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VETERANS' LEADER JOINS S.W.L.

Tom Montague Breaks With Communist Party

Nat. Sec'y, Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, and Chairman, York Unemployed Union Stands with Fourth International

I, Tom Montague, herewith declare my total break with and repudiation of the Communist Party of Canada and the Communist International. At the same time I announce my allegiance to the successor of the Communist Party as the revolutionary working class party of Canada, the Socialist Workers' League, and to the Fourth International as the international organization of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism. It is good to breathe the air of a Revolutionary working class party again.

For the last five years I have found my path separating from that of the Communist Party. Loyally, I have fought my differences out in the party and have refused to take issue with it in public until finally I have been convinced that it is no longer a party worthy of the allegiance of any honest militant. The party itself has accomplished that.

Veterans' League Smashed

My serious differences with the Communist Party began over its deliberate smashing of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, an organization of which I am still the National Secretary since the party has never dared call a final conference to liquidate that militant body of workers. The steps that led to the smashing of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League could fill a book, and are a revelation of the callous and cynical way in which the Communist Party leadership is prepared to treat its best elements. Briefly, the League was smashed to make way for the Popular Front, and I, as the National Secretary, was scheduled for "liquidation" to make sure it would not be revived. I will deal with this subject in a later article.

In the winter of 1935 I suddenly found myself "suspended for inactivity" in a unit that never met and at a time when I had been evicted from my home and was searching for work to pay the rent for my new dwelling. My suspension was for three months, but six weeks later I suddenly learned from the "Worker" that I was "expelled for drunkenness and inactivity". The news was as much a surprise to other members of the local party, rank and file as it was to me. I later learned that it was partly the result of the decision to get rid of a troublesome "class-struggle fanatic" in the veterans' movement, and partly the personal move of a local party bureaucrat

who feared that I might become a rival in the municipal elections.

No Isolated Case

My expulsion occurred just at the period of the Moscow Trials, and this horrible butchering of Old Bolsheviks was an event that caused me to realize that my own experience was no isolated incident. In earnest I began to study Marx and Lenin, and even Trotsky. I found their teachings far removed from present-day Communist Party practice.

I determined to expose to my own satisfaction just how far the party had degenerated. Although at the time of my expulsion, York Township was plastered with leaflets denouncing me as a drunkard, I was invited by the party to speak on their platform in support of their candidate at the 1937 Provincial elections. This I did, as it was still to my eyes the only working class party in Canada. But in 1938 I could not stomach the melange of reformism that the party adopted as the program for its "progressive labour" candidate in the provincial elections, and I spoke against him. In the last township elections, however, I was again invited to support their slate, and upon a personal pledge from Humpheys that he would put up a fight if elected, I accepted the post of chief election agent in Ward 2 York Township. This, for a lazy drunkard, mind you. Personally I maintained an attitude of critical

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C.P.-HERRIDGE DEAL PLANNED FOR WEST

By Carl Hichin

Winnipeg, Man.—Headed by Herridge and boosted by Buck, Canada's version of the "Popular Front" is being built in the West. A new Stalinized Tory dress is being prepared for Canadian capitalism.

Relief Strikers Continue Struggle On New Front

UNEMPLOYED UNION MAKES ORDERLY RETREAT

More than 2000 unemployed workers of York and Scarboro townships are still in fighting mood, though forced back to work at slave labour on May 4th, after thirty-four days of splendidly militant struggle against Hepburn's vicious 10 percent cut in dole rates. Only when cut off relief altogether and faced with starvation did the strikers vote to make an orderly retreat and go back to work as an organized body for their miserable doles. Now confident in their leadership, in which prominent members of the Socialist Workers League are active, they are grimly determined to strengthen their organization, redress their ranks, and press on to renew struggle.

Strike Not Licked

Since the official ending of the strike, membership has considerably increased in the York Unemployed Union,—proof that the unemployed have by no means said their last word. Certain slight concessions have indeed been won by the strike, York Municipal Council has recog-

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Recent threats of 60 and 70 cent wheat climaxing years of hardship had put the prairie farmers in inflammatory mood. At least temporarily, they were more prepared for militant struggle than the more Stalinized urban workers. Large sections were breaking completely away from the old line parties and from all shades of reformism. Mass demonstrations were being planned in towns along the Royal route.

Farmers Lack Fighting Leadership

But a centralized militant leadership was missing and is still lacking. And now, Herridge's promises of a "lawful revolution"—"independent free from the control of big finance," an "overthrow of the two old parties", and "production for use and not for profit"—are having their effect. They may succeed in heading city and country toilers in the West into a Tory-controlled coalition.

However, the very nature of the promises made, indicates a radical content, and certainly a Tory like Hon. W.D. Herridge would have been distrusted when he made them, had he not been given a coat of red "Stalinism" by Tim Buck and numerous western mayors. To save the West, Stalinism must be ruthlessly exposed, and that quickly.

.....
The story of this new coalition is not only interesting, it is important if Canadian toilers are to be saved from a damnable dangerous duopoly.

C.P. Backs King

In January this year, the C.P. position was fully revealed in an exchange of letters with the Saskatchewan C.C.F. Replying to an invitation extended by G.H. Williams, C.C.C. leader in the Sask. legislature, to join a united front behind Woodsworth rather than King, the C.P. declared that it could see "no point in calling for a united front behind the leader of the minority in the opposition as a reply" to the attack being made on Mr. King,—because King was regarded as too favourable towards unemployment insurance, too liberal with rural re-

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THE PROBLEM OF THE UKRAINE

By Leon Trotsky

The Ukrainian question, which many governments and many "socialists" and even "communists" have tried to forget or to relegate to the deep strongbox of history has once again been placed on the order of the day and this time with redoubled force. The latest aggravation of the Ukrainian question is most intimately bound up with the degeneration of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern, the successes of fascism and

the approach of the next imperialist war. Crucified by four states, the Ukraine now occupies in the fate of Europe the same position that was once occupied by Poland; with this difference—that world relations are now infinitely more tense and the tempos of development accelerated. The Ukrainian question is destined in the immediate future to play an enormous role in the life of Europe. It was not for nothing that Hitler so noisily raised the question of creating a "Greater Ukraine" and

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Canadian West Suffers From Deep Farming Crisis

Relief Strike

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TERRIBLE POVERTY ON PRAIRIES; MAKES DECAY OF AGRICULTURE MOST RAPID IN NORTH AMERICA

By Doc, Action Farm Correspondent

Canadian western agrarian economy today is decaying more rapidly than any other section of North American capitalism. In the struggle for 80 cent wheat, prairie farmers are fighting not for an increased commodity price, but for an increased subsidy from the state, which they now recognize more and more as the agent of large-scale monopoly capitalism. Because the decay in the domestic wheat economy is being aggravated by the King-Chamberlain-Roosevelt war economy moves, and by the conflict between U.S. and Canadian wheat interests, the farmers are becoming increasingly militant. The political implications of the fight are extremely important.



Franklin D. Roosevelt

His war manoeuvres accentuate crisis in Canadian farm economy.

80 Cents Barely Adequate

At one period recently, 10,000 persons per day were signing petitions for the 80 cent subsidized price, which Prof Hope of the University of Saskatchewan, after careful study has declared necessary "just to carry on."

Only twice in the past 49 years has the year-average price of wheat, Fort William, No. 1 Northern, fallen below 60 cents. King would like to get out of paying any subsidy at all, and there is a move on foot to reduce wheat acreage by five million acres, as an attempt to cope with the agricultural crisis.

