

000109
~~epa~~

SOCIALISM: AND ITS TREND IN CANADA.

prepared by

Mabel Rainboth

under the tutelage of

Gustave Sauvé, O.M.I., D.Ph., D.J.C.D.Sc.Soc.



Thesis submitted to the
University of Ottawa as
partial requirement for
the degree of Master of
Arts. June 1938.

UMI Number: EC56007

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform EC56007
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

1.

Introduction.

"From the Flood on, it would be hard to find spiritual and material distress so deep, so universal, as that which we are now experiencing; even the greatest scourges that left indelible traces in the lives and memories of peoples, struck only one nation at a time. Now, on the contrary, the whole of humanity is held bound by the financial and economic crisis.....There is no people, there is no state, no society or family, which in one way or another, directly or indirectly, to a greater or less extent, does not feel the repercussion."*

Socialism thrives on depressions. It receives added impetus during periods of social unrest and upheavals. As in the last century the Industrial and French Revolutions gave rise to many forms of Socialism--State Socialism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Guild Socialism, Marxism--so in this century the Great War brought with it Communism and Fascism, and lastly we find the depression of 1929 responsible for the extension of Communism and Fascism to Mexico, Spain, China, Japan and most noticeably National Socialism in Germany.

People of all countries have become socially-minded, some to a greater degree than others. Canada and the United States have been less disturbed by this than the European countries. This is due to various (*Caritate Christi Compulsi, by Pope Pius XI.)

2.

reasons; 1-the isolation of our countries from the seat of unrest; 2-the fact that our countries did not suffer devastation as did the European countries during the War; 3-the richness of our natural resources; 4- the great extent of freedom our citizens enjoy; 5-the democratic structure of our governments.

In spite of this we find Socialism in some of its forms creeping into our country. This is in part due to the international character of Modern Socialism. To understand Socialism and to realize its trend we must review the roots from which it has sprung and the various stages of evolution through which it has gone.

3.

Chapter 1.

Early Socialism.

To-day Socialism is a vague, loose term applied indiscriminately to a great number of social theories ranging from the most tyrannical and absolute communism at the one end to a reasonably limited, national reform scheme at the other. In its broadest sense it is a term for a trend in social development, a program of economic reform, a theory of general social welfare and a utopian label for comprehensive schemes of authoritative control such as communism, syndicalism and collectivism. Specifically, socialism is a name for the trend away from the extreme laissez faire of the nineteenth century with its great abuses of capitalism.

Because the terms socialism, communism and collectivism have been used interchangeably by the formulators of these social panaceas themselves, it becomes almost impossible to give a true and precise definition of each. However, since the concept of socialism is embodied in each of the many modern "isms", socialism is accepted as the all-inclusive term of which communism, anarchism, guild socialism, state socialism,

4.

etc., are the special variants. The definition of socialism therefore must embrace the characteristics common to all these ideologies, throughout history as well as at the present time. Mr. Max Beer sums these up as: 1- A condemnation of the existing political and social order as unjust; 2- An advocacy of a new order consistent with moral values; 3- A belief that this ideal is realizable; 4- A conviction that the immorality of the established order is traceable not to a fixed world order or to the unchanging nature of man, but to corrupt institutions; 5- A program of action leading to the ideal through a fundamental remolding of human nature, or of institutions, or both; 6- A revolutionary will to carry out this program.*

In order to understand Modern Socialism it is necessary to review the historical development of this movement, for while these social theories may be new in form, they are old in spirit. The first socialist was Plato, who, deploring the evils of his day, had visions of an ideal state. In his "Republic" Plato laid down a complete system of aristocratic communism, imposed from above, which disregarded the selfish interests of individuals and tried to establish justice by organizing *(History of British Socialism, Mr. Max Beer.)

5.

society into variegated groups. It maintained a rigid class rule based on slavery. Its communism was based on consumption. It repudiated equality, claiming that nothing is more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals. Its outlook was ascetic. It was militaristic not international. Plato is called the Father of Utopian Socialism, so named because of the impossibility of realizing the ideal state. He has left in his "Republic" an image of a state which is intended to set forth the reign of justice in a community. This state contained three classes of society--the rulers, guards, and workers. The women, who are selected to continue the most important class--the guards--are to be wives of no one in particular, but of a whole class; when children are born they become the property of the state; and thus separate and exclusive relations to wives and children, the causes of disunion in a state are to be obliterated.

Plato considered a communism of consumption necessary, rather than of production, as do the modern socialists. He had many followers, chief among whom were Sir Thomas More, and Campanella. More's "Utopia" (a land of nowhere--a kingdom imaginary) appeared in 1516, and was hedonistic and individualistic. Individual

6.

property does not exist; a community of goods prevails; meals are taken in common; marriage is the law and usage of the state, but children are equally distributed among all families; money is unknown; and government is simple. Another idealistic philosopher, Thomas Campanella, published in 1623 his "City of the Sun", which be patterned after Plato's "Republic". The two most noteworthy points of his system are community of property and wives, and a government placed in the hand of philosophers.

Early socialists, until the eighteenth century, worked in a religious or metaphysical atmosphere, probably because there were no capitalistic structures; no concentration of industry; no labor system, since slavery was existent and class struggle was confined to the oligarchic parties.

With the advent of the new economic and moral structures of the eighteenth century several traits of modern socialism appeared. The proletarian class appeared with the emergence of large industries and the social movement became more international. At the time we find doctrines of the law of nature being revived by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Montesquieu and Voltaire. Great economic changes were apparent with the beginning of the

7.

industrial revolution; life changed from rural to urban due to the growth of factories, which led to many evils. Children of five or six years were taken into mills and worked from twelve to fifteen hours a day. Men and women were frightfully overworked. The laws of health were disregarded. There was no proper sanitation, thousands of families lived in cellars. Workers had no security, men lost their employment because women and children could tend the machines more cheaply. Times of feverish overwork were followed with periods of unemployment. Workers had little rest or recreation, they were so exhausted by hard work that they had no inclination for either.

These were some of the evils which grew out of the laissez faire system of economics. The proletariat slowly began to revolt against these conditions. Under all these influences an extremely rich socialistic literature arose. Many champions of the miserable plight of the worker appeared, among whom were Hugo, Carlyle, Dickens and Buret.

Leading socialists of this period were Saint-Simon and Fourier in France and Robt. Owen in England. While the theories of these three men fall under the class of utopian socialism they are not as purely imaginative as those of Plato, More and Campanello.

8.

These later doctrines reflect the economic evils of their time. The two French writers lived through the disorders of the French Revolution and were impressed with the need of a new social order. Owen was a cotton-spinner in England and knew the evils caused there by the Industrial Revolution. In general, they believed that the evils of the day were not due to any inherent evil in man, but to a misguided capitalistic system. They were not revolutionary but believed that by education and the good example of philosophers and economists, they hoped that man would arrive at a voluntary reformation of the property system. The real beginning of socialism may be dated from 1817, the year when the theories of these men began to take a socialistic direction.

The least utopian of the early socialists was Saint-Simon. His aim was to found a new social order based on industry and science. The desire for freedom, derived from the French Revolution, was good as far as it went, but it was negative and temporary. There was need for a new and positive order, an industrial order, guided by science. The keynote of the social development of the future is the principle of association. Under the existing system the workers are free in name only, being obliged to accept terms offered by the capitalists or

starve. For such a state of things there was only one remedy--that of making capital social property. The State would manage the instruments of labor for the general good. The motto of Saint-Simon was:"From each according to his capacity, to each according to his merit," and had its ideal in a potential equality rather than in a mechanical equality. This maxim stands in sharp contrast to communistic socialism which expresses itself as "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs."

Fourier, a more zealous socialist than Saint-Simon , believed that God had done all things well but that men had failed to carry out the purposes of the Creator. Man's instincts are revelations of the Divine Will therefore our passions must be given their free and natural course. To achieve this end he planned the cooperative organization of labor in communal barracks which he called the phalange. Here about 1800 persons settled on a square league of land, dwelt in a large building called a phalanstère. They were to live in harmony, opportunity would be given for frequent change of occupation. Labor would be scientific and attractive. Once this phalange was established it would be imitated by others until they grew into federal groups and finally

spread over the entire world. For this ideal Fourier is known as the Father of Internationalism.

