

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

## OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. —That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
  2. —That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
  3. —That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
  4. —That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
  5. —That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
  6. —That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
  7. —That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
  8. —THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
- Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqrs.*

These six parties adhere to the same Socialist Principles:

- SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;  
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND — P. O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand;  
P. O. Box 1929, Auckland, New Zealand.
- WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND—53 High St., Room 5, Belfast 1, No. Ireland
- WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U. S.—11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, Mass. 02109.

# 50th SOCIALIST

JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

## ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

- A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WSP
- WESTERN CANADA—50 YEARS AGO
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WW I & WW II Manifestoes  
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- A MILESTONE IN OUR HISTORY

We and our companion parties have kept burning the torch of a new society. We have always maintained that to engage in any struggle short of the struggle for a classless, wageless society is to engage in chasing rainbows and dancing at windmills.

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OF TEXAS  
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THE LIBRARY



## A Milestone in Our History

This issue of The Western Socialist features the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the World Socialist Party of the United States. Fifty years is just about two generations and even if socialism seems to be a long way from gaining a foothold in the world of today we still feel a sense of pride that the WSP has weathered the storms and vicissitudes of socialist activities during the period of our existence, including two world wars.

Coincidentally, this Anniversary Issue also finds us about to move into a new and better headquarters. We had been notified by registered mail to vacate our premises within 30 days. The building has been taken over by eminent domain by the Boston Redevelopment Authority — the Government agency for the creation of the "New Boston." The demolition of the buildings in the area is to be started in early August.

We are taking possession of our new headquarters on August 1, 1966. It is in a newly-renovated building with a newly-installed automatic elevator. It is in an ideal location. It is near such cultural centers as museums, universities and Symphony Hall, an area that is a hive of student activities.

Visitors from Boston environs and from everywhere else are welcomed to the pleasant and attractive atmosphere of our new headquarters in the Gainsborough Building, 295 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115. Let us hope that the response of those who would struggle with us for a sane world — a world without capitalism and wars — will enable us to move to still larger quarters in

### OFFICIAL NOTICE

Subscriptions, donations, articles and correspondence for insertion in *The Western Socialist* should be addressed to the World Socialist Party, 295 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02115, or Socialist Party of Canada, P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Man.

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the not-too-distant future. Thus, this move will prove to be a milestone in our growth.

National Administrative Committee,  
WSP, Boston Local, WSP.

## From Our War Manifesto May, 1917

... We point, also, to the fact that there is nothing in the announced proposals of any of the belligerents, which will insure peace after this war. The same causes will be operative while capitalism lasts, nor is there any assurance that the effects of these causes can be avoided by any plan of federation, disarmament, etc., even if those plans are carried out. In this connection we advise the workers to watch closely the trend of commercial rivalry between various nations, after this war, particularly those nations just entering on a period of industrial and commercial expansion.

As for the workers, their position is clear. Their exploitation under Capitalism stands at one end of the chain of causes leading to war, and therefore leads directly to their destruction in war.

We, therefore, re-assert that the question of peace is bound up in the ending of exploitation. We realize that a never ceasing struggle goes on between the two principal factions in capitalist society — i.e., the working class and the capitalist class — one to increase the portion they receive, of what they produce; the other to abstract as much wealth as possible from the workers and so decrease the workers' portion. This struggle we call the Class Struggle, the highest expression of which is the organization of the workers, consciously and politically, for the purpose of wresting the political power from the hands of the master class, to use it to transfer the ownership of the means of production to the wealth producers — this is the labor problem and its only solution.

Efforts to deal with the effects of capitalism, such as anti-conscription propaganda, federation of nations,

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# The WESTERN SOCIALIST

JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

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## A Glance at the Past

# A Brief History of The World Socialist Party

The World Socialist Party of the U.S., more commonly known as the W.S.P., is part of a worldwide movement of socialists dedicated to replacing the present capitalist order of society with a new and better society, socialism. The present W.S.P. has grown out of the tradition of Marxian socialism. Unfortunately, the very terms "Marxism" and "socialism" have fallen into disrepute because they have been appropriated by those who stand opposed to everything which these terms originally meant. The W.S.P. refuses to surrender these terms to their distorters. Scientific socialism with a wageless, classless, moneyless world society remains the goal of the W.S.P.

Around the turn of the last century the essentials of Marxian socialism began to be abandoned as a result of the frustrations the working class movement experienced in its struggle under adverse social conditions. In Great Britain those committed to Marxism left Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation in 1904 and organized the Socialist Party of Great Britain, the S.P.G.B. This same year also saw the formation of the Socialist Party of Canada around a core of Marxist members.

True to their principles of internationalism and working class solidarity, the S.P.G.B. and S.P.C. refused to support "their" respective governments in the First World War of 1914-1918. Many of the members of these parties scattered throughout the world to avoid conscription. Two of these "slackers," as they were

called, were Moses Baritz and Adolph Kohn from the S.P.G.B. Moses Baritz was a colorful, flamboyant personality who could speak persuasively and stimulate action. Adolph Kohn was a scholarly, calm complement to Baritz who was also adept in communicating the principles of Marxism. Both men traveled over North America as Johnny Applesseeds of socialism. The times were ripe for them.

The original Marxism of the Socialist Labor Party, largely through the influence of Daniel De Leon, had been turned into a passion for industrial unionism that obscured its principles. The growing American social democratic group, the Socialist Party of America, was a heterogeneous assortment of confused reformers of every stripe and equally confused direct actionists. The war administered a profound shock to the S.P.A., and those of its members whose smattering of Marxism caused them to reconsider the path their party was taking, began to look to European anti-war Marxists. In particular, the Michigan section of the S.P.A. came under the influence of the S.P.G.B. Detroit, Michigan was the center of the auto-industry and the auto workers suffered an intense exploitation that awakened them to the need for collective action.

### DETROIT, MICH.

Into these conditions Moses Baritz appeared in Detroit in 1915. He was soon lecturing to a study class held in Duffield Hall. Some of those attending these classes were members

of the S.P.A.; others were ordinary workers unaffiliated with any organization. Still others were S.P.C. members who had come to Detroit. By 1916 Baritz had moved on, but, before leaving, he had brought in Adolph Kohn to continue his work. The study circle began to see that there was a desperate need for a political organization to advocate real socialism in the U.S. They had also received news that a group in Toronto, Canada, had organized as the Socialist Party of North America with the same Declaration of Principles as the S.P.G.B.

Leaders of the Michigan S. P. A., such as John Keracher and Dennis Batt, were sympathetic to the "revolutionary tea drinkers" as the Detroit comrades were called, but they thought that Marxists should remain in the S.P.A. and try to swing it toward socialism rather than organize separately.

However, particularly at the urging of Wilfred Gribble and Adolph Kohn, the small group finally decided to organize. But due to the fact that the Detroit group had no well-known personalities, and due to their small resources, they were unable to make effective contacts with other groups throughout the U.S. The unfortunate result of this was that when on July 7, 1916, the Socialist Party of the U.S. was organized, it consisted entirely of members from Detroit. The lost opportunity to gather and educate the various semi-Marxian tendencies in the U.S. was never regained because the U.S. entry into the war and the Bolshevik revolution turned these tendencies to other directions.

A call was issued for a new party and at a dramatic meeting of the S.P. of A.'s Detroit local, 19 members, including Comrade I. Rab, resigned in a body. The new party gathered only 42 members, but decided to undertake the long journey toward socialism alone. Lawrence Beardsley wrote the Party's manifesto and Bill Gribble became the first organizer. Bill Davenport became its first secretary. The famous writer, Jack

London, received the manifesto, and his last public act before his death was to resign from the S.P.A. Other than this, the response from outside Detroit was negligible.

