

News from Canada

Rousing Swaback Meeting at Toronto Hails New International

Toronto.—The first great stride along the path towards a new Party and a new International was taken in Toronto on Tuesday, October 11th when about 700 workers gathered in the Labor Lyceum to hear comrade Arne Swaback proclaim the new turn. It was not only a large meeting but a historic one. On the platform were three comrades who embody the best traditions of the revolutionary movement in North America. With comrade Swaback were comrades Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector—three comrades who had been among the original organizers of the Communist parties in the U. S. and Canada, comrades who had been together in Moscow in 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the C. I. They had all passed through the bitter struggles against Trotskyism in the party and later had taken their places under the banner of the International Left Opposition in order to uphold the traditions and principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. On Tuesday night, the three comrades met again on the same platform, this time in a new effort—to proclaim the necessity of creating a new Communist party and a new International.

New Conditions and New Problems Comrade Swaback prefaced his talk with a few remarks concerning the all-pervasive phenomenon of change and motion. "Nothing in this world stands still," he said, "all matter is ever subject to the processes of change and motion. And so it is in the labor movement. Time creates new conditions and new situations and the working class, far from resisting such changes, must prepare itself, must arm itself with the policies and tactics suitable to each occasion." He then sketched the history of the First and Second Internationals showing how in each instance the abandonment of revolutionary principles had brought disaster to the working class, compelling the true Marxists to begin the building of a new revolutionary front.

Comrade Swaback stressed the fact that at these great historical milestones, not numbers, but political clarity was decisive. The decision to create the Third International was first propagated by only a handful of revolutionaries but so powerful were their ideas that in 1917, guided by the genius of Lenin, they were able to lead the masses to the victorious October revolution. The Communist International was built upon solid Marxist foundations and, during its first four congresses, it hammered out the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Revolutionary internationalism was its watch-word. The C. I. existed for the world proletariat and every discussion, whether it was on the internal life of the Soviet Union or the revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, was based upon that concept. Under Lenin and Trotsky, the C. I. was indeed the organizer of the world revolution.

The Work of the Stalin Clique

"But now," said comrade Swaback, "that is no longer true. The past ten years have witnessed the growth in the Soviet Union of a bureaucratic clique under the leadership of Josef Stalin, a clique which has stamped out every vestige of party democracy, which has turned the party into the lifeless and passive instrument of the top

leaders. Marx and Leninism have been replaced by the necessity of building up the personal prestige of Stalin. Revolutionary internationalism has been replaced by the pernicious theory of socialism in one country. In the face of world shaking events, the Com-

Anti-Fascist United Front in Montreal

Montreal.—A few weeks ago a series of attacks of the fascists upon workers' organizations aroused the working class of Montreal to a high pitch of excitement and alarm. Following upon an attack against a synagogue a most unique committee was formed for defense against Fascism. On the one side of the table and on the other side there sat... Reichel, a leader of the Revisionist Zionists, the Jewish fascists. (These Revisionists in caustic and organized in strike-breaking bands, carrying on a terrorism against the Jewish labour movement quite after the fashion of the Nazis).

The writer had the pleasure of being present at the touching scene that took place. Comrade Reichel (so Baker and Rose addressed him) conferred with "com." Baker. ("Mr. Trotsky you see—but com. Reichel). Far be it from us to hide the fact Reichel was against organizing an Anti-Fascist Conference in principle—his heart was set on Jewish self-defence corps. This United Front with the Jewish Fascists against Fascism was shattered on the rocks of the principled intransigence... of the Revisionists.

Even before the beginning of the burlesque just recounted the Montreal branch of the Left Opposition had proceeded with the formation of a provisional committee for the calling of a working-class united front against Fascism. When we learned that the Verdun Workers' Association had already issued an appeal for a United Front we exerted our influence to bring workers' organizations to it. Even before the first meeting of the latter our comrades visited trade unions and obtained their support for the Anti-Fascist United Front.

