

REVIEWING THE NEWS

STALINISM ON PARADE

Some Lighter Touches of the Chicago "Anti-War" Congress
Chicago, Oct. 3.—The Stalinists running this spectacle tell us that there are more than 3,300 delegates at the 2nd Congress of the League Against War and Fascism. Chairman Harry F. Ward adds this bit of data: "We have here a mass of representatives in a personal capacity." That is, a mass of delegates representing themselves. Then why did they stop at 3,300? There are at least several hundred Chicago members of the I.L.D. quite capable of representing themselves. Why weren't they here as delegates? Why are things being done so half-heartedly? Isn't this a serious business? It's a shame.

Chairman Ward gives high praise to the editor of *Flight*, the League's official organ. Credit, he announces, "we must place on the brilliant shoulders of Joe Pass." We always knew Joe's head was muscular, but this is the first time we heard that his shoulders were brilliant. Now all is explained.

Some Socialists attending this fiesta have signed a statement in favor of the "united front." Somebody here told me there were fifty of them. But I see by yesterday's *Daily Worker* (page 1) that there are 49, and by the same holy writ (page 6) that there are 41. Oh well, what the hell.

In any case it's a grand turnout. There are Methodists, Republicans, Victor Berger's relict, vegetarians, Quakers, the 57 varieties of Stalinist "front" organizations wearing different color beads, and Roger Baldwin (representing himself, as usual). Nevertheless, it is officially announced, last year's "principal weakness," the absence of organized trade union support, "continued to constitute the chief weakness" of the Congress and the League.

Well, if that's all that's wrong...

As a matter of fact, this little deficiency is going to be solved right smart. Somebody has discovered "a feasible and simple" scheme for getting into the A. F. of L., not to speak of "other important trade union bodies (the T.U.U.L. maybe). Here it is, as summed up by Joe North, the *Daily Worker's* Special Correspondent on this lot:

"The League is printing hundreds of thousands—millions if necessary—of questionnaires for reference to union locals and for distribution in the shops. This questionnaire asks quite simply whether the group or the individual would join in a national protest in the event of impending war? Of impending Fascism? Of those engaged in the transport of manufacture of war materials it asks whether they or their union would register disapproval of impending war by refusal to continue to work."

Now we know why Hitler came to power! The German C. P. omitted this questionnaire. True, there were 5,000,000 C. P. voters, and 8,000,000 S. P. voters, and an enormous union movement. But they had not taken the pledge, so when Hitler grabbed for power, they did nothing.

Here the Stalinists ("League Against War and Fascism," if you please) can't get into the unions; the C. P. and the S. P. have only about 50,000 members between them. But everybody is going to take the pledge. And take it from Chairman Harry F. Ward ("The Fighting Non-Political Parson"), when you take the pledge, that means business.

Two to one this pledge business was just tossed off Parson Ward's own brilliant left shoulder.

Everybody here is telling me that it is "highly significant" that Louis Perrigaud, editor of *Le Populaire*, official organ of the French S. P. (Section of the Second International, by the way), is participating in this masquerade. But I can't find out what the devil it is significant of.

I started to ask one Stalinist socialist whether it signified that the honest rank-and-file editors of the official organ of the French S. P. were not Social Fascists any longer, but he ran away, leaving me in the middle of the sentence.

I guess it's just significant, that's all. Well, that's something, anyway. Most of this parade is just "sound and fury, signifying nothing."

I wonder whether I will ever get the floor or whether this variety show is only going to have trained seal and tight-rope acts? Greetings.
—A Left Social-Fascist Rank and File Renegade Dishonest Worker

CLASSES

Announcing the opening of classes of the International Workers School on Monday, October 15, 1934.