However, for a while their influence remained strong in Detroit and genuine socialist attitudes continued to influence the Michigan S.P.A. The latter founded a new journal, *The Proletarian*, in August 1918, and *The Proletarian* adopted the Declaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B. as its platform. The antireformist and antireligious stand of the Michigan S.P.A. inspired by the S.P.G.B., caused them to be expelled by the S.P.A. in early 1919. However, by this time they had fallen increasingly under the influence of the Bolshevik revolution, and they united with the expelled language federations of the S.P.A. to form the Communist Party. The Michigan group soon, however, split from the C.P. and formed the Proletarian Party which retained its pro-Bolshevik stance while at the same time, maintaining its stand against reformism. It is unfortunate that the W.S.P. was not able to save these otherwise valuable socialists from their infatuation with the Russian social system.

To return to the S.P.U.S., the new group was soon informed that the S.P.A. had the name "Socialist Party" copyrighted so that a new name would have to be selected. The new party was then renamed the Workers' Socialist Party.

In April of 1917, the U.S. entered the World War and persecution of antiwar groups began. Conscription threatened even those who remained inactive. The party was forced to curtail its activities.

In the midst of the war came the Bolshevik revolution. Many harassed workers were carried away by false hopes of world revolution and turned towards the new Russia for inspiration. Many members of the W.S.P. joined the Bolsheviks. On top of this came the infamous Palmer Red Raids of 1919 when thousands of supposedly anti-capitalist workers were arrested.

Obstacles such as these made it difficult to keep the administrative affairs of the party going and it was found more practical to carry on as the Detroit Socialist Educational Society. From 1919 the Detroit group functioned under this name, and classes continued up until 1922.

The local in Detroit has been revived, only to die again on more than one occasion through the years. At one period during 1950 it was strong enough to take over the functions of the National Headquarters, which it maintained for a few years. At present, although there is still a relatively large nucleus for an active socialist local in Detroit there is no functioning local.

#### NEW YORK CITY

The S.P.A. had thousands of followers in the New York area in the 1918-1920 period. The S.P.A.'s prize corner for open air meetings was the area beside the Coney Island Municipal Baths. Only the best speakers were assigned there for the audience always numbered in the hundreds. One Sunday afternoon, a short, stocky man built like a wrestler mounted the speaker's platform and held the attention of the audience for hours with his message of socialism minus social reformist activity and with his emphasis on the need for a clear socialist understanding that would accept nothing short of the abolition of capitalism and its replacement with a society without wages, classes, or production for profit. This was Moses Baritz. Baritz spoke here again, but the S.P.A. officialdom, sensing the danger to themselves, soon, barred him. It was too late, however, since he had already planted the seeds of socialism.

New York had also been a gathering place of British "refugees" from the war. Some having arrived by courtesy of what was called the "Four Winds Fellowship" — a kind of underground movement — especially of seamen, to assist the escape of antiwar Britishers. Some of these "refugees" from Great Britain and

Canada helped found the Socialist Educational Society of N. Y. on January 25, 1921, among them being members of the earlier educational group in Detroit. Merely as a matter of record we note that among these founders of the New York S.E.S. were: Adolph Kohn, Larry Williams, Fred Slater, Harry Carlisle, Alf White and Taffey Brown — all of whom were of the "refugee" category; there were also native New Yorkers and other Americans such as C. Davis, S. Orner, B. Cosor, I. Davis, L. Kaplan, and Scott Frampton.

The famous American Marxist, Louis Boudin (author of *Theoretical System of Karl Marx*) gave lectures for the New York S.E.S., although he never became a member. Debates were held with the S.L.P., outdoor meetings were held in Manhattan, and a pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion," published originally by the S.P.G.B., was republished with its own foreword by the S. E. S. This activity resulted in a steady growth in membership during the 1920s in New York, while the Detroit S.E.S., unfortunately, became inactive by 1924.

In 1929 the party began to publish *The Socialist*, in New York, as its official journal. It was discontinued a year later, revived for a brief period in 1937 only to fade again. It was not until 1939 that the WSP was able to merge with a publication that was to become a permanent accomplishment and which is still with us, *The Western Socialist*.

Local New York had its ups and downs through the years, never growing to a large membership yet continued carrying on valuable socialist work such as street meetings and distribution of literature. 1966 finds its membership still carrying on — a few new and younger faces mingled with some of the early members. The Party Conference of 1966 will, no doubt, see the same dedicated N. Y. comrades — with perhaps some new ones — making the journey to Boston as they have done in so many previous conferences.

## BOSTON, MASS.

The seeds of socialism next sprouted in Boston. In 1921, Comrade I. Rab moved from Detroit to Boston and immediately began propagating Marxism. For years he worked tirelessly until 1926, when his first recruit, Fred Jacobs, was gained. Later, his work with a boys club and a science club began to bear fruit and several young men became socialists.

In 1929 the S.E.S. was reorganized as the Workers' Socialist Party, with locals in New York and Boston.

During the Depression years the membership grew until it became the largest and most active group within the W.S.P. In fact, outside of the Communist Party, Boston Local of the W.S.P. was without doubt the most active and widely-known of the organizations professing to be Marxist in New England. And with the W.S.P. there was more than mere professions. Consider the following record: During the decade of the Thirties Boston Local had something going on nearly every night in the week and on Sunday afternoons had regular open-air meetings on the Charles St. Mall of Boston Common. Classes, forums, street meetings, distribution of literature, social activities, were the order of the day. Comrade I. Rab's lectures on Marxist economics and socialism became well known. Even widely-known members of rival, professedly Marxist, groups attended these classes because of his work in clarifying Marxist socialism. Gabriel Kantrovich, legal spokesman for the Massachusetts Communist Party, was reputed to have said, "If you want to know about Marxism, go to Rab's classes." Prominent radicals and "socialist leaders" attended WSP classes and lectures and advised others to attend to "learn Marxism" but ignore their "politics."

But more important than the celebrities touched by the W.S.P. were the numerous workers who were enabled to hear the case for socialism. Although most of such people did not become party members, they

did at least develop some understanding that should remain with them.

And the street meetings! There was the regular Monday night affair at the corner of Blue Hill Ave., and Talbot Ave., in Dorchester; the spot at Columbus Square in the South End; and, above all, the Sunday afternoon session on Boston Common. Week in and week out—weather permitting—Local Boston speakers and Local Boston members and supporters, in general, put forth the socialist message from the tree near the crosswalk that leads to the Public Garden. On one historic occasion, some fifteen hundred people heard George Fredericks, of the WSP debate a speaker from a right-wing group who, decades later, made national headlines when a Massachusetts U. S. Senator unsuccessfully attempted to have him named a federal judge.

And the Sunday night forums at the old headquarters at 12 Hayward Place! One of the most memorable of these forums was the occasion of the visit to Boston by the late Dutch astronomer and Marxist, Anton Pannekoek (author of *Marxism and Darwinism* and *Anthropogenesis*). Pannekoek had come to accept an honorary degree from Harvard University for his work in astrophysics. Yet instead of hobnobbing with the intellectuals of Harvard, he chose to deliver a lecture at the W.S.P. headquarters to a working class audience seeking the truth about society from a scientist and philosopher. Pannekoek said that he was more at home with workers than he was with the professors.

And the mass indoor meetings such as those (extending into the Forties) that the W.S.P. held at the Old South Meeting House on Washington Street! At one of these, some 600 persons heard R. Parker of the W.S.P. demolish the famous radical, Scott Nearing, in a debate on the question: Is Russia a Workers' State? So effectively was the brutal capitalist nature of the U.S.S.R. exposed by the W.S.P. speaker that the stenographer, whom we had engaged to take the transcript with all intentions of publishing

it as a pamphlet, allowed herself to be influenced into refusing to consummate the agreement—she was, obviously, a friend of the pro-Soviet co-organizers of the debate.

