

(CONCLUDING ARTICLE)

We have already seen from the thesis by Norman Thomas which we reprinted in the earlier part of this letter, that he completely abandoned Marxism and the working-class. However, many people have in the last several years heard Norman Thomas speak with tremendous sentiment about Marx and the working-class. How are these two facts to be reconciled? That is easy. Thomas repudiated Marxism and rejected the working-class while he believed that he could not make a career out of what support he could rally from the working-class. This belief was prompted by the comparatively passive conditions of the workers during the so-called prosperity period. Thomas began appealing to the working-class and Marxism after the crash and particularly after the gigantic March 6th demonstrations of the unemployed in 1930, where he clearly saw the rising movement of the workers and wanted to utilize them to hoist himself into a career.

This same policy was followed by all the Socialist leaders, and even today, those who try to play the same game but are rather stupid at it, betray their essential careerism and dishonesty. Thus, for example, in January, 1934, Milen Dempster in San Francisco issued a leaflet over the signature of the Dempster Campaign Committee in which he says "Milen Dempster is the Consumers' Candidate". Of course it is a fact that the election campaign has not opened yet, but in his eagerness not to lose an opportunity for his sacred personal career, Dempster, the self-styled "socialist", has begun his personal campaign (obviously without any Party decision because the State Convention has not yet met) and has already appeared not as the candidate of the working-class, but as the "Consumers' candidate". There is not a word of class struggle in the entire leaflet, and this is of course not accidental. Even the richest capitalists are consumers and all class lines must disappear in such an appeal. This same Milen Dempster, following the precedent of other leaders of the Socialist Party, has turned the Socialist Party into a personal racket. For example, in the Open Forum bulletins of the Socialist Party he announces:

"ASK YOUR FRIENDS TO BUY AND RENEW THEIR INSURANCE THRU MILEN DEMPSTER.
Secretary of the local, to help him in his work for the Party."

Thus it is obvious that this insurance business is a brazen affair for personal gain which even Tammany would try to hide. A few days later, however, the capitalist press (in the person of the San Francisco "News"), which always very obligingly tries to help the Socialist Party, puts a halo of a martyr around this cheap chiseller, Dempster, and announced that this insurance business is not for his personal profit, but for the benefit of the "Socialist cause." On Wednesday, Jan. 3rd, their announcement reads:

"The Socialist Party has devised a new method of garnering campaign funds. It has gone into business—good old capitalist business.

Milen Dempster, secretary here, who ran for Congress at the last election, has been placed in the insurance business as a figure-head. Friends of the party are to rally around and place all kinds of insurance with him."

A LOOSE TONGUE LETS THE CAT OUT

Is the graft and fraud in the two major capitalist parties any worse than this? This essential dishonesty of the leaders of the Socialist Party finds its best example in a letter issued by E. A. Block, one of the leading officials of the San Francisco County local of the S. P. The old wise men have said, "What a shrewd man has on his tongue, a fool has on his tongue." What Norman Thomas believes and covers up with a lot of high-sounding radical talk, E. A. Block speaks out. In this letter, Mr. Block says:

"My fundamental criticism of the Communist Party all over the world, and particularly in America, is the romantic futility of their tactics. They go on the assumption that people can be moved by an appeal to reason. Now you and I know that they can't. You and I know that the springs of human conduct are to be found in their emotions and in their habits. Ninety per cent of the Communist argument is correct. Their facts are straight—but unfortunately people are not moved by logic.

The smart and practical thing for a party or an organization that wanted to attain the Communist objective would be to immediately start an anti-red "campaign", identify themselves as American and patriotic and then proceed to follow Nazi tactics—i. e., single out some scape-goat, possibly Wall Street—and **HAND THE PEOPLE PLAIN UNADULTERATED BUNK.**

"Did the Hitler program make sense? It did not. But they gave the people what they wanted and GOT POWER. They promised all men everything and never bothered to explain how they would give it to them. BUT THEY GOT POWER. It is never the appeal to reason that will win, it is the appeal to emotion, it is the appeal to habit-thought" that will.

