexterous individuals, who make their livelihood by understanding the wants of the master class, have through such avenues of information as the churches, press, platform and schools, diligently and purposely prepared them to regard these things in the way they do.

The average worker, therefore, if he thinks at all, considers that he, with the rest of the working class, is utterly helpless to effect any change in their present condition. The effect of this apathetic indifference is very detrimental to the working class as a whole. It strengthens the enemy's ruthless power of oppression by giving them the authority to prolong their existence as a ruling and parasitic class.

But what can be more degrading to human beings than to carry chains in obedience to their masters wishes and refuse to make an attempt to cast them off?

The workers at this present stage of development can not escape from the capitalist system, necessity forcing them to sell their labor power from day to day. But they can avoid some of the harmful effects of the system; the perplexity of things in general, and class ignorance in particular, can be successfully combated and overcome; the brain with a little study can be made into a proper organ, functioning in the interests of their class, and clear ideas and thoughts can be made to generate from this mental mechanism. No longer then could the mind of the working class be used as a receptacle for all the vile twaddle that is manufactured in capitalist institutions for its especial consummation.

Tricky labor leaders and shady politicians, always at the beck and call of the master class, are ever ready to make plausible various reforms to fool the unthinking mass of workers.

Fluent, perfidious clergy, with their trained eloquence try to resuscitate from the past ridiculous superstitions or dress them up in the modern rags of spiritualism to becloud the mind of the uneducated. But a knowledge of the social sciences, the fundamental principles of human society, those things which stimulate and arrest its growth, offset the sophistry of these sycophants and swaggering nincompoops, the labor leader and the politician, and reduces to comedy the services of the parson.

One of the great falsehoods diffused by the capitalist class is in relation to the function of capital. Those individuals who are the wealthiest are always held up as most desirable members of society. But when one of these angelic characters die it makes not the slightest difference, as far as his capital is concerned; everything goes on just the same. In spite of all the talent and capabilities these individuals are said to possess, things move on in the

same uninterrupted manner, although the capital may have been left to a baby or an imbecile.

The great bulk of the world's wealth today is owned by stock and bondholders who, very often, do not know the first fundamentals of the management of the business, and certainly take no active part in its operation.

Take the Canadian Pacific Rail and Steamship Companies for an example. Does any one know who the owners of those concerns may be; nor does it matter as far as the actual operations of these lines of transports are concerned who holds the pieces of paper that give them the right to collect interest at stated intervals.

Some of these owners may have seen the road and rolling stock; may even have taken a trip across the seas on one of their ships. But many have not, for the bondholders of these companies are not only representatives of Great Britain and the United States, but of all the civilized world.

A fat, lazy Mandarin in Pekin, who may not know where Canada is on the map, will have his dividends sent to him with the same regularity that the conductor of a train or the captain of a steamer receives his pay. And so long as the roadbed is kept in shape by the section men; so long as the mechanics and laborers in locomotive shops keep the engines and cars in repair; so long as the train crews run trains and passengers to their destination, so long will these dividends be paid.

All these are members of the working class, as are the key operators, agents, office staffs, foremen, superintendents and managers, each and everyone getting their living from the same source,—by selling their energy, no matter whether it be spent in pushing coal into a furnace, or pushing a pen in the office, figuring out the shareholders' profits.

As the present system develops it must even enlarge the gap between the workers on the one hand, and the useless parasitical class on the other.

We, see, as time goes by, an ever increasing pile of riches and a corresponding waste of riotous luxury indulged in by the capitalist class. They do not put in long hours in the sweltering heat of the boiler room of a ship to earn the meal the chefs and cooks have worked overtime to produce, from foodstuffs gathered from the four corners of the earth. The women of this class never worked in the sweatshops to earn the finery they grace themselves with, nor for the multitude of luxuries that fill their rooms. Not in the mines and rolling mills did this class work for the money they spend in the cabarets and ballrooms of Europe.

On every hand we find a multitude of contradictions and inconsistencies existing that must ultimately stir the workers to thought. Stores and warehouses are loaded to the roofs with the accumulation of the necessities of life, while the people who produced them are out of employment because they produced too much; enduring hardships and privation, even to starvation, because of the existence of an over-supply of the good things of life.

Society women everywhere spending large sums of money on perfume, Attar of Roses, to spray their pet dogs with, while millions of children can't get soap for a bath. The children of the working class are forced into the factory when they should be at school, or on to the streets selling newspapers for the bare necessities of life.