Terrible Western Poverty

Today, a very large number of Canadian farmers are owners of their land only in name. The real owners are the trust, banking and insurance companies, who have found it cheaper to let the farmer stay on the place and pay interest, rather than oust him and hire wage labour. Hence the new "benevolent" Mortgage Bank Act by which the government reimburses the finance companies for cutting the interest rate, so that they might receive some return from the impoverished debtor-farmer.

The Saskatchewan government has stated that "every year since 1931, it would have taken two-thirds of the wheat crop to pay debt charges, and taxes would have eaten up the remainder." That left nothing for the farmer to live on. Fifteen months ago, one person in every three was on some form of state aid in Saskatchewan, where agriculture accounts for 80% of all products. In 1925, the cash income to Sask. farmers was \$334 millions; by 1931, it was \$35 millions — a drop of \$300 millions! There has been little change since. In the past 7 years, the income of the West has fallen about \$700 millions.

War Conditions Worsens

Under some sort of war dicker with the U.S.A., Britain has agreed to take 100,000,000 bushels of U.S. wheat, when Canada has a large carryover and limited demand. In another war move, Britain has undertaken to import enormous quantities of wheat from Roumania. These are hard blows to Canadian wheat industry. Further, more recently, it was learned that the U.S.A. by price-cutting, sold 24,000,000 bushels to Britain. This was apparently possible due to a specialized form of U.S. State subsidy. Besides hitting Canadian economy, it also hit the British worker's stomach. Canadian wheat is the better quality. But the purchase of cheap American wheat has led British millers to reduce the content of Canadian wheat in flour to 25 percent, even to 15 percent, whereas it had previously stood at 30 to 40 percent. Both British workers and Canadian farmers are taking it on the chin and in the tummy from Chamberlain's war moves, and the competition between U.S. and Canadian trade.

nized the union as "bargaining agent" for the relief workers. The number of hours by which the men must work out their vouchers has been somewhat reduced. Work on garbage and ash collection is no longer required, and Council had to vote further appropriations of \$12,000 for more full-time civic employees to do this work. The union now is disputing the use of relief labour on street cleaning and catch basins. Under threat of further strike action, it is demanding that only one wage card per month be issued, and the hours of labour be further reduced. Another important point being negotiated is the question of the union members electing job foremen from their own ranks.

Work Under Protest

To inform the public that they are working only under protest, and to make their grievances known, the men are demonstrating on the jobs, placarding the works depots with slogans and protest signs. The union has decided to call a sit-down of one hour, twice weekly on the jobs, to show there is still plenty of fight in the unemployed. The militant spirit of the men may be caught from the threat of one bright lad who promised to bring down a hawkesaw and reduce all the shovels by one-tenth, to conform with the ten percent reduction in relief!

York and Scarboro Lead

York and Scarboro workers, traditionally the spearhead in unemployed struggles had been first to meet head-on with Ontario's Hepburn government, in its April 1 onslaught on relief standards. Even before the cut, the Ontario Medical Association had declared relief 50 percent below minimum health standards. The unemployed, many so weak from lack of proper food that they can't stand up any length of time at such labor, rebelled at the idea of working at garbage and ash collection, street cleaning and weed cutting as if nothing had happened, while the Hepburn government passed a new 2c gasoline tax for "SOCIAL SERVICES". They also knew very well that the King Federal government had plenty of money, with its highest "peace-time" war budget of \$63,000,000, and with its niggardly appropriations for public works, which the province was not utilizing. Finally the York workers were all too keenly aware that their Municipal Council had \$2,000,000 tucked away in reserves — built up out of the savings of \$52,000 yearly that their relief labour had made possible by the displacement of permanent unionized civic employees!

Why could liked relief labour

The story told by the figures in the Township's own Works Department budget for 1937 brought home the way both employed and unemployed workers had been played for suckers by the authorities. In 1931, full-time

workers in the Roadway Section of the Department of Works did street-cleaning, road labour, weed-cutting, snow removal, garbage and ash collection, for a total wages bill of \$117,320. In 1936 by courtesy of the unemployed, the wages bill was \$85,000, a saving of almost \$30,000! The reduction in expenditures for labour on street cleaning alone in 1936, as compared with 1931, was \$10,350. For weed cutting, on streets and on private lots the saving was \$8,763, for garbage and ash collection, \$23,770; and for general labour on roads, \$18,126. Finally, just to rub it in, a cynical little footnote to the "Proposal Basis for Wages" for regular civic employees in the Roadway Section (p. 13 of 1937 Annual Budget of Expenditures, York Township Works Department) gave the show away even more glaringly. This little joker read: "If Cash Relief men are not available to substitute for regular men on two weeks summer holidays, additional appropriation required for extra labour is \$2500!"

Figures Withheld

These figures were made available to T. J. Montague, strike leader, by former "Labour" deputy-revee, Ewart J. Humphreys, only during the strike, though Humphreys had had them in his possession since January 1937. The workers might well wonder why a leading "progressive" politician had seen fit to protect the authorities in their exploitation of the unemployed, by failing to expose the facts two years before.

From the start, the strike, which began spontaneously, had a fighting, positive program aimed at restoration of all cuts, raising of all unemployed to the same relief rates, and inauguration of works projects at trade union rates of pay. Socialist Workers League members led in the formulation and defence of this militant policy, which was bitterly opposed by certain CP "leaders" in both York and Scarboro, who urged instead that the relief cut be accepted if it meant the abolition of relief labour.

Sabotage of Food Supplies

Weakest link in the unemployed chain, the Lake Shore district leadership of strike-fearing "communists" joined late and capitulated early — in New Toronto, without reason, while the strike was still 100 percent solid. York and Scarboro held out a week longer, until hunger forced the men back to work. Prime responsibility for the failure to raise finances for food, and organize soup kitchens, must rest with the Ontario Federation on Unemployment an organization dominated by the Communist Party. George Harris, its secretary promised that his organization could collect all the food supplies necessary to enable the strikers to carry on; then at the critical moment, he "advised" the unemployed unions that the OFU was unable to come across

Lesson Of The Strike

Though temporarily defeated, and forced to retreat, the unemployed have learned plenty from the strike. They have seen how the Federal and

Buck-Herridge Move to Corral Farm Discontent

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Ref and too willing to listen to demands for work and wages projects to abolish unemployment!

King, C.P. Discredited

Then came the proposal of the King government to cut wheat from 50 to 60 cents — approximately the lowest price in 49 years. The farmers flocked away from King and turned their backs on the C.P. They could not understand Buck's preference for King over Woodsworth. Now they wanted to step out on their own. Mass meetings were held. Militant parades and demonstrations were planned.

Stalinist stock struck record lows for the second time in six months. During the Czechoslovakian crisis Sam Carr had to be rushed out West to quell an inner revolt over the C.P.'s pro-war line. This time, Norman Freed was rushed to prairie party conventions to stop the drop in party membership. He only partly succeeded. Last year the C.P. was talking of 25,000 members by this midsummer. Now it talks of only 16,000. The May edition of the "Party Builder" admitted in an article headed, "A Note of Alarm" that "the party growth is far from satisfactory... In recent months... the party has not grown at a rate in keeping with the needs..."

Need for Class Struggle

Party

This latest crisis within the C.P. is a measure of the workers' and farmers' desire to break not only with the old line parties, but also with all parliamentary reformism — the C.P. brand included. The hour for a mass class struggle party of workers and farmers has arrived. Only hesitancy can now prevent the growth of the 4th International in Canada.