Robt. Owen was less a theorist than either Saint-Simon or Fourier. He believed that the misery of the unemployed workers was caused by the competition of human labor with machinery, and that machinery had to be subordinated to human welfare, which could only be accomplished by the united action of men. Society should be organized into cooperative groups of from 500 to 3000 persons, which were to be trained by good environment without the aid of religion. Work and enjoyment of its products should be in common. By careful organization the productive capacity of the men in these colonies would be increased until there would be an abundance of goods for all. He established a model factory at New Lanark, where he showed what a factory and a factory village would be like managed efficiently by cooperation. Owen was the Father of factory legislation as well as cooperation and trade-union federation.

These men, while classed as utopian socialists, prepared the way for the coming of the scientific socialism of Marx because the three of them stressed economic problems. The chief points of difference

difference between the socialism of this period and Marxian socialism were, it was based on a desire for sympathy and better understanding between classes, instead of teaching a recognition of class struggle, it advocated cooperation; it was an intellectual movement, not a revolutionary one; it was, for the most part, bound to traditional, moral and religious values which Marx abandoned.

Between utopian and Marxian socialism we find a transitional stage which the doctrines of such men as Louis Blanc and Proudhon represent. These men were economists who occupied themselves with theorizing and agitating the "right to work". Social reform, Blanc believed, could not be obtained without political reform. A democratic state was needed based on universal suffrage, and the first duty of the State was the emancipation of labor. Social workshops should be established with capital provided by the State. His schemes received great attention during the revolutions of 1848. National workshops were established, but their application was totally different from the social workshops recommended by Louis Blanc.

Proudhon is an important figure in this period of social thought development because he was the founder

of Anarchism. He is most famous for his treatise "Property is Theft". He believed that property is theft because it enabled one man to appropriate the results of another's labor in the form of rent or interest without giving an equivalent. Proudhon desired to see society based on the principles of liberty, justice and equality; no man had the right to live on the labor of others. So strongly did he believe in freedom that he regarded all government by man as oppression.

In Germany, this period finds socialism more abstract and theoretical due to the influence of Kant's idealistic philosophy. It was generally characterized as scientific, stressing the need of economic researches. Chief among these socialists were Rodbertus and Lassalle, who are the founders of State Socialism. Both men were strongly influenced by the labor theory of value of Adam Smith and Ricardo of the Liberal School of Economics. Rodbertus, in criticizing the capitalistic system as creating pauperism and commercial crises, recommended that the workers be given a greater share in the national income. Landlords and capitalists should retain their present share of the national income, but the benefit of the increasing production should go entirely to the

workers, each being paid according to service or merit. Rodbertus warned the workers against agitation. He believed that the complete transformation of society would possibly require five centuries for its realization.

Lassalle was a philosopher and a scholar. He saw the State as the guardian of the working class. Under present conditions they could never succeed in their struggle for freedom. He contended that, since neither cooperative nor trade-union movements could solve the problem of fixing wages, the State, whom he regarded as the supreme deity, should intervene. Due to what he called the Iron Law of Wages, the worker would never expect wages to rise above a mere subsistence level. If they rose above this level, it led to an increase in the number of marriages and births and therefore to an increase in the supply of labor, bringing a subsequent diminution of wages. A lower wage, on the other hand, brought with it insufficient nourishment, increased death rate, fewer marriages and a scarcity of labor supply, thereby causing wages to be increased once more. This law has since been disproved, nevertheless Lassalle's theory has had an enormous influence on socialistic thought.

Before considering the next phase of Socialism

that of Marx--something should be said of a social school of thought that progressed concurrently with these previously seen. This movement is referred to by many as "Christian" Socialism. This is not Socialism properly speaking, judged either from the Marxian or from the Churchmen's point of view. It does not believe in the materialistic interpretation of history; nor in the class struggle; nor in the social revolution; nor is the proletarian man exalted because he is poor, and the rich condemned because he is rich. "Christian" Socialism goes back to the early Christians, who rebelled against the existing order to save their souls rather than to build a new social order, theirs was a fleeing away from the world, sharing voluntarily all things in common. In the time of Saint Thomas Aquinas we find learned writers definitely suggesting changes in the social order. He taught that in an ideal state private property would be necessary, -first, because the owner takes a greater interest in the management of his property; second, because it tends toward a better organization of production; third, that private property when held by individuals tends to permit industry to be carried on with less conflict than when property is held in common. On the other hand,

no man should regard the results of industry as entirely his own, but through justice and charity should share with his neighbor. All property belongs to God, and should be held as a trust and for the good of man.

Modern Christian Socialists have merely elaborated the teachings of Saint Thomas, applying them to present conditions. They oppose the heartless monopoly of the capitalists, advocating social justice and charity, reasonable labor legislation, decent living wages and harmony between the rich and poor, the employer and employee. In other words these advocates are social reformers rather than socialists, placing emphasis upon character rather than material environment. Followers of Marx do not conceal their contempt for "Christian" Socialism. In fact Marx said: "Christian Socialism is but holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat".* The Church itself rejects the caption declaring that the expression implies "a contradiction in terms."** Professor Robert Flint sums up this class of socialism in the following words: "That is called Christian Socialism will always be found either un-Christian in so far as it is socialistic, or un-socialistic in so far as it is truly and fully Christian.***"

*Manifesto of the Communist Party, by K. Marx & F. Engels.

**Quadragesimo Anno, by Pope Pius XI.

***Socialism, by Robert Flint.

Chapter 2.

Marxian Socialism.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the socialists urged a change in moral ideals rather than social methods. In each case a chasm appears between the end they had in view and the means of attainment. Each of them had a clear idea of what he desired, but none provided a method of social change. Considered individually none of these earlier socialists has contributed greatly to twentieth century socialism, but taken together they form the foundation stones upon which modern socialism was built. Marx found socialism a chaos and left it a movement. Through him it acquired a philosophy and a direction, and became an international organization unifying the interest of the working-class of all countries. It remained to Karl Marx to synthesize into one whole system the various theories propounded by these men, the theory value of Adam Smith and Ricardo; the surplus value of Turgot, Godwin, Hall and Thompson; the theory of capitalist concentration of Fourier and Louis Blanc; the class struggle theory of Plato, modernized by Blanc, Thierry and Guizot; the theory of the growing misery of the proletariat as described by Rodbertus; the theory of

crises of Owen, Fourier and Rodbertus; the theory of internationalism of Fourier.

In his work "Das Kapital", commonly referred to by all sects of socialism as the "Bible of Socialism", are to be found ideas which have so greatly influenced present day socialistic thought. For that reason his theories must be closely examined. The philosophy of Marx, who was a disciple of Hegel, is dialectical materialism. Material evolution is the foundation of social evolution. The process of thought is the process of evolution. Thought advances by a series of denials, struggles and contradictions. According to Marx, every stage of human society is unstable, having within itself all the elements of its own destruction. "The whole history of mankind has been a struggle of class, contests between exploited and exploiting, oppressed and ruling classes."* This struggle has led to various stages of slavery, serfdom, the wage system under capitalism, and inevitably must culminate in the social revolution.

The economic doctrine of socialism is but a practical expression of Marx' philosophy. It is by this materialistic interpretation of history that he explains
*Preface to the Communist Manifesto, by F. Engels.

the labor theory of Ricardo and Smith, showing that the proletariat do all the work, creat all commodities and values by their labor, and yet the capitalists, who do nothing, live upon surplus value stolen from the worker. Commodities have only one property in common, that is labor. Labor therefore is the sole cause and measure of value. The laborer being destitute of the instruments of labor must hire himself to the capitalist. He exchanges his labor-force for a wage which is a mere subsistent wage. This labor-force when used by the capitalist in his factory, yields a product greater than the wage. The value of the product over and above the wage paid to the worker is surplus value. Since the capitalist takes this surplus value as his profit, labor is being exploited. This gives rise to the antagonism of two great classes, the expropriator and the expropriated.