What chance have these children to grow up into healthy normal men and women? Some of them in a different environment may have shown a mind with great possibilities, naturally endowed for the accomplishment of great tasks. A rare genius emerges from this class in spite of all the difficulty in their way, but think of the number that is crushed in the struggle.

What kind of social system is this that dooms the working class to labor long and suffer much, while a few useless parasites start wars, panics, monopolize and usurp the wealth of the workers?

On the one hand the workers spending their time in mines, fields or factories, and on the other the

capitalists spending theirs in Monte Carlo, or cruising the Mediterranean in their ocean-going yachts, and in orgies that would have shamed Nero.

These contradictions are sufficient in themselves to show the putridness of the capitalist system and, ultimately, will be one of the main reasons for its annulment.

The only remedy possible for the existing poverty of the working class, is the complete abolition of the system that breeds and develops these antagonisms. This can only be accomplished by the working class themselves. They must not expect help from the other class. For it is just as much to the interest of the master class to retain and prolong the present order of things, as it is to the slave class to work for its abolition.

It has at all times been the method of the working class to place across the path of the revolutionary workers every conceivable obstruction that might impede or stay the final outcome, while they angle for the slimy fish that pose as labor leaders, who eagerly bite the golden bait. In England, the Hendersons and Barnes; in Germany, the Scheidemans; in the States, the Gompers; and in this Canada of "ours," the Moores and Robertsons. When the workers fully understand the conditions of their slavery; how wealth is produced; why the producers' portion is so small; then no longer can they be fooled and no longer will such capitalist hirelings exist.

F. A. EVANS.

## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

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-swelling 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.

#### NOTICE TO MARITIME READERS

All "Clarion" readers in Maritime Provinces are asked to communicate with the undersigned at once. Comrade Chas. Lestor will soon arrive from England, and will speak at all points where arrangements can be made. We shall need funds, and groups of workers in each place. Get busy, collect funds, arrange meetings, and communicate with me regarding date, etc.

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE,  
P. O. Box 100, N. B.

# The Statutes of the Communist International

(Adopted at the Second Congress)

In London, in 1864, was established the first International Association of Workers, later known as the First International. The Statutes of the International Association of Workers read as follows:

"That the emancipation of the working class must be carried out by the working class itself.

"That the struggle for emancipation of the working class does not imply a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and equal obligations and the abolition of all class domination.

"That the economic subjection of the workers to the monopolists of the means of production; the sources of life, is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, mental degradation and political dependence.

"That consequently, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated.

"That all endeavors directed to this great aim have hitherto failed because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in each country and because of the absence of a fraternal bond of unity between the working classes of the different countries.

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social character embracing every civilized country, and the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries.

"That the present revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe, while awakening new hopes, contains a solemn warning against a relapse into old errors, and calls for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement."

The Second International, which was established in Paris in 1889, undertook to continue the work of the First International. At the outbreak of the world slaughter in 1914 the Second International perished—undermined by opportunism and betrayed by its leaders who rallied to the side of the bourgeoisie.

The Third (Communist) International, established in March, 1919, in Moscow, the capital city of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, proclaims to the whole world that it takes upon itself the task of continuing and completing the great cause begun by the First International Association of Workers.

The Third (Communist) International was formed at a moment when the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918, in which the imperialist bourgeoisie of the various countries sacrificed twenty million men, had come to an end.

Remember the imperialist war! This is the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Remember that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of imperialists had the opportunity during four long years of compelling the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Remember that this imperialist war had reduced Europe and the whole world to a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Remember that unless the capitalist system is overthrown a repetition of this criminal war is not only possible but is inevitable.

The aim of the Communist International is to organize an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the establishment of an international Soviet Republic as a transition to the complete abolition of the capitalist State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat an essential means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism; and regards the Soviet form of government as the historically necessary form of this dictatorship.

The imperialist war demonstrated the unity of interest of the world's workers; it emphasized once again what was pointed out in the statutes of the First International; that the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social and international character.