"But what I am driving at is that you can't get anywhere unless by hook or by crook you can identify yourself with the National Life. There is a lesson to be learned from Hitler and all that he stands for (as the head of a political party). He GOT POWER, not by giving the people sense, but by giving them what they wanted, in promises of course, and not in fact."

We have gone to great pains to give these quotations in detail in order to show the complete dishonesty and hypocrisy of the S. P. position; the conscious deception of the masses, which they always attempt to hide, but which frequently breaks out just the same.

Is it not significant in the light of this letter that the Socialist Party officialdom is connected with the capitalist class not

TO ALL SINCERE SOCIALISTS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY—

only in ideology but also organizationally? For example, why is it not made known to all that Mrs. Emig, the wife of Sheriff Emig, the lynch sheriff of San Jose, is a member of the Socialist Party? Why has this Socialist Party member been hidden in obscurity by the Socialist Party leaders, and not been forced to denounce the acts of Sheriff Emig in breaking strikes and demonstrations of hungry workers, in aiding the San Jose lynchings, and in boasting that he is gathering the largest supply of tear-gas, etc., to use against striking workers and unemployed. Also, is it accidental that Cameron King, for all of these years in the service of the San Francisco City Hall pitiful machine, holds an honored place in the Socialist Party? The answer is: that all the other leaders of the Socialist Party look with envy upon these rewarded betrayers, and hope some day to merit an equal reward from the capitalist masters.

HARBORS GOVERNMENT AGENTS

The "New Leader", central organ of the Socialist Party, always prints "dark" reports about stool-pigeons who were found in the Communist Party and tries to make capital of this. There isn't anything surprising in that. Two warring groups always send spies into each other's camps to discover the doings of the enemy. That is part of the proof that the camps are really at war. But the fact that the Communist Party itself catches these stool-pigeons and exposes them and eliminates them from the revolutionary movement, that is the test of the essential loyalty of our Party to the working-class.

In the Socialist Party, the matter stands quite differently. Mr. Wm. Busiek, concerning whom it is common knowledge that he is working hand in glove with, and undoubtedly is in the pay of Captain William F. Lyness of the Los Angeles Police Department Red Squad, is not only kept in honored places in the S. P., but is nominated by the Party leadership for public office.

In view of all these facts, is it not downright brass for the S. P. Calif. State Committee to explain as they do in their letter rejecting the United Front letter of the Communist Party, that the reason they rejected the United Front is "because of lack of good faith manifested by the Communist Party"? Earlier in that same letter, however, they told the truth. They say "Efforts to unite have been damaging to the Socialist Party". This is the truth because the real program of the Socialist Party is now to be judged by the fancy speeches of its high-binders, but can only be judged by their real acts, which are in defense of capitalism; which defense would be hurt by united working class action.

DIFFER ON AIMS AND TACTICS

What are the real differences between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party? Mr. Thomas, Stitt Wilson, and others who have spoken, continually repeat the lie that the Socialist Party and Communist Party agree as to ultimate aims, and differ only as to tactics. This is false because were it true, how is it to be explained that in Germany, England and other countries where Socialist governments at one time or another took power, not a single step was taken towards the overthrow of capitalism and construction of Socialism. On the contrary, the British "Socialist" government sent troops against the Indian masses who were trying to liberate themselves. And the Social-Democratic government in Germany drowned in blood the revolutions of the workers in the post-war period, who really believed in socialism and tried to overthrow capitalism in order to establish it. On the extreme that the Social Democrats will bring in Socialism gradually, they have gradually paved the way successively for the centrist government in Germany, for the Hindenburg government, and finally for the Hitler fascist government. The only country in the world where Socialism is really being built is the Soviet Union, where a Communist revolution overthrew the Socialist pretender, Kerensky, out of office.

