

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Fascist Symptoms in the Third Party Movement.

The present majority campaign in Chicago gives symptomatic indications of the coming struggle to win the middle classes and the unemployed for the purpose of reaction. In this campaign the third party movement put forward its candidate, Jenkins, formerly a "progressive" republican associated with LaFollette. In his speeches Jenkins proceeded to lay the foundations (as does Father Coughlin) for that appeal to anti-Semitism which is the inevitable accompaniment of the rise of fascism. He denounced as those responsible for the notorious corruption in Chicago "a pack of crooked Jews who have disgraced our city." It develops that Jenkins has Nazi ties and that Pelley of Silver Shirt fame visited the Chicago Friends of New Germany to secure their support for Jenkins. Thus we find already on a local scale how the Third Party movement under present historic conditions plays a reactionary role and tends to assume fascist forms.

Nor is this observation based on the leaning of the movement towards anti-Semitism. The entire program attempts to translate into American terms the early demagoguery of fascism in its first strivings for a political foothold. This is unprecedented in American politics and is a clear hint of the ultimate goal of creating storm troops and fascist bands.

Furthermore "the new party must be intensely nationalistic." It takes no chivalry to read into this phrase the entire program of American imperialism and the irreconcilable struggle between such a party and the organizations of the militant and revolutionary workers. The program calls for a new party for American business, agriculture and labor. It makes the following demagogic bid for the unemployed worker's support: "Business and labor and government have all failed the jobless American." "He is entitled to work and the new party will give him work and do it at once." Plainly there is here the attempt to pit the unemployed against the employed workers.

The new party reaches out for the petty bourgeoisie, overburdened by taxation. It is proposed to make the United States a "taxless nation" by using the profits from transportation, light and power, telephones, telegraphs, radio and similar (monopolized) public services to defray the cost of government. Here is the usual demagogic appeal to the small man against the trusts. Inflation is promised to the farmer in order to liquidate the

entire public debt by the systematic issuance of government currency over several years' time "without disturbing the financial structure of the country". Without exhausting the chimerical outpourings of the capitalist horn of plenty pictured by third party demagogy, we may add that the soldiers have not been forgotten (they will be given the bonus), nor the youth who will be "given the opportunity or better be required to serve the country in some capacity for a short period of time." Naturally "the fascists would be in favor of forced labor for the young or of universal conscription."

New Political Movements and the Class Struggle

To the Marxist it is quite clear that no new political movement arises without meeting urgent needs of one or the other of the two main classes in modern society. The working class is slowly coming to a realization through all its everyday experiences that strive with might and main as it may it cannot regain the former standards of living. Workers in one industry or the other may gain temporary success in bettering the conditions under which they gain their livelihood, but taking the class as a whole capitalism has exhausted its possibilities of granting to workers any real concessions in the way of wages or higher standards. The waves of strike struggles, each more militant than the last, and with the proletariat still suffering the same poverty, the same misery, the same intense exploitation as before. The lesson is being gradually driven home that the only way out is the revolutionary way, through the overthrow of capitalism. Hence the need for the Workers Party to give guidance to the class.

But in parallel fashion, the big bourgeoisie, in their greedy scramble to maintain profits against the desperate rivalry of the capitalists of other nations, find the apparent solution for their problems by withdrawing all the previous concessions forced from them by the workers, and by an intensive drive on the living standards of the proletariat and the toilers in general. This gigantic struggle, assuming a myriad of forms, is reflected politically. To accomplish their purposes financiers subsidize new movements which rally the middle class under the banner of reaction for the purpose of eliminating democracy and preventing the workers from seizing the power. The third party movement must inevitably reflect this need of the big bourgeoisie under present conditions. The answer by the workers can be given not through a labor party but by means of the only force of defeating fascism, the revolutionary Marxist party, the Workers Party.