At the same time we issued a leaflet in English and in French addressed to the delegates of the conference outlining our proposals for the program and basis of the Conference. We stressed the necessity of forming a proletarian United Front and not one with the Jewish bourgeoisie or fascists, the issue of broadening it out to include all workers' organizations, the freedom of criticism, the organization of city wide centralized defence corps to defend all workers' meetings, the organization of mass meetings and mass demonstrations in order to draw in the whole working-class organized and unorganized and weld it into one mighty front against Fascism, the issuing of elementary literature in French to clarify the backward workers in the Chalfout organizations on the true nature of Fascism.

intern offers the proletariat not a word of guidance, it remains criminally silent. Of the Communist International that was formed under Lenin and Trotsky, nothing remains today but a hollow shell."

"For ten years," said comrade Swaback, "the Left Opposition has existed as a faction of the C. I., hoping to reform the Comintern, striving to bring it back to Leninism. Through our efforts have not been without effect, the Stalinized Comintern has gone from bad to worse, has been responsible for one international defeat after another. You will ask, 'Why did we not proclaim the new international long ago?' Before that could be done, events themselves had to prove to the workers that the Comintern was bankrupt. These events have taken place, events that may be indicated by a single word—Germany, Fascism."

Comrade Swaback then described the tragic defeat of the German working class, the causes of the defeat—the treacherous role of the Social Democracy, the failure and refusal of the C. P. G. to rally the workers in a united front against Fascism, the absence of revolutionary leadership from the reformists, "We do not expect revolutionary leadership from the reformists," said Arne Swaback, "but we expect it and have the right to demand it of the Communist Party. And that is why we lay the chief responsibility for the German defeat at its door. Stalinism is dead, the Comintern does not exist. A new International must be built to lead the workers of the world to emancipation."

Comrade Swaback was careful to point out that we are not proclaiming the new International now. We are merely urging the necessity of creating it. For the immediate future, the Left Opposition is inviting Left wing groups to engage in an open discussion of programs and perspectives. The Left Opposition, standing on the shoulders of Marx, Engels and Lenin appears before the world proletariat with a program of revolutionary internationalism, a program which looks toward the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship on a world scale as the necessary transitional step to socialism.

Speech of MacDonald, comrade MacDonald and Spector addressed the large gathering. Comrade MacDonald, speaking with the dignity of a tried revolutionary, polemically against the Stalinist abandonment of Marxism, against the exile of Trotsky and Rakovsky national socialism of Stalin, Comintern and against the reactionary national socialism of Saitan. Let us not forget, he said, that not one of those who signed the call to the first congress of the C. I. is in a leading position in the Comintern today. Lenin and Platten are dead, Trotsky is in exile, Rakovsky (as far as we know) is in Siberia and Zinoviev, after several disgraceful capitulations, now licks the heels of Stalin. Let us not forget the German defeat of 1933, let us not forget the disgraceful role of the Stalinist regime in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee in 1926, let us not forget the tragic blunder of Stalinism in the Chinese revolution, let us not forget the overwhelming defeat of the German proletariat in 1933, and let us not forget, that despite everything that has happened in the past five years, there has not been a congress of the Comintern since 1928. These are facts that have burned a deep impression in the minds of the working class, these are facts we cannot forget."

Comrade Spector then took the floor. If there had been any doubts up to that moment, they now vanished into thin air. In that short space of 15 minutes, comrade Spector, putting forth a great agitational effort, recalled the highlights of the earlier speeches, branded Stalinism the greatest international organizer of defeats, excoriated Stalinism for its failure to create an organized resistance against Fascism in Germany and hailed the new turn as the rebirth of the revolutionary working class movement. "If the Stalinist bureaucracy has been able to learn nothing from the German events, it is capable of learning nothing."

In Canada, faced with a growing social democratic movement, the C. P. F., the Stalinists were politically impotent. "But we will go forward to the creation of a new Party. The workers will learn who are the slanderers and who are their true leaders. MacDonald and Spector are the same revolutionaries who helped to create the C. P. of Canada almost 15 years ago. We have revised nothing, we have changed nothing. It is the Stalinists who have revised Marx and Lenin, it is they who have moved away from the path of revolutionary Marxism. We appeal to every honest worker, to every honest rank and file among the Stalinists to consider carefully the message we have delivered tonight, to join with us in the creation of a revolutionary party, that when the revolutionary crisis arrives, in Canada we'll be able to rally the majority of the working class on the side of the proletarian revolution."

