WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

VOLUME VI, NO. 41 [WHOLE NO. 188] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

The Left Wing's Place Is in A. F. of L. Unions

The most convincing answer to the question of Left wing trade union tactics raised anew by the Roosevelt policy has been indicated by the instinctive action of the workers themselves. In tens and hundreds of thousands in various trades and industries throughout the country, the workers are streaming into the conservative labor organizations. A. F. of L. unions which in many cases were reduced to skeletons during the recent years, are experiencing a stormy revival.

If we wish to keep a live contact with the masses, hasten their inevitable disillusionment with the grandiose swindle of the N. R. A. and steer them into great class battles we must march with this instinctive movement and influence it from within. The Communists must urge the workers to join in this main stream which is flowing now in the channel of the A. F. of L. and unions of a similar type. And, what is no less important, the Communists must go with them in full force and without hesitation. To stand aside from this living movement with its present direction and arbitrarily prescribe a different path would only mean to rob the mass movement of its dynamic revolutionary nucleus, to paralyze resistance to the unholy combination of the bosses, the government and the labor fakers and condemns the Left wing to an isolated sectarian futility just at the time when conditions begin to mature for its wide expansion in the labor movement.

Yet, from all accounts, this is the ruinous course which the Stalinists, who year by year do everything they can to disorient, disorganize and discredit the Left wing, have imposed on the trade union conference at Cleveland. For these organizers of defeat every catastrophe only serves to justify the policy that brought it about and to seek new fields for its destructive influence. Faced with the overwhelming developments in the needle trades where, thanks to the blunders and crimes of the Stalinists, the resurgent movement of the workers has led to the reintegration of the reactionary forces and the virtual destruction of the Left wing organizations, the collective Stachels could think of nothing better to do at Cleveland than to prescribe a universal application of the bankrupt policy.

In the **Daily Worker** for August 28th, the gruesome wisdom derived from the new developments is announced as follows:

"Answering Muste on urging workers to poin the A. F. of L. Stachel said we are against this, except in certain cases like the Railroad Brotherhoods, as the A. F. of L. is organizing the workers for betrayal and not for struggle."

This is what they have learned from the great trade union developments which are taking place before everybody's eyes. This is the incredible deduction from the Left wing catastrophe in the needle trades. Are the masses themselves going to the A. F. of L. unions of their own motion? This question, which is decisive for the elaboration of an intelligent and realistic approach, does not exist for these harlequins. Didn't the resolutions of several plenums of the Comintern and the Profitern and the Party and the T. U. U. L. instruct the masses to join the "red unions" and stay away from the A. F. of L.? And if the workers, under the impact of events and of pressure of various kinds, have taken a different path, how can that possibly necessitate an amendment to the various Plenums? It is quite clear that nobody but a counter-revolutionist could make such a suggestion.

"The A. F. of L. is organizing the workers for betrayal." Insofar as the leadership is concerned, there is not a class-conscious worker who can have any doubt on this point. The discovery is not original with Stachel. But the assertion of the fact does not prevent the betrayal. Neither does it prevent the workers from entering the A. F. of L. unions. In this circumstance it is quite obvious that the organization of the struggle against the betrayal can begin only **inside** these unions. To stand aside from the surging movement into the old unions on the ground that the bureaucrats have treacherous designs means only in effect to facilitate the treachery and free the hands of the traitors. This is the essence of the Stalinist trade union policy imposed on the Left wing for a number of years and now again proclaimed at Cleveland.

We cannot have anything to do with such a policy. The class-conscious workers have to adjust themselves to reality and connect themselves closely with the living movement of the masses. Cut-and-dried schemes are of no use in trade union questions. Different industries present different problems. There is no universal formula to fit every situation. But the **main** direction of working class movement **at the present time** is into the conservative unions. This is the decisive fact which determines the necessity for the slogan of entering these unions and organizing the struggle within them.

By this we do not at all commit ourselves to the fetishistic belief in the possibility of transforming the A. F. of L. into a fighting instrument of the workers. We do not expect Green & Co. to organize the masses of unskilled workers in the basic industries for effective struggle. The resurgent struggles of the masses, following the inevitable collapse of the Roosevelt program and the disillusionments of the masses who are now captivated by it, will very probably break out of the formal bounds of the A. F. of L. and seek expression in a new trade union movement. But in order to influence such an eventuality the revolutionaries must connect themselves with the live process of the movement at every stage of its development. The center of gravity at the present moment is unquestionably in the conservative mass organizations. That is where we must be. —J. P. CANNON.

DEMAND THE 7TH CONGRESS!

Is the Communist International dead? This question may well now be asked more insistently, more sharply than ever. It demands an answer.

At this moment the Second International has just concluded its special international congress. The Amsterdam International of trade unions recently held its congress. Left Socialist parties from various countries are now meeting in special conference. Only the Comintern remains silent. There are no signs of its Seventh World Congress.