At another debate held at Mass. Institute of Technology in Cambridge attended by an estimated 600 students and moderated by Dean Burchard, W.S.P. members took apart the thesis of the M.I.T. debating team that capitalism is the best of all possible systems. This feat was also accomplished on a regular basis against debaters from Harvard University, one at least of these affairs being held in the Old South Meeting House, others at Harvard College and, occasionally, at our Party Headquarters.

And this activity went on until the late 1940's. True, a clear understanding of our case by most of our audience was rare and agreement with our tactics and goals was also rare. But the real effectiveness of the W.S.P. must be measured by the degree which a socialist consciousness has been advanced by our work. This degree cannot be measured merely by party membership and attendance at meetings. Although difficult to measure, this influence is a real thing and it is here more than anywhere else that the W.S.P. has left its mark, especially in Boston.

## THE WEST COAST

Since the mid-Thirties there has been some W.S.P. activity—now dormant, now active—in Los Angeles and in San Francisco. Two of the founding members of Local Los Angeles have since passed on, Fred Evans and Walter Henderson, and other members have grown old "in the service" yet still carry on to the best of their opportunities.

There is some distribution of our journals in the area that is maintained largely through the efforts of these comrades. And, over the years, there have been some bursts of activity such as outdoor speaking at the "University by the Sea" in Long Beach (a suburb of Los Angeles), and the appearance on local Radio and TV programs of comrades from

the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Members-at-large in San Francisco, and scattered thinly through the state have managed to contribute valuable socialist work in the form of articles for *The Western Socialist* and leaflet distribution. From time to time we have also attempted to enlarge our activities through the efforts of a national organizer in the California area. It is hoped that we can improve our position on the West Coast before long.

## MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

Throughout the country the W.S.P. has a number of members-at-large. These members, in many cases, are able to help in the spread of socialist knowledge through contacting libraries and news-stands, through contributing articles for *The Western Socialist*, and through their donations to party funds. Their membership is maintained through the National Administrative Committee. They are also constantly on the watch for opportunities to gain new members in their areas in order that they might be able to charter a local.

The NAC organized four organizer tours over the years to the Midwest and Eastern U.S. to assist in organizing locals.

## THE WESTERN SOCIALIST

In September of 1939 arrangements were made to move National Headquarters of the Party to Boston, from New York. Just after Canada joined Great Britain in declaring war on the Axis Powers, *The Western Socialist*—which had been published in Winnipeg as the organ of the revived Socialist Party of Canada—was moved to Boston and, in compliance with the result of a joint referendum of the two parties, became the joint organ of the W.S.P. and the S.P.C.

Elsewhere in this issue we will present evidence from our journal of our consistent, socialist, anti-war position and of the banning of our journal for a year in Canada during the war. There have been other highlights, however, through the 27

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## WESTERN CANADA—FIFTY YEARS AGO

Fifty years ago mankind was going through one of its bloody upheavals. The world was being torn to bits, each bit grabbed after by the rival gangs of the plutocracy scratching over the wreckage of a tortured continent.

It was not the plutocracy whose flesh was nibbled at and burrowed into by rats and maggots. To them went the spoils. To the workers went the noble work of daring and dying.

And "back home" where there was no war, a greater war raged. Small groups, spread thinly over the land, hostile to this latest brutal episode in the life of a brutal society, from platform, soap box and press waged war against those who were waging war against humanity and were themselves hounded by those who would brook no wars other than their own.

Fifty years ago! The oldest rebels of our day can reach back in memory to the years surrounding 1916, to the free speech fights of pre-war days, to the anti-war and anti-conscription activities later, and to a lot of things that, even though we might frown upon them today, yet bring contented moisture to the eyes.

Those were reckless days and there were reckless agents: The destruction of the Socialist hall in Winnipeg by the defenders of democracy, enraged even at the piano they threw from a second floor window; the court room scene where our comrade Sid Rose, asked if he were a conscientious objector replied "No, I'm a conscientious objector, a class conscious objector," then spent the rest of the war in jail; the awakening one morning of the babbity of a small Alberta coal town, who had prepared for the visit of an important dignitary by spreading a streamer across the main street urging that "God Save the King," to find horrified that a word on the streamer had been changed overnight to "Damn"; the shooting of anti-conscriptionist Ginger Goodwin by the

dauntless ones who went out and got their man; the tearing down of the U.S. flag from the town hall of little Tanana, Alaska, and the raising of the Red Flag in its place, a tale that Charlie Lestor could have told, for he was there.

Alaska was a favored haunt in those days for rebels who were finding Western Canada too hot, and some were known even to mush deep into the northern snow, trying to keep the spark of life glowing and trying to keep the flames of rebellion alive. But Alaska also warmed up when the United States went into the war and an old comrade told of leaving Juneau one midnight in a rowboat ahead of a raging pack — just like in a TV thriller!

The Socialist Party of Canada got and gave its share of lumps. We today with a less rowdy makeup would squirm at some of the things it did and many of its members were driven by outraged orthodoxy to the woods, to the north and to the south where some reached Detroit and helped in forming the forerunner of the World Socialist Party.

But there remained always a small and hardy group who carried on the theoretical work of the Party; and its official organ "The Western Clarion," forever in dutch with the authorities, continued to reach its readers. Banned, it became "The Emancipator"; banned again, it became "The Red Flag"; there was never a time when those interested could not receive the journal "Published in the Interest of the Working Class Alone."

### THEN CAME BOLSHEVISM

Then came another kind of upheaval — the Russian revolution. In March 1917 Tsarism and all its feudal trappings were swept away by emergent aspirants to Russia's capitalist future. Then in October of the same year they too were swept away by antagonists of another kind who thrilled and dismayed most of the

world by speaking the language of proletarian revolution.

It was a period of dread and hope — dread that the world working class revolution was approaching and hope that this was so. It was also the period that brought the near downfall of independent working class thought and action. The initial admiration of Socialists for the bravery and determination of the Russian revolutionaries turned reluctantly to criticism then actively to hostility as the Bolsheviks, flushed with success, sought to impose wrong and harmful theories and Bolshevik dominance on the working class movement, plunging it into scores of years of bitter and dangerous feuding on the pressing need for "proletarian dictatorship" and the theories of social fascism, revolutionary reformism, the exposure of reformists by supporting them, Socialism in one country and a host of others seen now in the sobering light of long-delayed hindsight, by many who lengthily hailed their vital substance, as so much utter claptrap.

The war of 1914 to 1918 ended. Soldiers left the battlefield of France and entered the battlefields of industry, to fight their fellow workers in one arena, as they had fought them in another. The "industrial reserve army," better known as the unemployed, grew as the heroes staggered back from one horror into another. The employers, victorious abroad, sought victory at home, taking advantage of the swollen ranks of the workers to precipitate "collective bargaining" struggles and destroy the effectiveness of the unions. These clashes culminated in the giant strikes of 1919 in which the workers demonstrated a solidarity and power never before known, but a solidarity and power more than matched by that of the employers, and the unions moved into the background for nearly a score of years as an effective means of working class resistance to the encroachments of capital.

Thus did many who gave so much in one war, and who yet on occasion

stand proudly on aging and infirm legs, heads uncovered, displaying their medals, proud of the glory and greatness of it all, give again in another war to the same parasite class.