Activities of the 'Frisco Port Workers

San Francisco.—For 14 years the San Francisco Longshoremen have been dominated by a company union of the most open form under which the rank and file have had no voice in the formation of wage and working agreements. Our conditions in all these years have continually grown worse. Wage cuts were imposed and larger tasks were added to our life, until we are worked into complete exhaustion in performing our daily work. Even those working rules formed by the shipowners and stevedore companies were never lived up to when the interest of those companies were involved. So that the longshoremen were the only ones to lose at all times. Any member attempting to voice a protest against any of these injustices was thrown out of his job. Hence, as in other parts of the country, there was a large percentage of unemployed; the union officials used this as a club over our heads with great success.

This situation was finally sized up by the Communist Party a year or so ago, and they attempted with their best forces to organize the waterfront workers. The first appearance of these so-called labor organizers was the attempt to sell the Western Worker, the writer of this article, having always owned a very keen interest in labor organizations, watched every move, hoping, against his better judgment, for a success. The Western Worker did not appeal to the waterfront workers and very few copies were sold.

The second attempt was made with street speakers. In course of time we had several of those speakers appearing early in the mornings. But to my total disappointment none of those speakers was familiar with our miserable conditions; not one of them could speak the language of a longshoreman. Most of these speakers, perhaps in a side line, mentioned the company union and its destruction of the workers' life. The main subject always drifted toward China, Soviet Russia or such other distant subjects. Participation in these meetings was very scant at all times, and no progress whatsoever was made toward organization.

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Revolt Against Stalinism in California Party

A revolt in the ranks of the Stalinist party in Oakland has been signaled by the expulsion of comrade Stanley D. Laycock and the statement protesting against his expulsion by six additional party members. The revolt against the strangulating bureaucracy and stupid policies of the party bosses has a positive side shown in the fact that two new branches of the Communist League have been formed recently in the bay section.

The statements of the expelled comrades follow: **STATEMENT OF A. ROBBINS** To All Party Members In District 13 Dear Comrades: Disregarding the questions which I have asked, and neglecting to reply to the views I have expressed pertaining to the developments in the Communist International and in the world situation, comrade Lambert, section organizer, demanded from me a categorical repudiation of these utterances by demanding a statement of allegiance to the C. I. or else the forfeiture of my right to membership in the Communist Party. Such a procedure is a flagrant violation of Bolshevik-Leninist democratic centralism and stifles all criticism, which is indispensable to the existence and growth of a Communist Party. By not allowing me to attend my unit meeting and depriving me of all rights as a party member, the bureaucrats are trying to conceal my actual expulsion from the party. Not a word has been expressed or written by the party regarding my status and now I ask, "Why this silence?"

The following reasons which I have expressed explain my secret expulsion from the party: 1. I opposed the expulsion of the best, true, tried and sincere proletarian elements in the party and condemn their framed-up expulsion on false charges. 2. Comrade Gordon was sent to Monterey as section organizer when his disruptive work in Oakland had discredited him there in the eyes of the membership and this did not warrant his continuance in the role of a functionary in the party. 3. That at the convention of district No. 13, held June 1932, false reports were made of the work in the East Bay area. 4. The absurd charges printed in the "Western Worker" in which it is stated that I reported comrade Laycock was negotiating for some machine guns is absolutely false and I wish to be faced with any proof to substantiate this abominable lie. 5. The open letter of the Central Committee of the party pointed out our failure to hold the masses yet it failed to show that the reason for it was the wrong policy which the party is following and its deviation from the correct Bolshevik-Leninist line. 6. The party has never explained to the membership the false policy of the C. I. in China, England, Germany, etc. The party dis-

signed: ANNA ROBBINS, Member of the Unit 1, District No. 13

STATEMENT OF SIX COMRADES To All Party Members In District No. 13 Dear Comrades: For quite awhile the sincere comrades in this district have been dissatisfied with the conditions in the party; the turnover in the membership, stifling of all criticism, bureaucratic control indicated that something was fundamentally wrong. The calamity of the German defeat only strengthened our convictions and when the party failed to discuss this catastrophe we were sure that some action was necessary. Comrade Laycock's expulsion from the party on false charges convinced us that it was no longer possible to remain quiet. His statement demanding a discussion of the German situation, the right of members to express themselves, etc., met with our approval. Upon further investigation on our part into the international developments which formerly remained confused, that comrade Laycock's devotion and loyalty to the principles of Marxist-Leninist activity cannot be questioned is evidenced by his activity in the past and present. We were opposed to his expulsion. We are eager to continue reading all literature of the Left Opposition, to study the mistakes in China, England, Germany, etc. We support wholeheartedly the building of a real revolutionary party and the establishment of a new international as the only means of protecting the Russian revolution and overthrowing international capitalism.