Harlem Mass Meeting

Speakers: A. J. MUSTE, E. R. MCKINNEY, SIMON WILLIAMSON, Chairman. Sunday, April 7, 8 p. m. Union Hall, 200 West 135 Street. Admission Free

News from the Soviet Union

The Anti-Trotsky Crusade

The excerpts which we give below furnish a vivid picture of the latest crusade in the U. S. S. R. against Trotskyism, indeed against the slightest manifestation of sympathy for Trotsky. This picture, incomplete as it is, serves to show what little success, preceding Stalinist crusades have had in "burying" Trotskyism. We may add that this latest crusade will have no more success.

1. Under the heading "Purification of the Party" Pravda announces on December 14, that the Dniepropetrovsk City Committee came to an agreement against the expulsion of the Trotskyist, Tagnetskain, member of a Trotskyist cell in the university. This Trotskyist received the special protection of the Secretary of the Committee, a certain Levitine. From the 19th to the 22nd Pravda rehearses the story and censures the Party District Committee for its "rotten liberalism" toward the Dniepropetrovsk affair. On the 25th we learn that no less a body than the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has been forced to take action. Severe measures are invoked. The Dniepropetrovsk Bureau—Levitine, Skrypnik, Hechtman—is discharged. The District Administration is strongly censured for having tolerated Trotskyist elements. The local newspapers are also censured for having supported the City Committee. The Director of Culture and Propaganda, Segalovitch is discharged for not having taken action against the Trotskyist elements at the University.

2. An Erring Professor. Pravda announces under the heading "A Trotskyist Professor" that at Rostov Agricultural College the Trotskyist Vladimiroff is head of the Department of Political Economy. In his courses Vladimiroff defends the Trotskyist position on the October Revolution and on the peasant question. He even affirms that Soviet economy, up until the first Five Year Plan, depended on world economy. On the 26th Pravda carries the resolution of the Rostov Party Administration, expelling Vladimiroff, censuring the Director of the College, and warning the directors of other colleges to redouble their vigilance. Pravda, it seems, is not satisfied with this resolution; it came too late.

3. From Kompro Sviestdentse for the 28th and Za Industrializatsiu for the 29th we learn that the Bechir Collegium expelled several party members at Ufa for Trotskyism. A certain Strachnov was expelled last February. He hid himself in one of the villages and went about building up a "counter-revolutionary" organization. The party members were in communication with him.

4. "Trotskyist Nest" A Komsomolskaya Pravda on the 30th announces a "Trotskyist Nest" at the Medical College in White Russia. Two students, Levitan and Mekovetz, asserted during an examination that "Trotskyism is the spring of Bolshevism." Another student, Rasoumovski, proved that the standard of living of the

workers got worse every year. 5. At the Agricultural College, again in White Russia, the Trotskyist Polevickoff tried to provoke discussion on subjects forbidden by the party (Komsomol Pravda, Dec. 30).

6. January 4, 1935, Pravda begins the new year by informing us that several students at Dniepropetrovsk, by name Komarov, Glosman, Iourleff, and Brochine, have been expelled from the party for Trotskyist opinions and activities. The expulsions are the wake of the campaign Pravda has been carrying on against Dniepropetrovsk.

7. January 9 Izvestia announces sadly that the Agricultural College, founded by none other than J. Stalin, have all become regular nests of Trotskyism. Beside Vladimiroff at Rostoff, Trotskyist elements are discovered at Koursk. His party Professor Serbent has been teaching Trotskyism in his courses. Professor of Political Economy Lojshchenki, stated that while the Kulaks have been liquidated in so far as numbers are concerned, there still remained a qualitative base or their development. Professor of Economy Fokine stated that the demand for the liquidation of the kulaks was advanced by the Opposition in 1925-26; and only acted upon by the party four or five years later. Professor Uronitch showed a persistent tendency to ignore the works of Stalin in his courses. All these Trotskyists were expelled, but their influence remains, and a solid ker-