In the development of industry we see an ever-increasing concentration of capital, small businesses being devoured by large ones until a decreasing number of monopolists become supreme. On the other hand, there is a continual growth of wretchedness, oppression, slavery, degeneracy and exploitation among the working class. So, according to Marx, the rich grow richer, and the poor, poorer. This process will go on until it becomes an

intolerable burden to society. The enormous class of workers must seize political power and take over the instruments of labor, converting the means of production into State property. "It thereby abolishes itself as a proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, and the State as State is not abolished, but dies out." *

Marx believed, as did Rodbertus and Fourier, that capitalism was responsible for periodic crises. "With increasing productiveness of the laboring classes of society, the wages of the laboring class become an ever-smaller proportion of the national product...The productiveness has increased and continues to increase, while the quantitative sum of wages has not increased in like proportion, has perhaps remained stationary or even fallen."** As machinery and methods improve supply increases. Because wages remain at the subsistent level, people cannot buy. Demand therefore decreases and overproduction coupled with underconsumption follows culminating in a crisis or panic, this is followed by periods of depression. Marx sees these crises recurring at regular intervals, each succeeding one being more disastrous than the former, until the final collapse

*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by F. Engels.

**Overproduction & Crises, by K. J. Rodbertus.

of capitalism occurs. By giving the worker the full product of his labor, consumption could keep pace with production.

These are in brief the historical and economic doctrines of Marx as divulged in his work "Das Kapital", published from 1867-1885. He was a revolutionist though before he was either an historian or economist. The earlier part of his life he was an agitator and a fire-brand. He was expelled from France in 1843 and settled in Brussels where he and his friend Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848. He had a stormy experience on the Rhine and finally settled in London. It was there that he wrote his volumes on Capital which reflect a spirit of evolution, in direct contradiction to his earlier work. The life history of a man might seem irrevelant in a consideration of socialism, but the history of socialism of the second half of the nineteenth century is so much the history of Marx and his influence that, apart from him, the movement has little meaning.

Living as he did in an age of revolutions, the Industrial, French and particularly the bourgeois revolutions of 1848, he felt that a revolution of the working-class might not be far away. The Communist

Manifesto was a call to arms, the writers urging an immediate social revolution. So it is in a fiery, revolutionary vein that they close their challenge: "Law, morality, religion are for the communist merely so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which as many bourgeois interests are concealed....The communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things....The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!" *

Later they saw their error. In 1895 Engels wrote: "History proved that we were wrong--we and those like us, in 1848, awaited the speedy success of the proletariat. It became perfectly clear that economic conditions all over the Continent were by no means, as yet, sufficiently matured for superseding the capitalist organization of production".** In the preface to the Critique of Political Economy (1859) Marx reverts to his

* Communist Manifesto, by K. Marx & F. Engels.

**Marxism versus Socialism, by V. G. Simikhovitch.

economic determinism."No social order ever disappeared before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have developed; and new and higher relations of productions never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society".*

It is because of these two characteristics, namely evolution and revolution, in the works of Marx that Le Rossignol has said of his writings: "As Mohammedans of every sect appeal to the Koran, so socialists of every faction find texts in Marx, with or without the context, to support their views."** Because there is the possibility of diverse and contradictory interpretations, according to the disposition and purpose of the readers, great varieties of socialism exist to-day, with "Leftists" and "Rightists" within each sect. The "Leftists" in each sect being the communistic radicals, who, inspired by the revolutionary appeal of the Manifesto, maintain that the establishment of the new society can only be achieved by violent uprising.

We now find that socialism has taken a decided trend away from earlier Utopian socialism, being distinguished from it in that, where they were bourgeois

movements, it definitely turned proletarian, "The eman-
 * Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, by K.Marx.
 **What is Socialism?by James E. LeRossignol

icipation of the workers must be the task of the working class itself."* Marxian socialism abandoned all claims to religion and became scientific; "Religion is the opium of the people"*was a creation of Marx. It ridiculed former socialism as Utopian. Marx abandoned the idea of cooperation of classes, glorified the proletariat class and stressed class struggle. To ameliorate the expropriated Marx advocated that all capital should be wrested from the bourgeoisie; that all instruments of production, means of transportation and communication should belong to the State; that all private property and rights of inheritance should be abolished; and that all classes and class antagonism should be abolished.

From the time of Marx to the present day social opinion has divided into two divergent schools, Collectivism and Anarchist Communism: the various collectivists supporting a cooperative central administration, and the Anarcho-Communists defending individual initiative against that administration.

*Das Kapital, by Karl Marx.

Chapter 3.

Modern Socialism.

The close of the nineteenth century finds the development of several new social movements, all falling more or less into one of two categories--cooperation and evolution, or anarchy and revolution. Broadly speaking, the history of twentieth century could be divided into two periods. The first, which ended with the outbreak of World War, was a period of propaganda. The social parties of various countries growing rather as an expression of general discontent with existing conditions than as a belief in socialist principles. The second period, post war, saw the rise of Communism or Bolshevism in the outbreak of revolution in Russia. Chief among the movements of the first period are Anarchism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, the Fabian Society and State Socialism.

Anarchism is the theory that all government is wrong and unnecessary; the State should be abolished, as man should not be controlled forcibly by man; the means of production, capital and land should be owned by the occupier and producer, thereby abolishing all forms of private property. In place of the State, voluntary

associations, having no compulsory powers, would be set up. Anarchists believe that work and production would be pleasant and desirable. Property should belong to the community, for the use and service of the members. Their maxim, stoic in origin, "From each according to his ability, to everyone according to his needs" has been adopted by the communists. Anarchism has no more theory behind it than had Russian Nihilism. Its leaders were two Russians, Bakunin and Prince Kropotkin. Anarchism was not specifically Russian although it flourished there. It had a following in Spain, South America and in Eastern Europe where peasant life was dominant and the government both inefficient and tyrannical. It was a revolt against the governing class, especially kings and presidents. Fanatic anarchists, often more or less mentally deficient, assassinated royal and official persons and alarmed society by dynamite explosions. Socialism and Anarchism seem to have little in common, but on closer examination this does not prove true. Both agree in their condemnation of capitalism, and in their thought of the ideal society they do not differ. Socialism when perfectly established eliminates the State as useless. There are strong anarchistic tendencies in socialism which make it hard to differentiate the one from the other.

The anarchist movement never made much headway in England, and none in America.

The International was formed in Paris in 1836 by a group of exiled German workmen who met with those of Northern Europe and formed a secret society called the "League of the Just", this name was changed in 1847 to the "League of Communists". They found that revolutionary methods were unavailing so started a campaign of propaganda, looking to Marx and Engels for guidance. These men were commissioned to draw up a program for the league. This was presented as the Communist Manifesto, stressing revolution and internationalism as the only means of achieving their aims. As a result of this program the International Association of Working Men was formed. Marx took an active interest in founding and conducting the International. A congress was held in Geneva in 1866, in Lausanne in 1867 and in Brussels in 1868. The last congress was held in Basel in 1869. During its brief career the International created a great stir in the world. Workers of France, Germany, England, Italy and America had joined it. It was a cause of great alarm while it lasted. It came to an early end due to the conflict of Marx and Bakunin, the anarchist, and is said to have died in 1873.

Anarchy broke out in France with the outbreak of the Commune in 1871 and, under Georges Sorel, Syndicalism arose. The name is synonymous with trade unionism. Trade unions originated in England and spread to France but were unlawful there until 1884. Syndicalism grew under the influence of Anarchism. It proposed that the State should be organized on the basis of Trade Unions; it regards man's occupation as more vitally important than his place of residence, and therefore advocates representation by trades in place of localities; it lays stress on his desire to control his working life through his elected representatives, who are members of his trade. It proposed that the control of industry should be in the hands of the producers and not in the consumers' hands. It tended to turn politics into personal intrigue distrustful politics and politicians, and aimed to take by direct methods what it desired. The means proposed by most syndicalists was the general strike to be declared simultaneously in all industries. When these were crippled the workers in each industry were to take control of that industry collectively. "Their idea is to transform society into a federation of self-governing productive groups working together for the benefit of all with instruments belonging to society as a whole and

under the supreme control of the community."* The traditions and sympathies of the syndicalists for the most part lean strongly to anarchy. Syndicalism today, in France, is divided into three distinct groups, adhering to as many different social tendencies--socialistic, communistic and catholic. In 1895 the General Federation of Labor was formed (C.G.T.), in 1919 the catholic (C.G.T.C.) was organized, which joined the International Confederation at Hague in 1920. This organization adopted the social doctrines outlined by the Catholic Church. In 1922 the communistic group (C.G.T.U.) was formed which affiliated with the Moscow International.

