

Socialist Action

C O N T E N T S

1. The Expulsions -- A Sign and A Warning.
2. Who Are the Counter-Revolutionaries?
3. Labor Goes to the Polls.
4. Fascism Menaces France.
5. Canadian Fascism Fears the Refugees.

PUBLISHED BY -- S O C I A L I S T P O L I C Y
G R O U P - Expelled Left Wing -- C. C. F.

BOX 185 -- Toronto, Ont.

VOL. I -- NO. 6

December 15, 1938.

Single Copy -1¢
Yearly -25¢

THE EXPULSIONS: A SIGN AND A WARNING

The Provincial Executive still refuses to give those of the left wing who were expelled a chance to defend their position at a open trial before the Toronto membership of the party. No matter what excuses these reformists at the helm of the party may offer, their flat refusal brands them as bureaucrats with no less iron on their heels than Duplessis or Hepburn. By gagging and stamping out the revolutionists in the party, Mitchell, Dennison & Co. are performing a gratuitous service for the R.C.M.P. The red squad would envy the high-handed manner in which the Prov. Ex. bureaucrats kick the left wing out. In essence, the C.C.F. leadership is rehearsing its role of police-agents for the bourgeoisie and (in any crucial period such as wartime) can be relied on by the Canadian capitalist class to expose and drive out anyone who does not entertain "respectable" reformist ideas. Militants still inside the C.C.F. must rouse themselves against the despicable role that the bureaucracy is playing and declare themselves in favor of the S.P.G., the only socialists who are carrying on the class struggle in Canada on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

The expulsion order handed down by the Prov. Ex. is as irrevocable as a decree from the Kremlin. There is little wonder that the totalitarian Stalinist party through its organ, the Daily Clarion, has lavished unstinted praise on the Prov. Ex. for its action. In fact the Clarion which up to yesterday could have taught the Prov. Ex. something along the line of bureaucracy has only one pitiful complaint: it demands the expulsion of additional Trotskyists. We can be sure that their stooge, Bill Dennison, will take the hint and try to ferret out more left wingers, that is, those who denounce the treacherous policies of the Stalinists and reformists.

The connection between the Prov. Ex. and the Stalinists is only too clear. In the same week that the P. E. rids itself of the only revolutionary tendency in the party, the Toronto Regional Council, with the hearty sanction of the Prov. Ex. decides not to run aldermanic candidates on a C.C.F. ticket in the Toronto municipal elections. The Prov. Ex. cheerfully supported the Stalinist clique on the T.R.C. led by Dennison against running candidates in the name of the C.C.F. The elimination of the left wing from the C.C.F. marks a new phase in the history of the party. The party now threatens to enter a period of gradual capitulation to the Stalinist stooges of the Dennison ilk and through them to the Communist party.

The expulsions are a sign of the political bankruptcy of the C.C.F. leadership and a warning that unless the left wingers still within the C.C.F. rally behind the S.P.G., party democracy will become a right of the remote past.

Follow the examples of Dovercourt and North Humbercrest clubs and demand a trial before the rank and file!

Against heresy hunting, Stalinist stooges and Prov. Ex. bureaucrats!

Join the S. P. G.

WHO ARE THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES?

(Some Carrion from the Clarion)

The Daily Clarion of Dec. 5th carried an article which, despite the intentions of its staff, is actually of value to the Canadian working class. Sandwiched between the usual cutepictures of Shirley Temple and the legs of bourgeois bathing belles in Florida, there is an account of the expulsion of "Trotsky agents from the C.C.F." The story exceeds even the Clarion's superlative batting average for hypocrisies, libels and lies. Our ten S.P.C. comrades who have been bureaucratically expelled by the C.C.F. Provincial Executive, admittedly because they advocated revolutionary socialism, are said by the Stalinite news-manufacturers to have been fired for "conducting disruptive, pro-fascist propaganda and activities,....advocating measures against the interests of the working people"....etc. The value of the falsehoods lie in their self-exposure of C.P. methods and in the fact that their author cites, as evidence, the very material which proves him a liar.

"Typical of the reactionary and pro-fascist 'policies' advocated by the Trotskyites", says the Clarion, "was that of Sir Edward Beatty -- the amalgamation of the railroads..... This reactionary proposal was cloaked with the revolutionary phrases (sic) that such amalgamation should take place under 'workers' control". From this very quotation it is obvious that we did not advocate the Beatty plan, unless Sir Edward has recently and unknown to us demanded his own resignation and that of all his bourgeois office-underlings. Anyone taking the trouble to check the only article in which we have discussed the railroad problem --our draft of a revolutionary socialist policy for the C.C.F., Socialist Action No. 4 -- will find that we advocate the precise opposite of Beatty's plan. He wants to absorb the C.N.R. into the C.P.R. We stand for the absorption of the C.P.R. into the C.N.R. by "expropriation without indemnification of the C.P.R. stockholders and C.N.R. bondholders" and management by workers' committees (p.7).