The Communist International breaks once and for all with the traditions of the Second International which, necessarily, only recognized the white race. The task of the Communist International is to eman-

ipate the workers of the whole world. In its ranks are fraternally united men of all colors—white, yellow and black—the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist International fully and unreservedly upholds the gains of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious Socialist revolution in the world's history, and calls upon all workers to follow the same road. The Communist International makes it its duty to support, by all the power at its disposal, every Soviet Republic wherever it may be formed.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of the speedy achievement of victory, the international association of the workers which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, must possess a firm and centralized organization.

To all intents and purposes the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist Party, of which the parties operating in the different countries form individual sections. The organization of the Communist International is directed towards securing for the workers of every country the possibility, at any given moment, of obtaining the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statute:

1.—The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common action between the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international Soviet Republic, the complete abolition of classes and the realization of Socialism—as the first step to Communist society.

2.—The new International Association of Workers has been given the name of **The Communist International**.

3.—All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist Party of the particular country (section of the Communist International).

4.—The World Congress of all parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International is the supreme authority of this International. The World Congress as a rule assembles not less frequently than once a year. It confirms the programmes of the different parties comprising the Communist International; it discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics connected with the activity of the Communist International. The allocation of decisive votes at the World Congress between the constituent parties and organizations is decided by a special regulation of the Congress; it is necessary to strive for the speedy establishment of a standard of representation based on the actual membership and real influence of the party in question.

5.—The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the principal authority of the Communist International in the interim between the World Congresses. The Executive Committee is responsible only to the World Congress.

6.—The place of residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is determined at each World Congress.

7.—A special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or on the demand of one-half of the number of the parties affiliated to the Communist International at the time of the previous World Congress.

8.—The greater part of the work and principal responsibility in regard to the Executive Committee of the Communist International devolves upon the party in the particular country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee has its residence for the time being. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition, each of the

ten or twelve largest Communist Parties is entitled to send one representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee. The list of these representatives has to be ratified by the World Congress. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International each enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative with a consultative vote.

9.—The Executive Committee is the principal authority of the Communist International during the Convention. The Executive Committee publishes, in not less than four languages, the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical, the "Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International and issues instructions obligatory on all parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International. The Executive Committee has the right to demand from affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, and also to exclude from the Communist International any parties that infringe the regulations of the World Congress, such parties having the right to appeal to the World Congress. Where necessary the Executive Committee organizes in different countries its technical and auxiliary bureaux, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

10.—The Executive Committee of the International has the right to include in its ranks representatives (with a consultative vote only) from parties and organizations not accepted in the Communist International but which are sympathetic towards Communism.

11.—The organs of all the parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International, as well as of those who are recognized sympathizers with the Communist International, are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

12.—The general conditions prevailing in Europe and America make obligatory upon the Communists of the whole world the formation of illegal Communist organizations alongside of those existing legally. The Executive Committee has charge of the universal application of this rule.

13.—All the more important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International are customarily carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee. In cases of urgent need, however, direct relations are permissible, provided that the Executive Committee is informed thereof at the same time.

14.—Trade Unions that have accepted the Communist platform and are united internationally under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the world Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. Trade Union Sections of the Communist International delegate a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to send a representative with a decisive vote to the Trade Union Section of the Communist International.

15.—The International League of Young Communists is subject to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Young Communists with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on the other hand, has the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the International League of Young Communists. Relations between the League of Young Communists and the Communist Party in each country are based

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16.—The Executive Committee of the Communist International appoints the International Secretary of the Communist Women's Movement and organizes a woman's section of the Communist International.

17.—A member of the Communist International journeying to another country has a right to the fraternal support of the local members of the Third International.

## Decaying Institutions

SOCIETY as a social organism, like everything else in nature, is subject to stimulus, which assist its growth and repressives, which retard it; develops new institutions and casts off others which have ceased to function.

Observe closely and you will find in present day society, alongside the most scientific mode of production, the decaying institutions of savagery, barbarism and early civilizations.

This is most readily noticed in religious bodies. Aside from dress and architectural changes in their respective places of worship—what difference is there between the Salvation Army parading down the street accompanied by the jangle of tambourines and cymbals, and the parade of a savage tribe and the din of drum-sticks on the stretched hides of their tom toms; or the ritual of "medicine men," casting out devils, and the chief performers of the "Holy Rollers"; or even the cultured parasitical class of today, captivated by psychic phenomena, and the sensuous-loving leisure class of two thousand and more years ago who dipped into the Elysium mysteries.