nel of Trotskyism has been created among the students. 8. Pravda, Jan. 10, Professor Plakoff, Professor of the History of Class Struggle attached to the Medical Faculty at Tcheliabinsk, has been defending Trotskyists. Instead of expelling him the local Party Committee and its Secretary, Morosoff, did everything possible to keep Plakoff on the faculty. One Expelled, One Censured 9. From the same Pravda for the 10th we learn that the Trotskyist Konstantinov, sometime expelled from the party, was invited to the tractor station at Maloissov. The administration of the tractor station knew that Konstantinov was a Trotskyist; in spite of that he was made assistant to the Director in Charge of Construction. One member of the administration was expelled, the other was censured. 10. On January 11 Pravda is bursting with information on the activities of Trotskyists. The Party fraction of the Peoples Commissariat for Agriculture for the U.S.S.R., expels J. J. Reingold, head of the cotton department of the Commissariat, for his Trotskyist opinions. 11. The same issue of Pravda announces a fact of prime importance. Golende, President of Gosplan (State Planning Commission), and Assistant to the President of the Council of Peoples Commissars for White Russia, expressed Trotskyist ideas; he explained the abolition of the bread card system as the result of the powerlessness of the party in its war with the kulaks. Golende was formerly a member of the Left Opposition. "Always True Bolsheviki" 12. The same Pravda informs us that Aristoff, a student at Gorki University, stated that Trotskyists were always "true Bolsheviki" in the course of an argument on the Kirov assassination during a political examination at the university.

Join the Workers Party!

By A. J. MUSTE

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

Fellow-Worker: It may be some time before I get a chance to write you again. In this last letter I want to stress a couple points which are necessary for an understanding of the Workers Party and constitute additional reasons why it is the only party for American workers.

In the first place, as was pointed out in my last letter, the workers in each nation do not live within four sky-high walls, isolated from other countries. What happens in any part of the earth, affects us here in the U. S., may be a matter of life and death for us. In these days of war threats we can all see that plainly.

The government of the U. S. is not "our" government for which we fight against the masses of other countries. The government is the bosses' government which we aim to overthrow. The same is true for the workers in every other country, except the Soviet Union.

INTERNATIONALISM

For these and other reasons, a revolutionary party cannot be nationalistic in spirit and character. Nor can it be confined to a single country. It must be part of an international of revolutionary parties in which the forces of the workers throughout the world may be united against capitalism, Fascism, war.

Just as we had to take the forces that were ready in the U. S. as material with which to start the building of the new revolutionary party, so the forces in various countries which recognize the breakdown of the Second and Third Internationals must be used to build the new, Fourth, International. The W. P. has already entered into fraternal relations with parties and groups in Canada, Panama, Cuba, other Latin American countries, Holland, France, China, South Africa, Australia, etc. which stand on the same fundamental program as we, in order that as soon as conditions permit definite steps may be taken toward the actual establishment of the new International.

An army composed of battalions which exist only on paper will not do much fighting—except on paper or in windy discussions. Our biggest contribution to the revived international movement of the workers consists of building the W. P. into a powerful revolutionary force right here in the U.S.A., in the mightiest of the capitalist-imperialist nations. Nobody else can do that job for us. The responsibility rests on our shoulders. When a powerful revolutionary movement actually exists here in the U. S. it will change the whole face of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

The W. P. seeks to be the party of the American workers—created by them, not imposed upon them. It enters into all their struggles; it gains experience and strength and recruits new forces out of these struggles.

We stand firmly upon our principles. We do not despise theory. On the contrary, without a theory we are lost, we become the victim of every kind of faker in this welter of the twentieth century. But as Engels pointed out in a well-known passage: "Our theory is a theory of development, not of

dogma to be learned by heart and repeated mechanically." It is our job to take the tested principles of the international working class movement and make them work in the American scene. There are revolutionary traditions in American history which can and must be used in this connection. The class struggles of the past in American history have been fought out in the most bitter conflicts. As a result "the right to revolution" has been written into the most basic documents of American history. Thomas Jefferson asserted that a revolution might be necessary about every nineteen years. Unless "the tree of liberty" were "watered with the blood of tyrants" that often, it was likely to die!