The Industrial Workers of the World are American syndicalists. The organization was formed in Chicago in 1905 by a group of insurgent unionist, socialists and anarchists. They are opposed to political action, favoring sabotage, general strike and other forms of direct action. In 1931 a Canadian group was formed at Port Arthur, but so far it has not proved popular in Canada.

Guild Socialism is a more conservative English expression of Syndicalism, a compromise between it and State Socialism. This social panacea was proposed by *Syndicalism, by L. Levine, North American Review, July, 1919.

Mr. A. R. Orage in his weekly "The New Age". It was to be a more seasoned and less revolutionary variant of Syndicalism. In 1915 Mr. Cole, the leader of the University Fabian Society at Oxford, began this new "Reform" movement. It is in part an academic and a utopian ideal of society based on political and industrial events. This ideology would organize the State so that it would wield two distinct powers, political and economic, controlling all such national interests as education, social services, protection, roads, canals, etc., but in addition, all industry of the country for the protection of the consumer. These guildsmen believed that the industries of the country are as entitled to representation in government as are geographical or regional divisions. The State would own all industries, but these would be managed and operated by the workers. Mr. Cole, says: "The National Guildsman believes that industry ought to be controlled by the workers engaged in it; but he believes also that the State ought to own industry, and that popular control must be established over the machinery of State".*

They would federate all industries into national guilds and these would elect a guild congress

*Guild Socialism, by G. D. H. Cole.

which would control production. The State through the regional representatives would protect the interests of the consumer. The two powers would meet at stated intervals for conference. Thus the dangers of bureaucracy and despotism of an all-powerful State would be avoided.

This form of socialism gained quite a following in England after the World War. It appealed to many people because they felt that the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country, the trade unions, churches, charitable societies and the like should have direct representation in the government of the country.

For a generation after the decline of the social movement of 1848, socialism had no serious influence on England. In 1884, however, due to the writings of Henry George, the Social Democratic Federation adopted the theories of Karl Marx. However, British temperament being what it is, these were not suited to them, so in 1911 they became the British Socialist League, founded by Wm. Morris.

Fabian Socialism, like Guild Socialism, is purely an English variety of Socialisms. It derived its inspiration from Marxism, but it is evolutionary rather than revolutionary, seeking to work out a program of progressive socialism. The Fabian Society was founded in 1884 by a

number of literary people and has had among its members many notable men and women, including G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Frank Podmore, Edward R. Pease, Mrs. Annie Besant, and others. It is their boast that until the appearance of the " Fabian Essays," socialism in England was the fantastic creed of a group of fanatics. They taught that socialism was a living principle which could be applied to existing social and political conditions without a cataclysm either insurrectionary or political.

The Fabians believed that socialism would come through compromise just as the British Constitution had grown. They worked by constitutional methods obtaining what concessions they could and spreading doctrines by peaceful penetration. They aimed at reorganizing society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and vesting them in the hands of the community for the general benefit. Therefore the Society worked for the extinction of private property. They maintained that the community should manage industrial capital because the large surplus profits, which enriched the proprietary class, should belong to the workers.

They hoped to bring this about by the gradual

extension of municipal and national activity, until all the land and capital would be owned by the State. They disagreed with Marx in his Theory of Value and his Economic Interpretation of History. The Fabians had no orthodoxy, believing that freedom of thought was of paramount necessity for true socialism. M. Edouard Pfeiffer, in his study of the Fabian Society says: "Les premiers de tous les Socialistes, les Fabiens ont inauguré le mouvement de critique antimarxiste: à une époque où les dogmes du maître étaient considérés comme intangibles, les Fabiens ont prétendu que l'on pouvait se dire socialiste sans jamais avoir lu le Capital ou en désapprouvant la terreur; par opposition à Marx ils ont ressuscité l'esprit de Stuart Mill et sur les points ils se sont attaqués à Marx, guerre des classes et matérialisme historique, catastrophisme et avant tout la question de la valeur-travail".*

This party was a tiny body and was superseded outside of London by the Independent Labor Party in 1893, which was non-Marxian; quite tolerant of Christianity and constitutional. An outcome of this Society was the Labor Party, which was founded in 1900. This party was socialist in policy but not in name. These English systems all closely resemble State Socialism.

*La Société Fabienne et le Mouvement anglais contemporain, by Edouard Pfeiffer, F. Giard & E. Brière.

State Socialism is of P russian origin, taking its rise out of the teachings of Rodbertus and Lassalle. Although of German birth, it has spread to many countries throughout the world. According to this system, society is to be organized so that nearly all business is carried on by the State. By the establishment of workingmen's cooperative groups, subsidized by the State, gradually the State would acquire the ownership and administration of all phases of production, distribution and exchange of goods. Local government would take over local industries while national authorities would manage those of national scope. State Socialism is merely an extension of governmental activities until all business shall be carried on by public authority. Thus all workers would become civil servants. In the extreme, this form of socialism resembles a totalitarian state. But in moderation, we find many countries adopting this form of social control. Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, France, Belgium, England and Canada, in fact most democratic countries, have more or less socialized large industries.

Chapter 4.

Communism.

The second period of the twentieth century socialism finds a sect prepared to seize the reins of government and follow the dictates of Marx in his revolutionary teachings. This type of socialism is Communism, or Bolshevism, the terms being used interchangeably.

Communists seek to realize their ideal by revolutionary action, ending in the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have as their bases the Marxian philosophy of history and the theory of class struggle, elaborated by Lenin and Stalin. The social revolution is considered not as a single act, but as a united front ending in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the triumph of the workers. The government is to be centralized in the hands of the proletariat, represented by the Communist Party. This dictatorship is merely the transition stage leading to the abolition of classes. Capitalism is the archenemy of Communism. Like Marx, they consider labor as the sole cost of production, so

the working class is the only class capable of re-organizing society. The brotherhood of man is loudly proclaimed; energetic protests are made against the injustices done to the working classes; the abuses of the capitalistic system are vigorously condemned; it is insisted that man shall not exploit his fellow man, nor class dominate class. From these tenets it is seen that Communism contains a large admixture of Marxian Socialism and Anarchism, combining the revolutionary theories of Marx with the direct action of the Anarchists. The Communists of to-day trace their origin to the "Left Wing" radicals of Marxism, they grew out of the League of the Just but came under the influence of Bakunin and P rince Kropotkin.

Communism is distinguished from socialism in that while socialism usually signifies the social ownership of productive goods, it includes ownership of all consumers' goods as well. Another distinction has been made, namely that the motto of socialism is "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his merits", while that of communism is "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs".*

Between the collapse of the First International and the

*Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, M. Beer, "Socialism"

year 1917 Communism seems to have made little progress, but with the rise of Bolshevism in Russia, it emerged as a real living organization. Up to the year 1914 reformist or revisionist socialism held prominence in Europe. The Second International of 1889 was dominated by the Social Democrats of various countries and proved no more than a pacifist society, aiming at socialism within the accepted categories of the law. The "Leftists" under the leadership of Lenin, vigorously denounced it and prepared for the social revolution spoken of by Marx.

The Social Democrats of Russia contained two factions, the Mensheviks, under the leadership of Kerensky, and the Bolsheviks, under Lenin. As the World War went on the inefficiency, corruption and treason of the Tsarist government brought disaster after disaster until the people were at the point of revolution. The crisis came in March 1917 when the Tsar abdicated and Kerensky came into power. His government was unable to cope with existing conditions, due to lack of a determined policy and an efficient machinery. The Bolsheviks, in November 1917, grasped their opportunity and seized the political power in the name of the Russian proletariat. They took rapid strides towards the general socialization of the means of production. A dictatorship was established and

opposition of every kind, even from the socialists, was suppressed.