Buck Tries to Save Day

Matters rapidly went from bad to worse. The prairie C.P. committees, with King in disgrace, were paralyzed. The farmers milled around without the leadership they so badly needed in the fight for 80 cent wheat. Buck tried to save the day for the C.P. He wired his prairie parties to get into action against the 60 cent wheat. At first, not King of course, but agricultural minister Gardiner in person was attacked. Liberal Premier Bracken was lashed to the skies. Miss C.P. still sat comfortably and amorously on the lap of Willie King.

Now the situation has changed again. Paying but slight heed to all the parliamentary games, the farmers continued to vote for mass demonstrations before the Royal visitors. The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan began to tear up its constituency electoral agreements with the C.P. On its own it promised 90 cent wheat if returned to office. It had realized

the new unpopularity of the Stalinists. It also realized that to join the C.P. in support of King's Liberals would now be suicide.

The C.P. retaliated with vicious attacks on the C.C.F. reminiscent of the third period "social fascist". Next to the Trotskyists, the C.C.F. became the dominion's worst "poison". (Vide recent editions of the Weekly Clarion). Panic-stricken, the C.P. politburo sped Buck out West to deal with the third inner-party crisis in seven months.

Tory-C.P. Romance Blooms

Overnight Miss C.P. jumped off King's lap and began to swish her soiled petticoats before the ogling eyes of Rt. Hon. W.D. Herridge, brother-in-law of Rt. Hon. Iron Heel Bennett, and himself a cum laude graduate of Roosevelt's old blue buzzard school.

In the press and over the air, Buck began to laud Herridge's "New Democracy movement" sometimes called the "United Reform Movement". Buck and Herridge agreed that only one "progressive" should contest each constituency against the old line parties in the coming federal elections. Right now Herridge is preparing to pick out those progressive candidates.

Within a week, ugly rumours began to circulate in Winnipeg labour circles. Mention was made of alleged considerations in connection with the C.P. red-washing of Herridge. Note was made that no Tory could carry the West without help from such as Buck. Those who understood past early preparedness by the C.P., saw some confirmation in the fact, that the C.P. was evidently holding back its own nominations. Are they to be subject to outside approval too?

Convention Hodge-Podge

The ground prepared by Buck, Herridge rushed West. His Vancouver speech was set up in print in advance and flashed to hundreds of small town prairie papers. In the speech, Herridge made his promises of "lawful revolution," etc. He lined up Mayor Telford of Vancouver, former C.C.F. top-light, and a CCF member of B.C. legislature. In Alberta some agreement was reached with Albert Hart. Subsequently "monetary reform" promises were given increased prominence.

In Regina, the Stalinized CCF'er, Mayor Ellison, was lined up, — a rank opportunist and careerist if ever there was one! All along the line, the C.P. fell for Herridge as a great saviour. At the time of writing Herridge is pulling strings together in Ottawa.

The new political Messiah is to hold a convention during June in Regina or Saskatoon. Invited are the regents and mayors of Saskatchewan municipalities. They are Stalinists, Social Crediters, money cranks, C.C.F.'ers, Liberals, Tories and just plain farmers.

A few western provinces' convention is slated for later. About this, Tim Buck appears to know more than anyone else. According to him, prominent people from all "progressive" parties and movements are to be in-

The Worker's Angle

By Robertson

SUPER SALESMEN



No cut in their relief.

By the time these lines are out, George Windsor and Mrs. Wally Simpson's sister-in-law will be winding up their two-ring circus and rolling down to compete with the New York World's Fair. Canadian workers will have had a days holiday, a spot of excitement and color, and perhaps, if their fortresses held out, a glimpse of two wealthy and professionally amiable figureheads of British imperialism. And now where are we?

Director Elliott of the Toronto Men's Hostel said, back in April, that "there are more than 400,000 unemployed men below the age of 25 in Canada". Have George and Elizabeth brought any of these men jobs? The carpenters who stuck up scaffolding for the five-dollar rubberneckers are home again twiddling their thumbs. The owners of some vacant lots have made a little dough. That's all.

Sir John Orr, food expert, who was brought to Canada "to educate Canadians on proper eating," discovered he couldn't educate very many because 75% of those with incomes under \$1500 (i.e. 75% of the workers and workless) weren't getting enough money to be able to eat properly. Has the Royal Detour done anything about this? Well, the high-income families ate chicken with Their Majesties at public expense.

There are never less than 40,000 single Canadian kids on the move at one time, looking for work that isn't there. Last winter there were 100,000. Trying to cling to freighters, 129 of them were mangled to death and 202 maimed for life. Will there be any fewer on the hoof, on crutches, or in the morgue, this year because Their Highnesses whizzed around Canada in the most luxurious and costly private train ever built in this country? Well yes — if Emperor George goes to war and if any of our single jobless are well enough to be snaffled by a recruiting officer and shipped overseas for mangling or maiming. Otherwise, no.

Last year the federal government appropriated \$30 million out of taxes "to stimulate building and employment". Last March it was admitted in the House that only 1.7% of that sum had been used, although there were still 1,125,000 on relief. Was any of the 93.3% been put to its

used. The Clarion has stated the C.P. is for the new move. It has reported C.C.F.'er Coldwell, M.P., as being favorable. And it's hard to tell sometimes where Coldwell's C.C.F.'ism ends and his Stalinism starts.

C.P. Ends in Tory Camp

Chas. A. Bowman, editor of the Ottawa Citizen, represents the Liberal wing. His editorials on un-

employment reveal the reactionary content of the movement. Bowman is one of the movement's brain-trusters. Interviewed here, he said the movement will have the support of the Social Crediters. Right now he despairs of C.C.F. support but is apparently hopeful. The C.P. in its press is indirectly urging Premier Bracken to join up. He broke the Film Fion strike, imposed a 2% wage

The captains and the kings depart, with their twelve tons of baggage intact. The tumult and the shouting die. And the same old Canada remains, under the shadows of unemployment, low wages, starvation-relief, farm-mortgages, and the blackening clouds of war. And these will stay so long as the Empire which the Windsors have been trying to re-sell to Canada, and the profit-racket on which all empires rest, is still with us. Chamberlain's big-business government, sent the royal puppets here in the hope that sentiment and shouting might get Canadians, perhaps even French-Canadians, to fight and die again for the Bank of England and the clip-pers of colonial bonds.

But though many pulses here have been trained to leap in response to imperial trumpets, even those pulses beat with blood nourished by just an ordinary stomach. A stomach which feeds better on food than on flags, and holds together better with bread than with bombs. Royalty has its day, but Canadians still have their stomachs. They have lives they want to rescue from poverty and the wars of the empires. To live the masses must struggle, must fight against the imperial bloodsuckers who keep the Charlie McCarthies on their thrones and against the owners of the "royal and loyal" capitalist press of Canada and against the whole capitalist system.

All the king's horses and all the king's men Can't put Canada and the Empire together again.

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The Problem Of The Ukraine

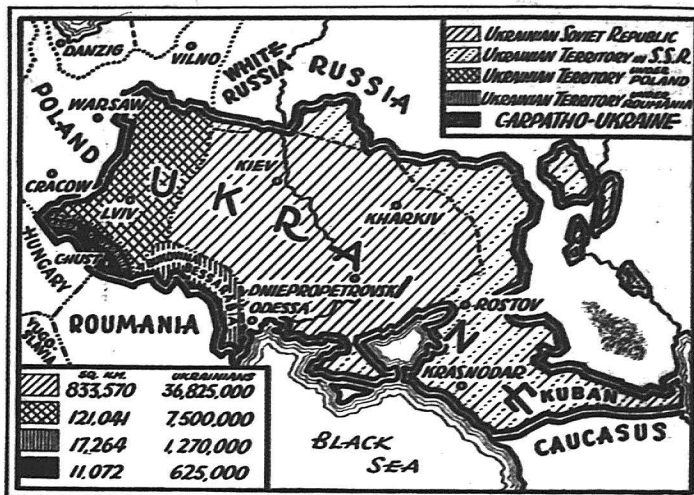
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Moreover it was not for nothing that he dropped this question with such stealthy haste....