The defeat of the unions and the disruptive work of the Bolsheviks brought the workers to one of those stagnant periods mentioned once by J. H. Burrough as "halting places in history." The "flaming twenties" came and went. The SPC declined, "The Western Clarion" died — a death attributed in its final pages to "the doldrums," as clear a designation as could be given. "Reformism" gained some ground, even the "Clarion" in its latter days becoming watered down by its influence, one of the few clear voices remaining in its columns being that of J. A. McDonald who still does trojan work in "The Western Socialist."

But the flames of the twenties had little to do with the muddled and militant aspirations of the workers. They danced the Black Bottom, marvelled at the wonders of radio and remained oblivious to the future that capitalism held in store.

That future? The hungry thirties, the bloody forties, the threatening fifties — and the fallout settling quietly in the sixties over all the earth.

J. M.

## WAR MANIFESTO

(Continued from page 2)

pacifist schemes, peace conference, etc., are unsound and unworthy the attention of the workers. Strict adherence to the Class Struggle is our only course.

May, 1917

National Executive Committee, W.S.P.

\* Limited to conclusions of WWI manifesto because of space. For complete manifesto, see Nov.-Dec. 1940 WS.

## Critics of Socialism

We welcome your views in the columns of  
THE WESTERN SOCIALIST

## WHERE DID IT GET US?

## In Retrospect — Fifty Years of Socialism

"Sectarians!", "Spittoon philosophers!", "Armchair theorists!" Down through the last half century scornful words, ridicule, even invective, have been hurled at World Socialist Party speakers and writers by diverse opponents from the "Left." "You will never amount to anything," they assured us, "because socialists have got to participate in the day-to-day struggle of the workers, have got to identify themselves with the immediate aspirations of the oppressed and hungry. Otherwise it is hopeless to expect sympathy from the workers for your organization." This, in essence, has been the main criticism of the WSP by our radical opposition. The Socialist Party of America, the Communist Party of the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party together with the groups that splintered off these organizations threw themselves into the day-to-day struggles in a mad competition to gain converts. The Socialist Labor Party (De Leonist), while remaining aloof from the struggle for reforms, continued to advocate their "Industrial Republic of Labor" rather than a system of society based upon common right of access of all mankind to all production and services. And the Socialist Labor Party, despite the finger of "sectarian" scorn that was also pointed at them by social democrats and "communists," has not hesitated to use the same tactics when compelled to acknowledge our existence. In a letter to a correspondent, Mr. Arnold Peterson — National Secretary of the SLP — says of us: "They claim, appropriately enough, to have their headquarters in Boston, the hub of the universe! Their grandiloquent title is in inverse ratio to their size and importance." (W. S. No. 4-1964).

So there it is. We have remained small because we have refused to understand (1) that a socialist organization must take part in the day-to-day-struggle of the working class, or

(2) because we have refused to advocate a system of society based upon a government composed of industrial unions. Let us look a little more closely at what we might have accomplished. Supposing, for example, we had elected in July of 1916 to work within the Socialist Party of America.

## CASE OF MISSING "SOCIALISTS"

In 1916, the Socialist Party of America was a relatively large and powerful organization. Although not by any means a threat in national politics they did manage to elect a number of mayors and representatives on both state and national levels. "Socialist" personalities such as Upton Sinclair, Jack London, and millionaire Gaylord Wilshire (whose name is preserved in Los Angeles' swank Wilshire Boulevard) were not to be dismissed lightly. They did make an impact on the American political scene. Furthermore, the tally of ballots in Presidential elections had disclosed a startling fact, that millions of people in America — if one included the not-yet franchised women "socialists" and the membership too young or otherwise unqualified to vote—were now manifesting a sharp interest in what was commonly known as socialism. For in 1912, Eugene V. Debs polled a total of 897,011 votes in his bid for the Presidency on the Socialist Party ticket.

But now begins a mystery worthy of a Nick Carter (a fictional sleuth of the period). In the Presidential election of 1916, A. L. Benson — the new nominee of the "Socialists" polled 538,221 votes and someplace along the line almost 359,000 "socialists" had disappeared. Were they caught up in the great surge of support for Woodrow Wilson who had (as of then) kept the country out of the European War? Possibly, because by 1920 the prodigal sons returned bringing some extra "socialists" with them and Eugene V. Debs, running from

his prison to which he had been sent for opposition to the war, polled 917,799 votes for President. By this time, the members of the recently-formed WSP might have been excused had they elected to join the swelling throng, the "wave of the future," the mass party. But the WSP was stubborn, and still maintained that a socialist revolution required *socialists* first, that those who cast their ballots for the Socialist Party of America were, generally speaking completely unacquainted with socialist understanding.

In the elections between 1928 and 1964, the Socialist Party of America reached a high of 884,781, with Norman Thomas to a low of Norman Thomas actively campaigning for Lyndon B. Johnson and the mystery of America's lost "socialists" might now make the basis of a Perry Mason TV story. For despite its efforts in the last fifty years in the field of immediate demands and reforms, the Socialist Party of America stands today a shell of its former numerical greatness, with scarcely more support than the World Socialist Party and without the saving factor of being able to proclaim whatever support it has as socialist.\* The fact that hundreds of thousands of erstwhile "socialists" appeared to desert their Party for avowedly capitalist leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and the unsuccessful Adlai Stevenson — not to mention John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson — would certainly stamp that Party as just another advocate of capitalist reform. America's

\* In 1924 the Socialist Party of America supported Robert M. LaFollette who ran on both the Progressive Party and Socialist Party tickets, polling nearly five million votes. In 1928, back on their own, the S.P.A. (with Norman Thomas) received 267,420 votes; in 1932 (Thomas), 884,781 votes; in 1936 (Thomas), 187,720 votes; in 1940 (Thomas), 99,557 votes; in 1944 (Thomas), 80,518 votes; and by 1956 (with Darlington Hoopes the new Presidential candidate) a mere, 2,126 votes. (Source: World Almanac).

"socialist" voters, generally, terrified that a "greater-of-two-evils" might be elected, threw their support time after time to what they naively believed to be a "lesser-of-two evils." And the avowedly capitalist parties frequently found Socialist Party planks to be completely compatible with their own platforms and "stole" these "socialist" planks quite cheerfully.

Had the W.S.P. merged with the S.P. of A. at any time in our history it can hardly be argued that the fortunes of either Party could have improved.

## THOSE "FIGHTING" COMMUNISTS

But what about the Communist Party? While the champions of the Soviet Union in America never received more than about 103,000 votes (1932), and usually but a small fraction of this total, for President and is all but bankrupt today — not alone because of U. S. Government persecution but also because of the contradictions within Soviet state-capitalist society — they have exerted some influence during their history in America. Could we have accomplished more by "uniting," at least in the relatively mighty "United Fronts" with those "champions of peace and democracy"? The Communist Party did manage to fill Madison Square Gardens in New York and other large halls throughout the country in their various crusades. They were especially concerned with the task of actively demonstrating against fascism and nazism (excepting for the period of their honeymoon with Hitler in 1939 and 1940); and they helped send an "Abraham Lincoln" Brigade to aid the Loyalists of Spain in their Civil War with Franco.

Yes, it certainly might have been stirring to be able to participate in a mass demonstration, wave hammer and sickle red flags, gaze with awe at huge banners that proclaimed "Long Live The Class Struggle" (!) and that bore the "hallowed" photographs of the great men of the Third International (Communist). So why

didn't we jump on the bandwagon? Why didn't we get involved in the "action" of the Communist Party? Why didn't we leave our "Ivory Towers"? Could it have been that our ability to analyze movements and economic situations—in light of our Marxist knowledge and understanding—stood in the way? That we knew that mere emotional sloganizing, parading, and singing are not substitutes for socialist understanding? That the very nature of the "Workers' Fatherland" to which these marching Stalinists gave allegiance was the antithesis of socialism, was (and still is) capitalism in a particularly vicious form—dictatorship of one political party?