Registration now going on for classes on ABC of Communism, economics, State and Revolution and Principles and History of the Left Opposition. All students are urged to register early at 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Young Socialists Give Young Stalinists an A.B.C. Lesson on the United Front

MARCH OF EVENTS

(Ed. Note: We publish below a document of historical importance on the question of the United Front. It is the reply of the Young Peoples Socialist League of New York City to the demand of the Young Communist League (Stalinists) that the "Trotskyites and Lovestonites" be excluded from the united front demonstration against the Italian fascist student manifestation scheduled for the Yankee Stadium on October 12. The reply of the Y.P.S.L. is being widely distributed in mimeographed form to the rank and file of the young Stalinists at Y.C.L. and C.P. meetings. Thus the Yipsels have not only taken the weapon of the united front out of the hands of the Stalinists but are also carrying the propaganda offensive into their ranks. Incidentally, the Yipsels' flat rejection of the demand to exclude the "counter-revolutionary renegades" from the united front forebodes a strong opposition in the Socialist party to such a demand in the event of a united front between the S. P. and the C. P. We do not agree with everything that is said in the Y.P.S.L. letter but we publish it in full for the information of our readers.)

The Y.P.S.L. Letter

September 28, 1934
New York City Committee
Young Communist League
35 East 12th St.
N. Y. C.

Dear Comrades:

The Young People's Socialist League has always looked forward to the time when the working class, now unhappily divided, would march forward to the attack on capitalism and reaction in unified ranks. Realizing that basic differences in tactics and philosophy existed, we have felt that at least a united front on certain questions could be carried through. The united front agreements between Socialists and Communists by various sections of the Labor and Socialist International and actually effected in France and Belgium led us to the hope that similar efforts in the United States between the Y.P.S.L. and other working class groups might also prove fruitful. We therefore invited your organization and several others to confer with us on Thursday, September 26, for the purpose of demonstrating against the Italian fascist student manifestation scheduled for the Yankee Stadium on October 12. We are disappointed by your reply.

In your letter of September 25th, you state your reasons for refusing to enter our proposed united front. The summary of your argument is that you would rather prevent a united front than sit at a united front meeting with Trotskyites and Lovestonites. The Y.P.S.L. disagrees entirely with your attitude on this question.

For all our differences with them, we look upon the Trotskyite and Lovestonite, as well as the Stalinite, Communist groups as working class organizations. They are such in aim and class orientation. To exclude the Trotskyites and Lovestonites from this demonstration would be to raise these

very sectarian barriers which stand in the way of a true united front.

The Y.P.S.L. does not imply that all working class organizations, at all times, at all places, in all circumstances, must be included in every united front. Certain organizations may be so entirely without influence as to make it unnecessary to include them. But such is not the case in this instance. The question before us is not whether it is wise to include an organization because of the numerical advantages it may offer to the demonstration, but whether we should EXCLUDE A WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL ATTITUDE. According to your letter the Y.C.L. insists upon the exclusion of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, not on tactical premises but as a MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. We maintain that it would be nothing less than sectarian opportunism if the Y.C.L. were to make a broad united front impossible for the reasons you have advanced.

The arguments which you raise to exclude the two groups might just as easily be used to exclude us. In fact, the very language you use to characterize them has been and is being addressed by you even at the present time to us. You maintain in your letter that the Trotskyites and the Lovestonites are "the worst enemies of the working class." Have you not on many occasions said the same of us? In the Y.C.L. Builder of March-April 1933, in your official organ, you label us as "the worst enemies in the ranks of working youth." We are not interested in contesting any other organization's right to this dubious distinction; yet logic impels us to ask, are we both the "worst enemies?"

You go further and maintain in your letter that it is their sole aim and purpose to "slander the Soviet Union." This too has a familiar ring. Are we now to imply from this that the Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Party do not "slander the Soviet Union"? We are gratified that we have at last convinced you.

You say that these "renegades" are intent upon carrying out "a violent struggle against the Communist Party." But do you not also accuse the International Socialist movement of fomenting and supporting armed intervention against the Soviet Union, a policy which certainly would constitute a "violent struggle against the Communist Party." Or do you now imply that you no longer believe that we Socialists are guilty of this crime? Again we are glad to learn of your conversion.

Finally, you accuse the Trotskyites of being "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." This charge is hardly worse than the one you level at us frequently, namely, that we are fascists. Surely the quotation from Stalin which you cite concerning the Trotskyites is not harsher than his statement that "Fascism and Social-Democracy are not antipodes, they are twins." Or—do you believe that we are not the twins of Fascism?