The Bolshevik Conception Of Soviet Ukraine

In the conception of the old Bolshevik party Soviet Ukraine was destined to become a powerful axis around which the other sections of the Ukrainian people would unite. It is indisputable that in the first period of its existence Soviet Ukraine exerted a mighty attractive force, in national respects as well, and aroused to struggle the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intelligentsia of Western Ukraine enslaved by Poland. But during the years of Thermidorian reaction, the position of Soviet Ukraine and together with it the posing of the Ukrainian question as a whole changed sharply. The more profound the hopes aroused, the keener was the disillusionment. The bureaucracy strangled and plundered the people within Great Russia, too. But in the Ukraine matters were further complicated by the massacre of national hopes. Nowhere did restrictions, purges, repressions and in general all forms of bureaucratic hoodlunism assume such murderous sweep as they did in the Ukraine in the struggle against the powerful, deeply rooted longings of the Ukrainian masses for greater freedom and independence. To the totalitarian bureaucracy, Soviet Ukraine became an administrative division of an economic unit and a military base of the U.S.S.R. To be sure, the Stalin bureaucracy erects statues to Shevchenko but only in order more thoroughly to crush the Ukrainian people under their weight and to force it to chant psalms in the language of Kobzar to the rapist clique in the Kremlin.

Towards the sections of the Ukraine now outside its frontiers, the Kremlin's attitude today is the same as it is towards all oppressed nationalities, all colonies, and semi-colonies, i.e. small change in its international combinations with imperialist governments. At the recent 15th Congress of the "Communist Party," Manuilsky, one of the most revolting renegades of Ukrainian communism, quite openly explained that not only the U.S.S.R. but also the Comintern (the "gyp-joint," according to Stalin's formulation) refused to demand the emancipation of oppressed peoples whenever their oppressors are not the enemies of the ruling Moscow clique. India is nowadays being defended by Stalin, Dimitroff and Manuilsky against Japan, but not against England. Western Ukraine they are ready to cede forever to Poland in exchange for a diplomatic agreement which appears profitable at the present time to the bureaucrats of the Kremlin. It is a far cry from the days when they went no further than



A United Soviet Ukraine would be a bulwark in defense of the Soviet Union, a wedge in the heart of Capitalist Europe. Stalin and Hitler equally fear that perspective.

episodic combinations in their politics.

Stalin, Hitler and The Ukraine

Not a trace remains of the former confidence and sympathy of the Western Ukrainian masses for the Kremlin. Since the latest murderous "purge" in the Ukraine no one in the West wants to become part of the Kremlin satrapy which continues to bear the name of Soviet Ukraine. The worker and peasant masses in the Western Ukraine, in Bukovina, in the Carpatho-Ukraine are in a state of confusion: Where to turn? What to demand? This situation naturally shifts the leadership to the most reactionary Ukrainian cliques who express their "nationalism" by seeking to sell the Ukrainian people to one imperialism or another in return for a promise of fictitious independence. Upon this tragic confusion Hitler bases his policy in the Ukrainian question. At one time we said: but for Stalin (i.e. but for the fatal policy of the Comintern in Germany) there would have been no Hitler. To this can now be added: but for the rape of Soviet Ukraine by the Stalinist bureaucracy there would be no Hitlerist Ukrainian policy.

We shall not pause here to analyze the motives that impelled Hitler to discard, for the time being at least, the slogan of a Greater Ukraine. These motives must be sought in the fraudulent combinations of German imperialism on the one hand, and on the other in the fear of conjuring up an evil spirit whom it might be difficult to exorcise. Hitler gave Car-

patho-Ukraine as a gift to the Hungarian butchers. This was done, if not with Moscow's open approval then in any case with confidence that approval would be forthcoming. It is as if Hitler had said to Stalin: "If I were preparing to attack Soviet Ukraine tomorrow I should have kept Carpatho-Ukraine in my own hands." In reply, Stalin at the 15th Party Congress openly came to Hitler's defense against the slanders of the "Western Democracies." Hitler intends to attack the Ukraine? Nothing of the sort! Fight with Hitler? Not the slightest reason for it. Stalin is obviously interpreting the handing over of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary as an act of peace.

For a Free, Independent Soviet Ukraine!

This means that sections of the Ukrainian people have become so much small change for the Kremlin in its international calculations. The Fourth International must clearly understand the enormous importance of the Ukrainian question in the fate not only of Southeastern and Eastern Europe but also of Europe as a whole. We are dealing with a people that has proved its viability, that is numerically equal to the population of France and occupies an exceptionally rich territory which, moreover, is of the highest strategic importance. The question of the fate of the Ukraine has been posed in its full scope. A clear and definite slogan is necessary that corresponds to the new situation. In my opinion there can be at the present time only one such slogan: A united, free and independent workers' and peasants'

Soviet Ukraine.

This program is in irreconcilable contradiction first of all with the interests of the three imperialist powers, Poland, Roumania, and Hungary. Only hopeless pacifist blockheads are capable of thinking that the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine can be achieved by peaceful diplomatic means, by referendums, by decisions of the League of Nations, etc. In no way superior to them of course are those "nationalists" who propose to solve the Ukrainian question by entering the service of one imperialism against another. Hitler gave an invaluable lesson to these adventurers by tossing (for how long?) Carpatho-Ukraine to the Hungarians who immediately slaughtered not a few trusting Ukrainians. Insofar as the issue depends upon the military strength of the imperialist states, the victory of one grouping or another can signify only a new dismemberment and a still more brutal subjugation of the Ukrainian people. The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score.

Naturally an independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine might subsequently join the Soviet Federation; but voluntarily, on conditions which it itself considers acceptable, which in turn presupposes a revolutionary regeneration of the U.S.S.R. The genuine emancipation of the Ukrainian people is inconceivable without a revolution or a series of revolutions in the west which must lead in the end to the creation of the 'Soviet United States of Europe. An independent Ukraine could and undoubtedly will join this federation as an equal member. The proletarian revolution in Europe, in turn, would not leave one stone standing of the revolting structure of Stalinist Bonapartism. In that case the closest allies of the Soviet United States of Europe and the regenerated U.S.S.R. would be inevitable and would present infinite advantages for the European and Asiatic continents, including of course the Ukraine, too. But here we are shifting to questions of second and third order. The question of first order is the revolutionary guarantee of the unity and indepen-

Soviet Constitution Admits Right of Self-Determination

But the independence of a United Ukraine would mean the separation of Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., the "friends" of the Kremlin will exclaim in chorus. What is so terrible about that? we reply. The servile worship of state boundaries is alien

to us. We do not hold the position of a "united and indivisible" whole. After all, even the constitution of the U.S.S.R. acknowledges the right of its component federated peoples to self-determination, that is, to separation. Thus, not even the incumbent Kremlin oligarchy dares to deny this principle. To be sure it remains only on paper. The slightest attempt to raise the question of an independent Ukraine openly, would mean immediate execution on the charge of treason. But it is precisely this ruthless branding of all free national thought that has led the toiling masses of the Ukraine, to an even greater degree than the masses of Great Russia, to look upon the rule of the Kremlin as monstrously oppressive. In the face of such an internal situation it is naturally impossible even to talk of Western Ukraine voluntarily joining the U.S.S.R. as it is at present constituted. Consequently, the unification of the Ukraine presupposes freeing the so-called Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot. In this matter, too, the Bonapartist clique will reap what it has sown.