Do not the deeds speak louder than words? Is it not evident that in every country in the world where the matter has been put to test, only the Communist Party tried (in Germany, Hungary, etc., it failed, and in the Soviet Union succeeded) to destroy the profit system and build Socialism? On the other hand, the Socialist Party everywhere it took power, protected capitalism and helped them to destroy the working-class revolutionary forces. **THE AIMS OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE NOT IDENTICAL, THEY ARE OPPOSITE. THE SOCIALIST PARTY BELIEVES IN, AND HAS BEEN AND IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO, DEFEND CAPITALISM, WHEREAS THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS DEDICATED TO UNFLINCHING STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM AND EVENTUALLY, A COMMUNIST SOCIETY.**

FALSIFY COMMUNIST STAND ON VIOLENCE

These same "Socialist" charlatan leaders always say the difference lies in the fact that the Socialist Party wants to bring about the change by peaceful means and with a majority, whereas the Communist Party believes in a small determined minority, and the use of violence. This is another falsehood. Are there many governments in the world who have a worse record of terror and force and violence than precisely those "Socialist" governments that have taken power? Is that not true of the Socialist Labor Government in England, the Ebert-Seidemann government in Germany, the Kerensky government in Russia, etc.? Even in the United States, with violence used against the demonstrating unemployed, and striking workers in Milwaukee and other cities where "Socialist" Party administrations exist, did the clubs feel any softer than the clubs used by police where Democrats and Republican administrations existed?

We do not deny that the workers and farmers government in the Soviet Union used force. **THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE HOWEVER LIES IN THIS, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALWAYS USED AND CONSISTENTLY USES ITS FORCE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND ITS COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY AGENTS AND TO PROTECT THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, WHEREAS THESE "SOCIALISTS" FAKERS HAVE ALWAYS USED THEIR FORCE TO DEFEND CAPITALISM AND DESTROY THE WORKERS MOVEMENTS.** This is the essential secret of the difference between the two Parties. The Socialist Party is allied with capitalism; the Communist Party is allied with the working-class and the construction of Socialism.

OVERLOOK FASCIST METHODS OF CAPITALISTS

Finally, there arises the question of a "small determined minority, against the majority". Under the banner of this high-sounding moralistic falsehood, the Socialist Party has exercised through some of its most treacherous deeds. They have always interpreted a "majority" to mean a majority at the ballot box. This is sheer deception. Is there anybody so unthinking that they do not see by the events in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and, in fact, every country in the world that the workers are allowed the "democratic" right to vote only when they are willing to vote for capitalist candidates? But the imbue the masses turn against these capitalist candidates and take the road of struggle against the profit system and try to elect a government that would really carry this will of the masses through, these "democratic" rights are abolished, and the army, the police, fascist hoodlums and hoodligans are brought in to institute instead, the open fascist terrorist dictatorship.

In the United States the capitalists and "Socialist" leaders boast about the "great democratic rights". Out of a nation of more than 124 million souls, the largest vote has rarely been more than 40 million. Even in pre-Hitler Germany, out of a nation of 60 million, almost 40 million voted. That is, even as compared to pre-Hitler Germany, electoral rights in the United States are very limited. They are limited in ten states by property rights; in the South, through the elimination of four million Negroes from the right to vote through sheer terror; through residence requirements, which in California alone, eliminates 3 1/2 million migratory workers from the right to vote. And when all of these limitations fail and there is a danger of militants being elected to office, through trickery with the technical requirements, militant candidates and Parties are eliminated from the ballot as in California last year. And if all of these methods fail and militants are elected to office, as ten Socialist Assemblymen were elected in New York prior to the complete betrayal of the Socialist Party, they were, on the pretense of their "disloyalty" to the existing capitalist government, eliminated from office.