The last point is exactly what makes our program revolutionary -- the Clarion only exposes its ignorance when it surrounds that word with quotation marks -- for it is a point which the workers must gain for themselves and by militant struggle. In contrast, the C.C.F. program, "government control" of both railroads under the existing managements, is not even a "peaceful" socialist policy, but a policy of state-capitalism. And the Clarion's own solution for the railroad problem, where is it? You will find it in the leading editorial of the same issue. It is simply this: we don't want Beatty's program. THERE IS NOT A WORD OF AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY, even of C.C.F. policy, in that editorial. It is simply a rehash of the criticisms we ourselves made in our preliminary appraisal of Beatty. To draw the conclusion is, to the Clarion, Trotskyism-fascism.

Next our Stalinist scribe states that we have been "decriing mass action, mass meetings and unity of the people as a means of exposing and fighting fascism". No evidence is supplied. If by the "unity of the people" is meant unity of the working class with the Liberals and Conservatives in a holy war against the workers of Germany or Japan or any other country, then the Clarion is right. We stand for the unity of the international working-class in the fight to overthrow capitalism; the fight against fascism and war is not another battle but the same fight. And in that fight we have never agitated against, and always for, mass meetings and mass action. We challenge the Clarion to find a word or an action of ours which proves otherwise.

Nevertheless we do not, as does the Clarion, delude the workers with the notion that Leagues for Peace and What Have You will prevent either fascism or war. As the Clarion itself admits we counterpose the necessity for "workers' defence guards, equipped, drilled and trained to meet the fascist bands on their own grounds". The Clarion contemptuously refers to them as "storm troops to combat fascism". Very well, the phraseology is the Clarion's and Hitler's, their disingenuous quotation marks to the contrary, but the idea is ours and that of honest Marxists anywhere. Is it because we advocate workers' defence corps to fight fascism that the Clarion labels us fascist? Apparently, for no other "evidence" is cited.

In view of the fact that our comrades were expelled although it was generally admitted they had not broken party discipline by campaigning outside the C.C.F. organization, it would be interesting to know just how the Clarion got its quotations and pseudo-quotations from our previous bulletin. No one in the S.P.C. is a Stalinist stooge. Perhaps comrade Dennison, stalwart of the Provincial Executive, and leader of the pogrom against all who even think differently from the "line" (what is the line?) might be able to explain. Even he might not be able to explain, however, how the Clarion knew that "a number of others (Trotskyists), who had been called to answer charges, failed to appear". This is simply one of the many items in the Clarion's report which exist only within the sewers of its editors' minds.

The Clarion concludes with at least a half-truth: "a considerable number of Trotskyists are still in the ranks of the C.C.F.", but they are not, O lickspittles from Stalin's army of literary prostitutes, "carrying on provocative counter-revolutionary activities". They will leave that to the Communist Party with its support of imperialist wars and its unscrupulous and police-serving lies against every worker who has the courage to stand up against such policies. Many supporters of revolutionary socialism remain in the C.C.F.; if the present Ontario leadership is allowed to remain, these will be driven out, and as they go the Clarion will continue to fling the mud that only Stalinites can fling. But it will not stick. Revolutionary socialism has survived the attacks of other bureaucrats and traitors, other counter-revolutionaries masking as "friends of the people", and the Fourth Internationalists will survive this, to build the party of Canadian socialism. E.R.

LABOR GOES TO THE POLLS

In recent years it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between the programs of labor and bourgeois candidates. The deepening crisis of capitalism has made it more difficult for the old parties to pass off the outworn phrases about tax reform and tariff, sound business administration and common sense. The suffering people are compelled to look for a concrete solution to their daily economic problems. The bourgeois parties have found it highly profitably to exploit this sentiment by new programs of apparently drastic social reform, trotted out before the public only at election time. After election day these programs are conveniently shelved and the government continues its more or less "efficient" administration of the affairs of state in the interests of the bourgeois class it represents.

Parallel with this change in election strategy by the ruling interests has developed a noticeably reactionary trend in the approach of working class parties to elections. Labor demands have been so modified in recent years as to be hardly distinguishable from the bourgeois programs. Even the technique, the ballyhoo, the building of personalities as keen leaders, has been taken over by labor groups from the arsenal of bourgeois electioneering. This trend displays itself most clearly in municipal elections, in which the Communist Party and the C.C.F. now participate without political banners, presenting their candidates as good men and true, honest friends of labor, etc., a trick long used by capital to cover the reactionary content of its political program.