Lenin and Trotsky had the opportunity of applying their communistic tenets to a State. All banks were nationalized in December 1917; insurance companies, cooperative associations and all foreign trade in April 1918; the right of inheritance was abolished on May 1, of the same year; and the nationalization of all industries and commerce followed. They attempted to abolish private productive property under every form; the circulation of money was withdrawn, and everything was owned in common among the people. The State owned every form of industrial enterprise and distributive process. An equal wage system was established and payment was made in the form of labor coupons, which were exchanged at government stores for goods of equal value in hours of labor. "He that will not work, shall not eat", was the elementary rule of communist society.

Education consisted of a training in communistic ideas. In bourgeois society, education was intended to prevent the workers from realizing that they were slaves, in the proletarian State it must be used to teach them that they can be masters. Education is to become an

an instrument of propaganda for the communist regeneration of society. Closely allied to this educational program is the campaign against religion. Marx' famous phrase "religion is the opium of the people", is the view of the communists. Religion and communism are incompatible, since social development is not affected by supernatural forces. The communistic education of the children tends to render their minds immune to all religious fairy-tales.

Communists believe that the mere transition to communism will create new effort on the part of the worker. The new sense of equality, the disappearance of the wage system, unnecessary duplication of work, unscrupulous exploitation, unemployment, overproduction, speculation, all these assure more zealous cooperation from the worker.

The extreme program adopted by the communists was a complete failure and was modified in 1921. The wage system was again introduced and payment by result re-established; private trading, after a bitter struggle, has been restored. Small factories are leased, either to their former owners, or to others. Normal currency has been restored, after a disastrous attempt to abolish it. The Russian system has still retained complete monopoly of foreign trade; complete control of the banking system.

Trade unions exist in form, but have no function as representatives of laborers, any demand for increased wages or better working conditions being considered as criticism of the State. All freedom of the press and of expression has been suppressed and a complete system of espionage has been instituted. The doctrinal bases of Communism served for years after the Revolution as a justification in arresting, transporting to concentration camps and executing of huge numbers of former merchants, intellectuals and kulaks on the grounds that this was necessary as a part of the process of liquidating the classes left over from capitalistic society. A system of government has resulted in Russia that is complete State Capitalism, in which some 180,000,000 people are controlled by approximately 1,000,000 communists, who in turn are ruled by one leader, Stalin.

Because the communists have relaxed their extreme program, Trotsky has broken with the Party and has been forced to live in exile. Ever a protagonist of "Left Wing" Socialism, Trotsky has created a "Left Wing" within the "Left Wing" Socialism, claiming that the cause of Communism has been betrayed. He exposes conditions as they exist in Russia since the advent of Communism.

During the period of compulsory change over from individual to collective farming the Russian peasants passed through an ordeal which is unprecedented in any other European country. Millions perished outright of hunger and disease. Millions more, kulaks with their families, content with their twenty acres of ground and two cows, were driven into concentration camps where labor was hard, food scarce and mortality rates astoundingly high. It is estimated by Trotsky that a million peasants (not to mention their families) were exterminated during the "collective" drive. Famine, terrible in extent and intensity has twice invaded Russia during the past 20 years. Those who died of hunger in the Ukraine, the richest food-producing district in Europe, were numbered in the millions. This sacrifice of the welfare of the people was due to the military ambitions of the ruler. Stalin has created the largest army and possibly the strongest air force in the world. Cost of production is far higher and output far lower than in Western Europe and America, cost of living is high in proportion. There has been a great lowering in the moral standard of the country due to legalized abortion, frequent and easy divorce and frequency of prostitution.

Peasants who rose a little above the general poverty line have been liquidated and the result to-day is a scene of drabness and dinginess. The peasants have resigned themselves to a state of serfdom worse than that of their ancestors. "If there is a peasant in the Soviet Union who possesses an automobile, a telephone in his home, or a bathroom with modern sanitation, I failed to meet him during many years of extensive travel in Russia."* These words of Mr. Chamberlin describe the conditions existing among the peasants of Russia.

In spite of the communists' hatred of Capitalism, Russia to-day has appalling differences in wealth among the classes. Vast and gaudy official palaces, large expensive villas, residences of Commissars, while not a hundred yards away are miserable hovels, filthy and unsanitary, where the proletariat live. So, twenty years of Communism have not removed the great differences in wealth that existed. It has, however, changed hands.

Statistics and propaganda literature are totally unreliable in Russia. Art, literature and learning lie in shackles, the lower middle class intelligentsia having been treated with contempt. The political police *(Collectivism, a False Utopia, by W. R. Chamberlin.)

exercise an unbearable tyranny, every political trial is a "frame up" , the so-called confessions being obtained by a system of moral, mental, if not physical tortures. It was Lenin's proud boast that he would establish Communism in Russia as it took 10,000,000 lives. Through famines, disease, liquidations, etc., this is approximately what it has cost in human lives.

Communists are internationalists, regarding the ultimate end of the social revolution as world-wide in its action, since Communism is combating a world of Capitalism. The Communists have thus equipped themselves for this world-wide conflict by the creation of the Third International which was formed in 1919 at Moscow. Its functions are many. It is the governing body in the world Communist movement, it provides the outlines of the Communist life in a Capitalist world; it decides the means by which capital may be destroyed; it is a propaganda body, preparing the way by publications, training and organization of agents. It is the parent body of all constituent branches, giving financial aid and preventing within its ranks friction and dissent. It aims at the organization of common action between the workers of various countries who are striving towards 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.

Fascism has been provoked into existence by Communism. It is more than mere coincidence that in the same year as the Third International was formed, there was formed in Italy the Fascist Party and in Germany the National Socialist Party. Soviets were formed in Italy in 1919 but collapsed after a week. This was sufficient warning for the ruling classes. Perturbed by the conditions existing in Russia after the installation of Communism and conscious of the turmoil in which the country had left Italy, the government re-organized the police and created a special guard. Many of the middle class, realizing quite clearly what their fate would be if Communism should gain control in Italy, started a vast propaganda campaign against Communism. Out of these reactionary elements the ex-Socialist, Mussolini, proceeded to build up a Fascist movement. Before the war he had been an active Socialist leader--had even served a jail sentence for his affiliations with the party--and had been greatly influenced by Syndicalist ideas. He gained favor with the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasants and his party grew until in October 1922 he, and his followers marched on Rome in a bloodless

revolution and he became Prime Minister and the de facto ruler of Italy.

Fascism as a theory and as a political policy rests on nationalism. It is hostile to the whole attitude of Communism, which aims at the complete sweeping away of the solidarities and loyalties upon which Fascism rests. Their deepest hatred of Communism is its internationalism. Even from its first appearance in 1919, Fascism was aggressively nationalist, working on the emotions of Italians a force sufficiently powerful to counteract the emotional appeal of international Communism. The basis of this nationalist theory is the conception of a totalitarian state, its importance and supremacy. The individual is considered only insofar as his interests coincide with those of the State. The foremost principle of Fascism is "All in the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State."* Communism bases its philosophy on solidarity of class while Fascism combats this doctrine by appealing to the ideal of nationality. For Fascists the State is the ultimate being, more real than the individuals that comprise it. But the national State finds expression naturally through the many organizations, each playing its essential part in the organized life of the entire society and each responsible to the State for the

*(Fascism and National Socialism, by M. T. Florinsky.)

fulfilment of its own function. This philosophy shows certain resemblances to Syndicalism and Guild Socialism. But Fascism diverges from both these movements when it denies the existence of the class struggle. It is at war with Communism, which strives to abolish classes. Classes exist according to Fascism, as a necessary and integral part of the distribution of functions within the national State.

Trade Unions are recognized in the Fascist State not as associations possessing independent rights, but as a part of the working of the Corporative State itself. The Trade Unions may seek to better working conditions, but must be subject to the will of the State.

Private property and private industry is assured in Italy but is subject to interference by the State especially where industry assumes the nature of monopoly. Banking and foreign trade are completely under State control. Universal suffrage exists but people must vote yes or no for the complete list of candidates.