All these charges, right down to the very wording, have been also leveled against us by your movement. In the Thesis of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., under the heading, "Social Democracy in Support of Imperialism," we are charged with giving "service to international capital against the U. S.S.R. and of trying to 'ensure that the main blow will be directed at the Communist International'." Under the heading, "The Revolutionary Crisis and Counter-Revolutionary Social Democracy," we are referred to as "a powerful counter-revolutionary force." There are any number of such statements that we could recall to you, but we assume that you are as familiar with your own literature as we. However, we cannot refrain from pointing out the fact that even today's *Daily Worker* (September 28, 1934) carries an article by Alex Bittelman with the heading: "Why a United Front with Social Fascists? . . . Workers are honest but deceived by Leaders' Social Fascism." Why does the Y.C.L. overlook these charges against us, but raise them as obstacles against other groups in the united front we have proposed?

We raise these questions not for the purpose of opening old sores but to determine how serious or how frivolous is your objection to the united front offer we have made. You have rejected our proposal—temporarily, we hope—on the ground that you cannot tolerate the presence of certain working class youth organizations with which you disagree. Since you hold the same disagreements toward us and bring the same charges against our movement, we cannot take your objections seriously. If the Y.C.L. can overlook their accusations against us, why not against these others? Only one explanation is possible: your complaints are not made in good faith.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that we have observed the Y.C.L. on previous occasions in united fronts that did include these other groups. You tell us that we are placing obstacles in the way of a successful united front by making the united front broad enough to include the various political tendencies with which radical youth is familiar today. To shut the door to them would be to affirm the very sectarianism which we hope by our united front to destroy. You insist that we are placing obstacles in the way of united action by including these organizations which you describe as insignificant. If they are indeed as you describe them, you are admitting that you reject the united front because of obstacles that are insignificant, that you are willing to let small things stand in the way of unity.

We had frankly not expected such a state of mind on your part. When we sent out our letter inviting you and these other organizations to confer with us in order to achieve this united front, we hardly suspected that you would in any way whatsoever object to the presence of the Lovestonites and the Trotskyites. You must surely realize

that this is the FIRST TIME in the history of our united front negotiations that you have ever raised this "obstacle"—though negotiations have been frequent between us. You sat with us, for example, in a committee for the arrangement of a united front for May 30th together with the Trotskyites and Lovestonites. You did not raise their presence then as an "obstacle," but insisted at that time that all organizations join under the banner of the National Youth Day committee to celebrate a distinctly Communist holiday.

You did not think at that time that common action between such organizations was impossible. In the American Youth Congress, your representatives co-operated with the group which included Trotskyites and Lovestonites. We could not therefore visualize that you would raise such objections on this occasion. Your decision comes to us as a complete surprise.

You imply that we should have known that you would not treat with these "renegades" from the general attitude of the Communist International towards them. Surely, you do not seriously offer this argument. You call them "counter-revolutionary" and you call us "counter-revolutionary." If we are supposed to conclude from your hostile attitude toward them, that you cannot sincerely join with them in anti-Fascist struggle, we would be forced to conclude, on the same premises, that you do not really want to enter into a united front with us.

As a matter of fact, a study of your own literature will reveal that the Y.C.L. does not consider it beyond its principles to enter into united front activity with organizations of the clearest anti-working class character. The Ninth Plenum of your own Communist Youth International calls upon you to "struggle for the masses of the toiling youth who are in Socialist Youth, reformist, fascist, syndicalist, church, militarist and other organizations, drawing the members of these organizations into the class struggle on the basis of the united front from below." Certainly, if your organization can find it in its heart to enter a united front with fascist youth groups you should be able at least to tolerate the presence of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites. After the many indiscriminate, and rather promiscuous, united fronts your organization has been advising and participating in, like that with Father Divine, the religious quack, your present strictures against the "renegade" Communists come as a surprise.