Down with the bureaucracy! Signed: A. STONE, C. M. HESSER, EVERETT E. WILSON, CHRIS G. JOHNSTON, ANNA ROBBINS, E. W. HESSER

and attempts to explain these things to the crowd one morning on the waterfront. A number of workers told the speakers to get out, and stay out, at least until we, the longshoremen, have had the opportunity to organize and destroy the company union. Stalinists in a Predicament A few days later a leaflet appears on the waterfront urging longshoremen to attend a mass meeting to be held in Eagles Hall to discuss and form a real longshoremen's union. I did not have an opportunity to attend this meeting but had reliable information that about 200 attended this meeting, including party members who were not longshoremen. I urged several longshoremen to attend this meeting, hoping to have at this mass meeting a large audience. A little while later the A. F. of L. had its first meeting with about 1500 to 2000 participating. Now we find the C. P. in a real predicament. This paper, the **Waterfront Worker** could not appear, because in order to be true to the T. U. L. program, they could not write any organization articles without attacking the A. F. of L. union as well as the company union.

Left Wing in the A. F. of L. Union We formed a Left wing in this newly organized union. Only a few C. P. members and sympathizers were actual longshoremen. Therefore our slate of candidates for office was composed of mixed elements who to our estimation were the most progressive of those available. The reactionaries had their own slate. We had a hard struggle. Just before the election of officials in the union, the C. P. had an idea to publish the **Waterfront Worker** again. And if this paper had appeared, they would be obliged—to carry out the Party policy—to attack both the Right and Left wing candidates. Therefore they thought it best not to publish it. The rank and file carried all our by laws, and most of the executive board members were elected. I am feeling sorry for those young honest C. P. comrades who ground already for organizing the waterfront workers for several months, these A. F. of L. men are stealing the show away from us. We must act at once in order to convince the workers that this same A. F. of L. is a fake labor organization. And that the MWIU is the only revolutionary union that knows how to organize and conduct a real workers' organization. A Communist speaker appears

signed: STANLEY D. LAYCOCK.

New York School Starts Off with a Bang The first two sessions of classes conducted by the International Workers School opened Monday with an excellent attendance for both of them. The first lecture of the course on "The Fundamentals of Marxism", by John Wright, was attended by 23 students, 28 having registered. The introductory lecture dealt with Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. The next lecture will be given on Monday, October 23, with "The Marxian Analysis of a Commodity" as the theme. The first lecture of the course on "The State and Revolution" given by Jack Weber was equally successful. About thirty comrades were present. The first lecture dealt with Primitive Society. There were questions and discussion. The second lecture which was held Monday, October 23rd at 8 P. M. sharp dealt with the Origin of the State and the First Slave States. Readers are advised that registration for these two classes, as well as for the two which are given on Wednesday (Organization of the Party by Marx and Applied Marxian Economics by Field), is still open. Registrants should see the course secretary before 8:30 P. M. either Monday or Wednesday, according to the class desired. Literature for each course can be obtained at any time of the day from the local office, 126 East 16th Street. Classes begin on time!

STATEMENT OF S. D. LAYCOCK To All Party Members In District No. 13 Dear Comrades: In the "Western Worker" there appeared a statement of the disciplinary committee which contained the news of my expulsion along with that of several other comrades. The others mentioned, who

been expelled had no connection with my case. For the purpose of throwing sand in the eyes of the party members and creating general confusion that article was published. One of the several slanders in this article requiring an answer is the allegation of my having been secretly negotiating to obtain machine guns some time ago. Were it not for the seriousness of such a charge, tending as it does to invite police persecution, it would be unworthy of recognition. However, since this was supposed to have occurred during the time when I was still in the party, why wasn't this brought up against me before now? Comrade Anna Robbins not only denies ever having made such a report but demands proof from the party to back up this piece of "provocateur exposure"! I also demand proof! This article in the "Western Worker" is the only reply that the party can make to the growing number of expulsions of comrades who are demanding a discussion of the German situation, the trade union line, a change in the right union line, a removal of all bureaucrats in the party. The growth of the Left Opposition in the East Bay area is making the party bureaucrats panic. We can expect in the future similar personal attacks on our comrades as this is the party's method of meeting political arguments. Signed: STANLEY D. LAYCOCK.