GIVE CONFIDENCE TO BOSS DEMOCRACY

The essential difference between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party on the question of the majority, lies in this, that the Socialist Party, through every fiction of capitalist democracy; through every deception which the capitalist class practices in order to give the masses, the illusion that they have democratic rights and that power is allowed to rest with them; tells the workers that they must win a majority of those whom the capitalist class allows to vote before it can take power. The Communist Party, on the other hand, says that such a majority does not represent the will of the masses. The "Communist International" Program says:

"In order to fulfill its historic mission of achieving the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all . . . win . . . A MAJORITY OF MEMBERS OF ITS OWN CLASS including working women and the working youth . . . must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the professionals, and over the so-called "small man", that is, the petty-bourgeois strata generally."

Thus, the Communists believe in winning a majority of the toilers of the country, but this must be a real majority as indicated either through the truly democratic form of rule, namely, workers, farmers, and soldiers councils (soviets). These are truly democratic because the voters have the power at all times to elect their representatives or to recall them, and every useful toiler, without limitations, has the right to vote. Or, if such a form of real democratic elections is denied by the terror of the capitalist class, then that majority must be won through winning support of those organizations which represent a revolutionary program.

These are the essential differences in principle between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, and are irreconcilable. **PSEUDO-LEFT, MOST DANGEROUS ELEMENT.**

We had said earlier in this letter that even more dangerous than the discredited reactionary leadership of the Socialist Party, is the pseudo-left wing that has arisen under the leadership of the American Guardian, and similar elements. They are more dangerous because now that the masses begin to understand the real issues involved, and become disillusioned with the honeyed talk of the Socialist leaders, and move towards the Communist Party, this pseudo-left wing springs up with militant phraseology in order to lead the people by a treacherous route right back again into the socialist party (capitalist) camp. We have, for example, a copy of a letter issued by Siegfried Amarger, from which we quote as follows:

"While it seems practically hopeless to make a militant fighting working-class party out of our present Socialist Party organization to my mind, that is the thing that has to be done. To do it, radicals such as you and others who feel as you do will have to work from within the party."

"I realize that the more we know of internal party affairs and party activity in an international sense during and since the war the more hopeless the position of the Socialist Party seems. On the other hand, every cloud has its silver lining, and out of the mistakes that have been made in the past can come a real Marxist Socialist movement."

"While the mistakes, blunders, and crimes committed by the British Labor Party have been most discouraging, even a radical such as Strachey, who wrote "The Coming Struggle for Power" still sees hope in the British Labor Party. I personally have had the opportunity to read over some of the English Labor Party publications, and all through them you can see a sincere desire to get back to the fundamentals of Socialism. Judging from the articles that I have read in those papers, it will be a very different labor party which will assume power next time, in England."

"On the German front, both the Socialists and the Communists, stand discredited for neither lifted a hand in revolt against Hitlerism. Here, the old leaders have been thoroughly

discredited and young, militant leaders will take their places. The Austrian Socialists, for instance, have their plans made to block fascism through a general strike, and revolution, if necessary. In this country, the election of Leo Krzucki means a turn somewhat to the left, as far as the Socialist Party is concerned. I believe that at the next convention in May of this coming year that the left will be strong enough to dominate the convention. So my suggestion would be that you and the comrades at Fair Oaks organize and become affiliated with the party."

Here is illustrated most clearly the menace of this pseudo-left wing group.

(1.)—The letter avoids completely the basic differences in principle between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party programs and reduces the entire question merely to a matter of who made the most "mistakes". (2.)—It offers the promise of a "Marxist Socialist Movement" although, as we have already shown, the Socialist Party through its leadership has completely abandoned Marxism and its whole program is essentially anti-Marxist and anti-working-class. (3.)—It creates an open falsehood, because Strachey in "The Coming Struggle for Power" never saw any hope for the British Labor Party, but on the contrary, condemned it forever as a Capitalist institution. (4.)—It overlooks completely the heroic struggle carried on by the Communist Party and the Communist leaders in Germany, and pretends to a great show of impartiality, condemning both Socialist and Communist. (5.)—Events are moving so fast that promises can not be made as glibly as they were in the past, because they are too soon exposed as deceptions. Thus, in this letter dated Nov. 9th, he promises that the Austrian Socialists "have made their plans to block fascism through a general strike and revolution." We are writing in the first week of January, and already Austrian fascism has taken power but the Austrian Socialists, as usual, under the phrases of revolution, helped the fascists to power and made neither a "general strike" nor a "revolution." (6.)—He promises a more "left" regime in the Socialist Party through the election of Leo Krzucki as national chairman. How much to the left Mr. K's regime will be can be indicated by the fact that he has already come out in endorsement of the N. R. A.

