

# Program of Cleveland Congress Reeks With Pacifism; Class Struggle Omitted

The following is the second installment of comrade Stryker's article on the recent League Against War and Fascism Congress held at Cleveland.—Ed.

**By PHILLIP STRYKER**  
General Smedley Butler's speech for neutrality legislation and defensive armaments; General Fang Chen Wu's plea for America not to show weakness toward Japan but to enforce the treaties; Mayor Burton of Cleveland's welcoming speech with its declaration of faith in God and America; the innumerable speeches of the preachers; the deliberate arrangements preventing any discussion of program and resolutions—all this was described in our first report of the "U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism", held in Cleveland, January 3-5.

The ten-point program of the American League Against War and Fascism, and the resolutions, were brought in on the last day, and with the rules forbidding any amendments or resolutions from the floor, were voted through in scarcely more time than rapid reading of the material required. What, then, was the ideological line brought in by the Stalinist-controlled leadership?

Lenin declared, and the first congresses of the Communist International embodied, the conception that the struggle against imperialism war can only be the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The only way to prepare the struggle against war, apart from the building of the revolutionary party and the propagandizing of the only way to fight war, said Lenin, is to intensify the class struggle day by day. The various forms of pacifism are not only preliminary steps toward the struggle against war, but are rather ideological enemies of the struggle against war and must be driven out of the labor movement. This is the program of Lenin and is our program.

### Stalinist-Pacifist Chop-Suey

The Stalinist program for the American League bears not the faintest resemblance to Lenin's program. Our first article showed how the Stalinists did not make a single criticism of the pacifist chop-suey which pervaded the Congress. The reason why they did not do so is embodied in their program, which is pacifist from beginning to end.

But this is not all! Even the most elementary conception of class struggle tactics is absent from the Stalinist documents of the Congress!

In order to obscure the stark anti-working class nature of the Stalinist version of the united front, the Stalinists have evolved a most astonishing formula. In his keynote speech, Chairman Harry F. Ward, declared that the American League "is anti-capitalist; but beyond that point, where it comes to what is to be done with the profit system, how it is to be done, what is to take its place, that is the political task of the parties, and has nothing to do with the League."

This was put even more crudely in the League organ's November issue, by Paul Reid, its executive secretary.

"The exact character of the new social and economic order and the method of achieving it—through 'class war,' non-violent revolution, class collaboration, etc.—are not the concern nor the program of the American League."

This has a radical sound for a moment, but contrast it with the program of one of the older mass organizations. The International Labor Defense program covers far less grandiose tasks than the American League. It requires no one to believe in the ending of capitalism, and certainly not in its revolutionary overthrow. But it does require

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## Neutrality, Major Plank of Platform, Guarantees Support to U.S. Government

its members to accept a class struggle line in defense of democratic rights.

The American League's program turns the original conception of the united front on its head. You must believe in the ending of capitalism (this of course in the abstract can be agreed to not only by generals and bishops, Utopians, Epics and Farmer-Laborites, but even by Fascists) but you don't have to accept the class struggle! You can be an avowed class-collaboratorist but fight against war and Fascism! Is there another comparable doctrine to be found in the museum of "anti-capitalist" curiosities? Stalinist mountebanks, is there no limit to the fall?

Yet this fantastic doctrine is absolutely necessary to the American League. On what other doctrine could one gather together these generals and preachers, professional pacifists and trade union bureaucrats and middle-class panacea mongers? Stalinism itself must carry along the old lumber of class struggle phrases, in order to trade on the heroic epoch of the Communist which is its chief stock in trade in deceiving the workers. But to secure its allies for its nefarious work, it must drop old pretenses altogether.

**The Illusion of Neutrality**  
The main planks of the "anti-war" program are:

1. Neutrality legislation to be passed by Congress. Since America is not in the League of Nations (not a word was said against the League of Nations during the congress, of course, since Stalinism now hails it as a "force for peace") governmental sanctions of the European variety finds its equivalent here in government neutrality legislation. Every rotten reformist and pacifist organization in America supports such "mandatory" neutrality legislation. We have said enough about this vicious proposal in our press and pamphlets recently. But it is worth recapitulating the main argument. The "demand" for neutrality legislation combines (a) illusions of ordinary pacifism with the (b) war-making function of sanctions.