It is now five years since the Sixth World Congress. Five years marked by the most severe capitalist crisis ever known. Five years of the most fatal consequence to the world proletariat, culminating in the disastrous German defeat. Five years filled with dreadful experience of false policy pursued by the Comintern leadership. The German proletariat lies prostrate, trampled underfoot by the Fascist hobnailed boots. Its revolutionary party is obliterated. The Communist parties elsewhere, misguided and disoriented are declining in numbers and declining in influence. The Soviet Union, once the proletarian tower of strength, is facing the greatest danger in its existence. And now a new reactionary period has been inaugurated with the Fascist victory posing new problems in all their magnitude to the world revolutionary movement. But its general staff fails to meet. Again we ask: What has become of Lenin's International?

The Second International leaders gathered under the heavy shadows of these terrific defeats and their own openly demonstrated bankrupcty. A motley crew of perfidious betrayers attempting to shove off the burden of responsibility and attempting to find new avenues to capitalist ministerial posts. Though they failed entirely, as could be expected, to draw a balance of events the rank and file Social Democratic workers are now proceeding to do it for them. That is manifested in the many currents of Social Democratic workers everywhere moving in a Leftward direction, toward Communism. But at least the Second International called its congress. Not even that much sign of life is displayed by the Comintern.

Do the Comintern Stalinist leaders fear to give an account of their stewardship openly before the world proletariat in a World Congress? If so—and there are good reasons to believe that such is the case—that will prove even more fatal than the combined results of their disastrously false policies and orientation. That could only mean that the Comintern is entirely wiped out as a world revolutionary force for the future tasks.

But what about the millions of Communist workers? Their heavy tasks still lie before them. What about the still existing official Communist parties? Are they content to become reduced to impotent nationalist sects without an international revolutionary leadership? Will they raise their voice in a powerful demand for the convocation of the Seventh World Congress? We address this question to the American Communists. You must know what your international leadership has to say, what it intends to do. Demand that the Comintern leaders give an account of their stewardship!

NRA Reveals Its True Role in Strike Situation

It is an Instrument for Greater Class Collabaration and Simultaneously a Means to Make Strikes Illegal

As the N. R. A. moves forward to conquer new territory its true intent becomes ever clearer. Most recently this has been established in two directions both of which fit the plans for strengthening of monopoly capitalism. On the one hand are the notable efforts to make the NRA a perfect class collaboration machinery carefully guarded by the reactionary labor leaders. On the other hand are the efforts to use this machinery as an additional club against working class resistance properly backed up by the means of force at the disposal of the government.

For the first instance we need only refer to the concrete example of the recognition by the coal codes of the John L. Lewis union to harness possible miners' revolts against forcibly imposed slave conditions of which such vivid manifestations were recently displayed. For the second instance telling proof is available in the attempts of the New York NRA administration, under Grover Whalen, to outlaw the TUUL union shoe workers strike because the manufacturers had plastered the Blue Eagle signs on their windows.

Industrial Codes to Prevent Strikes

The Recovery Administration now admits that the progress registered on the coal and auto codes came just in the nick of time to avert a general strike in the coal fields with possibilities of spreading to the auto industry. That is how they express it, those who naturally count upon its efficacy to crush workers' resistance. But even in this they may count without their hosts. The coal code with its projected forty hour week and $4.60 a day wage, with a differential to $4.20 in the South, leaves all the old probems of unempoyment with its misery and the general unbearably low standard of living as before. But—and this is significant—it contemplates complete recognition of the United Mine Workers throughout the fields. In this manner it is hoped to perfect the class collaboration machinery. An accomplishment not without importance for it is precisely from this industry that the worthy administrators received their greatest shocks and entetained the greatest fears of mass rebellions.

At the initial stage of the code negotiations the coal operators remained adamant insisting upon their "sacred rights" to run the industry open shop or company union as they pleased. Evidently they now see things differently. It is not that their desires, first of all for the open shop and secondly for the company union, have changed. No, it is a question of accepting the lesser evil. Militant unionism they fear above all.

It has been comparatively easy for the bosses to obtain the Blue Eagle sign. They have not been loath to display it even though contions in the shops remained either the same as before, or certainly unsatisfactory to the workers. That was the case of a group of shoe manufacturers in Brooklyn. It did not, however, deter severl thousand workers from striking for decent conditions under the banner of the TUUL union. The NRA administration headed by Grover Whalen pounced upon this as a test case. Six pickets were arrested charged with illegally striking NRA shops, and charged with being a Communist union.

By this action Grover Whalen, out of ambition and clownish stupidity, revealed the strategy the capitalist wlil pursue to bolster up the NRA and against working class militancy. First they will strike down the Left wing unions and the Communist movement. If this serves their purpose of keeping the workers in leading strings of the class collaborationist A. F. of L. unions and the arbitration structure of the NRA, they will rest their assault there, at least for the time being. But if the workers press forward along the paths of struggle the capitalists will not hesitate to make strikes everywhere illegal. That is what is revealed in this case, and that is also the danger to the labor movement as a whole.

The Workers' Path is Through Struggle.

Evidently Bill Green did not dare to support this raw deal. Undoubtedly, from this point of view, it revealed too soon the true intent of the NRA. Because of the growing pressure from workers everywhere for their rights to organize and to fight for better conditions he found himself obliged not to be associated with this assault. Besides this untimely exposure also threatened the success of the delicate work he is doing to maintain the illusions among the workers that the NRA is for their benefit. Rank and file unionists in many other industries might draw their own conclusions from a strike in any one instance being declared illegal.