AMERICAN TRADITIONS

The conception of "a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," a nation in which no individual or group should be able to rule over or exploit another, is a part of the picture of America which the masses have been taught to cherish. Capitalism has made the realization of any of these ideas impossible. Only through the revolutionary action of the working class and its allies—against capitalism and for the establishment of an international socialist economy—can these ideas be made real in the twentieth century. Most important of all, there is a tradition of militancy and struggle in the American working class itself which stands forth on many brilliant pages of labor history and upon which we can draw today, as it becomes necessary to raise these struggles to a higher and higher plane, to the plane presently of outright revolutionary action for the overthrow of capitalism.

All the physical and material conditions for an economy of plenty and security for the masses are here. Fired with hatred of what capitalism has done to mankind and by the vision of what can be done with modern productive forces, the workers must march forward now to the battle to make that vision real throughout the world.

STUDY THE PROGRAM

To those honest and militant workers who are today members of other working class parties, we of the Workers Party say: "We shall not call you counter-revolu-

tionists and Social-Fascists if you continue to work and fight where you are—so long as you are firmly convinced that you are working in the most effective way possible for the overthrow of capitalism." We do, however, ask such workers to take the program of the W.P. and the issues we raise and to demand that they be discussed in the parties and groups to which they belong. The W. P. is perfectly willing to abide by the result of any open discussion before the working class. If, however, any party refuses to face and discuss the issues we raise, such a party is not revolutionary and a true revolutionist cannot remain in such a party. For the first characteristic of a revolutionist is that he thinks for himself. Otherwise he would still be believing in the capitalist system like all workers who take their ideas unthinkingly from the boss press. If a worker joins a so-called revolutionary party only to lose his right to think, that is stultifying himself and stultifying the revolutionary movement.

REVOLUTIONISTS MUST ORGANIZE

Thousands of those who accept in theory the principles of the revolutionary movement, who in the past have taken part in labor struggles, are today outside of any political party. To them we say that today more than at any other time no one should be sitting on the fence or standing on the side lines. We have no time to lose if we are to build the revolutionary party before the forces of reaction have too firmly entrenched themselves and establish some form of Fascism here in the U. S. also.

A revolutionist cannot be an individualist. He cannot work as an irresponsible free lance. He must work in an organized and disciplined way. That means he must belong to the organized vanguard of the working class, the revolutionary party.

The process of integration and unification of the revolutionary forces has begun here in the United States as well as in other countries. The days of retreat and defeat shall end. Under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard the American working class is organizing to prevent the triumph of Fascism here, and to join with the workers of other lands to wipe it from the face of the earth wherever it has already triumphed. Build the Workers Party of the United States! Build the New, Fourth, International!

Civil War In Greece

(Extracts from a letter)

ATHENS, March 8.—The civil war has raged for eight days, a bloody conflict between two capitalist political parties, at bottom a conflict between the two great imperialist interests in the Balkans, England and France. There have been battles on the sea and battles on land, more than 150,000 workers and peasants have been mobilized, and now fight each other, arms in hand, for the interests of—their exploiters. The whole political, social and economic life of the country is shaken to its depths.

The working class has already engaged in several battles on its own account. At Cavalla the whole working class and petty bourgeois population armed themselves and drove out the authorities. They held out for five hours against the Venizelist troops, but they were finally vanquished.

In spite of the censorship we have been informed that over 100 communists and workers were brought before the firing squad. The workers at Serres and Drama also fought heroically against the Venizelists. The large masses of the people outside of the cities have not as yet arisen, as they feel that the Tsaldaris government is merely defending legal power against a coup

QUESTION BOX

By A. WEAVER

F. C. WATERBURY—

QUESTION: Father Coughlin has many EMPLOYED workers supporting him in his attempt to build his "National Union of Social Justice". Would this not prevent him from developing it into a fascist movement bearing in mind that prior to his assumption to power Hitler had the backing of very few employed proletarians?

ANSWER: The support, by employed workers, of Coughlin does not necessarily guarantee that he will not be successful in building a fascist movement, but does introduce tremendous contradictions into his camp which could prove fatal to him if a strong labor movement exists. (This applies to all such potential fascist organizations.)