(a) Neutrality legislation ignores the fundamental Marxist doctrines that capitalism is in every country linked up economically, socially and politically with the rest of the world and that war is as "natural" to capitalism as is peace. It implies the possibility of isolating an imperialist power like the United States from the rest of the world to which its tentacles reach. It declares it possible for imperialist America to cut itself off from its foreign trade and investment of capital abroad—the very life lines of imperialism! It declares it possible for the American government, the executive committee of the capitalist class no matter who sits in Washington, to take over the task of maintaining peace. Thus it aids the government in preparing for war, for as Hearst and Roosevelt have consistently declared—and General Butler told the cheering multitudes!—for a "strong neutrality and peace policy" the U. S. requires a strong "national defense." Neutrality legislation is precisely the myth of isolationism which Wilson employed to prepare for the last war.

(b) Neutrality legislation has an even more direct war-making function. In the same way that governmental sanctions would only seriously be enforced by an imperialist power when it meant to crush the economic power of another country as a preparation to crushing it by military means ("war is the continuation of politics by forcible means"), so, too, American imperialism could under the cloak of "neutrality legislation" apply financial and economic restrictions, boycotts, etc. against another country only as a step to open warfare. As the British and French reformist-Stalinist support of governmental sanctions has already demonstrated, those who support such restrictions against another country will inevitably also support the military measures which must follow. Those who try to draw (as American Socialists attempt) a distinction between European sanctions and American neutrality legislation draw a distinction where none exists. Neutrality legislation

leads to war as surely as sanctions do.

**The Disarmament Illusion**  
2. The second major plank in this "anti-war" program is "total and universal disarmament as advocated by the Soviet Union." Whatever the uses to the Soviet state in its international diplomacy of this slogan, dropped by Litvinov into the League of Nations discussion, it is so utterly unreal that even such a bourgeois-pacifist organization as the War Resisters League denounces it. Yet here it is, this moth-eaten panacea of pre-war idealism, resurrected by Stalinism. What does it mean, to "fight" for American imperialism to disarm? A correct policy can only be based on fighting for things which are possible. Can American imperialism disarm? One can assert such a possibility only by throwing overboard the Marxist doctrine that war is inevitable under capitalism and a natural, integrated part of the capitalist process. But even then, disarmament would be theoretically impossible. For armed forces also are needed for the internal war against the masses. During 1935 troops were used twenty-two times against workers and farmers. Can capitalism dispense with this too? The theory of "total and universal disarmament" is based on class-collaborationism and pacifism of the most openly anti-working class character.

These two main planks on war are supplemented by others of equal calibre. The Stalinist distinction between good and bad capitalist powers is smuggled in by a plank "to demonstrate constantly the relation between war and fascism"—as if the democratic capitalist powers were not equally war-makers! This was supplemented by constant references in the many speeches to Germany and Japan as the most dangerous war-makers. There are references to strikes against transport of munitions, exposing American war preparations, and resisting increasing militarization; but the bourgeois-pacifist planks characterize the program.

## THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Since our last report 98 new subscribers have been added to our mailing list. This brings us to a total of 320 new subscriptions since our present drive began. Meanwhile renewals on expired subscriptions are coming in well. These, of course, are not listed here. We list only new subscriptions.

The comrades in New York City are doing the best work by far in this drive. Branch 8 has exceeded its quota and Branch 1 and 3 are making headway and having the biggest number of subscriptions to their credit. But branch 7 is lagging terribly.

The list following below shows that responses have come in from quite a few cities and some of the responses are rather good; but from the comrades in a number of cities we have not heard at all. True, we have heard from several of them saying that they are on the job, that plans have been made and they expect to turn in new subscriptions. What really counts, however, is the actual results and we will count on these comrades only when we have these results. Meanwhile we are taking it up with them directly also.

Extension of our party press is an ever pressing duty for every comrade. Sympathizers are, of course, invited to participate as well. We suggest that the comrades in every instance check the list below carefully and make the necessary comparison. Where no results are shown as yet, or where the results are small, the next thing to do is to take the question up in the branch and see to it that action follows.