Nevertheless it is necessary that the workers begin right now to draw the proper conclusion from this assault. Grover Whalen and his associates, due to the determined attitude of the militant Brooklyn shoe workers, has been compelled to beat a retreat. But it is by no means a final one. The assault was a part of the real intent of the NRA. It is sure to be renewed elsewhere. It means for the workers to be on guard and to learn the lessons implied. They will also soon realize that reagrdless of the Blue Eagle signs the only path the working class can pursue to better their conditions is the path of the class struggle.

Russian Recognition A Class Question for World Labor

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States is rapidly drawing closer. The first breaches in the financial blockade of Soviet Russia have been made, with Soviet bonds being freely offered for sale in this country, and the government-controlled Reconstruction Finance Corporation financing purchases of cotton by the Soviet agency.

Objectively the recognition of the Soviet Union is a great gain for the workers' state, and therefore ultimately for the cause of the world revolution. Yet we must recognize that this gain is being accomplished only on the basis of the temporary coincidence of the immediate needs of the bourgeois American state and the Russian workers' state. Sometimes it happens that two lines which go in very different directions may cross at a point—but only at one point, only in a temporary and limited way.

The American state wants bigger markets for its products, to help it get out of its typically capitalist crisis, and it wants to lay the foundation for some kind of military agreement which will help it in its plans for imperialist expansion against the Japanese.

The Soviet State wants help in carrying out the second Five-Year Plan, first and foremost. It negotiates with the American government as one state with another, solely on the basis of these temporary coincidences of immediate aims.

Unity of Proletarian Interests Is Still the Issue

The fundamental differences between the two states, which are far more important than the secondary immediate purposes, have been kept in the background by the Soviet government. The fact that the Soviet State is, first and foremost, a workers' state, has played no part whatever in the change of American policy toward recognition.

The Left Opposition, true to its fundamentally internationalist outlook, has consistently based its proposals for "Long-Term Credits to the Soviet Union" on the needs of the workers' State in Russia and the working-class in America. These needs are identical, based on both fundamental and permanent interests; these two lines do not merely cross and coincide at a particular point, but are one all the way through. The international solidarity of the proletariat means that not only the immediate interests of the American worker will be served, in that he will get a job making products for the Soviet Union, but also his ultimate interests in building up the first fortress of the world revolution.

The Stalinists have consistently refused these proposals, have refused to mobilize the working class

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Youth Day Must Prepare for Real Anti-War Fight

At the height of the patriotic hysteria of the last World War, when the leaders of the Socialist parties proclaimed civil truce with the capitalists and supported their national master class, a small, but courageous group of revolutionary socialist youth met at Berne, Switzerland, July 1915, to organize the youth of the various European countries against capitalism and war. Undaunted by the war frenzy, in total disregard of the universal chauvinistic public opinion, with the single aim of furthering the movement for the emancipation of the working class, irrespective of personal consequences, these young revolutionary fighters considered the next steps to be taken, and proclaimed the first Sunday of every September, International Youth Day—the day of demonstration against capitlist militarism and war.

The Young Communist International, the inheritor of the best traditions of the Socialist Youth International formed at Stuttgart in August 1,15 and the militant traditions of the Berne Conference, continued the practise of International Youth Day. In the early years of its existence it succeeded in mobilizing broad masses of young workers on this day as a culmina-

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Left Socialist Conference Shows Trend Toward Left Opposition

Concrete manifestations of fermentation within the various Socialist parties, as a result of shattering of faith in the Second International, are multiplying rapidly. Left Socialist groupings and parties are emerging and groping their way, with much confusion, but nevertheless in a Leftward direction. Outstanding among these manifestations is the conference under the auspices of the "International Committee of the Independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties", convening at Brussels, August 27th and 28th.

No sooner, however, had the conference call been issued than the Leftward developments became more distinct and more decisive. Most notable is the trend toward the Left Opposition. While these parties and groups are trying to find their way they are simultaneously repulsed by the Stalinist bureaucratic ultimatism and bankruptcy. The Left Opposition ideas are penetrating deeply into the membership of several of these groups. Numerous and increasing are the instances of pressure in this direction. Further discussion and clarification is the need of the hour and the prospects that several of them, or important parts of them, will fully find their way may be enhanced.

Among the initiators of this conference are included the Independent Labor Party of England, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, the S. A. P. of Germany, the Norwegian Labor Party and independent Socialist parties and groups of Switzerland, Poland and elsewhere. The reason for the calling of the conference is said to be: "The complete failure of the Second and Third Internationals and their affiliated parties to offer any effective opposition to the attacks of capitalism on the workers throughout the world."