One of the essential needs of a fascist movement is finances, which the capitalists will not provide, or continue to provide, merely on the strength of radio broadcasts. They require, in addition, an organized movement to break strikes, and smash unions, working class meetings, etc. In order to turn fascist, therefore, and perform these tasks, Coughlin would have to transform his organization. The contradictions between his words and deeds must then immediately become apparent to even the backward of the employed workers. It is one thing to merely applaud the priest's high-sounding radio demagoguery about international bankers, but it is another to act as a strike breaker or to break up other workers' meetings or organizations merely for the sake of such high-sounding phrases, and, if he, his relatives or friends, are members of a working class organization, the antagonism with Coughlin would then become even sharper. This could only result in an exodus of the employed workers from his ranks.

The petty bourgeois, declassed and demoralized slum elements will not be driven away so easily. The latter two groups, may come to look on Coughlin as the source of a hand-out, (one of the reasons for the need of large funds by fascist organizations), whereas there is a sufficient number of reactionaries among the former to provide many willing fascist recruits. However, to the extent that the workers' movement is vigorous and growing, to that extent will the unemployed and even sections of the middle class have roots in this movement

so that even a handout will not be sufficient inducement to remain in a fascist camp. Some of these very petty bourgeois and degenerated elements who would otherwise remain must necessarily be frightened away by the dangers involved in attacking a lusty proletarian movement. Because of such desertions, loss of a mass base, and corresponding failure to come across with the goods (break strikes, etc.), the fascist organization would soon lose the financial support of the capitalists and fall into dust.

If the workers' movement is confused and disoriented, however, the whole process can be reversed and a strong fascist movement develop, basing itself on the middle class, declassed and demoralized elements. Only a really revolutionary party is capable of bringing clarity to the working class so that the need of the moment is the building of the Workers Party to prevent fascism from even arising.

HERMAN H. BRIDGEPORT—

QUESTION: What effects on the internal political situation in France (C. P. and S. P. united front, fascism, etc.) can be expected as a result of Hitler's move toward larger armaments?

ANSWER: Hitler's move cannot but help sharpen the internal political situation in France. A prerequisite for imperialist war is civil peace. And it is this assurance, which fascism has given German capitalism that, permits it to adopt its aggressive policy. French imperialism is deprived of that freedom of motion which it would like in dealing with Hitler. From the viewpoint of French finance-capital a preventive war against Germany at the present time, before Hitler becomes too strong would be the best solution of the question, but present class relations do not give it that much elbow room.

That Cachin and company will do exactly as told by Litvinov is a foregone conclusion, and, under threats from the French foreign office to otherwise break the Soviet-French accord, this may consist of breaking the united front. Under such conditions a sharper drive against the Bolshevik-Leninists and particularly against Trotsky, new "amalgams" or perhaps a vicious frame-up, can be expected, to cover up the Stalinist treachery.

d'etat by the Venizelists. But we can be sure that their passivity will not last long. The mobilization has already stirred them deeply. Famine is at our doors. Numerous sections of the petty bourgeoisie have been ruined. It is quite clear that we are entering a period of sharpening crisis in which the masses will begin to battle for their own interests.

In spite of all material obstacles our organization was the first at its post. By leaflets and by direct agitation we explained the course for the working class, to turn against its oppressors, to convert the war for the opposing interests of the two camps of the oppressors into a class war for the interests of the working class.

Several of our comrades have been arrested, and comrade Georgi Deligani, who was taken with leaflets addressed to the workers and soldiers, is to be brought before court martial. . . . We are marching with faith in the power of the working class, marching to our revolutionary duty.

We are sending you this letter without knowing whether it will ever reach you. In spite of the risk, we feel that the organizations in other countries should know what the Greek Bolshevik-Leninists are doing in these historic moments. Give us every possible aid. It is a question of the honor and the future of the Fourth International in Greece which is at stake. Make every effort to call the international proletariat to the aid of the Greek workers in their trials! Do everything possible to arouse the international working class against the bloody terror the government and the Venizelists have loosed against the Greek workers.

We are in the greatest difficulties. We are constantly sought by the police. But until the last moment, to the last drop of our blood we will hold high the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Long live the Fourth International, and its Greek section, now being born amid fire and blood!

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