It comes not only as a surprise but as a disappointment. As you know, the united front has in the past been left unrealized because of a mutual suspicion on the part of our organizations as to each other's sincerity. Recent events, especially in Europe, seemed to be the dawning of a new era. Of particular effect in awakening the hope for unity was the pact concluded by our comrades and your comrades, together with the Trotskyites of Belgium. We hastened to follow their example. Much to our

dismay and disappointment we were informed on meeting with your representative, John Little, that the Belgium pact, which had brought together tens of thousands of radical youth in that country, was a serious "mistake" which was already "repudiated" by the Communist International and the Young Communist League of Belgium.

Certainly you cannot accuse us of raising the issue of Trotskyism and Lovestonism just to create obstacles. In Belgium it proved no obstacle, until—the Young Communists, after the pact had been concluded and signed, decided to break the united front. Our crime, if any, is that we want a united front which will not exclude other radical youth organizations BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL IDEAS, BUT WILL INCLUDE ALL IN SPITE OF THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES.

We are certain that you will see that the reasons you offer against coming into this broad united front are entirely specious. The chief argument, that your former comrades are "counter-revolutionary" would apply, according to you, with equal weight to us. Yet in our case it is no obstacle although you make one in their case.

You will also understand that if we are to accept your proposal to exclude the Trotskyites at present we could only do it on one ground: namely, that we accept your characterization of the Trotskyites and Lovestonites and omit them from the joint action which we plan for October 12th. We must, however, refuse to act as your tools in the sectarian war that you are waging with other Communist factions.

If your argument would be that these former comrades of yours are renegades who are at present outside the ranks of the Comintern and are therefore especially despicable, may we point out that your organization is, by the same token, a "renegade" party from the Socialist International.

In the interests of unity, however, we feel it possible to forget these political differences and to leave old wounds untouched. It is hardly too much to urge you to abandon your present illogical and inconsistent position. We urge you not to make the animosities and rivalries between working-class organizations a "principle" question which stands in the way of united front. No matter what differences exist between us and the organizations we have invited, we are convinced that they are all opposed to fascism. On that we agree. Why should we not all unite on this occasion to demonstrate against the Italian Fascist manifestation to be held on October 12th. We want unity of action regardless of our momentary disagreements and, therefore, have determined to forget those differences. We sincerely hope that you will be able to do likewise, smash the gates of sectarian division, join us on the road to working class unity.

Fraternally yours,
N. Y. City Executive Committee
Young Peoples Socialist League
BEN FISHER,
Executive Secretary

Doumergue Prepares the Next Stage

Doumergue is preparing the next stage in the laying of the road to fascism in France. Just as Hitler worked under the forms of legality until these could be cast aside as of no further use, so Doumergue proposes in the present situation to cloak his designs under the Constitution. To achieve his real aim of destroying the parliamentary system and bourgeois democracy, he intends first to weaken and discredit this system sufficiently from within so that the forces of fascism that are meantime arming and drilling with the direct connivance of the army generals, will have their later tasks facilitated and their road made smoother. As the new sessions of parliament begin, Doumergue is attempting to force through certain "reforms" of the Constitution which would give greater power to the President (a figurehead under the control of the reactionaries) and to himself as Premier. Entire control of the budget is to be taken over by the cabinet. The right to dissolve the house of deputies is to be given to the premier, who would naturally become the sole authority in the period intervening between dissolution and the following elections—if any. Although the parliamentary struggle against these fascist reforms will be an indication of political forces and where they stand, yet the question has become one that can no longer be solved in this arena. Events in France are heading at tremendous speed towards an armed struggle between the working class and the fascists.

Palestine and the British Empire

Palestine is becoming increasingly important to the British Empire as a military outpost for the control of British communications with the Eastern and Near Eastern Empire. "Angur," journalist for British imperialism, revealed with the utmost clarity recently, the role to be assigned to the Jews in Palestine in this connection. The Jews have an "unprecedented opportunity" to make themselves "important" to English imperialism; they have their chance to make good their position in this Empire. King Fund of Egypt has gone over finally to the anti-British Waft Party of Egyptian nationalists, says Angur. Egypt thus becomes an uncertain quantity in case of war. Egypt can no longer be relied upon for controlling communications through the Suez Canal. Palestine assumes more and more the role of military outpost and trade distribution center. Even more important: the route to India has been shortened by the airline across the Arabian Desert as well as by the railroad built across the Gulf. Palestine thus becomes a center for the British air forces. For safety and protection, however, Great Britain needs a friendly population in control of Palestine. The Arabs are too much entangled with the neighboring countries and are naturally hostile to the country that enslaves them. Hence the strategic value of the Jews. "It is for the Jews to see that by the weight of their national unity, and by their enterprise and industry, they remain in an increasing degree the dominating factor in the physical and economic consolidation of the British mandate in Palestine." Britain needs Jewish support. It is the business of the Jewish "leaders" to "identify themselves with the Empire and to oblige all those whom this may concern to accept the obvious fact."