In an age when the individual may climb the skies, skim light and swift as a bird through fleecy seas, or speak his thoughts in Vancouver to a friend in St. John; at a time when the romance of Jules Verne is hammered into concrete reality and we can explore the depths of the ocean, it is strange that these relics of ancient societies should still remain as landmarks for the student of social sciences.

But a psycho-pathic examination of these victims of obsessions and delusions will unravel the tangle of ideas which lead to such a mental state.

We know that long sustained poignant grief over the loss of a friend will at some stage induce a condition of mind akin to torpor, and midway between consciousness and unconsciousness, when the "spirits" of the departed will arise from the surrounding gloom to startle and alarm.

These apparitions appear to be from without the mind and in front of our eyes, when they are really viewed from within the mind, and in front of the mind's eyes: as do the figures in dreams when healthy, normal minds seek rest in sleep.

Yet this similarity between the figures in dreams and the spirits of seances, the different stages of consciousness in which the mind will unfold the impressions stored in its cells, escapes the attention of bourgeois savants, while the charlatans and so-called mediums can wax fat at the expense of the curious minded, the gullible and the distressed. The unusual conditions attending the great war and arising out of it, which unhinged the minds of many, bringing grief to more, and stirring the emotions of all, are responsible for "spirits" seen and "messages" received by hundreds, who for the first time in their lives (and probably the last) were clairvoyant. But as these conditions subside and minds again become normal, this decaying institution of spiritualism will become still more dilapidated.

A pathological diagnosis of the sincere salvationist, or his brother and sister in the "Holy Rollers," will lay bare maladies from malnutrition and functional derangement. Such institutions as these are harder to destroy under capitalism than is spiritualism, for while this latter receives stimulus at rare intervals and from unusual conditions, these former institutions draw sustenance from conditions of poverty which never abate from year to year.

They exist as being dispensers for gentle, meek-eyed Charity who, having swiped one portion and begged another from the surplus wealth produced by a slave class, hands back a trifle to the half starved, rattled demoralized followers of the misguided, half-baked, hypocrite, "General" Booth.

Man has made the greatest use of his language to coin new names for old gods and devils,

and when he rechristens these as "earthbound souls" and "astral bodies," his vanity is tickled: that in doing so he has made something at last that is new, different in nature and origin from anything preceding it.

But let us turn for a moment to the decay of capitalism. Marxian Socialists have made it clear that Capitalism can only develop and progress in any given country so long as it can find a sale for its surplus commodities in a world market. That the moment this system becomes universal in all countries, and the pace of their development more approximately equal, in the productive resources of each, the more rapidly is the world market filled with wealth. Then the periods of productive employment grow smaller and the intervals of unemployment longer.

It is at this stage that competition becomes so ruthless, small enterprises are swallowed by large ones, combines carry on production from the initial to the finished stage, and the stores of every country act merely as mediums in distribution. The battle for place in this market employs immense armies and navies, the destruction of each others' economic resources becomes more devastating than ever. Common material interests draw together certain nations, a distinctive policy for mutual protection, and co-operation in war on their competitors, and the exploitation of the world's raw materials and the motor power of their industries. Higher pile the national debts and the greater becomes each others inability to pay.

We have arrived now at a stage when the breaking up of this system becomes more apparent; the perspective is no longer national, but universal.

North and south, east and west, wherever we turn the major portion of the working class are idle, some seething with discontent, others, feeling less acutely, drifting from place to place, country to country in search of a beefsteak or a job.

The minds of the ruling class are filled with terror; they must find markets, or once more go to war in order to make a market, and thus provide work for this growing army of idle men. In the meantime they will foment civil wars out of religious antagonisms and national prejudices.

How fiendish this ruling class can become when their class position is in danger, how terribly alarmed are they, can be seen from the following (vide daily press) London, March 3:

"Many influential members of both Houses of Parliament (British) met last night, the Duke of Northumberland presiding, to consider the subject of the Bolshevik conspiracy against liberty and democratic institutions in general and the safety of the British Empire in particular.

"Among the speakers were Sir Michael O'Dwyer, formerly governor of the Punjab, who described the state of India; Sir Edward Carson, the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Sydenham and Lord Edbury. All of them emphasized the gravity of the danger and the need for the awakening of the civilized world to it."

The report, unfolded by these members of the British ruling class, disclosed the nature of this "Bolshevik conspiracy to break up the home, destroy the church, morality and property, throughout the Empire, generally, that the sun never sets on, and Ireland particularly."