Since our last report the new subscriptions received together with the quotas of the various cities stand as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio	20	9
Albert Lea, Minn.	10	—
Allentown, Pa.	30	4
Austin, Minn.	10	4
Berkeley, Cal.	10	2
Boston, Mass.	25	3
Charleston, W. Va.	5	—
Chicago, Ill.	50	16
Cleveland, Ohio	25	8
Columbus, Ohio	10	—
Detroit, Mich.	25	2
Dickson City, Pa.	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota	10	—
High Point, N. C.	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.	25	11
Minneapolis, Minn.	75	7
Mount Carmel, Pa.	5	—
Newark, N. J.	20	4
New Castle, Pa.	10	—
New Haven, Conn.	10	—
New York City	400	186
(Branch 1)	90	71
(Branch 2)	40	10
Philadelphia, Pa.	20	11
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	—
Plentywood, Mont.	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.	10	—
Salt Lake City	10	6
San Francisco, Cal.	20	2
San Diego, Cal.	10	4
Springfield, Ill.	5	—
Toledo, Ohio	25	2
Utica, N. Y.	5	—
Washington, D. C.	10	3
Youngstown, Ohio	10	—
Cities not listed	45	39
Total	1,000	320

City	Quota	Turned in
(Branch 3)	75	36
(Branch 4)	30	9
(Branch 5)	20	13
(Branch 6)	16	8
(Branch 7)	16	2
(Branch 8)	10	12
District	100	28

The issues of the NEW MILITANT for the year 1935 are now ready to be made up into bound volumes. The price for the complete set, in durable binding, will be \$1.50 postpaid. But the actual binding we will do only as the orders come in. Those who desire to obtain a bound volume should, therefore, forward their orders right away.

Preparations are also under way to make up the complete file of the NEW INTERNATIONAL, all issues published to date, in bound volumes. They will contain both volumes 1 and 2, beginning with the first issue, July 1934, up to and including the December, 1935 issue. Several of the issues of this period are now not available except the copies set aside for binding. The price per bound volume of the NEW INTERNATIONAL will be \$3.00 postpaid.

Send all orders to the NEW MILITANT, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

Several thousand copies of the pamphlet "War and the Workers," by John West, have already been disposed of. More are still on hand. We did print a large supply, sufficient to meet all orders for the most immediate period.

Numerous comments have been received praising this pamphlet for its popular presentation and yet thoroughly fundamental analysis of the causes of war, the imperialist conflicts of the present epoch and the role of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism. To the serious student of Marxism, to the militant worker as well as to the active trade unionist this 48-page pamphlet is indispensable. The price is 10c a copy, 7c in lots of ten or more and it can be obtained from the NEW MILITANT office.

stonettes glowed as if they had forced the C. P. to do something it did not wish. Actually, of course, the Stalinists grabbed the opportunity with both hands to declare that the League would dissolve into a broader organization if the trade unions took the initiative in calling a convention for that purpose. For that is what the Stalinists want: they know that the broader the movement, the wider its support among the trade union bureaucracy, the more they can spread their poisonous pacifism as a cloak for their social-chauvinism. Above all, they are desperately striving to drown the revolutionary voices in the Socialist Party, and the correct position against sanctions taken by the Socialist Party, in such a broad, amorphous movement. The Lovestonites did them yeoman service in this task, and the public rebuke of Ben Gold's attack on Zimmerman, which was implied when Zimmerman and Browder followed each other on the speakers' platform in support of the resolution for broadening the movement, was the least Browder could give Zimmerman for his useful services.

**The Cat and the Canary**  
Paul Porter, as official observer for the Socialist Party, in proposing that the League go on record for dissolving into a broader organization, declared himself to be in "full sympathy for the aims and purposes of the League" and termed it "the most realistic of all peace organizations in the country." Apparently his whole criticism of the League is limited to its narrow base! Its bourgeois-pacifism, its role in sowing anti-working class illusions about war, seems to escape him entirely. Porter went around the Congress, after having "pushed" the Stalinists into endorsing "a truly all-embracing Federation," as if he were the cat who swallowed the canary. The truth is in the other direction entirely! The declaration of Porter gave the Stalinists a happy opportunity to begin the liquidation of the sectarian form of organization of the League. The Daily Worker's joyous greeting of Porter's declaration was not only sincere, it was deliciously happy.