The Jews must by all means reject this reactionary role. There is only one course for them: to throw in their lot with the oppressed, to act at once, without delay, to unite forces with the workers and poor peasants of Arabia and the Near East for the purpose of overthrowing both British imperialism and the native exploiters, including their own treacherous Jewish bourgeoisie.

—JACK WEBER.

Trade unionism, were curbing capitalism, that crises were growing fewer, that war was unprofitable, have been proved false at every turn. Their reformism has helped brew the catastrophe of world war, of more devastating economic crises, of fascism. The capitalist class refuses to be dispossessed by the formality of the ballot—it resorts to force. The workers cannot afford to be lulled by constitutional illusions. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Communism is the road to freedom in the true sense, freedom from blind dependence on the forces of nature and the market, freedom which is the conscious and willed direction of human destiny. The Workers' Party declares that the only way to end the misery of capitalist peace and the butchery of imperialist war is by the Revolution in Permanence. Workers of the World, Unite!

—Provisional National Committee
Workers' Party of Canada

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Manifesto of the Workers Party of Canada

(Continued from last issue)

At this momentous time, the Workers' Party, based on the needs and struggles of the working class, guided by the scientific principles of Marxism and the strategy of Leninism (first four Congresses of the Comintern and subsequent development of the International Left Opposition) organizes for leadership of the class in the struggle to realize its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' State.

The party of social reformism, the C.C.F., definitely constitutional, parliamentary and anti-revolutionary, is in reality a third party of the bourgeoisie. It is founded in the same "gradualism," opportunism and national reformism, the same hostility to mass action which governed the European Social Democracy and paved the way for the victory of Fascism. But neither is the official Communist (Stalinist) Party capable of fulfilling the role of a party of working class emancipation. Under the impetus of the crisis in response to the clearly felt need of the unorganized, the Stalinist party has registered successes in the virtually uncontested field of industrial organization. But this party is bound hand and foot to the regime of the bankrupt Comintern. As a party of bureaucratic centrism, wavering between the positions of social-democracy and communism, zig-zagging between spells of cheap opportunism and ultra-left adventurism, it shares responsibility for the treacherous doctrine of "socialism-in-one-country," and the criminal policies of "the third period," "social-fascism," "red trade unions," spurious Amsterdam anti-war congresses, Lord Marley methods of "fighting" fascism. The Workers' Party recognizes that there are valuable elements of the rank and file in both the C.C.F. and the Stalinist

Parties and will bend every effort to win them; the principal reservoir of its recruitment lies, however, in the still politically and industrially unorganized masses.

The United Front

At the same time the Workers' Party is prepared to cooperate with all political and industrial organizations of the working class in a united front on all specific issues of common interests in the struggle against capitalism—reaction, fascism and the war danger. The failure to set up such a united front contributed heavily to the tragic capitulation of the German proletariat. Our Party decidedly rejects the Stalinist theory of "social-fascism" to the effect that "twins" and that fascism cannot be resisted without first destroying the social-democracy. The fact is that victorious fascism smashes the socialists along with the communists. The United Front Party is a means of mobilizing the masses for struggle, regardless of their party differences of principle. We reject equally the conception of the United Front "from above" (parliamentary deals; the Anglo-Russian Committee; Stalinist alliance with the Kuomintang) and the "united front only from below"—the refusal to enter into negotiations or conclude practical working agreements with the leaderships. In addition to the direct appeal to the masses. The united front recently set up between the French Socialist and Communist Parties evidences the further bankruptcy of the Stalinist theory of "social-fascism."