And, according to them, the Bolsheviks are supplying the sinews of war to the Sinn Feiners; the leaders of the working class movement in England, Scotland and Wales are also being paid for stirring and keeping the workers of these countries in a revolutionary ferment as well as saving the I. W. W. in Canada from dying naturally from a lack of "dues nutrition."

So terror stricken are these members of the British ruling class they must fancy the power once attributed to King Midas has been given to Lenin, who spills gold as freely as Niagara spills water.

It is necessary, however, to show these statements are made with the definite object of molding the minds of the working class to suit their own particular purpose, in other words, to blind the people as to the real nature of the Irish situation, and from seeing who are really destroying the homes, morality and peace of the workers in Ireland.

In order to preserve the hegemony which has made Britain "mistress of the seas," the ruling class there will blast every national ideal which has grown in the minds of the Irish people, even if they have

to destroy every last home in the country, every last vestige of morality.

This is very clearly brought out in the "Report of the British Labor Commission to Ireland," and it more than all else proves how ruthless capitalism is when it comes to clearing away obstacles standing in its path.

"The circumstances of the destruction by fire of the Abbeydorney creamery were the subject of investigation by the Commission. There can, in our opinion, be no doubt that the buildings were fired by uniformed men, who used petrol for the purpose of setting the creamery buildings alight more speedily and effectively. The store, which contained a good deal of inflammable material, was completely gutted. The manager was ill-used."

"The commission visited the village of Shanagolden. On August 23 an attempt was made to fire the Co-operative Creamery there."

"This attempt failed, but returning later: The Black and Tans were seen to sprinkle petrol inside the creamery. A five-gallon tin of petrol was left behind by the party. Immediately after they left the building there was a loud explosion and the creamery burst into flames. . . . The county court judge awarded £12,000 damages. Cheese to the value of £4,000, which had been made for export to Great Britain, was destroyed."

"At Ballymacelligott men were shot, and houses and other buildings, and hay ricks were set on fire as well as a creamery."

Hosiery factories at Balbriggan and Bandon were set on fire, hundreds of people were employed in these and the loss runs into many thousands of pounds.

Printing works at Tralee was destroyed, "the damage done by the Crown forces was estimated at £50,000."

Destruction of arms and private houses around Cork, the terrible fires in Cork itself; the physical violence and brutality; the massacres of people, the ravishing of women, makes this document the most scathing indictment against a government, and will impress itself more forcibly upon the memory of the Irish as long as class rule lasts in Ireland. And if Soviet gold is squandered in Ireland for the destruction of property, the blasting of homes, and all ideas of morality, then this gold is flowing into the treasury of the British government for distribution among the greatest bunch of fiends since the days of Nero and decaying Rome. R. K.

## SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE.

New York, Feb. 15, 1921

Ewen McLeod,  
401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.

Dear Comrade,—We have your letter of February 9, enclosing cheque for \$152.00, contributions collected from the Russian colony in Vancouver. We wish to thank you and the contributors very warmly for this generous help toward bringing medical relief to Soviet Russia.

We appreciate your comment regarding Charles L. Drake, and concur fully with you in the opinion that the connection was a mistake from the very beginning. However, in self-defense we have to state that Charles L. Drake was not appointed by our committee, but was put in charge by Dr. A. M. Rovin, and upon his responsibility, as the committee did not know Drake, and was unwilling therefore to place him in complete control. Drake was therefore under the supervision of Dr. Rovin, who had implicit faith in his character and his ability, having had knowledge of Drake's previous activities as an organizer. It soon developed that the supervision of Dr. Rovin was entirely inadequate, and the committee took immediate steps to place Drake under the direct control of the New York office. He was requested to make a weekly report to the committee, and to take no action without first obtaining the approval of our committee. However, he failed to comply with our instructions, and it developed that the only way in which the work of the Chicago district could be placed on a proper basis was to eliminate Charles Drake from our campaign. This was done accordingly, not, however, before a good deal of mischief had been done. This we are gradually overcoming, and in time will succeed in living down.

(Continued on page 8.)