But wouldn't this mean the military weakening of the U.S.S.R.? the "friends" of the Kremlin will howl in horror. We reply that the weakening of the U.S.S.R. is caused by those ever-growing centrifugal tendencies generated by the Bonapartist dictatorship. In the event of war the hatred of the masses for the ruling clique can lead to the collapse of all the social conquests of October. The source of defeatist moods is in the Kremlin. An independent Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand, would become, if only by virtue of its own interests, a mighty southwestern bulwark of the U.S.S.R. The sooner the present Bonapartist caste is undermined, upset, crushed and swept away, the firmer the defense of the Soviet Republic will become and the more certain its socialist future.

Against Imperialism and Moscow Bonapartism

Naturally an independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine might subsequently join the Soviet Federation; but voluntarily, on conditions which it itself considers acceptable, which in turn presupposes a revolutionary regeneration of the U.S.S.R. The genuine emancipation of the Ukrainian people is inconceivable without a revolution or a series of revolutions in the west which must lead in the end to the creation of the 'Soviet United States of Europe. An independent Ukraine could and undoubtedly will join this federation as an equal member. The proletarian revolution in Europe, in turn, would not leave one stone standing of the revolting structure of Stalinist Bonapartism. In that case the closest allies of the Soviet United States of Europe and the regenerated U.S.S.R. would be inevitable and would present infinite advantages for the European and Asiatic continents, including of course the Ukraine, too. But here we are shifting to questions of second and third order. The question of first order is the revolutionary guarantee of the unity and indepen-

dence of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine in the struggle against imperialism, on the one hand, and against Moscow Bonapartism, on the other.

The Ukraine is especially rich and experienced in false paths of struggle for national emancipation. Here everything has been tried: the petty-bourgeois Rada, and Koropadski, and Petljura, and "alliance" with the Hohenzollerns and combinations with the Entente. After all these experiments, only political cadavers can continue to place hope in any one of the fractions of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie as the leader of the national struggle for emancipation. The Ukrainian proletariat alone is capable not only of solving the task — which is revolutionary in its very essence — but also of taking the initiative for its solution. The proletariat and only the proletariat can rally around itself the peasant masses and the genuinely revolutionary national intelligentsia.

At the beginning of the last imperialist war the Ukrainians, Melenevski ("Basok") and Skoropis-Yelunkhovski, attempted to place the Ukrainian liberation movement under the wing of the Hohenzollern General, Ludendorff. They covered themselves in so doing with left phrases. With one kick the revolutionary Marxists booted these people out. That is how revolutionists must continue to behave in the future. The impending war will create a favorable atmosphere for all sorts of adventurers, miracle-hunters and seekers of the golden fleece. These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement. Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist! No "People's Fronts"! The complete independence of the proletarian party as the vanguard of the toilers!

For an International Discussion

This appears to me the correct policy in the Ukrainian question. I speak here personally and in my own name. The question must be opened up to international discussion. The foremost place in this discussion must belong to the Ukrainian revolutionary Marxists. We shall listen with the greatest attention to their voices. But they had better make haste. There is little time left for preparation!

April 22, 1930.

LENIN ON WAR

"Our duty is to help make the revolutionary sentiments of the masses conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan, 'Turn the imperialist war into civil war', (Lenin and Zinoviev: Socialism and War, August, 1915....)

UNITED STATES NEWSLETTER

—By Blake Lear—

The situation in the United States may be summed up in a phrase: Preparation for war.

The cause of the crisis lies in the extreme tension of the international political scene and in the definitive failure of the New Deal with its program of capitalist reform. The symbol of that collapse was the sweeping victory of the republicans in last fall's elections and the current program of business appeasement.

With characteristic speed the war preparations of the bourgeoisie are proceeding on all fronts, economic, political, and social.

A tremendous military budget, the complete extent of which is even now not apparent, is being run through congress without a ripple of opposition. Daily new plans, new appropriations, new automatic rifles, new light bombers, are announced — tempting forecasts of the weapons by which the United States plans soon to contest for the spoils of the world.

Political Preparedness

Along with the military preparations have gone the necessary political preparations. This year, in a manner so clear that even college professors understand it, the United States openly threw overboard even its pretense to isolation. The clearest expression of its alliance with the so-called democracies came in Roosevelt's well known letter to Hitler, which set the seal upon previous policy. Backing up the political commitments to the democracies came concrete help, at a neat profit, of course, in the form of aircraft and other material.

To back up vitally important foreign trade, the U.S. in the conference at Lima, Peru, attempted to weld together South America as an exclusive market for American capital. The latest manifestation of the tie-up of the United States and the "democracies" is the visit of the king and queen of England to the U.S. While it is not true that they were routed through the RKO-Kelth theater chain, just about everything else was done to publicize their trip, and, incidentally, to whip up the war spirit.

War Fever Rises

Internally the country is being prepared for war. The anti-Fred investigating Dies committee, which last year because of its attacks on the administration, Shirley Temple, Gypsy Rose Lee, the strip-tease artist, and other well known figures, came into disrepute, has recently received a new appropriation and is proceeding on a larger and more serious investigation.

In the movie houses the public has been deluged with a series of historical pictures calculated to whip up nationalist feeling. In many cities audiences are being asked to rise and sing the "Star Spangled Banner" before each feature presentation. The most rabid patriots, especially within the ranks of the working class, are of course, the C.P.'ers, who nowadays

quote almost exclusively from the well-known millionaire marxist, Roosevelt.

As a result of the increasing propaganda barrage, anti-war sentiment is noticeably decreasing — a fact pointed out by the reliable Gallup poll.

Roosevelt Cuts Relief

To finance the immense program of armaments the Roosevelt regime is making huge slashes in WPA work relief. During the election campaign the numbers on WPA stood at 3,250,000. By July it is intended that this figure will stand at 2,000,000, a drop of 40%. In other words 1,250,000 men will have been cut off in a year. With their families this would affect a total of around 5,000,000 persons. These persons will either get on direct relief or starve. In this fashion United States capitalism prepares for a war to "save the world for democracy."

How is labor reacting to the changed situation? Unfortunately, it must be recorded that the labor movement is passive. The great mass organizations are in the past. Labor is digging in, holding on, fighting rear guard actions. The cause for this lies in the American workman's historically conditioned political backwardness. The time, call for a revolutionary program; simple trade unionism can no longer solve the problems confronting the American working class.

Labour Still Passive

The American worker by and large still supports the Democratic party during the last elections, it was not the worker who went over the ranks of the Republicans. It was the petty-bourgeois, who found that he had been deceived in the promises of the Democratic party. The worker saw nothing but reaction in the Republicans, and he neither saw nor was able to create a party other than the democratic party for himself.

As a result of the republican victories, made inevitable by the failure of the democratic party to provide a bold program which would pull the petty-bourgeois masses with it and prevent them from flowing back to the republicans, a reactionary tide has set in. This has reached its highest point in Oregon and Minnesota, where as a result of the victory of the republicans, severe anti-labor legislation has been passed.