EVADE ISSUES, RESORT TO TRICKS

We look in vain through all the pronouncements and documents of the Socialist Party leaders to find a serious discussion of the differences in principle between the Socialist Party and Communist Party. The answer of the socialist leaders has always been either to follow the tactics of James O'neal, to spread lies and slander invented out of thin air, and to distort facts; or the practices of Stitt Wilson, and Norman Thomas, who falsely pretend to unity of aim with the Communists and a difference only in tactics; or of ambitious Milen Dempster who in his colossal ignorance boasts that he has no time to read Marx (his insurance business apparently keeps him too occupied); or the practice of the California State Executive Committee which evades every question of principle, and tries to frighten the "Socialist" Party membership with the evil designs of Communists upon the virginity of all pure Socialists. Or, for example, the tactics in "Organizational Leaflet No. 4" issued by the Socialist Party which outlines a whole series of tricks to defeat any questions put by militants from the floor at Socialist meetings, so that the embarrassing truth might not come out.

And if all these other "arguments" fail, there is always, that made by the San Francisco County Committee of the Socialist Party which they borrowed from the Arsenal of the open apologists for the capitalist class, who say that Communism is a "foreign imposition", and is not likely to take root in American soil. As a matter of fact, the Communist Party is twice as big as the Socialist Party nationally, (and in California, three times as big). We have won sufficient support from the workers that we have been able to maintain more dailies and weekly papers than the Socialist Party, despite the fact that the Socialist Party get a larger amount of money as contributions from rich individuals and capitalist financial foundations. And if the "Socialist" Party has been able to poll more votes than the Communist Party in presidential elections, this is essentially due to the fact that the capitalist class itself carries on campaigns for the Socialist Party. It gives them free national hook-ups on the radio, front-pages of the most popular magazines, feature articles in all newspapers, periodicals, etc. They do this because they are conscious of the fact that they need the "Socialist" Party in order to prevent a rising tide of militancy in the working-class.

UNITY OF ALL WORKERS OUR MAIN TASK

This brings us to the main task of the Communist Party must be, and is, to unite all workers and elements from other classes who are oppressed by capitalism in a united struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Against this, the capitalist class employs its political left and right wings, the mis-named "Socialist" Party and Fascism, both of whose jobs are to split the working-class with deceptive promises or slander and race-prejudice, or anti-Semitic programs, or terror, or any other method at their disposal that might serve to break the growing unity of the working-class, the poor farmers, the more thinking sections of the middle-class, professional people, and thus prevent any successful revolutionary struggle.

The offer of a united front was not a maneuver as the "Socialist" leaders say in order to explain away their failure to accept it. Our offer of a United Front was part of our campaign to unite the toilers of the country against the capitalist class. We will continue that campaign. We have confidence that the toilers of this country who have in a century of struggle, already shown their fighting class abilities, will in the coming period rise to the occasion and build up a revolutionary movement that will really be a powerful weapon for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of Socialism.

For this great task, we appeal to all sincere Socialists. If you see with us eye to eye, there is no reason why you should not join our Party, and we welcome you to it. If, however, you still have doubts and are yet sincere in your belief in a united working-class action to improve conditions, then become a leader in the fight for the United Front within the Socialist Party and force your leaders to act or get rid of them.

We will welcome any communication from you on the subject.
Comradely Yours,
WESTERN WORKER.