Although Fascism claims to express the solidarity of the Italian people it does so by force. Hence the necessity for rigid censorship of the press and of opinion; close scrutiny of the teachers in

schools and universities; and elimination of all opinions hostile to the Fascist system. Fascism is anti-pacifist in outlook, the whole organization being imbued with a martial spirit. Mussolini writes: " Above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future, and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace. It thus repudiates the doctrine of pacifism--War alone brings to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to engage in it."*

National Socialism is a German version of Fascism. It came into power as did Fascism, by a coup d'etat, but by more constitutional means. It received a majority vote of the electorate on **March** 5th, 1933. Crushed, under the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles, impoverished and insecure since the War and stripped of all her colonies, the German government finally lost the confidence of the German people. The German Social Democrats, who ruled the country, suffered a severe split in its party due to the growth of the Communist

*Fascism, by Signor Mussolini, Encyclopedia Italian, Vol. 14.

(translated in the Political Quarterly July 1933.)

Party in Germany. Hitler had started a movement of national Socialism in 1919 which was looked upon with disfavor. He was jailed because of an uprising in 1923 and during the confinement wrote Mein Kampf. In this he outlined the policies of the party, its hatred of the Treaty of Versailles, the Communists and the Jews. After his release his party grew until von Hindenburg was forced to call him in and request him to take over the reins of government. His success was due to the appeal it made to the youth, its militant character and its appeal to the romantic element of its heroic phraseology. The mixture of brutality, racial pride, anti-Semitism, radicalism, and sentimentality proved very appealing to Germany.

Hitler has been more ruthless in the application of his policies in Germany than was Mussolini. In the first six months of Nazi rule 80,000 German citizens were placed in detention camps or prison because of their political views. All opposition parties were compulsorily or voluntarily dissolved. Storm troopers were vested with very special powers in defence of the existing system of government.

The fundamentals of National Socialism are those of Fascism substituting the Nation for the Race. Hitler's conception of nationality is deeply rooted

in racial and biological concepts. The question of blood is foremost in the Nationalist Socialist program. The totalitarian State they are building excludes all "non-Aryan" elements. This has resulted in a relentless and systematic persecution of the Jews. All members of the Nazi party, all civil servants and the employees of many private concerns have been requested to prepare family trees going back several generations. Hitler set about to establish all the organs of Fascism immediately after coming into power. Fascism, be it Italian or German, depends for its strength not only on the character of the dictator, nor on the military strength he can muster, but on the support of the people of the country. This support is due to the appeal Fascism has to the emotions rather than to reason. Wherever Fascism springs up it launches a violent crusade against Communism. A true story of the extremes to which repression, illegal jailing and sheer brutalities have gone in removing all opposition to Fascist establishment is not properly known. In Fascist countries private capitalism in the sense of individual ownership of factories, farms, mines, stores, etc., has not been destroyed, but it has been closely curbed and controlled.

"By no stretch of the imagination can their property be called their own. The State suggests or limits extensions of plant or new construction; it fixes most prices as well as wages; it compels companies increasing dividends to invest an equal amount in government securities; it organizes compulsory cartels; it dictates the use of domestic instead of foreign raw material.....No directors of important or even unimportant private concerns are appointed without the tacit assent of the State."*

Conditions actually existing under the regime of Fascism seem no more pleasant than those existing under Communism. In both Fascist countries the economic condition of the people has become more acute. Unemployment continues in spite of government efforts to meet it by public works programs, military enlistment and falsified statistics. Hitler's boast of putting to work 5,000,000 has not been marked by an industrial upward trend, this is virtually artificial-- including compulsory labor services at virtually no pay for youths, placing of many youths on the land with no pay except bread and board and keep, dismissals of

*("The German Revolution", by H. P owys Greenwood.)

women from industry and displacement of Jews. Wage earners received 2 billion more marks in 1931 than in 1935. The yearly consumption of food diminishes-- Germany has been on butter, eggs and meat rations since 1937. " Cost of living has risen from 15 to 20% while the average wage was reduced from 26 to 22 marks a week by taxes, insurance dues and other contributions." *

In Italy striking similarities are seen. On the one hand is seen boastful claims to road building, land reclamation, power development and other public works. But on the other hand wages are reduced to as low a level as possible while taxes are at the same time increased as high as possible. Wages have been reduced as much as 50% while the cost of living has declined only 5%.

The volume of Germany's foreign trade for 1936 was little more than 40% of 1929; Italy's for 1935, between 50 and 60% that of 1928. Insecurity at home has forced these Fascist leaders to adopt a foreign policy which holds out prospects of rich territorial conquests, Ethiopia for Italy and Austria for Germany, thus distracting people's attention from
*(Labor under Hitler, by Norman Thomas, Foreign Affairs, April, 1936.)

from actual need. These facts show that Fascism has not promoted the general welfare of its subjects.

The list of parallels in political practise between the three Totalitarian States (Russia, Italy and Germany) is long and significant. Each system of government is the rule of a single party--any attempt to organize an opposition party being repressed with severity. In recruiting membership each of the three leaders emphasizes quality rather than quantity, creating a small elite minority. Each has its "old guard" with absolute devotion to the cause and willingness to kill or be killed for it, and complete intolerance for critics and dissenters. All three dictators employ a vast system of espionage. Another common characteristic is the emergence of an infallible and omnipotent Vozná, Duce or Fuhrer, who exercises over the ruling party the same sway that the party wields over the country--dissension or criticism means death, exile or imprisonment into concentration camps. Mussolini expresses this clearly in the last commandment of Fascism: "Mussolini is always right." All three leaders depend upon the youth of the country for support. From kindergarten through school and

university, the Russian, Italian or German is taught to sing Communist, Fascist or Nazi songs, to idolize the leader as the greatest man who ever lived and to regard the social system of his country as superior to any other. Each State is in agreement that liberalism, individualism and democracy are outworn and outmoded and that humanity needs dictatorship. The Totalitarian State be it Russia, Italy or Germany is omnipotent. It can make and break laws without fears of courts or constitutions. It can imprison, exile, expropriate or execute any of its citizens without the process of law or trial. It sets itself up as the supreme arbiter between labor and capital (whether private capital as in Italy and Germany, or State Capital as in Russia) in determining wages, hours and working conditions. Trade unions have no place in the Totalitarian State since it relieves the workers of the burden of defending his own interests. The labor corporation in Italy, the Arbeitsfront in Germany, the trade unions in Russia, are all controlled and dominated by the representatives of the State and the ruling party. Each State interferes with private initiative. The Soviet Union has gone much farther than Italy or Germany, in that it has wiped out the

smallest capitalist, the kulak and the keeper of the village tea room, "the octopus state is not only the banker, manufacturer and common carrier, but also the baker, the butcher and the candlestick maker."*

Another likeness appears between Communism and National Socialism if race bias is substituted for class bias. The fate of the Jews in Germany, while not as merciless as that of the kulaks of former well-to-do peasants in Russia, is just as definite. Each has been excluded from public services, vilified by the press, had their property expropriated and refused social benefits. All three dictatorships have established vast departments of propaganda, crushed freedom of opinion and of the press and have killed democracy in their States.

However striking the similarities of their systems of government are, more important are their points of difference, for here we find their policies are diametrically opposed. While Communism is based on the economic doctrines of Karl Marx as elaborated by Lenin and Stalin, Fascism, both Italian and German, is passionately anti-Marxian. So much are his works objected to that Hitler had all his books burned. Communism stands for the complete expropriation of private ownership of the means of production; Fascism favors individual rather than State operation of most branches of economic life, but imposes

*(Collectivism, a False Utopia, by W. R. Chamberlin.)

many forms of state control and regulation. Fascism extols nationalism above everything; Communism prides itself on its internationalism. Communism combats religion; Mussolini respects Catholicity as the National faith, while Hitler has pronounced himself in favor of "positive Christianity". Communist leaders are from the rank-and-file, recruited from the proletariat; Fascists recruit their adherents from among the middle class. To the Fascist, the State is an entity in itself, commanding complete obedience from its parts, whether organizations of people or individuals; to the Communist the State is necessary only until the complete establishment of Socialism at which time it "will wither away".