Social Crisis Continues

Should the present trend continue, and there is every indication that it will, there will be a "stronger" regime put into power in 1940. The internal social crisis continues; the business index has declined since December. The war crisis is aggravating the social contradictions at home. Business is demanding stronger measures against labor, the cutting of government relief expenditures and the easing of tax levies. The republicans are taking strength from their sectional victories; the

(continued on page 7)

SOCIALIST ACTION

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The Ukrainian Question

For some time the outside world has been aware of serious trouble within the borders of the Soviet Union. The mass terror and judicial murders indicated that this restive condition had grown sufficiently acute to warrant measures that amount to a civil war situation. While the Soviet bureaucracy directed its main offensive against the entire school of old bolsheviks, frame-up trials took place in every important minority nation "affiliated" to the Soviet Union. In most instances the victims were leading cadres of these republics.

This program of terror deeply affected the national sections of the comintern. Within the language sections, especially of the Canadian Communist Party, there is a growing tide of resentment threatening a mass split. This opposition to the Kremlin bureaucrats, suppressing of the rights of self-determination of national groupings, has not yet been clarified. Unfortunately many right-wing tendencies are developing which seem to be travelling in the direction of nationalism and fascism. "Anything but Stalinism" is the general feeling of the disillusioned language groups.

A more encouraging aspect of this development is the steady growth of left-wing, revolutionary sentiment in opposition to rightist tendencies. An indication of this is the numerous requests which this paper has received from Ukrainian and Finnish workers to publish the viewpoint of the Fourth International on national minorities.

Elsewhere in this issue appears an article by Leon Trotsky on the Problems of the Ukraine. This is of especial importance to Canadian workers because of the large Ukrainian population in this country. A number of Ukrainian organizations exist, ranging from the reactionary U.N.O., fascist Ukrainian Nationalist Alliances, The Ukrainian People's Home and the left-liberal Ukrainian Enlightenment Society known as Prosvita, to the U.L.F.T.A., which because of Stalinist degeneration is now faced with a possible split. A harbinger of this situation was the original split of Lobay, who disagreed sharply with the Stalinists' oppression of the Soviet Ukraine. A substantial following from the U.L.F.T.A. gathered around Lobay as a result of his expulsion, to form what is now the S.U.O., Alliance of Ukrainian Organizations.

The stand of the Fourth International on the Ukrainian question is submitted below. This is substantially in agreement with the position of the S.U.O. on Ukrainian independence. We are not aware of any political differences on principled questions. Therefore, we invite their political collaboration with the Fourth International movement.

With the war crisis close at hand, there is little time to act. The Socialist Workers' League is the only organization in Canada which opposes the coming imperialist war. The S.U.O. has the alternative of uniting with the revolutionary forces opposing imperialism in the coming war, or of finding itself in the camp of the Stalinists and Social-patriots.

For an Independent Farmer-Labour Party

The Western farmer, fed up to teeth with the old-line capitalist parties and with all brands of reformism, may soon become one of the most dynamic forces in Canadian politics. The deep crisis in farming economy on the prairies, which is decaying more rapidly than any other section in North America, opens up tremendous possibilities for growth of a fighting, independent party of farmers and workers. It is very timely, therefore, to reprint here, section 12: "For an Independent Farmer-Labour Party" from our draft Program of Action, published in the first issue of Socialist Action, March 20, 1939:

The immediate action program of the Socialist Workers' League is a class-struggle program not a program of parliamentary reform. But it is a program of TRANSITIONAL demands designed to lead the toilers out of the blind alleys of reformism and the bogs of inactivity onto the revolutionary road. Such a program involves a political fight as part of the general struggle against capitalism; and so the organization of a fighting political party of the toilers. The Socialist Workers' League is not yet that party, but it is the vanguard of those who will build it. We declare the necessity for a united class-struggle party of workers and poor farmers in this country. We link up such questions as expropriation with the question of the seizure of power. Only the general revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat can complete the expropriation of the capitalists in Canada as elsewhere. But by fighting for immediate demands in this period of growing reaction, we prepare the proletariat for its ultimate tasks. Our program of transitional demands is a program of preparation for the final struggle, and that program involves the building of a mass party of class struggle.

The perspective of a government by such a party, a militant farmer-labor party, is also part of the transitional struggle, leading on to the dictatorship of the proletariat for the establishment of socialism.

* For A Militant Action Program
For A Militant Party of The Canadian Toilers
For An Independent Farmer-Labor Government

Communist Party Disintegrates

This issue of Socialist Action features the statement of Tom Montague, who makes public his break with the Communist Party and his allegiance to the S.W.L.

Two months ago we featured the statement of Carl Hichin, another leading C.P. militant driven into our ranks by the class-collaboration policy of the Communist Party.

These actions of Montague and Hichin are consistent with their long records of working class militancy in refusing to go over into the camp of Social Imperialism with the Communist Party.

And Montague and Hichin are not alone. With them have come leading rank-and-file militants who see in the S.W.L. the standard-bearers of the revolutionary flag.

But hundreds, thousands of other former members of the Communist Party, disillusioned and disheartened by the betrayal, have fallen into a state of apathy, have given up the active struggle that their party now refuses to lead.

To these comrades, we appeal: The party has capitulated, but the struggle goes on. Join the ranks of the S.W.L. Join with us and other former members of the Communist Party in building a new Revolutionary Party. The time is short. Join now!

Marx Answers Tim Buck

Before long Tim Buck and the Communist Party will be calling on workers to "Support Herdridge and Defeat Reaction" in the elections, as Carl Hichin warns in his news letter from Winnipeg, printed in this issue. Nearly 100 years ago Karl Marx threw this phoney argument out the window, in his Address to the Communist League, March 1850:

"Even in constitencies where there is no prospect of our candidates being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain their independence, to steel their forces, and to bring their revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the vote of the democrats means assisting the reactionary parties. All such talk is but calculated to cheat the proletariat. The advance which the Proletarian Party will make through its independent political attitude is infinitely more important than the disadvantage of having a few more reactionaries in the national representation."

The Manager's Corner

It is hardly necessary to say that we have been greatly heartened by the letters of welcome and encouragement from all over the country that have greeted Socialist Action. They signalize a growing recognition among the great exploited majority of Canadians that the revolutionary road is the only real path out of the hell of misery, unemployment and capitalist war. Even more encouraging have been the subscriptions and promises of support contained in many of the letters. This is good, but it is not enough. Before it can stand on a firm foundation, before it can begin to really function as the voice of fighting socialism in Canada, Socialist Action must double, triple, quadruple its circulation. It is no family secret that, as yet, every issue a tough financial struggle — every deadline we dash across with the balliff's hot breath down the back of our neck. We MUST have more material support — plenty and soon. Only by rushing in subscriptions and sustaining pledges can our comrades and supporters keep our paper appearing regularly and build it to its full effectiveness as a beacon pointing the way to real Socialist Action.

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More Light on Spain

ARAUQUISTAIN CONFIRMS
KRIVITSKY CHARGES

Authoritative confirmation of Walter Krivitsky's charge that Stalin sabotaged the Loyalist fight against Franco came this week from Luis Araquistain, the outstanding theoretician of the left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party, associate of Caballero and Loyalist ambassador to France until June, 1937.

Loyalist Spain was for Stalin merely a bargaining point in coming to terms with Hitler, declared Araquistain, in articles written from exile in Paris and published here by the New York Times on May 10 and 21.