Even the program of the "men" has been whittled down to simple middle-class demands. The main slogan in Tim Buck's campaign, for example, calls for a lower tax rate. Stewart Smith champions a democratic tax reform! The basic problem of unemployment is not even mentioned in the preliminary bill-board campaign of the Stalinist candidates. Instead we are told "to make sure this time" (of Tim Buck) in the same way as Controller Fred Hamilton's slogan proclaims: "He gets things done." - whatever that may mean.

In glaring contrast to this form of electioneering is the program of the one revolutionary candidate participating in the municipal elections in Toronto district. William Butterworth, recently expelled from the C.C.F. along with many others for participating in the Socialist Policy Group, is once more contesting the Deputy Reeveship in Ward III of York Township. A sliding scale of working hours for township employees to relieve unemployment; cash relief for unemployed, without compulsory work; township tasks like garbage collecting, etc., to be handled by regularly paid employees instead of reliefees; a graduated assessment tax to relieve the small home-owners and to place the burden of cost for municipal services on industry and the wealthy residential districts of Cedarvale and Baby Point; and the transitional demand of "A unified railroad system under workers' control"; -- these are some of the points contained in the election program of the York Township Socialist Policy Group.

Bourgeois lawyers and labor skeptics will say that this program goes beyond the framework of municipal affairs and private property rights. The answer is that the right to live goes beyond the legal structure of capitalism and can be guaranteed only by the revolutionary class struggle. If this program can serve the purpose of putting the masses into motion, then its "realizability" or "unrealizability" will be determined by the struggle itself. For today, in the death agony of capitalism, even elementary labor demands must penetrate beyond existing property relations.

The S.P.C. does not turn its back to elections, nor does it advise the workers to boycott the polls for lack of suitable candidates, and a program that will really answer their needs. We ask the workers to give critical support to AL⁴ LABOR CANDIDATES, by voting for them and trying to ensure their election. Only in this way will the workers realize through their own experiences the utter inability of parliamentarism to solve the basic problems of the oppressed.

H.K.

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FASCISM MENACES FRANCE

Five days prior to the ineffective general strike of November 30th hundreds of thousands of workers had staged spontaneous sit-downs against Daladier's attack on the 40-hour week. Yet on the day called for the strike, barely two millions of the expected five millions responded. Utilities and railways continued to function, communications were scarcely affected and government services carried on normally. There was a very uneven response in industry, stoppages ranging from 10% to 90% effective. Even among the most militant sections of French labor, the seamen and the metal workers, the strike was half-hearted. Now, two weeks after, the workers are in retreat. They still continue sporadic fights, in scattered detachments, to combat the lockouts, the wholesale dismissals and repudiation of labor contracts carried on by the triumphant bosses.

While Daladier hypocritically talks "conciliation", he uses the navy to break the strike of 5,000 seamen at Le Havre. Why have the strikes failed, though the workers have time and again shown their readiness to fight? The reason is that the workers have no revolutionary leadership, but have once again been confused, disorganized and misled by the treacherous labor fakers at their head -- these men who up until now have given unqualified support to Daladier in the Popular Front!

The question at issue in France today is not merely the abrogation of the 40-hour week, or the levying of new taxes at the expense of the workers for "national defence". The issue is -- the continued existence of the organized labor movement as against the capitalist system itself. Daladier and the capitalist class are well aware of this and state it openly. To

compete effectively with Germany, and to meet the permanent crisis of world capitalism, the employers must have free rein. All restrictions on working hours and conditions in favor of the workers must be abolished. The labor movement is a hindrance and a threat and must be smashed!

Aggressive and self-confident, the capitalists provoked the struggle against labor under conditions favorable to themselves and unfavorable for the working class. Knowing by their whole past record that they could rely on their labor lieutenants -- Blum, Cachin, Jouhaux, et al.-- to hamstring the strike movement in any case, they mobilized through Daladier all the state forces of repression. Daladier utilized the police, the mobile guard, the army and navy, and placed the country virtually on a war footing. He militarized the public services and requisitioned all utilities. His emergency decrees gave him unlimited power to impose drastic fines and imprisonment on strikers. Any agitation against the increased hours rendered workers liable to prosecution for treason, in the interests of national defence!

Contrast with this realistic, firm, class-conscious policy of the capitalist leadership, the treacherous, tardy, half-hearted response of the labor fakery to this challenge. Afraid of their own rank and file, fearful that the movement would go beyond the framework of capitalism and launch a fight to seize political power, those agents of the employers denied that there was any political issue involved. They begged the workers to maintain "order, calm, discipline", to confine themselves to a mere protest against lengthening the 40-hour week. Not only that, they broke the sit-down strikes -- to call for a general strike, five days off, giving the capitalist reaction plenty of time to arm itself, while labor militancy cooled.