Confusion Is Still Apparent

However, in what this failure consist is not yet clear to the initiators. In their confused way they speak of this preliminary conference as an attempt to prepare for a world congress the purpose of which is to bring together the representatives of working class organizations, which accept the basis of revolutionary struggle for the achievement of Socialism, for unity against "Fascism, war and capitalism." Invitations to participate were sent to all "Socialist, Communist and working class organizations. In other words the parties of the Second and Third Internationals, both of which have failed, and, of course, neither of which will attend. On the other hand among organizations which can on this basis support such a conference are the Right wing Com

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LEON TROTSKY — Hitler's 'Disarmament' and Prospects of War with Soviet Union

(Copyright Harpers Magazine)

1. Hitler's "Pacifism".

Diplomatic routine has its advantages so long as events move along the old tracks. Confronted with new great events, it wanders off. A most dangerous thing is not to appraise any enemy exactly only because his system extends beyond the bounds of routine. To reduce the problem to the assrtion that Hitlr is a demagogue, an hysterical person and a comedian, means to close one's eyes so as not to see the danger. It is not all hysteria that leads to the seizure of power. At any rate, there must be method in the hysteria of National Socialism. Woe to those who do not understand this in time! The leaders of the German labor organizations refused to take Hitler seriously: while they considered his program reactionary and utopian, they proved incapable of appreciating his dynamic power. The same danger may be repeated in the domain of world politics.

Up to May 17, many thought that Hitler would proceed with violence in the question of the Versailles treaty, and that he would apply to the European regme the same methods as to the Reichstag building, Marxian literature and the Jewish department stores. Nobody really knew where the lightning would come from and where it would strike. But neither could anybody predict twenty-four hours in advance the crushing of the trade unions according to all the rules of a gangster assault upon a bank.

Hitler's speech in the Reichstag staggers one with its unexpected pacifism. By this alone it has attained its most immediate aim. It is always advantageous to take an opponent by surprise. Hitler is developing his first success. His adversaries are fairly embarrassed. Highly experienced diplomats have allowed themselves to be at least halfway assuaged by a few well-calculated pacific sentences, after having allowed themselves to be frightened by Papen's strident phrases. John Simon has gratefully noted in the Chancellor's speech the moderate tone of a statesman. That is also the impression of Austin Chamberlain. Contrasting Hitler to Papen's the **Morning Post** has discovered in the declaration the "soft accent of the South". The entire press has declared: The whole atmosphere has suddenly become less tense. At the same time, the hypothesis has been expounded: the shrewd diplomat Mussolini has brought Hitler to reason; the pressure from Washington has doubtlessly not been wothout influence. And consequently: the chances of the disarmament policy have manifestly increased. What a flagrant blunder! The psychological secret of the hubbub is simple: whoever expects to meet a madman brandishing an axe and encounters instead a man with a Browning hidden in his hip-pocket, cannot fail to experience a feeling of relief. But that does not prevent the Browning from being more dangerous than the axe.

There is no lack, on the other hand, of distrustful people who see in Hitler's declaration only an episodic maneuver occasioned by the unfavorable echo to the speech of Papen: it is enough, at least for a few weeks, to deceive public opinion and then one will see. An all too simple explanation! The menacing harrangue of Lord Hailsham provoked by the speech of Papen may, it is true, have served as the impulsion to Hitler's intervention. But all this relates to the order and to the tone of political declarations, that is, it touches only the technical side. Behind the diplomatic fencing, however, are concealed much deeper factors and plans. It would be just as false to take Hitler's pacifism at its word as it would be to dismiss the declaration of a "demagogue" without penetrating into its sense. The political problems consist in establishing the inner relationships between Hitler's declaration and his real plans, that is, to try to understand by what ways Fascist Germany hopes to attain those ends which it cannot and will not name The past must already have adequately shown that if there is fantasy and delirium in the policy of National-Socialism, this does not mean that Hitler is incapable of weighing realities: **his fantasy and delirium are in expedient conformity with his real political aims.** That is our point of departure in

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Mooney Stays in Jail; Crook Free

"Sacramento, California, August 19, 1933.—Asa Keyes, who as Los Angeles District Attorney was convicted in 1928 of criminal conspiracy and sentenced to five years in San Quentin prison, received a full pardon from Governor Rolph today. Keyes has served eighteen months of his term.

"After reading leters and petitions urging executive clemency, some from——, former Chief Justice Matt I. Sullivan,——, and Supervisor Judge Edward I. Butler, who senteneed Keyes, Governor Rolph said it gave him 'great pleasure' to pardon Keyes and 'wish him every success' ". (N. Y. **Times,** August 20.)

Tom Mooney, a militant labor organizer, who was framed up and sentenced to hang for a crime he didn't commit and later had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment is now serving his eigtheenth year in San Quentin Prison.

Despite reading many letters, petitions and telegrams from workers all over the world, and reports of demonstrations by millions of the tolling masses; despite the Wickersham report and the intervention of liberals, pinks, conservatives and all manner of friends of justice, including the judge who sentenced Mooney, but not including former prosecutor's agent, Matt I. Sullivan, Governor Rolph who serves the Octopus, is convinced that Mooney is guilty and it gives the capitalist class great pleasure to keep him in jail.

How long will the workers allow this symbol of working class militancy to rot in jail? Into the fight to free Mooney and all class war prisoners!

BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING

What Is Now Happening in the Communist and Socialist Internationals? What Are the Perspectives of Their Future Developments?

Can the Socialist Party in Germany Be Revived? Has the Communist Movement Been Destroyed?

HEAR

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of the "Militant"

Who Has Just Returned From An Extensive Visit to Various European Countries Where He Had the Opportunity to Study the Revolutionary Movement First Hand and to Visit the Exiled Bolshevik Leader Leon Trotsky in Turkey and France

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 6, 1933 at 8 P. M.