Precisely. So the W.S.P. remained a "sect" and continued to spread socialist knowledge and understanding in its limited manner. What else could we have done that would have made sense and, again, how could a merging with the Communist Party have enhanced either organization? Like the Socialist Party of America, the Communist Party has had nothing more to offer than a continuation of the wages system and a frenzied participation in struggles such as that of the Negroes for "civil rights." The utter confusion of the Communist Party (U.S.A.) is no better illustrated than in their recently-voiced opposition to the candidacy of Atty-Gen'l Edward Brooke of Boston (a Negro), for the U.S. Senate. Why do they oppose Brooke when they pursue a policy of supporting Negroes, generally, for high political office? Simply because Brooke, although a Republican, supports President Johnson's policy in Vietnam. Otherwise, presumably, the Communists would support Massachusetts' number one cop.

Despite a proclaimed resurgence in the wake of a recent favorable U.S. Supreme Court decision that will enable the American Communists to again run political candidates of their own, the Communist Party (U.S.A.) is virtually a dead issue, its influence now little, if any, more than the influence of the World Socialist

Party and completely devoid of anything resembling socialist integrity.

#### RUSSIA'S LOYAL OPPOSITION

But there were other tacks we might have taken—other groups we might have merged with. A considerable percentage of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party of America became disillusioned with the policies—although not with the basic beliefs—of these organizations. And, ultimately, in the late Thirties, the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) was born.

But again we have the dreary history of an organization based upon social reform—rather than socialist revolution (despite a more widespread use of bombastic phraseology and an enthusiastic appeal to far-out groups such as Black Muslims, Malcolm Xers, and an assortment of other advocates of armed resistance). There is no question that the Trotskyites make a relatively loud noise and extract notice from the big capitalist press in the context of the fight that interests them. They agitate for "democracy" in the United States armed forces; for the removal of United States military from Guantanamo Bay, Vietnam, and just about everywhere else; for the "right" of Negro workers to be exploited by Negro businessmen; and a host of other items. They are so busy, in fact, fighting and crusading against the effects of capitalism that they would not have the time—if they did have the inclination—to advocate a world-wide system of production for use, a socialist society.

On the other hand, they constitute, basically, a loyal opposition to the Soviet Russian regime, being highly critical of the Soviet leadership and politics but remaining constant in the myth of the overthrow of Russian capitalism by the Bolsheviks of 1917.

To have submerged our identity with the Socialist Workers Party would certainly have had no bearing on the degree of socialist understanding, either within or without that organization.

#### INDUSTRIAL UNION MIRAGE

There were still other roads we might have travelled. There were the trails "blazed" by the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of The World, the difference between them largely one of emphasis on political action and general effectiveness in their activity.

Whereas the Socialist Labor Party has maintained that both political party and "socialist" industrial union are requisite to sound revolutionary tactics, the I.W.W. has proclaimed itself, since 1908, as "non-political" and has sought the organization of a "revolutionary" industrial union alone, its members engaging in the politics of their choice, which they have certainly done! But neither the S.L.P. (which has remained relatively small politically and non-existent, throughout most of its history, in the industrial union phase), nor the I.W.W. (which was once relatively influential in organizing workers in Agriculture, Lumbering, and Mining but which is now relegated to insignificance), have been able—through the use of different tactics from those of the W.S.P. to accomplish anything more than we have accomplished in the last fifty years in the effort to abolish capitalism. The problem remains as stated by us fifty years ago: how long before great masses of workers will awaken to the fact that capitalism cannot be reformed in their interests? And that a socialist society—if it means anything—means the establishment of a world-wide system wherein each and every man, woman, and child will have free access to what is produced. That the introduction of such a social system calls for a mass political organization dedicated to that end, alone, rather than the creation of different types of social reform parties and/or different types of labor unions.

The I.W.W. was, in its heyday, a pretty good labor union because it went about the business of organizing workers—regardless of their political and social views—for what

was to them the main task, the struggle for improved wages and working conditions. Their members were, of course, urged to vote "socialist" but, by socialism, the I.W.W. meant the social reform agitation of the Socialist Party of America. Many of the foremost spokesmen of the Wobblies were members of the S.P.A. and "Big" Bill Haywood, himself, was, (in his own words) a "two-gun man from the West" by which he meant that he carried both I.W.W. and S.P.A. membership cards. Haywood was, in fact, a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party of America until 1912.

The S.L.P., on the other hand, really never got off the ground with its variation of an industrial union (Workers International Industrial Union) and has not been able to see—to this date—the contradiction between organizing a labor union that can be made up of socialists (according to them) and the practical need for organizing all workers—regardless of political views—in a particular industry. The S.L.P. makes frequent use of the expression (in a derogatory fashion) "purely political party" against other allegedly Marxist organizations and also against The World Socialist Party. The main objection of the De Leonists to their opponents seems to be (despite their stand against reform agitation) the fact that their rivals do not include the De Leon plan of "socialist industrial unionism," and the implication seems to be present that parties such as the S.P. of A. and the S.W.P. do have a concept of a socialist society but merely go about their tactics in a mistaken manner. S.L.P. like S.P.A. literature, in fact contains numerous references to the "socialist" nature of the Bolshevik revolution even though there is also a continual denunciation of the modern Bolshevik regime.

The World Socialist Party maintains that the higher phase of the class struggle is a political struggle and must be fought out on the political field but that the party of the working class must be not merely political,

but composed only of socialists with no other object than the establishment of a society based upon the common right of access to all the wealth that is in and on the earth by all mankind. This is what really distinguishes us from all other professedly socialist organizations.

Has it all been in vain, then? Have our efforts of fifty years been wasted? Despite the seeming lack of interest in the masses for the introduction of a new and higher type of social system, we feel that our struggles have certainly not been wasted. If only because the history of the last fifty years has proved our case conclusively; that capitalism has

## THE W. S. P. AND THE WAR IN VIETNAM

*The participants in the interview were Dave MacNeil of WCRB and Harry Morrison of the World Socialist Party. The complete interview appears in The Western Socialist, No. 2-1965. It is a statement of our attitude to war, in general, as well as the war in Vietnam.*

Q: Perhaps tonight we should deal with the attitude of the World Socialist Party to the question of war, in general, and the war in South Vietnam, in particular.

A: Well, war is always a timely topic because I don't remember a time in my lifetime when there wasn't war going on someplace in the world and this embraces a period of a good half century. Among the many things I've noticed about wars is the fact they all seem to be justified by all sides concerned on the basis of fighting for truth, honor, religion, and the protection of one's womanhood. The guilty nation or nations are always those we are fighting against, and vice-versa. In other words, no nation seems ever to have started a war if we are to go by the propaganda of all nations. And another thing I've noticed is that Christians always seem to be fighting against Christians; Moslems against Moslems; Buddhists against Buddhists and so on. Furthermore, Democracies are frequently allied with Dictatorships and so-called Communist nations ally themselves with avowedly Capitalist governments to fight against other

floundered through depressions, recessions, strikes, lockouts, riots and wars and that these evils are inherent to capitalism and cannot be remedied within capitalism; if only for this, the fact that we are still intact and are still stating the socialist case, was our first fifty years worthwhile. History has confirmed our position and has demonstrated clearly that the allocation of limited time and even more-limited resources (by socialists) to anything short of the struggle for a classless, wageless, moneyless society is to engage in chasing rainbows and tilting at windmills.

HARMO

Communist-Capitalist alliances. It must be pretty confusing for those who believe the propaganda but who try to reason it through.