Open Letter to the Joe Derry Defense Committee

Montreal.— Joe Derry was arrested while addressing an anti-war meeting and charged with being a member of an allegedly unlawful organization, the Young Communist League of Canada in violation of Section 98 of the Criminal Code. This infamous anti-labor law has already been used in order to bring eight Communist leaders in the Kingston penitentiary for a total of 37 years, and to declare the Communist Party illegal in Ontario and semi-legal in the rest of Canada. If Joe Derry is convicted the Y. C. L. will automatically find itself in the same position as the Communist Party. That section 98 will be extended to include other workers' organizations all over the country is more than probable. Section 98 was put on the statute books of Canada for the immediate purpose of legalizing the crushing of the Winnipeg general strike of 1919. It constitutes a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class to keep the whole working class in subjection. Only a broad and powerful united front movement of the organizations of the working class, particularly youth organizations, irrespective of their affiliation and views, can free Joe Derry. This achievement would be a step towards the abolition of Section 98 and towards an unprecedented struggle for the definite guaranteeing of free speech, assembly and organization to the working class. An effective common struggle can be set in motion only by a democratic and centralized conference of the representatives of workers organizations. The method adopted, however, of merely setting up committees in various organizations, while postponing the calling of a conference to the remote and indefinite future, constitutes a retreat from the course of a centralized united front. The effectiveness of a united front, the thoroughness of its execution, consists precisely in the fact that workers of different affiliations

fight together for a common aim. Actually, moreover, the committees are being established, if at all, only in Left wing organizations—an inevitable result of the whole course pursued. Instead of a united front the campaigning of the Left wing organizations, which would in any case take place, is being conducted under the label of setting up committees. This is but an expression of sectarianism, and unwarranted pessimism in the possibility of mobilizing the workers' organizations by means of a democratic and all-sided conference. No matter how strenuously the course adopted is pursued as a "preparatory" course to the creation of a broad united front movement, the desired end cannot be attained. The preparatory work must be carried on precisely with the perspective in mind of a date immediately fixed for the convening of a representative conference. As it is, however, the old "united front from below", i. e., no united front at all, is being revived with the addition of the ornament of committees in the Left wing organizations. United front conferences have been failures in the last year because, for one thing, abstract slogans were put forward, not fitting in with a concrete situation. The very campaign on the Joe Derry case has up to now not centered around the question of freedom of organization and the abolition of Section 98. Due to the pressure of our delegates the committee eliminated the tendency to make the issue a struggle against war. No one would think of calling a united front for the overthrow of capitalism because someone has been arrested for advocating this overthrow. A correct program of action is necessary for every particular united front. Such a program, however, without the means of carrying it through—a representative conference—is meaningless. United front conferences have

been wrecked by the putting forward of ultimatums to reformist organizations, condemning reformism as a political method and even dubbing it "social fascism". The united front for the defense of Joe Derry demands agreement on only one concrete issue. Each organization maintains its independence and its freedom of criticism. The mistakes of the past are no justification for a return to the "united front from below". They rather point to the necessity of a correct united front policy today. The Left Opposition and Spartacus Youth Club refuse to share the responsibility for this false prospect of a powerful movement. In the interests of the struggle for freedom of organization for the working class we uphold the banner of the Leninist united front. There is a sentiment afoot in Stalinist circles that since Joe Derry is about to be sentenced, it is too late to initiate a broad united front movement in his defense. Joe Derry has already been in jail for some time, but section 98 is still on the statute books of Canada, a useful weapon in the hands of the ruling class against the workers' struggle. The leaders of the Canadian Labor Defense League considered it too late to set on foot a united front for the release of the five charged with sedition in Montreal precisely because the five had already been sentenced. The Joe Derry case must not suffer the same fate. The Joe Derry Committee must declare itself a Provisional Committee and transfer its powers to a duly convened united front conference of all workers' organizations for the defense of Joe Derry: To make such a united front a success we are ready to do our utmost. —MONTREAL BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB OF MONTREAL