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New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

Temps and Stalin Against Trotsky

Temps of August 13th publishes a cable from its Moscow correspondent which we recommend to the attention of every thinking Communist. The cable seems to have been written directly in Stalin's office. Trotsky "will in no case return to the Soviet Union"; "Trotsky never was a friend of the peasantry"; "no reconciliation is possible between Trotsky's policy of permanent revolution and the policy of....socialism in one country". All this is said, it is clear; not to scare the bourgeoisie but on the contrary to pacify the public opinion of the French bourgeoisie.

To fool the foreign workers Stalin orders the official Communist press of the West to say that Trotsky is an ally, a prop and hope of the world bourgeoisie: But the **Temps** correspondent assiduously assures the French bourgeoisie that "Trotsky has no program, no adherents and that his name no longer evokes an echo in the Russian masses". In other words, the organ of financial capital not only does not attempt to exaggerate the influence of its supposed "ally", but on the contrary calms the French bourgeoisie with assurances of the full and complete victory of national socialism over the permanent revolution. The political meaning of the **Temps** cable acquires full significance in view of Herriot's visit to the USSR and in general, in connection with the policy of rapprochement between bourgeois France and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The most significant part of the cable, however; is its conclusion: "we are reassured **from absolutely competent sources** that even in case

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FROM THE MILITANTS

Conservative Unions Grow in St. Louis

St. Louis, Mo.—The American workers are on the march! Strikes everywhere. Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Missouri, New York, California. In every town and hamlet, in every industry and occupation, workers are daily marching up to the bosses and demanding higher wages, shorter hours. The prices of the necessities of life are rising. The workers are losing their "individualism"; are learning to "stick together".

These strikes are for the most part flare-ups, not planned struggles of an organization. The "revolts" express the accumulated resentment of the workers against the past four years of hellish suffering. After the workers gain their demands, or a portion of them, the "rebellion" is usually over. In most cases there is not yet a full understanding by the mass of strikers, the need of permanent union organization. They do not forsee the coming winter, the next spring....

With the worsening of conditions, as NRA inflation continues, union organization will be forced on the agenda of every shop, factory, and mill in the United States. The Communists recognize this, and plan accordingly. Big struggles are ahead—the present strikes will appear as molehills to the mountains on the horizon of tomorrow.

The capitalists and their government officials have considered the probabilities of the Communists gaining control over the haphazard strikes and have already laid plans to "avert" the danger. The "democratic" statesmen are using the same methods that proved so successful during the last "democratic" war. A pact with the wolves in cheap clothing, the labor fakers. Capitalism promises through its government that it will "recognize the rights of the workers to organize" (into AFL unions) if the AFL bureaucracy will agree to "prevent strikes and walkouts".

The "Great labor leaders", Green and Lewis, naturally agree with any proposal for "industrial peace" and so they are drafted by the militarist, Johnson. The first duty of the Industrial Peace Board being to phone by long distance the local leaders of the 70,000 striking Pennsylvania coal miners and instruct them to "get the men behind the National Recovery program by going back to work."

With the blue eagle of the NRA on their breasts, the American flag in their hand, and patriotic speeches in their mouth about the new Messiah, Roosevelt, the AFL is accomplishing the organization of hundreds of thousands of workers through the country. The AFL organizers are now met with open arms by the at-their-wit's-end bosses. Even the Southern bourbons responsible for the Gastonia and Harlan nightmares now give the glad hand to their arch enemy of yesterday, the American Federation of Labor. According to AFL figures, over 150,000 workers have been organized "down South" within the past couple of months.

In St. Louis, within less than sixty days time, the AFL Organization Committee has written over 20,000 membership cards. And their "recovery" campaign is only in its infancy.

The method of organization varies. Sometimes it is openly acknowledged as a joint drive in the employer and the AFL organizer to "ensure industrial peace". The Johnson, Stephens, Shinkle Shoe Company, open shop for years, suddenly locked out its employees, remained closed for several days, and then refused to re-hire any worker unless he first joined the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union! Waving the American flag, Shrinkle's two column ad explained that they were henceforth going to operate "under the provisions of the National Code"

Generally the agreement between the labor fakers and the company is kept more or less under cover. For example the organization of the workers employed at the Chevrolet Plant and the Fisher Body Company, by the Automobile Industrial Workers' Union, an affiliate of the AFL. Already over 2,000 workers have joined, signifying their need of higher wages. But the union officials announce that they are going to proceed in an "orderly and careful manner". They are not going to make any wage demands upon the employers "just yet". All they want is union recognition "in conformity with the NRA". In Silent Cal style, the employers pun. They state they would "rather have a company union."

The Industrial Ladies Garment Workers' Union has now a membership of over 3,000 in St. Louis. As prophesied, the baby outgrew its swaddling clothes fast. Approximately 90 percent of the silk and 65 percent of the cotton garment workers joined the union to date in order to fight against the piecework stretch-out system and wage scales of $5.00 and $10.00 a week. M. Bialis of Chicago, vice-president of the ILGWU came to St. Louis to "prevent trouble". He went into a huddle with representatives of the local garment manufacturers' association, forgetting about the workers wage demands, abolition of piecework, minimum wage, etc. in his vehement insistence that "first" must come the recognition of the union. The near-sighted manufacturers replied that they would wait until the completion of their industry's code of fair competition. So tomorrow night a meeting of the union membership will be held; a general strike call will be the likely outcome. The Left wing will try to convince the workers of the necessity of a settlement of all their grievances during the strike—and not merely struggle for the abstract right of union recognition.