Q: Yes, it does get confusing, but what do you have to say about the business of the war in Vietnam? Is the World Socialist Party in favor of having our government negotiate a settlement with the Communists? You know that there's quite a debate going on now on that subject and all political factions seem to be found on the different sides of the argument.

A: That's a good question because we are going to be able to bring out our differences with all other organizations — no matter what they happen to call themselves. But I'd like to point out, first, that there are two good legal reasons why America shouldn't be involved in the Vietnamese war. True, America is not the only breaker of the laws but this question deals with America and anyway, according to the general concept of law, the breaking of the rules by one party, does not constitute justification for doing the same by another party. The Geneva Conven-

tion of 1954 laid down rules on Vietnam. It banned military help from outside nations and it restricted military advisers from any country to a total of about 663. Almost from the very beginning America had thousands of soldiers fighting there on the Government side under the name of advisers and in the past year or so, particularly since early 1965, America has been calling a spade a spade, carrying on bombing raids against North Vietnamese and Laotian territory which were originally tagged "retaliatory" but which have recently been conducted without even that camouflage. But this is only one part of the illegality of American participation on this war. The United States Constitution makes war the province of Congress. There is supposed to be a declaration of war by Congress before America can become involved directly in a war. So American capitalism gets around this first by calling her soldiers, advisers, then by calling her action "retaliatory"; and finally by dropping all pretense while she drops her bombs. It is interesting to recall how shocked Americans were when the Fascist and Nazi and Bolshevik dictatorships did this sort of thing.

Q: So this means, then, that the World Socialist Party agrees with those who demand that America should begin negotiations immediately. And of course, as I have pointed out, you do have plenty of company there with all shades of political opinion represented.

A: Well, not exactly. Just because we call attention to the open violation of the law by America doesn't mean we find it necessary to instruct our capitalist rulers on proper procedure. It is *their* law they are violating. It is *their* nation, *their* system, and *their* war. Sure, most of the lives and limbs that are being lost are those of the working class and Vietnamese peasants. But as long as capitalism exists there will be wars and the question of where they will be fought, when, and how, will always be determined by the capitalist

governments whether so-called Free or so-called Red.

Q: But surely you must admit that there is an immediate and a pressing problem in South Vietnam. There are people being killed and the question seems to be whether it will be wiser to step-up the action—even against the threat of an all-out general nuclear war — with the object of improving American bargaining possibilities; keep on doing what we have been doing; or trying to negotiate right away and withdraw. How can you socialists feel that this is not a problem for you as well as for everybody else?

A: Well, what would *you* say is the reason that America is involved in that war in the first place?

Q: I would say that America is interested mainly in preventing the further spread of Communist control, that we are anxious that small countries shall be able to live in peace without fear of conquest by the Communists.

A: Well, certainly the official argument is that America seeks to protect South Vietnam from Communist rule, that "we" want to help the South Vietnamese to remain free. But the truth is that America is fighting a war with Red China, in particular, for control of the markets and sources of raw materials of Southeast Asia. Neither South Vietnam nor North Vietnam could exist as "free" nations with big power blocs like China, Russia, and America involved in a competition for world power. I would like to read from a recent article in our journal, *The Western Socialist*, on the subject of American foreign policy: "There is nothing within South Vietnam that is worth fighting about, but a glance at the map reveals its strategic value as a base of operations for the eastern trade; whoever controls it has the key to the entire ocean route from Japan and Korea down to Australia and New Zealand. This is a prize the big capitalist powers cannot afford to lose in their race for profits." (From an article entitled "*Our Foreign Policy*" in *WS-No. 5, 1964.*)



Q: Do you mean that you socialists don't believe that America would rather have free, democratic, governments to deal with than dictatorships?

A: Well certainly you have seen enough cooperation between America and all other countries, regardless of what they call themselves; and enough hostility between America and other nations that are supposed to have the same basic ideas of democracy, religion, and so forth. As for the cold and hot wars raging all over the world — it might seem an oversimplification to say that they are nothing but business wars. We can concede that politicians of all types seem able to bring themselves to believe their own propaganda. But regardless of what they call one another when the missiles are flying they seem to get along fine when the situation calls for cooperation. The enemies of World War II are now mostly all friends — changed entirely from evil, warlike, villainous creatures into kindly, peaceloving, virtuous citizens. While some of our former friends have become the scoundrels. Yes, we claim that war, under capitalism, is essentially the carrying on of trade at an explosive pitch.

Q: But let's get back to South Vietnam. You say that the World Socialist Party just doesn't feel it should enter the debate as to whether or not America should begin negotiations for peace. But you must have some sort of policy. Just what do you advocate, anyway, specifically on the situation in South Vietnam?

A: Well, let's look at it from this angle. Let us take the relatively short period of history since the end of World War II. Do you have any idea how many crises there have been since then? Crises that everybody felt needed immediate action? Even those who call themselves socialists and communists, for the most part, were too busy being involved in the immediate crises to talk about socialism. What they don't yet realize is that these eruptions are part of capitalism and will continue to flare as long as capitalism exists. Not even

the United Nations can cope with the problem because as long as we have national sovereignties we will have wars. We say then that the solution is to get rid of capitalism — the market economy — the wages, profits, prices, money system. We have nothing specific to advocate for South Vietnam, or The Congo, or Cuba, or any other trouble spot. We are too busy advocating socialism and when enough people like ourselves are busy spreading socialist information the days of capitalist crises and capitalism, itself, will be numbered.

Q: So what you are saying, then, is that you are not at all interested in whether America stays or gets out of South Vietnam. Is that what I understand you to say?

A: Let me put it this way. What difference can it conceivably make to the prospects for world peace if America does pull out of South Vietnam, or if she stays there? Isn't it plain that whichever step she takes, she will have to continue the tug-of-war with China and Russia in that area and in the other areas of competition? Did you ever try to plug a hole in a leaky roof? You know, if you did, that the water is going to come out someplace else and it may even come out a little later from the very place you plugged. That's capitalism and the World Socialist Party has but one demand — that we get a brand new roof before too many of us get drowned.

Q: Well this sounds fine, but do you imply that until the World Socialist Party converts the majority of the population to socialism that nothing can be done that is worthwhile? Don't you think that is almost an impossibility?

A: Well fortunately we have more than our own insignificant numbers to rely on. The capitalist system is running into so many difficulties of all types from unemployment, to strikes, to industrial sickness and accidents, to warfare, to poverty in the midst of abundance, that the chances are good for a general

awakening before too many years have passed.

Q: Do you really see any tangible evidence of such an awakening at this time?

A: Perhaps not. But you know that in 1857, for example, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a chattel slave — even a runaway slave who had established residence on free soil — was still the property of his original master and must be returned to him. How many people, do you suppose would have believed in 1857 that abolition of chattel slavery was a scant few years away? Not many, I'll bet. That's why we don't get discouraged at the widespread apathy. As students of history we know that changes did take place — changes that did establish entirely new modes of production as legal and normal and natural. And these changes resulted in every instance after long years and generations of apparent failure to make change. As Karl Marx once put it: Years may go by without the seeming progress of a single day. On the other hand there are days in which are crystallized the progress of generations. We contend that the working class everywhere will move eventually, and that once they do they will move fast—toward abolition of wage-slavery and the introduction of socialism.

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## WORLD WAR II DOCUMENTS

### The Censors' Reply

Ottawa, Canada, June 14th 1941

Dear Sir:

We have your letter of June 8th inquiring as to the reasons for the banning of *The Western Socialist* from Canada.

Action against this publication was recommended by us only after close examination for many months, during which objectionable material appeared on several occasions.