## 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.  
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.  
 Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.  
 Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 Copies ..... \$2.00  
 Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.  
 Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.  
 The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Singles copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.  
 The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.  
 Ancient Society (Louis H Morgan), \$2 15  
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 The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia (Kaplan), per copy, 15 cents.  
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 Law of Biogenesis (Moore), cloth, 90 cents.  
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 Germs of Mind in Plants (R. H. France) ..... 90c  
 Economic Causes of War (Leekie), single copies, 25c; 10 copies or more, 20c each.  
 Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. Revised and enlarged ..... 30c  
 A. B. C. of Evolution (McCabe) ..... \$1.15  
 Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844 (Engels) ..... \$1.75  
 Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen) ..... 55c  
 Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

(All above post free).

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C. McMahon Smith, \$1.00; E. Staples, \$2; Ed. Beaudieu, \$1.00; B. L. J., \$2. Total C. M. F. contributions from 24th February to 10th March, inclusive, \$6. (R. F. MacKenzie \$1 acknowledged last issue should be E. A. S., per W. B.)

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At the Union Record counter 25 cents; by mail, postpaid, 28 cents.—Seattle Union Record.

### SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF (Continued from page 7.)

With best wishes, we remain, fraternally yours,  
Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee.

O. PREEDIN,  
Secretary.

Donation, \$4 received from Chas. G. Booth, Sophia Street, Vancouver, B. C.

Donation \$2 received from F. Cox, Vancouver. (Sent to F. W. Kaplan, secretary, Western Canada Committee, 196 Henry Ave., Winnipeg.)

### To the Friends and Supporters of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee

A short time ago a cable from Soviet Russia was received by the representative in the United States of All-Russian Jewish Public Committee, Dr. D. Dubrowsky. In that cable emphasis is laid upon the fact that in certain sections and localities in White Russia which were vacated by the Poles about the latter part of October, 1920, a fresh outbreak of epidemics is threatened. The people in those provinces are still living in dire misery, having been stripped of almost everything during the perpetual warfare of the past six years. Notwithstanding the energetic work of the Russian Public Health Authorities in the District of Borisov alone 11,000 adults and 88,000 children were registered as starving. In the south-western part of Russia there are over 500,000 war orphans, about 25 per cent. of whom are consumptive, and need immediate help.

The following cable appears in "The Nation," in its issue of February -6, as having been received by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers):

"38,000 Moscow babies need milk daily; present supplies can only feed 7,000; infantile mortality 40 per cent.; 550,000 gross tins condensed milk urgently needed for feeding Moscow infants during March, April and May. We urgently require milk, cod liver oil and soap for 6,000 children between 3 and 8 years old, already known to Moscow health authorities as requiring sanatoria, need soap and fat. Clothing needs are for soft material for infants;

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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Text books used in studies are "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (History Class), "Value, Price and Profit," and first nine chapters "Capital" (Economic Class). All workers are welcomed to the headquarters at any time.

#### FORT WILLIAM AND PORT ARTHUR DISTRICT

Study Class (Marxism), every Sunday at 8 p.m., at the Labor Temple, Finlayson Street, Fort William, Ontario. This class is developing, and is likely to evolve into the educational centre among the workers of this district. Those who are interested in the study of history and economics from a Marxian viewpoint, and those who are acquainted with the subjects, and who appreciate the need for the spread of knowledge among the workers, are earnestly invited to step in and help.

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Classes meet at 401 Pender Street East. No fees are asked and no collection is made. All that is required is an earnest interest in the subject taken up. All points raised and all questions asked are fully discussed. Membership in the Socialist Party of Canada is not a condition of membership of these classes.

You are earnestly invited to attend.

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Friday Afternoon, 3 o'clock.

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.

sweaters, underwear, stockings, and boots for older children."

Among the things most urgently needed in addition to food, clothing, canned milk and baby food are, of course, medical supplies, particularly disinfectants and vaccines against tuberculosis and typhus.

It is the task of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee to provide the needed medical supplies as speedily and as adequately as possible, for with the setting in of mild weather, epidemics and contagious diseases are beginning to spread. They are threatening not only Western Europe, but are already beginning to reach this country.

We appeal to all who are able to help in this campaign against disease and starvation to send in their contributions to the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, Room 506, 110 West 40th St., New York City.

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee.  
 New York City, Feb. 14, 1921.

#### C. M. O'BRIEN DEFENCE

Previously acknowledged, \$93.35; J. W. Dargie, \$1—Total to 10th aMrch inclusive, \$94.35.

#### HERE AND NOW.

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