—MARTIN.

N.Y. Doll Workers Call Strike

One thousand Doll and Toy workers of Greater New York have gone out on a general strike, with at least that many more coming out as we go to press. The Doll and Toy Workers' Union, Local 18230 of the American Federation of Labor, called the strike after a mass meeting of the workers had voted unanimously in favor of it.

The conditions in the trade were so bad that the workers could stand it no longer, and they would have struck at beginning of the season, in June, but for the fact that there were two unions in the field, the A. F. of L. union and the Independent Union. Now the latter appears to have left the field and, though it is the middle of the season, the strike has been called with every prospect of winning.

The conditions in my shop, and this true of all the others, were such that dippers and grinders average about ten dollars a week apiece, where in 1929 they used to make fifty dollars a week on the average. The two main reasons for these terrible conditions, of which the above is merely an example, are the piece work system of paying and th contracting system of letting out work. The abolishment of these two evils, and the enforcement of all the other demands of the union would be of the greatest benefit to the Doll and Toy workers.

The demand of the Union, as put forth in a leaflet calling for the strike are the following:

1. Recognition of the Doll and Toy Workers Union No. 18230
2. Maximum work week of thirty hours
3. Wages equal to the 1929 scale.
4. No overtime nor Saturday nor Sunday work.
5. Equal distribution of work in the slack season
6. Abolishment of contractor system
7. Wages shall be paid weekly on a stated pay day.
8. Dismissal wage
9. Safety and sanitary provisions to be adopted
10. No home work
11. No workers under 17 years of age to be employed
12. Employment should be made through the union office.

The Spirit of the strikers is high and they mean business. We expect to hold out until all our demands are granted so that we can again make a decent wage for a higher standard of living under good working conditions.

—A DOLL WORKER...

N. Y. Mirror Workers Organize Union

Proof of the fact that workers are now becoming conscious of the need of organization is afforded even within the smaller sections of light industry. The New York Novelty Mirror Industry is an example. A number of young workers, driven to desperation by the systematic declining of their living conditions, unheard of wage cuts, lengthening of hours, unpaid for overtime work, firing upon the least sign of protestation, some time ago declared a strike in one of the shops and began picketing immediately. These young workers lacked trade union experience, and unaided by anyone had difficulties to surmount in forming an organization. But as it matured in the process of the struggle they quickly learned that unless they extend their victory and lrew in other shops to their aid they would fail in their task.

Aided by a member of the Left Opposetion, a worker of the trade, plans were quickly laid to accomplish that aim. Workers in other shops, slaving under the same conditions, hearing of the example set by one shop, needed very little coaxing. And within a short period of time the strike extended to other shops. But because of the above mentioned obstacles—lack of organizational ability, no functioning apparatus, the strike was dissipated. Nevertheless it was not in vain, a partial victory was scored by one or two groups, in obtaining a 25 percent increase in wages.

Union Extends to All Crafts

In the midst of the strike, the union took shape and crystalized into the Novelty Mirror Workers union. At first the intention of the inexperienced union organizers was to organize only certain crafts, and although ignore the other workers. But after systematic explanations and persuasion by the member of the Left Opposition the former decisions were rescinded and the doors were opened to admit all workers employed in the industry.

The industry comprises some twenty or more shops, in greater New York and New Jersey. It employs some three hundred workers, of which a good number are highly skilled, glass cutters, bevelers, polishers, silverers, who in former years were earning as much as fifty and sixty dollars. To-day their wages have been cut in half and in some cases to even less Only recently the union gained considerable strength through the addition of a number of shops, which comprise the most skilled and better paid workers, including also a number of women. To-day the young organization of more than seventy is growing daily as workers come to realize the many advantage that can be gained through a union.

This is taking place, to be sure, not without the usual hardships and confusion attending the formation of a union by a group of inexperienced workers. Leaderships is naturally slow in developing. However there are good possibilities and the union in this small industry will grow. A temporary Executive Committee has been elected representing every shop and craft which is engaged at the present in drafting a Code covering the entire trade, and forming shop committees to manage a possible strike that looms in the near future.

—A MIRROR WORKER.

The New England Shoe Unions

Question of Amalgamation and the Blue Eagle Code

Boston.—In our last article we stated that at present the three outstanding problems in the New England shoe industry were: (1) those of amalgamation, (2) those connected with the agreements which terminated August 1, and, (3) those presented by the federal government in placing the shoe code not far down the list. How have these problems been approached?