Decision to recommend action was finally made after the publication of an article in which such statements such as these occurred: "The worker has no interest in maintaining war production." "Patriotism serves merely as a cloak for loyalty to capitalism, for sacrifice of the workers so that industry may have its profits; it can bring only harm to the working class." "It (the war) is simply the competition of two rival business firms, so to speak, for trade."

This sort of thing, we think you will agree is not likely to be helpful to our national war effort. We must emphasize that our action was not taken against this publication because it was socialist, evidence of which is the continued publication in Canada or free admittance to Canada of a number of well known socialist and labor publications which are honestly critical of the present order of things, both political and economic. However, statements which are deliberately intended to sabotage morale cannot be tolerated, as you will understand.

The fact that any publication is banned at a given time does not necessarily mean that it will remain banned for the duration of the war. If after a period of time its publishers were so disposed, they might seek a review of its case especially in the light of issues published since the occasion of the ban order.

Sincerely yours,  
F. CHARPENTIER  
W. EGGLESTON  
Press Censors for Canada  
Per CAIL REUILEO

CR:MD

\* \* \*

The Canadian Government obviously feels that it must take pains to prevent allegedly

treacherous or heretical ideas from reaching its population. The governmental letter concerning the banning of *The Western Socialist* calls its contents "objectionable." "THIS SORT OF THING, WE THINK YOU WILL AGREE, IS NOT LIKELY TO BE HELPFUL TO OUR NATIONAL WAR EFFORT," they write to us.

How very true! Could the Socialist message be transmitted to and understood by the workers of all belligerent countries, the capitalists, in their war efforts, would have to struggle against the awakened social consciousness, the stimulated thinking of the people of the entire world.

Canada, like so many "democratic" countries, refuses to allow its workers to hear all sides of the argument. These workers are continuously filled with warmongering propaganda. The serum of capitalist distortion is constantly injected into the workers' minds to inoculate them against any ideas which may be harmful to the national war effort.

Can it be that the Canadian Government is afraid to trust the working class to think and judge for itself? Or does it fear that its workers once given the opportunity may really understand what it is all about, with disastrous results to the capitalist structure?

"...statements which are deliberately intended to sabotage morale cannot be tolerated," the governmental letter continues. Socialists condemn sabotage as a dangerous and detrimental policy since the working class emancipation can only be attained as the result of the democratic act of the overwhelming majority. Moreover, they do not favor enemy capitalists as against native ones — they support neither. The object of Socialist education is to build the working class morale throughout the entire world — for the inevitable Socialist victory.

The Canadian Government especially objects to our statement: "The worker has no interest in maintaining war production." Why indeed, is it to the worker's interest? Is it to his interest to produce instruments of death to be used in the slaughter of his fellow workers? Obviously not.

Just what is the object of this war production? Even prominent administrative officials of the "democratic" countries admit that this war is, as the last

war was, a trade war, a war for markets and profits.

Unfortunately, some workers are forced to be interested in war production as it may offer them a job and a means of livelihood — for the time being, at least, until the war industries shut down.

The letter continues: "We must emphasize that our action was not taken against this publication because it was socialist, evidence of which is the continued publication in Canada or the free admittance into Canada, of a number of well-known socialist and labor publications which are *honestly* (the italics are ours) critical of the present order of things." Evidently then, these publications are in harmony with the national war effort and therefore neither truly socialist, nor in the interest of labor.

As a conclusion, the letter suggests that we mend our ways and stop putting "bad" ideas into the heads of innocent workers. Then the Canadian Government will forgive our past sins. It will allow our paper into the country again.

Somehow we remain untouched by such benevolence. The whole approach it typical of the capitalist technique. It tries to coerce Socialist education into submission, or at least into compromise.

Not with defiance, but with the persistence and patience which comes from knowing that Socialism is historically correct and some day will be accepted as such, we reply: Rather than emasculate *The Western Socialist* into a fear-watered, anemic, irresolute publication, where only that appears which is sanctioned by the capitalist censors, we would suspend publication altogether. When *The Western Socialist* can no longer present a Socialist message it will cease publication, for its reason for existence will have vanished. In the meantime, we will continue to publish honestly and scientifically those ideas which we feel must be contrasted with the prevailing capitalist ideas in order that the workers may arrive at an understanding of the society in which they live.

Reprinted from *The Western Socialist*, July-August, 1941

★ You are invited to attend the Annual Conference of W. S. P. Sept. 3, 4, 5 at 295 Huntington Ave. (Rm. 212), Boston, Mass.

## Workers Socialist Party Manifesto

# YOU AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A considerable number of the governments of the world have aligned themselves in the holocaust of war. The United States Congress, through recently enacted measures, has prepared plans to conscript many of the industries of the country with their workers. The owners of these industrial plants will continue to receive adequate profits, of course. Arrangements have also been completed by Congress for the conscripting of workers into the army and for the instituting of such dictatorial measures as war situations may make necessary. From the experience of the World War, we may expect the press, radio, schools and clergy to tell us to defend "our homes" and "liberties."

### WHY WARS ARE FOUGHT

Modern wars are fought, not for noble ideals, but for markets, raw materials and for strategic military or naval objectives which can be of future advantage to the material aggrandizement of a country's ruling class. These are the principal causes which can, and may, involve the United States of America, as well as other countries now neutral, in this war.

This conflict of interest between capitalists in different countries is of no concern to the average member of the working class. It greatly concerns important sections of the capitalist class in these warring countries. For them it means their expansion or contraction as exploiters in the world's economy, depending on whether their particular government is victorious in the war; but for the workers war means only fields of wooden crosses and shattered lives.

### "YOUR ENEMIES"

When the armed American worker faces the "enemies" of the ideals for which he is persuaded to die, these "enemies" turn out to be none other than workers like himself. They, too,

are told they must fight to save an ideal or for a truth that must be preserved. Under Capitalism these workers are not allowed to live together in peace but must slaughter each other in wars as a result of their being conscripted and forced to fight in the armies and navies of the various countries.

### AFTER WAR ENDS

Whether retaining the old or having a new "alien" master ushered in, YOU are still wage-slaves. The Class Struggle still rages. This Class Struggle between the workers and their REAL enemies, the capitalist class, continues unabated, manifesting itself in strikes, lock-outs, unemployment, dependent old age and poverty. No war has ever freed the worker from his worry of how to eke out a living or stopped his robbery by the capitalist class. After all the wars that have been fought for "liberty," "freedom" and "democracy," the great toiling mass of humanity is exploited as never before. The liberty YOU fought to preserve proves to be the LIBERTY TO STARVE in the midst of plenty.

### WORKERS SHOULD STOP AND THINK

It is unquestionably true that democratic institutions, in the hands of a Socialist majority, would serve as a lever of emancipation. The very needs of capitalist society fostered the advances in such democratic "rights" as exist today. However, for YOU, American Democracy means regimented education, degrading charities and economic slavery. With the present confusion among the workers the Capitalist Class has a better opportunity to restrict civil liberties; and in the midst of wars to "defend democracy," much of the limited democracy now existing is lost.

## THE SOLUTION

Fellow Worker, there are NO solutions to our problems within this jungle system of capitalism. National boundaries have been destroyed economically. The world is becoming more and more of a closely knit, interrelated unit. Highly developed machinery and modern science has made the production of wealth a socialized process demanding social cooperation. Wars over wealth are only necessary under Capitalism. Abundance is now possible for all.

Only Socialism can be adapted to the needs of modern society. Socialism, i.e., the common ownership and democratic control of the means of living by and in the interest of all society is the solution of our problems.

When the workers, who are the great majority of the population, realize that the only thing worth fighting for is Socialism, they will organize for this object.