From the comparisons of these two forms of dictatorships it appears that Fascism uses the same authoritarian machinery as does Communism but for different ends. Fascism has sprung into existence as a reactionary movement to prevent the spread of Communism. The creation of these two forms of State control has served as a warning to all democratic countries and has put them on their guard against the spread of these doctrines. Both systems find a following in most countries, in some more than in others. Canada and the United States have been reasonably free of them, but they are both to some extent a growing menace.

Chapter 5.

Socialism in Canada.

Socialism in all its various forms may be said to have activated all the reform measures of society in the last hundred years. Since the French Revolution, we find Socialism has become action as well as ideal. Canada, fortunately, was in the formative stage when social unrest was high in Europe.

*From the trials, errors and successes of others, the governing body of Canada drew invaluable lessons, resulting in the establishment of a form of government which makes Canada, mechanically speaking, one of the most socialistically organized countries in the world.** Many of the large utilities of Canada are, if not publicly owned, at least directly controlled by the Dominion Government. These include transportation, the banks, post office, telegraphs, radio, telephones, the sale of liquor, etc., even enterprises that are privately owned, such as the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Bell Telephone Co., are socialistically controlled insofar as their services, and rates are

*(Recovery by Control, by F. Hankin and T.W.L. MacDermot.)

regulated by the government because of the dominion-wide public interest in them. This apparent socialization of certain utilities has been necessitated because of the peculiar type of Canadian economic life. The economic scene is a land of extremes of climate, endowed with natural resources vast in quantity, rich in quality, but limited in variety, with a relatively small population settled in widely separated areas. As a result of these circumstances, large amounts of capital are required for transportation and storage equipment. This requirement of capital, vast for the size of the population, leads to a high degree of centralization and control. The handling and sale of wheat dominated by a few institutions; three or four groups control the newsprint and hydro-electric power production; the bulk of the base metals, is produced by four or five companies; six companies control 82% of iron and steel output; four control 81% of the cotton and textiles; two control 80% of meat-packing and so on down the list of Canada's industries. For this reason the Government of Canada maintains a rigid control over large industries, but does not attempt to have them publicly owned.

Spiritually considered though Canada is far from being socialistic. This is due to the highly democratic form of government; the absence of a peasant class such

as is apparent in Russia and most European countries; the existence of a large middle-class type of workers. These all tend to a degree of freedom unheard of in most of Europe. Because of the freedom enjoyed by the 11,000,000 Canadians, Canada's future seems reasonably immune to revolutionary Communism or dictatorial Fascism.

The recent depression, with its concomitant wide-spread poverty, distress and unemployment, is responsible for the appeal of these doctrines, especially among our inhabitants of foreign origin. The Communist Party of Canada was formed in February, 1922, and functions as the Canadian section of the Communist Third Internation/~~which~~ was organized in Moscow in 1919. In 1931 it took the name of "Canadian Labor Defence League" and numbered 4,000 members. By 1937 its membership had swelled to 15,000 and they have hopes of building the Party up to 25,000. The Communist Party has many affiliated leagues throughout Canada whose membership is estimated to be approximately 120,000. Chief among the affiliated leagues are the Workers' Unity League, the Farmers' Unity League and Young Communist League. In 1931 the Society of the Friends of the Soviet Union was formed. At present M. Evariste Dube is provincial president and Stanley Ryerson, provincial secretary. The headquarters of the Communist Party is in Toronto.

Tim Buck is their leader and Sam Carr, secretary. Their aim is to establish a Soviet government of workers and farmers similar to the one operating in Russia, claiming "that the Capitalist class holding power in its hands is destroying and nullifying.... democratic rights and liberties of the workers."* By means of propaganda through the press, newspapers and books, the films, study clubs, societies, etc., it spreads its doctrine. It wages war on Capitalism, by advocating the revolutionary struggle. It disagrees with the American Federation of Labor and the All Canadian Congress of Labor, whom they term as "reformists". The policy of the labor leaders being one of co-operation makes them antithetic to the Communists. These radicals refuse co-operation on the grounds that "there can be no peace or unity between the exploiter and his victims".**

The Communist Party wage was on Fascism also because they see "big capital through its hired agents trying to build fascist terrorist bands in all important cities in Canada to serve as unofficial arms of the capitalist for terrorizing and killing revolutionary workers, attacking workers' meetings and smashing strikes *(What the Communist Party Stands for, by M. J. Olgin.)

**Ibid.

and other struggles.....so, we must unite the entire working class against growing Fascism".* Their means of accomplishing this end is to strik, to picket, to resist arrest and to proceed from struggle to struggle until by means of a revolution they will crush the existing State and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communism will never come into power in Canada by constitutional means. In the last federal elections of 1935, some twelve Communists polled a total vote of about 32,000 votes out of approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ million votes polled. To the average Canadian citizen Communism and anything remotely resembling it is abhorrent. Quebec in its attempt to exterminate it passed the Padlock Act in 1937. This Act makes it illegal for anyone owning or occupying a building to use it or allow anyone to make use of it to propagate Communism or Bolshevism. Violation of the Act results in imprisonment up to three years and the closing of the building. In Montreal, a hotbed of Communism, the paper La Clarte-a "leftist" newspaper was seized, books, proofs, letters and other documents were confiscated and the premises padlocked. The rooms of the Friends of Soviet Union and Louis Kon *(What the Communist Party Stands For, by M. J. Olgin"

were also cleaned out. Mr. Duplessis has announced that he will not consider the C. I. O. Unions bona fide owing to their communistic affiliations. Mr. Hepburn has taken a similar stand.

This attack of Communism is viewed by the Communist Party as a development of Fascism in Quebec. Added to this is a second feature, namely, a strong element of French Canadian Nationalism. This nationalism is a pride of race and the necessary place it holds in the history and evolution of Canada. "The nationalism of the majority of French-Canadians is broad and tolerant, though firm and convinced. It is not anti-British, it is only pro-French-Canadian. It is useless to ask us to cease to be French-Canadians. We are well determined to remain what we are."*

The French-Canadians backed by their Catholic faith are strongly opposed to Communism and its propaganda. Mr. Gouin assures us that there is no organized Fascist group of any importance among French-Canadians. Corporatism has developed to a great extent in Quebec. This is a revival of the guilds of medieval times. The various syndicates are composed of workers in each trade or occupation, employees as well as employers, forming separate economic units which govern themselves. This

*(Leon Mercier Gouin, K. C. The French Canadians, their Past and their Aspirations.)

system has been patterned after the principles of industrial organization outlined by the papal encyclicals. This system of syndicates bears a faint resemblance to Guild Socialism which was popular in Britain before the War. The system bears little resemblance to the French Syndicalism which believed in direct action and the appropriation of the factories for the workers. This corporate organization aims to give workers the free right of expressing their demands on matters of wages and working conditions. This corporate movement in Quebec has grown until it was estimated in 1937 as comprising 48,000 members, 182 syndicates and 8 study clubs. M. Gouin in speaking of Corporatism says: "I believe that Fascist Corporatism cannot be adopted in Canada.....Corporatism (in Quebec)...is not anti-British, anti-Protestant or Anti-Jewish. It aims at promoting the social and economic interests of the French-Canadians who constitute in Quebec 79% of the population. But Corporatism can succeed only if it gives full justice to the other elements of our population."**

There has been formed recently in Montreal a Fascist Party the size and extent of which is at present impossible to gauge. The leaders of this movement are M. Adrien Arcand and Dr. Lambert, seemingly opportunists, Dr. Lambert, arraigned in court on a charge of inciting

* (L. M. Gouin, op. cit.)

to riot, appeared in Fascist "uniform"--a blue shirt with swastika armband (indicating that he was white and spoke a white language). The Judge in the case allowed him to remain in the court room but insisted that his lawyer put on his coat. The Fascist party has made tentative plans for a convention to be held in Kingston this summer where the extent and doctrines of its party will be exposed.