Amalgamation gets lip service from everybody. Nolan, head of the Protective, speaking at the National Shoe Convention on invitation, praised amalgamation. Actully, he and Mahan of the National after trying to arrange a fusion could arrive nowhere, because there wouldn't be enough jobs for the henchmen of each. The workers distrusting these burocrats took up the initiative. On the invitation of one local they sent representatives to a planning board whose purpose is to force through amalgamation. This planning board consists of rank and file representatives of the majority of the locals in the National, Protective, and Independent (Salem). The planning board has over sixty members, a few being former members of the TUUL union which has diisolved. This group, under the leadership of Klarfield, has made every effort to get this body to go ahead with amalgamation over the heads of the union by calling an amalgamation convention.

Opposed to the TUUL group are the Lovestoneites led by I. Zimmerman of the Brooklyn local. They have gained prestige by their efforts in the original Boston and Chelsea strikes, which they helped lead. At that time their position was that the National must be organized—with increase in pay if possible, but without if necessary. The TUUL group called them traitors, etc., because in many shops they sent the workers back without increase. Their answer was "Wait until August, then with a strong union and a busy season we will get an increase that will mean something". Another bone of contention was the use of the state board of arbitration. This also the Lovestoneites insisted was temporary and would go in August. They convinced the workers.

The Issue of Amalgamation

Now let us return to the planning board. The Lovestoneites insist that if the planning board takes the initiative in the amalgamation procedure that they will be playing right into the hand of the burocrats who will split away, taking the conservative workers with them. Zimmerman, in an article in the **Labor Age** attacks the Communist party group openly claiming that they want this split, hoping to get control of those workers who would rally to the planning board if a split occurred. He says all amalgamation must go through regular union channels. In this he is correct. The panning board meetings have degenerated to a fight between the C. P. and the Lovestoneites, a fight which is reported to have included the use of fists.

When the National held its convention in early June, amalgamation was approved and a committee of five was elected to meet with a committee of five from the Salem Independent and five from the Protective. This provisional committee was to go ahead with the amalgamation. The Salem Independent Union immediately appointed five on a similar committee, and the two groups met for discussion, awaiting the convention of the Protective at the end of July, hoping that the Protective would appoint a similar committee.

Comrade Cooperstein of the Left Opposition is on the Salem committee and several of the five representing the National are Lovestoneites or under their influence.

The setting up of this provisional committee with complete power for amalgamation, was followed by a fight in the planning board, Zimmerman proposing that this board go on record as limiting itself to amalgamation **propaganda** only. Klarfield pointed out that the Protective has still to meet, and that they might not vote for amalgamation or for a committee. However the planning board backed Zimmerman. In the meantime it is said that Nolan of the Protective proposed to the Nationl group of five a plan of amalgamation. This plan amounted to having the other two unions move into the Protective headquarters until January ', and that then they could discuss amalgamation.

Officials in Log Rolling Game

At the Protective convention a committee of five was elected but they were only given power to meet the other two groups and ask them for their plan of amalgamation, obtaining this they were to report back to the convention. Zimmerman had submitted a plan of amalgamation to the two groups representing the National and Independent, but no action had been taken. Nolan had got wind of this plan and was afraid that the other two groups had already adopted it, so he took this means of finding out. The three committees met and the National and Independent groups insisted that they had accepted no plan. The Protective group then presented, unofficially, Nolan's old plan mentioned above, which the others opposed. The National and Independent groups were then invited to the Protective convention where they pleaded that the Protective give its committees powers equivalent to their own. Finally a committee was elected, and claims to have powers equivalent to the other groups of five. In the meantime the TUUL shoe union of New York with a membership of about 1500 has asked permission to send a committee of five. This has been opposed by Jonas of the Lovestone group who claims that they come not for unity but for splitting. He bases his argument on a statement made by a conference of representatives of various shoe unions in New York. This statement asserts that the TUUL group after joining with them broke away declaring that it could not unite with any group that did not accept the TUUL principles. (Incidentally, this conference in New York intends to unite the shoe unions there and then to join the amalgamation negotiations in Mass.) Comrade Cooperstein spoke in favor of admitting the five from the TUUL, and the committee decided this way.

What Was Done to the Wage Increase?

The National agreements with the manufacturers terminated August 1. The reader will remember that the Lovestoneites answered all criticism in March with the joyous prediction "just wait until August 1." The Lovestoneites and their sympathizers were high in the union. June went and half of July and not one step was taken to get most of the locals busy determining what the new prices should be. This should have been started back in June. Some locals received notice to take up prices only on July 19—eleven days before August 1. We hold the Lovestoneites directly responsible for the fact that when August 1 came the prices had not been decided and in some cases lists had not been presented by the union. Instead of playing petty politics they should have centered on this major task. They cannot say that the question was not brought up. They deliberately did not act!

So when August 1 came everything was confusion. The National demanded that the manufacturers give a flat 20 percent increse with a fortyhour week during negotiations. While the manufacturers delayed (knowing that the code was around the corner) and privately, it is said, offered 15 percent, the National took the men out on a "holiday". Then the manufacturers gave their flat refusal, and the union called a strike. This strike consisted of putting a couple of pickets in front of each shop. although no attempt was made by the manufacturers to get workers.