"Joseph Stalin did not want us to win the war because that would have exasperated Chancellor Hitler—other-wise his help would have been more copious and efficient. Nor did he want us to lose it too soon, because, once the Spanish conflict was liquidated, Herr Hitler would have greater freedom of action to carry out his policy of aggression in Eastern Europe and even against the Soviet Union itself. Stalin simply wanted to prolong our war line die, to keep Premier Mussolini and Hitler busy and force the latter, in the end to come to an understanding with the U.S.S.R. In the Spanish war Stalin only saw a strategic diversion."

Stalin's Tools

To carry out this anti-Loyalist policy, Stalin needed obedient tools and he found them Araquistain points out, in the right wing of the Socialist Party, especially Juan Negrin and Alvarez del Vayo. These two were chosen because of their pliancy and in spite of the fact that they were almost unknown figures.

"From my vantage point of the Paris Embassy I could notice with surprise that already at the beginning of 1937 some liberal newspapers of London, which let themselves be inspired more or less consciously, by Communists or Communist sympathizers, began to print pictures and eulogies of Dr Juan Negrin, then Minister of the Treasury, without any visible reason. The hidden motive was that in Moscow he had been selected as successor to Spanish Premier Francisco Largo Caballero.

Making Nobody Somebody
"Dr Negrin held the chair of physiology at the Madrid School of Medicine and belonged to the Socialist Party. But as he was neither politically nor scientifically known outside of Spain — and in Spain only within a very limited university circle — they had to prepare international opinion and manufacture quickly a statesman's reputation for him. The Communists are masters in the art of artificially creating representative men."

Negrin became premier when the Stalinists ousted Caballero on May 15, 1937, after having — as Krivitsky, then head of the Soviet Military Intelligence — has since revealed — deliberately provoked bloody street

warfare in Barcelona to justify the formation of a more repressive government than that of Caballero.

Stalinist Blackmail

Stalin used "Russian-help blackmail" to remove those who would not do his bidding. "So that the Soviet Union would continue sending us war material, it was necessary to eliminate the men on whom the Communists placed their veto. In fact, in the last months of Largo Caballero Government, supplies arrived scantily and in bad condition."

"The Soviet war material was never sufficient," Araquistain says, and advances as the hypothesis which "confirms the suspicions that some of us Spaniards had as early as 1937," that Stalin was merely using Spain as a bargaining point with Hitler.

Araquistain's revelations came too late to help the Loyalist struggle against Franco. But they do provide an authoritative addition to the mountain of evidence which damns Stalin and his agents as the destroyers of the Spanish revolution.

UNITED STATES
NEWSLETTER

(continued from page 5)

"progressive" and "reactionary" forces within the democratic party are polarizing. Many persons, disgusted with the democratic party and seeing no other place to go, will turn to the republicans. That is why a regime more responsive to the dictates of big business may well be put in power in 1940.

And that is why, too, only the program of transitional demands advanced by the U.S. Socialist Workers' Party can lead the masses of the United States out of the land of poverty and impending war into the realm of abundance and peace.

Relief Strike

(continued from page 2)

provincial governments viciously cut already inadequate relief rates, and at the same time spend tens of thousands on bunting for the Royal Tour and millions on instruments of death. The hypocrisy and buck-passing of the Municipal Councils "elected representatives of the people", and "friends of the unemployed" have been clearly exposed in the struggle. Most important of all, the workers have learned who is fighting with them and for their interests and who is hurting this fight or trying to sidetrack it. The Communist party, with the exception of one or two individuals has consistently held back or played a sabotaging role. The C.C.F. and

Correspondence

WINDSOR'S PATRIOTIC MAY DAY

To the Editor — About 500 persons took part in the May Day parade here, led by a Union Jack and marching from the Windsor market to Lanspeary Park where the meeting took place.

The demonstration was dull, and the speakers, mostly members and stooges of the Communist Party did not even attempt to attack the Capitalist system. Of course, any criticism of the ruling class would probably antagonize them and spoil the chances of the Stalinists to lead the workers into another trap of a Popular Front or on to the battlefields of another imperialist war. One of the speakers, William Emery, an organizer for the United Auto Workers, and stooge of the C.P., urged the workers that "the best way to fight for Socialism today is to fight for the preservation of the existing (Capitalist) system in Canada." He concluded his speech with: "Well might our slogan for this year be, 'Oh, Canada! we stand on guard for thee!'"

Another speaker, Thomas Reycraft shouted wildly: "Stop the blood-thirsty madmen floating through Europe today, before they get this far." Mr Reycraft didn't mention a word about the main enemy at home.

Another Stalinist, Reggie Morris said, "Only by unification can the democratic and peace-loving people save the world." Haven't the Stalinists learned anything from the record of the "democratic" and "peace loving" capitalist allies of the workers in France or Spain? The answer is Yes. They have learned that the best way to stifle the revolutionary workers' struggle, is to tie the workers to an alliance with the Bourgeoisie. This is precisely what they want, because the Stalinists know very well that a successful workers revolution would not only do away with the decayed Capitalist system, but would also destroy Stalinism.

G. Mob, Windsor, Ont.

BIBLE BILL'S NEW ALLY

To the Editor.

A few short years ago in this city of the foothills Social Credit was riding high on the crest of its popularity and almost every other denizen wearing a sacred button and a smile in happy anticipation of those belated \$25 dividends promised by Aberhart.

The class struggle moved into the

Liberals, hope to use the Unemployed Union for their own purposes in the coming election to divert from its aims. Only the Socialist Workers' League advocates a working class struggle, an extension of the front to the whole province for the first objective, 50 percent over the Campbell report, the Ontario Medical Association's figure for 'minimum health standards'

doldrums as all militant action of the Workers, particularly the unemployed was discouraged on the grounds that with the advent of Social Credit there would be economic security for all, so why struggle? The C.P. characteristic of that infamous 3rd Period viewed with alarm this new "Social Fascist" grouping on the political horizon and poured upon them the full vials of their wrath. Later however when the comintern made another dizzy deviation their attitude changed and Social Credit was reincarnated into a progressive, democratic body.

From then on they have striven to co-operate and not to embarrass Bible Bill who is vigorously beating the big bad wolf "the financier", while on the other hand the Stalinists are quite willing to battle the Tories such as the C.G.T.A. civic council in Calgary whom they class as Tory reactionaries, etc. But as regards Social Credit, and its innumerable shortcomings in dealing with the workers they have nothing but apologies. The average worker in this province has experience to prove that there is little if any difference. Both ride rough-shod over their rights and are unanimous at all times in unloading this crisis upon the backs of the toilers.

The CCF has continued on the even tenor of its way. Now with the U.F.A. forsaking the political field, they have expectations of becoming our next government. At this late hour with those ominous shadows of war and fascism ever deepening, such a social reformist set-up would obviously do more harm than good. Moreover, their choice of candidates to form a government would as usual be picked from the most conservative elements within the CCF such as the ex-U.F.A.'s, the Canadian Labor Party and those high-salaried officials of the A.F. of L. One can imagine what a mish-mash of socialism these goons would cook up in the Edmonton gas-house for Alberta's proletariat.

Militants in the CCF are trying to inject some red blood into the movement — but within the narrow confines of such a reformist party their efforts are extremely limited. Only by wheeling into action a militant Socialist Workers Party based on the hard cold facts of the class struggle can the Canadian toilers storm the citadels of capitalism and gain their freedom.

Chas. L., Calgary, Alta.

This is What We Want!

Editor, Socialist Action:—

I was more than pleased to know that you have been able to turn out a paper... I am enclosing \$1 for one year's subscription and for a bundle of six of the next two issues. I think your paper is excellent and your program is a real program of action.

Please send me particulars for organizing... Wishing you every success. — J.S., Sask.