The result was a disorganized, unprepared, disheartened working class, and a clear road for Daladier's repressions. The capitalists were jubilant, and supremely confident of the outcome of the strike early in the day, as the spurt in values on the stock market showed. They now hope to subjugate labor completely without a general, drawn battle. In the face of this tragic outcome, the Stalinists further disorient the workers by hailing the events as a victory! (S.J.)

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

Daladier is the product of the People's Front! Fascism is the monster produced by the class collaborationist union sponsored by Jouhaux, Thorez, Blum & Co. That is the lesson that stares the French working class in the face today.

And that lesson learned can and must be made into a new source of hope and the rallying of the masses around a new banner of struggle to smash the Fascist threat while there is still time.

A profound responsibility rests upon the Workers' Inter-

nationalist Party (P.O.I.), French section of the Fourth International, and upon the P.S.O.P. -- the Workers' and Peasants' Socialist Party -- at this critical hour. It is their task to forge a new fighting united front of the working class in the common struggle against Fascism.

Daladier must be given blow for blow. The united front of capitalist reaction must and can be met by the gnarled fist of the united front of the working class in the common struggle against Fascism.

This means a fighting, revolutionary program:

1. CREATION OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES OF ACTION IN EVERY FACTORY, TOWN, AND INDUSTRY, AS THE BASIS FOR COUNCILS OF THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, and SOLDIERS -- THE SOVIETS!
2. IMMEDIATE CREATION OF ARMED WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS TO PROTECT THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS FROM THE FASCIST GANGS AND DALADIER'S POLICE AND BLOODHOUNDS!
3. GENERALIZATION OF THE STRIKES UNDER THE SLOGAN OF OVERTHROWING THE DALADIER GOVERNMENT AND ESTABLISHING A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT.

There is still time! There is still hope of stopping the Fascist offensive in Europe dead in its tracks! It is up to the revolutionary militants in the French working class and to them it is the duty of workers in this country and throughout the world to extend swift and effective moral and material support. The forces are there. With a will to struggle, victory can be won!

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CANADIAN FASCISM FEARS THE REFUGEES

Joseph Farr, henchman of Adrien Arcan, leader of the Canadian Fascists, has announced a series of meetings in an organized campaign throughout Ontario to oppose the admittance of Jewish Refugees from Germany. Here we can see a direct and brazen tie-up between Fascism in Germany and its embryo party here. The use of the Jews as scape-goats for the bankruptcy of capitalism proved eminently successful in splitting the working class in Germany. We must not allow a similar myth to be fostered and put to the same use here. The interests of the workers of all races are identical. We must reject the splitting up of our class into racial and religious groups, for so long as the workers are divided, capitalism will rule.

The refugee problem can have a solidarizing effect on all labor groups if these are determined and militant in their stand on this issue. There is no room for doubt -- the Jews are victims of Nazi capitalism -- we must demand asylum for them in Canada!

Canadian economy could quite easily provide work for them, just as work could be provided for all Canadians. The concern of the capitalists over the fate of the Canadian unemployed, should refugees be admitted is so much hypocrisy. They have never shown any concern about the unemployed in the past. This is just another stunt to dodge responsibility for the fate of these unfortunates .

No, the capitalist state will do nothing for the unemployed or the refugees unless it is forced by the organized strength of labor to do something. Why should the standards of labor suffer from the influx of refugees? Why not the standards of the wealthy class? From their plenty we can take a part for social services. Why should \$50 million dollars of wealth produced by the working class be used for "defense" of capitalist property? Let these \$50 millions be diverted to social services, land settlement schemes, etc., and we can begin to absorb not only our own unemployed but the refugees as well.

Arcand realizes that these refugees will be implacable foes of Fascism and therefore struggles against their admittance. Labor must recognize them as such, too, and as strong allies in the future show-down between fascism and labor. To-day our demands must be clear and militant:

OPEN THE DOORS TO THE REFUGEES FROM NAZI TERROR!

DIVERT THE DEFENSE BUDGET TO A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL SERVICES!

M. G.

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TOWARDS A REGULAR PRINTED ORGAN

The editors of Socialist Action are finding it increasingly difficult to present the revolutionary Marxist point of view in an adequate manner through the facilities of a mimeographed organ. They feel keenly the need for a regular printed paper, and are sure that the sympathizers and supporters of the Socialist Policy Group would welcome such a step forward. A campaign for funds is therefore being considered, in order to establish a printed organ for 1939. The editorial board is confident that this campaign will be warmly received, and urges all Marxists to respond adequately to the forthcoming appeal.

The Editors.

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