The studied silence of the Congress on the question of sanctions was simply bait to pull the Socialists in. The Stalinists are more consistent than the Socialists: they are for sanctions, for neutrality legislation, for the Peoples Front, for "peace-loving" nations like France, etc. It is the Socialists who are inconsistent, in correctly opposing sanctions, but at the same time supporting neutrality legislation, and failing to criticize the concept of the Peoples Front. The Stalinists may well say: "Let the Socialists stay on record against sanctions. All we need is for them to support neutrality legislation, the Peoples Front, and join in a 'truly all-embracing Federation,' and we will drown out and destroy their position against sanctions."

**A Gaseous Attack on War**  
The program itself was discussed only in one of the commissions, and not at all in the congress, which adopted it as soon as read. Likewise the scores of resolutions (mainly dealing with defense cases and democratic rights) were adopted without discussion. To think of the congress as a form of discussion, therefore, would be to dignify it. It was a mass meeting where the "delegates" were simply subjected to a barrage of gaseous talk abstractly against war and fascism. Furthermore, not to speak of the validity of most of the "delegates' present—I. L. D., I. W. O., I. C. O. R., C. P., "workers clubs," unemployed councils, Friends of the Soviet Union, etc., these actually were the bulk of the delegates—organizations sending delegates who presumably were molding the future life of the American League did not thereby affiliate to the American League. Thus it was a masquerade claiming to represent two millions, which both ideologically and organizationally dissolved the morning after but leaving the vicious illusion in the minds of many that something had been accomplished for fighting war and fascism.

The masquerade, however, had an additional function beside sowing illusions. It had, very deliberately, the function of propagandizing for the Stalinist coalition with the bourgeoisie, the Peoples Front. Every important speaker, including the "non-political" Harry F. Ward and Roger Baldwin, etc., sang psalms of praise for the Peoples Front of France—that horrible burlesque of mass struggle the chief activity of which is pushing the French government into pressing sanctions against Italy.

**The Ambulance Chasers Speak Up**  
The Lovestonites, of course, have been assiduously propagandizing for such a broadening of the movement represented by the League. Their only complaint against it is that it is C. P.-controlled. Ignoring completely the role of the social-chauvinism of the Stalinists in the League, the Lovestonites have only begged the Stalinists to open the doors wide. Apparently this Lovestone propaganda was a factor in the action taken by the Socialist Party, in proposing that the League adopt a resolution making possible a broader organization. Zimmerman and the other Lov-

# MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

**NEUTRALITY FOR SANCTIONS.**  
Election year is here and the season is open for the creation of fake issues between capitalist politicians. More especially is this the case over the issue of war or peace. In this respect the present campaign bears certain resemblances with that of 1916 when Wilson was re-elected for having "kept America out of war." Then too the "education" of the masses was accomplished by maintaining a fictitious appearance of neutrality in the first world war. How fictitious this issue was is clearly enough revealed in the memoirs of Secretary of State Lansing, despite the pose of "high moral tone" attempted by the careful selection of documents. Lansing replaced Bryan in order to steer the United States into the war on the side of the Allies. The fundamental reasons for aiding the allied imperialists were the financial interests of the American capitalists, particularly those of the big bankers. The most backward person knows this today so that there is absolutely nothing new being revealed by the Congressional investigation of the relation between the Morgan loans and the entry of America except for the filling out of a few concrete details. It was easy for the bankers to create the appearance of a financial crisis with the possibility of panic in order to achieve their aims of complete support of England and France. Diplomacy had the usual task of covering up these material interests with the more palatable veneer of "humanity and democracy." Thus the immediate causes of war were made the submarine issue and the "freedom of the seas." Lansing is careful in his memoirs to delete all documents which would reveal the direct influence of the Morgans in shaping American policy. Thus the letter of Lansing to Wilson in which the Secretary becomes the obvious mouthpiece of the financiers in securing direct government backing of the floating of enormous loans to the Allies, is omitted.