By far the most organized and the largest Social movement in Canada to-day is the C. C. F. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was formed in August 1932. It comprised the United Farmers of the West, representatives of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the L. S. R. The C. C. F. is Canada's version of State Socialism, a system in which controlled production for use will replace uncontrolled production for profit. This social movement was formed in Calgary to unite in a single organization all groups in Canada striving to abolish capitalism by peaceful and democratic methods. Since its foundation hundreds of C. C. F. clubs have spread throughout the Dominion. The party originated in a farmer-laborer alliance. It is the first Canadian social movement to unite large number of farmers, wage-earners and members of the salaried class. "White-collar" members have been

added to the membership since its inception. In six years this organization has made tremendous strides. It has been successful in federal, provincial and municipal life. 27 C. C. F. members were sitting in Canadian legislatures in 1937. In the last elections the Party polled nearly 400,000 votes. In B. C. it polled the largest vote of the three major parties. Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Windsor and other cities have elected C. C. F. mayors. The C. C. F. has been fighting cases of economic injustice and exploitations and defending civil liberties. It bases its philosophy on a true understanding of the nature of Capitalism.

The C. C. F. does not seek power by revolution as do the Communists, but " by building up and educating its membership, by creating public opinion favorable to its aims, by persuading votees, by winning elections."*

The major proposal of C. C. F. is the public ownership of mines, forests, power resources and all the leading industries of Canada. Banking and investments, railways, telegraph, and telephone communications, and any other industry which has reached a condition of monopoly. This socialistic form of control differs from Communism in that where it demands the forceful

*(Democracy needs Socialism, League for Social Reconstruction.)

expropriation of the capitalists, C. C. F. is willing to pay reasonable compensation to owners and shareholders when socializing an industry. This Canadian movement differs from Communism again in its defence of religious rights and opposes subjection of the individual to the needs of a dictatorial State.

The C. C. F. then follows the evolutionary form of State Socialism. It is defined as "a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a C. C. F. in which the principle regulating productions, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the profits."*

In the manifesto of C. C. F. we find a completely formulated program for the social reconstruction of Canada. The major proposals being:

1. The establishment of a planned, socialized order, to develop the national resources and to distribute the national income.

2. Socialization of all financial machinery, banking, currency, credit and insurance.

3. Socialization of transportation, communication, electric power and all other industries and services.

4. Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm, the creation of agricultural, producers' and consumers'

* (Democracy needs Socialism, League for Social Reconstruction.)

co-operatives.

5. Regulation of external and internal trade through boards.

6. A national labor code securing for the worker fair wages, sickness insurance, accident, old age and unemployment insurance, and freedom of association.

7. Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

8. Amendment of the Canadian constitution giving the Dominion government powers to cope with economic problems. The abolition of the Senate.

9. A foreign policy stressing international economic co-operation and encouraging world peace and disarmament.

10. New taxation policy directed to lessen the inequalities of income, to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry.

11. Freedom of speech and assembly for all; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent inhuman deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada.

12. Establishment of a Commission of psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers to deal with crime and punishment.

13. Assumption by the Dominion Government of direct

responsibility for dealing with the present unemployment situation, providing suitable work and maintenance.

Social Credit, as it has appeared in Alberta is an economic doctrine concerning itself with the economic structure of Alberta, attacking the banking and monetary system. Aberhart was undoubtedly voted into power in 1935 on the strength of his promise to pay twenty-five dollars a month to all adult citizens. A review of its theory of money, its view of unearned increment, the "A" plus "B" theorem of production cost, etc., is not necessary as these theories affect the economic rather than the social life of Canadians. Insofar as Social Credit shows Socialistic tendencies, these appear to resemble State Socialism, advocating co-operation of employer and employee and State control of banks, natural resources. Aberhart shows dictatorial instincts when he attempts to censor the press and curb its liberties. Social Credit is a protest without a solution. The significance of Social Credit is deeper and more important than its doctrines warrant, for many of its theories are fallacies. The success of the Social Credit party in the last elections was due to a mass movement of protest. It was the feeling of dissatisfaction with national policies, successive crop failures, high interest rates, mortgages and debt, these factors flung the people of Alberta into the arms of

Social Credit.

So far then Canadians can believe that Socialism, especially the radical branches of it, has made little progress in Canada. There will always be some to whom the revolutionary spirit of Communism will appeal, but these will never comprise an appreciable percentage of our population. Canada, realizing the seriousness of these attacks to democracy, is gradually pushing ahead out of the morass of the last depression. This has been possible because of the great mixture of individualism and social co-operation which Canadians possess.

Bibliography.

Books.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Angell, Norman | --Must Britain Travel the Moscow Road? |
| Baby, W. L. | --Souvenirs of the Past. |
| Barker, Dr. E. & others | --Christianity and Communism. |
| Barnes, B. H. | --Fascism. |
| Beer, Max | --A History of British Socialism. |
| Belloc, Hilaire | --The Crisis of Civilization. |
| | --The Servile State. |
| Bonar, J. C. | --Political Institutions of Canada. |
| Bonnycastle, Sir R. H. | --Canada. |
| Canadian Institute on
Economics & Politics | --World Currents and Canada's Course. |
| Chamberlin, W. R. | --Collectivism, a False Utopia. |
| Cole, G. D. H. | --The Guild Socialism. |
| " " & M. I. | --The Intelligent Man's Review of
Europe To-day. |
| Colton, E. T. | --X Y Z of Communism. |
| Docker, F. J. | --Douglas Fallacies. |
| Douglas, C. H. | --Social Credit. |
| Encyclopedia of Soc. Sc.,
by M. Beer | --Socialism |
| Engels, F. | --Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. |
| Ensor, R. C. K. | --Modern Socialism. |

- Fenn, Louis A. --Democracy and Revolution.
- Florinsky, M. T. --Fascism and National Socialism.
- Flint, Robt. --Socialism.
- Fyfe, Hamilton --What Communism means To-Day.
- Glazier, J. B. --The Meaning of Socialism.
- Gouin, Leo Mercier, K. C. --The French Canadians, their Past,
and their Aspirations.
- Greenwood, H. Prowys --The German Revolution.
- Griffiths, Dan --What is Socialism.
- Gurian, Waldemar --Bolshevism, Theory and Practice.
Translated By E. I. Watkin
- Hankin, F. & MacDermot, T.W.L. --Recovery by Control.
- Heaton, Herbert --The Economic Development of Canada.
- Hoover, Calvin B. --Dictators and Democracies.
- Hunter, E. E. --Socialism at Work.
- Husselein, Joseph, S. J. --The Christian Social Manifesto.
- Innis, Mary Quayle --An Economic History of Canada.
- James, C. L. R. --World Revolution 1917-1936.
- Kirkup, Thomas --An Inquiry into Socialism.
--A Primer of Socialism.
- Laski, H. J. --Communism.
- League for Social Recon-
struction. ---Democracy needs Socialism.
--Social Planning for Canada.
- LeRossignol, J. E. --What is Socialism?
- Lenin, N. --"Left Wing" Communism.

- Mannheim, Karl
translated by L.Wirth & E.Shils --Ideology and Revolution.
- Markham, S. F. --History of Socialism.
- Marx, Karl
trans.by S.Moore & E.Aveling --Das Kapital.
- Marx, Karl
trans. by N. I. Stone --Critique of Political Economy.
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. --Communist Manifesto.
- Mowat, R. B. --Revolution and Recovery.
- Murry, J. M. --The Necessity of Pacifism.
- Olgin. M. J. --What the Communist Party
,Stands for.
- Pease, E. R. --History of the Fabian Society.
- Pfeiffer, E. and others. --La Société Fabienne et le
mouvement anglais contemporain.
- Pope Leo XIII --Rerum Novarum.
- Pope Pius XI --Caritate Christi Compulsi.
--Quadragesimo Anno.
- Porritt, E. --Evolution of Dominion of Canada.
- Ridley, F. A. --At the Crossroads of History.
- Rodbertus, K. J.
trans. by Julia Franklin --Overproduction and Crises.
- Ross, E. J. --Survey of Sociology.
- Ryerson, Stanley --Birth of Canadian Democracy.
- Simikhovitch, V. G. --Marxism versus Socialism.
- Smith, G. --Canada and Canadian Question.
- Tead, Ordway --The Case for Democracy.