The Trade Unions

The Workers' Party fully recognizes the indispensable role of the trade unions as organs of the defence of the workers' living standards. Under the circumstances of the sharpened international

competition, large-scale production, employers' associations, interlocking directorates, and military intervention of the capitalist state in strikes, the trade unions can only counter the capitalist offensive for the reduction of the value of labor power, by resisting all forms of compulsory arbitration and conciliation, and adopting instead methods of the class struggle, direct action against the employers and the state. The trade unions must change their structure and their policies. The antiquated craft organization must be replaced by industrial unionism, one union for all the workers in one industry. The division of the ranks in rival trade union centres must be replaced by the maximum trade union unity in a single trade union centre, and immediately by joint action committees of the workers of different affiliations, for the every day struggle against the employers. To promote the further unity of the workers against the employers, the activity of the trade unions must be supplemented by the formation of factory or shop committees on a non-partisan basis. The processes of capitalist rationalization, the continual displacement of living labor by machinery, the growing industrial reserve army of the unemployed, the increase of women and youth labor, demand a policy of the closest cooperation of the employed and unemployed, and the organization of the unorganized. Such policies will not be adopted without an unceasing struggle to purge the trade unions of the class-collaborationist bureaucracy and to establish real trade union democracy and rank and file control. There is no royal road to the radicalization of the masses by the "short cut" of building pure "red" trade unions which only isolate the militants. Work in the conservative trade unions is

essential. The Workers' Party cannot be "neutral" to the policies of the trade unions. The extent of its influence in the trade unions will be an important measure of its progress in winning over the majority of the working class. To promote the realization of these tasks, the Workers' Party will lend its efforts to organize the left wing and progressive forces in the trade unions as a militant minority.

Program of Action

The aim of the Workers' Party of Canada is the nationalization without compensation of the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange, (industry, banking, natural resources, wholesale trade and departmental stores), by the dictatorship of the proletariat (Workers' Councils) in economic and political solidarity with all existing Workers' Republics.

Not as a minimum program for the reform of capitalism, but for the purpose of mobilizing the masses in the struggle for control of production and conquest of power, the Workers' Party sets up the following Program of Action.

1. **Standard of Living**—Struggle for wage increases without regard for the profit system—maximum six-hour working day—five-day week—opposition to piece-work and other forms of the speed-up—equal pay for equal work—abolition of child labor.

2. **Social Insurance**—Non-contributory unemployment insurance—health and accident insurance—reduction of old age pension age—Mothers' Allowances for one or more dependent children.

3. **Civil Liberties**—Abrogation of all restrictions on freedom of speech, assembly and press (repeal of sedition and censorship provisions of Criminal Code, Naturalization and Immigration Acts, Customs Act, etc.)—liberation of all class-war prisoners.

4. **Trade Union Rights**—Abrogation of all restrictions on freedom of association—the right to picket and to boycott—prohibition of injunctions in industrial disputes—repeal of legislation for compulsory conciliation and arbitration.

5. **Taxation of Capital**—Abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation and tariffs on articles of mass consumption—tax-exemption and cancellation of mortgage and other indebtedness of small impoverished non-exploiting farmers—cumulative income, corporation and inheritance taxes—taxation of ecclesiastical institutions.

6. **Struggle Against Unemployment**—Maintenance of the unemployed or relief work at full trade union rates—tax-exemption and cancellation of debt and mortgage indebtedness of unemployed—no evictions.

7. **The War Danger**—Imperialism is inherent in capitalism and can be abolished only by the overthrow of the profit-system—Capitalist self-disarmament and bourgeois pacifism are an illusion to dupe the masses—The League of Nations is the instrument of an imperialist bloc based on preserving the status quo—The W. P. pledges itself to use the situation created by the imperialist war to mobilize the forces of the workers for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism—The W. P. supports the armed struggle of the colonial people to liberate themselves from imperialism.

Join the Workers' Party!

The road ahead of the Canadian working class is one of great battles calling for serious sacrifices. But there is no other way out. The apostles of "continuity" and "gradualism" who ridiculed the idea of revolution, and who taught that democracy, public ownership and