**NEUTRALITY TODAY.**  
The British Tories found it to their advantage to screen their war preparations under the disguise of sanctions. The pose of international capitalist action against Italian imperialism made an appeal to English workers. Similarly the "liberal" and "progressive" henchmen of capitalism here wish to exploit the desire for peace of the masses by waging a fake battle over neutrality. To do this however they must make it appear that it was the nefarious work of the big bourgeoisie that caused the giving up of neutrality in the last war. It was the careful preparations and maneuvering of Morgan and Lamont behind the scenes that overthrew "neutrality". And of course Nye and Borah intend to see to it that this does not happen again! As a matter of fact neutrality at this time is the method by which the American imperialists are accomplishing their aims with least

expense. American capitalism dominates the world and its wishes must be carefully consulted by the other imperialists. Thus America influences all decisions without appearing to have any finger in the pie at all. This leaves the big bourgeoisie free to maneuver and to remain aloof until the proper moment arrives to intervene and exert their utmost power—when the rival imperialists are in no position to oppose the will of America. Just as Wilson proceeded during "neutrality" to construct the biggest navy afloat, so Roosevelt in the lull that precedes the next great conflict, is hastening the building of the strongest navy on the seas. Neutrality does not stop for one moment the complete militarizing of the Pacific in order to be ready for the need of neutrality in the opening of war with Japan. Neutrality here plays the same role that sanctions played and play in England.

**VIGILANTES IN SEATTLE.**  
The elements and methods of fascism are always present in capitalist society in embryo. It is when these sectional elements begin to recur, when they begin to coalesce and take on national character that fascism becomes immediately menacing to the working class. To gauge the progress of reaction so as to see ahead and organize the working class for defense against the rule of knife and club, it is necessary to pay close attention to every sectional struggle. The Pacific Coast has witnessed tremendous battles in the class struggle in the past few years. The general strike in Frisco stands out as a monument to solidarity. At the present time the indications are that the marine workers in whose cause the workers fought this major battle, may again strike against the big shipping interests. The bosses on their side are prepared to put down such a strike with the violence and brutality characteristic of major strike movements. A minor but important indication of ruling class preparedness is seen in the vigilante movement all along the Coast. Only a few days ago the vigilantes of Seattle raided a Communist school that had just been opened and attacked in vicious fashion students and teachers. The latter were chased for blocks and beaten with clubs. Here as everywhere in the capitalist world when gangster tactics are used against the working class movement, the thugs were aided by the police. Before the arrival of the vigilantes several members of the teaching staff and student body had been arrested by the police under orders from the Mayor. Following the arrests the terror was loosed on the remaining individuals. This is but a symptom of what may be expected on a growing scale in the event of big strikes. It is necessary for the workers to be made aware of the situation in advance and to organize their forces accordingly for the defense of their meetings against the vigilantes.

## Statement of Bill Reich

In view of the use of my name by Louis F. Budenz from platforms of the Communist Party for the purpose of undermining and disrupting the Workers Party I wish to make entirely clear my own position. I am absolutely opposed to the action of Budenz in capitulating to the Stalinist party and despite my former association with him in the labor movement, I cannot but condemn his actions and writings since he joined the C.P., all of which has been calculated to instill a false and reactionary policy into the ranks of the American working class. Particularly contemptible are Budenz's vicious attacks on the so-called "Trotskyists," namely, those revolutionaries in the Soviet Union and elsewhere who have remained loyal to the principles of Marxian internationalism in the face of the greatest difficulties, calumnies and persecutions.

My condemnation of Budenz, far from being a personal matter, is rather condemnation of his political program and conduct, that is, the program and line of conduct of the Communist Party. Events in the last year in particular have confirmed with tenfold emphasis the analysis of the reactionary and nationalistic nature of the C. P.'s degeneration, above all in the highly crucial question of the imperialist war, on which the C. P. and the Third International have taken a position which is essentially indistinguishable from that of the Second International during the war. In contrast to the revolutionary Marxian position of the Workers Party on this and other fundamental questions stands out all the more plainly as conforming to the basic and immediate interests of the working class.

The bureaucratic regime inside the C. P., which is merely a reflection of the same regime in the 3rd International, makes it all the more impossible for this organization to contribute to the advancement of the working class, but rather to its defeat and demoralization. The practical results of the activities of the C. P. have been most plainly shown in the mass organizations, especially in the unemployed

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Editor New International  
**MANNY GARRETT**  
Editor Young Spartacus  
Ausp: Philadelphia Branch, W.P.

**New Haven, Conn.**  
**JOHN WEST**  
will speak on  
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**BOSTON LECTURE**  
Max Shachtman, editor of the New International, will lecture Friday evening, Jan. 24, at our new headquarters, 18 Stuart Street, Boston. Subject: "The People's Front, Can It Stop War and Fascism?" Admission 15c, unemployed free.

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