Buck-Herridge

(continued from page 3)

tax, betrayed the farmers in 1923, and has jailed scores of labor leaders. Support is expected from Stevens' Tory Reconstructionists. All in all, the Stalinists have ended their zig-zag hand in glove with the Tories.

Bowman gives the movement's platform as twofold: — a "free parliament", and "monetary reform". Herridge adds the "lawful revolution" within the bounds of capitalism! Monetary reform most likely means belly-robbing inflation. A "free parliament" means a Tory-Stalinist coalition

"Anti-Fascism" a Mockery

Right now, Herridge realizes that a "popular front" approach, under a new name, by which he promises to fight fascism is the best method of obtaining the "union sacree" of Capital and Labour so necessary to push the nation into war. He also realizes that once war is declared, democracy will end. And Tim Buck is partner to this, although 7 years ago in "An Indictment of Capitalism", he warned against it! Is there no end to the treachery?

Call for 4th International

What the chances of success are for the new move is hard to estimate. The writer fears the success may be great. The Winnipeg Free Press apparently is of the same opinion. In a recent editorial it warned King against taking to the country this year, lest he be defeated, and advised him to make further wheat, tariff and debt concessions to western farmers before 1940, when elections must be held.

It might well be that Canada's popular front, built on the misery and potential militancy of the western farmers and workers, will sweep the west. This Tory strategy must be exposed immediately. Else, the west will end up in a Tory-dominated coalition instead of on the independent class struggle road for which it searched.

There are hopeful features. On our desk at this time of writing is a request from a farmer in the heart of Saskatchewan for a 4th international organizer to visit his district. He is confident organizational work will succeed. There-in is a lesson for all Marxian revolutionists. To them falls the task of repeating to Buck and Herridge those famous words of Pygmalion's Eliza Doolittle: "Not bloody well likely!"

SOCIALIST ACTION

NEEDS:—

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HAVE YOU SENT YOURS?

Europe on the Brink

BY ALEXANDER

As we go to press, the final stages in the diplomatic game of Europe's "democratic" and fascist gangsters are being reached. While Chamberlain sends his aristocratic stooge Halifax bloodhounding after the suddenly-coy Stalin, the latter intimates to Germany that it is "now or never" for a deal with the Soviet Union. The decision still rests with Hitler whether he will absorb Poland with Russian acquiescence or at the point of Russian French and British bayonets. Much undoubtedly depends on expert German opinion of Russian military strength.

To socialists the idea still seems blasphemous that Russia should contemplate a military understanding with Germany, particularly as the Stalinist press has spared no term in characterising fascism in the past. But if there were ever any doubts left about the crux of Stalin's policy, those doubts have been finally liquidated by the dismissal of Litvinov and the somewhat startling revelations made recently in the SATURDAY EVENING POST by the former Stalin agent Krivitsky. Krivitsky's statements, as yet unchallenged in specific detail by Stalin's press, reveal point by point the Kremlin's long and unsuccessful wooing of the "fascist dogs".

Secret Negotiations

Cloaked in secrecy, it is impossible to predict as yet the outcome of the negotiations that are under way. Probably not until the very outbreak of war will it be known on which side of the fence the Soviet Union will be dragged by the unscrupulous Stalin leadership. The bewildering series of twists, turns, flip-flops, double jack-knives and spirals that the official Communist Parties of the world have been compelled to perform have at least given them good practise for this final acrobatic, which should succeed at last in breaking their backs. They will have two alternatives: either they will remain true to their latest and spiritually most-satisfying role of being the most rabid defenders of the "democratic" imperialisms at home, and so break with father Joe in Moscow, or they will pass over openly into the national fascist ranks and advocate individual understandings with Hitler, Stalin's new ally. That is the inevitable logic of a Russian-German understanding. Undoubtedly a section, in whom the flame of old-fashioned sword-rattling patriotism has been rekindled by the "popular front" and "national unity" twist of the party line, will be consumed by that fire and will continue to serve as recruiting agents for British and American imperialism. And undoubtedly another section will remain faithful to Stalinism until they are publicly disowned and repudiated by the Man of Steel. We can only hope that the few remaining militants in the Stalinist ranks, bewildered and confused by it all, will not become apathetic or allow themselves to become

On the Skids



MAXIM LITVINOV, former Russian Commissar of foreign affairs and exponent of collective security policy, ousted to make easier Stalin's dickering with Hitler.

tools of fascism, but will find their way to the ranks of the Fourth International and take up the struggle there for Socialism.

Meanwhile, what of the final diplomatic moves?

Time is Short!

It has been pointed out by our comrades abroad that the nature of the present crises are somewhat different from the crisis of last September. Then, Czechoslovakia was the main bone of contention, (if Chamberlain's embarrassed efforts to rid himself of his former ally could be called "contention"). Then, a single issue came to a rapid head, was settled. This year, there are a number of issues to be settled: Poland, the Balkans, the Mediterranean. In accord with Nazi tactics, these issues are now warmed up, now cooled, as Hitler tries, carefully, skillfully, to break the nerve of his jittery enemies. A whole series of crises, interspersed with periods of attrition, has been indicated. News from Italy and Germany advises that a new mobilisation is under way, probably reaching its peak towards the end of July, when most of the European crops are in and a military adventure is most convenient. We can therefore look for a fresh and sharp crisis in July, possibly August. Whether it will terminate in War, we cannot say.

Certainly, when one side or the other decides that the time is ripe, there will be a clash and the world will be aflame. If this new crisis passes, there will be another. That, we know. In England, the upper circles now talk of a "Preventative War", so that even the term "aggressor" has lost its meaning.

From the whole ugly mess, one lesson comes home to us with reinforced force. WE MUST PREPARE! THE TIME IS SHORT!

Now, on the brink, we repeat again

Montague Breaks

(continued from page 1)

support, as I had little confidence left in the party.

Popular Front Melange

I have never pretended to be a theoretician, though I realise the absolute necessity of correct theory for a revolutionary movement. I am afraid that I have largely learned from events as they have struck me, and sometimes very forcibly! The practical meaning of the Popular Front was brought home to me when the Party proceeded to manufacture one in York Township from a weird collection of discredited politicians, preachers, and "men of good-will". That was at the beginning of this year. Looking around for aid in fighting this move, I found active collaboration on the part of the Township branch of the Socialist Workers League. But I remained outside their ranks, even though I had accepted their theoretical position for a year past. I still doubted whether they knew how to apply theory to practice.

SWL Proves Itself

It was not until the last three months, with the formation of the Unemployed Union, and the consequent strike struggle that the positions of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers League stood out to me, in practise, in perfect contrast. During that struggle, the Communist Party sabotaged, from beginning to end. With one or two notable exceptions like Marriott, the Communist Party completely abandoned the struggle. When the men first came out at Dufferin Street, the CP could only advise them to return to work. When the possibility of being cut off relief was posed, the Communist Party, through its members in the Greater Toronto Committee, promised ample food for a week. At the crucial moment, they advised that no food was available. On the other hand, the slender resources of the Socialist Workers League were at the disposal of the Union from the very outset. Members of that organization worked like Trojans. I saw clearly which was the revolutionary workers' party. I joined the Socialist Workers League. And I advise every class-conscious militant who wants to continue the struggle against capitalism and for socialism to do the same. DOWN WITH CLASS COLLABORATION! FOR THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND AGAINST WAR! FOR SOCIALISM!

Tom Montague

with Lenin and Marx. The workers have no fatherland. Our enemy is at home. Only a socialist revolution can prevent the war and end forever the horror and barbarism that is Capitalism today.