**DELAY NO LONGER! JOIN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST PARTY; PUT A SPEEDY END TO THE PROFIT SYSTEM THAT BREEDS WARS AND GREATER WARS.**

Boston, Mass., October 16, 1939.

**National Administrative Committee**

## BRIEF HISTORY OF W. S. P.

(Continued from page 7)

years of its publication in Boston. For example, the correspondence and controversy with George Bernard Shaw during the W.W.II. years and the polemical exchange with Professor Pitirim Sorokin of Harvard in 1963-1964. The Western Socialist has become firmly established in a number of universities and other institutions as a voice of genuine socialism, and we have supplied many of these institutions with large samplings of our other literature.

## DECLINE IN PARTY STRENGTH

At the end of the Forties and the decade of Fifties a period of decline hit the W.S.P. This naturally raises the question of why it is that when

objectively the technological conditions are riper for socialism than ever before, the subjective conditions — the understanding of socialism — seem to be less ripe. A complete analysis of this question is beyond the scope of this history, but some consideration is appropriate.

The extremely complex nature of the development of men's ideas in society makes a thorough-going answer difficult. However, it is clear that World War II, Stalinism, the Cold War, the prosperity and conformism of the post-war period are important factors.

World War II pushed aside class issues in the popular mind and replaced them with goals that purported to unite workers and capitalists. On a deeper level, the excitement and camaraderie of the war were a welcome relief from the drab and dour struggle for existence of "peace time" capitalism. Employment of some sort was found for "everyone." Imaginations were captured by the glories of war and the U. S. itself escaped any actual experience of war horrors. At any rate, the changed atmosphere made workers less receptive to socialist ideas.

The prosperity in the U. S. was connected with international developments. It is no accident that the Cold War and the arms race accompanied the prosperity. The U. S. emerged from the war as the foremost world power, the inheritor of the crumbling empires of the older nations. Its main obstacle to world economic dominance was the U.S.S.R., hence the struggle between the rival empires. The power struggle was decked out in modern versions of the age-old garb of righteousness so as to make it acceptable to workers. The horrors and crimes of Stalinists masquerading under the banner of "socialism" and "communism" were cited as justification for U. S. policy. The Stalinists, of course, played the same game — with the roles reversed.

In the U. S. the scramble for consumer goods and status jobs made workers more willing to accept values

and institutions originating with the capitalist class. Even those who did not hold a white collar salary job could dream of one — if not for themselves, then for their children. Hence the image, carefully nurtured by the capitalist communications media, of the smiling white collar workers as "the average American" became dominant. The white collar strata of the working class were encouraged to think of themselves as the majority element in society, they were taught to picture themselves as "businessmen," as members of the "middle class." The smug complacency of the small scale capitalist became transmitted to sections of the working class enjoying the loot of the U.S. worldwide empire taken from the colonial peoples. The age of the "organization man," the "silent generation" in grey flannel suits was upon us.

Capitalist values of acceptance of capitalism as the benevolent bringer of jobs and consumer gadgets (rather than satisfying meaningful work in a sane society) became superficially held by many workers. The insecurity of depression times, the sacrifices of the war created a desire for enjoyment of the new wealth and an apathy toward politics. The nationalism of the war was continued as a permanent fixture of American life by creating a permanent war economy. An enemy was consequently secured to justify this and the enemy was painted in the worst colors by the "head fixing" industries — the press, schools, churches, etc. Defense of capitalism became part of the American way of life because the "communist" enemy spread his insidious evil supposedly by social criticism of capitalism. As previously mentioned, the contradictions of backward Stalinist state capitalism provided a straw man for apologists of American capitalism.

Dissenters who voiced social criticism were suspected of indirectly assisting the enemy, that is, they were all but guilty of treason. Threats of social ostracism, loss of jobs and government persecution

silenced most critics who had any large audience.

These factors really explain the decline of the Party and not our small resources, the limitations of our talents, or the personalities of our members. With this atmosphere in which the tiny W.S.P. struggled in mind, we return to a chronicle of the events in the Party itself. In 1947, some internal controversy broke out in the Party. Members, frustrated with the external world, turned their spleen on one another. This left bitterness and hard feelings and resulted in a number of droppings from the rolls and resignations. In addition, the lack of visible progress discouraged many. The year 1947 also saw the name of the party changed from the Workers' Socialist Party to the World Socialist Party to emphasize our conception of socialism as a worldwide system of society and to avoid confusion with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

In an effort to better use our resources by maintaining a better balance nationally in the Party, the headquarters was transferred from Boston to Detroit in 1949-1950. For several years the headquarters remained in Detroit until the mid 50's when it was returned to Boston. While in Detroit, the N.A.C. dropped more discouraged members who had lost interest from the Party rolls. Those who remained, however, were determined to persevere in their efforts because of their belief that socialist activity was the most worthwhile activity they could engage in. They had the real satisfaction that comes with keeping alive an idea that will later come of age.

## WHAT NOW!

Future generations may look back in admiration to those few who plugged on in spreading knowledge of a decent society in the midst of a sick society that did not want to hear about it. The dedication, sacrifice, and courage of these socialists — especially in the lean Fifties when the very word "socialist" meant "Bolshevik" to so many — and the

McCarthy Committee stalked the land — should not go completely unrecognized and unmentioned. And yet how does one go about distinguishing between the efforts of those who have the ability to express themselves and those who, lacking this ability, still plug on doing the essential work of a socialist organization? The routine jobs of getting out a journal and getting it into the mail; the task of maintaining a headquarters with all of the chores this entails; the dedicated attendance at meetings and the distribution of Party literature; the donation of funds from (generally) meagre earnings; the donation of homes for money-raising social events and just plain social events; the cheerful hospitality given visiting comrades; the risks to one's very livelihood; all of these things should be recognized. Yet to mention all of the party members and close friends who come under these categories is all but impossible and so we must, reluctantly, refrain from singling out anybody for personal recognition. Each and everyone of us will recognize if the shoe fits — and will wear it gladly if it does.

The bland Eisenhower years came to a close. The Party survived, although severely reduced in numbers, and this is still an accomplishment of sorts. The decade of the Sixties has seen a slow uphill climb with a number of young and enthusiastic members and with something entirely new added to potential Party strength. For the first time in our history we have been able — on a number of occasions — through the medium of mass-audience radio interview programs in Boston to get out the case for socialism and the W.S.P. to hundreds of thousands of people in the New England area. Local Boston has also maintained a radio program on a smaller station on a regular basis for the last few years. There is more hope now than for many years for expansion. Local Boston, in particular, and members throughout the country, in general,

are bending all efforts toward this goal.

The new generation has fewer of the fears of their elders. They are more impatient with sham and the attempts to excuse the inexcusable. The ferment among youth is caused by the inability of even a prosperous capitalist society to build a world worthy of human beings. It is caused by capitalism's inability to explain its contradictions rationally. The result is that youth is starting to question the *bases* of society. Adults are catching the spirit from the youth. The W.S.P. has a part to play in this process. We can help the workers of today build a better world by giving them an understanding of the one they live in. The W.S.P. has begun this task in a modest way. It is to the future that our hopes remain fixed since, unfortunately, after a half century of effort, the Party is still insignificant in size and in influence, still without the strength needed to run candidates for political office. Yet despite this sad fact, the effort has not been wasted.

We can be proud that amidst the decline of capitalism and amidst the inability of the old values and institutions to function satisfactorily, we have kept burning the vision of a new society. Amidst the multitude of illusory solutions to social problems, amidst the multitude of phony "socialist" and "communist" confusions, we have preserved the Marxian heritage for humanity. With our Companion Parties in other lands we will continue to carry on.

W. JEROME

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**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA**  
AND  
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**OBJECT:**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

**DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES**

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. — **THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM**, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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