The Blue Eagle Appears

Into this situation came the blue eagle. Mahan and a committee were called to Washington where they ate humble pie out of Perkin's hand. Their big speeches they delivered to each other on the train coming home. They brought back a temporary 20 percent increase which means only a 3 1-3 percent increase, since the hours are now 40 instead of 48. And who is to decide the permament increases, if any? Our old friend, the state board of arbitration! The agreement is for a year, with a no strike clause, and 60 days notice (this last to give the bosses plenty of time to prepare against a strike). The workers were given patriotic speeches by one of the committee close to the Lovestoneites and the locals accepted the decision with a few dissenting voices.

Thus we see that there have been many disappointments. However, conditions in the shops have certainly changed for the better. The workers now dare to tell the boss where he gets off. Following the March strike at least 60 workers in Boston were put back in their shops after being fired by the boss. This was done on the unions request, not one case going to arbitration. The wages under the National are much higher than those under the Protective, and already three shops are moving from Boston to territory under the Protective.

Will Amalgamation be Achieved?

The important question now is amalgamation. The planning board is a Soviet representing the locals. It is a true rank and file expression, not a Communist party artifice. It is, however, not official. All attempts to weaken it are to be decried. On the other hand if the planning board does more than propagandize for amalgamation, the burocrats will yell "Moscow, Reds, etc.", and a split will occur leaving the radical workers isolated. The Provisional committee should be allowed to prove its worth with plenty of pressure through propaganda by the planning board. Even if the Provisional committee fails to agree on amalgamtion, a part of it could call an open convention with more authority than the planning board. A call by the planning board should and Provisional committees closer together should be supported.

The ideal thing at present would be to have all the Left wingers get together and work out a minimum program on which they can agree. This is an impossibility unfortunately. The Communist party group were wrong in maintaining their TUUL unions back in the March days. When offered five on the Provisional committee in July, they dissolved their union. This was wrong again. They were correct in their attacks on the negotiations and the "holiday". They are wrong in their desire to have the planning board proceed with amalgamation. The Lovestoneites on the other hand are right on amalgamation procedure but have played a shameful role in the negotiations. These positions are irreconcilable at present.

—W.

LEAGUE ACTIVITES

Toronto L. O. Branch Scores New Gains

An open-air mass meeting of the International Left Opposition of Toronto took place Friday, August 18 in Earlscourt Park before an interested crowd of about 1500 workers. The meeting was organized as the chairman, comrade Chris Dorrow announcer, in the interests of the fight of the workers for free speech and assembly.

The first speaker was comrade M. Spector who pointed out that the reasons for the growing repressions in Canada and throughout the world was because capitalism was decaying and its further existence was possible only through the introduction of Fascism, the restriction of the workers rights and the forcing down of the workers living standards. The capitalists were now only way out for the workers into a new imperialist war and the only way out for the workers was through organization for the Socialist revolution. He further pointed out what was behind the present Swastika movement in Toronto and finally the fallacy of the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation as a party to free the workers from capitalism.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 showed the workers the way to emancipate themselves and the International Left Opposition holds to this same program. The speaker concluded with the demand for the repeal of section 98 and the freeing of all class war prisoners. Comrade T. Mill added a few words and the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion.

A Reformist Has His Day

As Buckley of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council and one of the leading spokesmen of the C. C. F. was invited to take the platform. Buckley spoke for fifteen minutes in which he attempted to justify the C. C. F. and explain why the class struggle in Canada could be resolved through the use of parliamentary methods only. Buckley was against all dictatorships whether it be socialistic or capitalistic.

Comrade Spector when he took the platform to reply asked the assembled workers whether they would rather be under a dictatorship of the workers over the capitalist or a dictatorship of the capitalists over the workers because there was no in-between. The workers dictatorship would in the end do away with all dictatorship and class repression, the capitalist dictatorship must today in its present period of decline, increase the repression and sufferings of the workers in order to maintain its class rule.

In a masterful way, comrade Spector tore all of Buckley's arguments to shreds and tatters and exposed the C. C. F. as a party to save capitalism despite all its "socialistic" phrases.

The meeting was a huge success and a decided gain for Communism and the Left Opposition.

SUCCESSFUL MEETING

Ou August 23, another big open-air mass meeting was held in Earlscourt Park, with comrades J MacDonald and M. Spector as the principle speakers, and comrade Chris. Morrow as chairman.

Comrade J. MacDonald dwelt on the capitalist crisis, the bankruptcy of the old political parties and the present belated attempt of reformism, which has shown its bankruptcy and worthlessness on a world scale to resurrect itself anew in Canada, by exploiting the radical trend to the Left of the Canadian workers, farmers and sections of the city petty-bourgeois. He warned the workers that the C. C. F. will only be able to repeat the failure of reformism in Europe.

When comrade Spector took the platform the C. C. F. supporters made a futile attempt to disrupt the meeting, which met the significant resistance of the workers. The speaker was able to handle the situation quite easily and continued with more fire his short talk, which was a reply to several questions asked of him by C. C. F. supporters.

This meeting like the previous one was very successful. The criticism of reformism in this C. C. F. stronghold was very sympathetically received by a big section of the assembled workers and definite progress could be noted in winning these workers to Communism.

We Are Active in Strikes

The Left Opposition of Toronto is able to record progress in the economic as well as the political sphere of the class struggle. In the strike of the Hallan and Sable fur dyers, members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition assisted in the organization of the strike and actively participated in the picket demonstrations. Likewise we have given assistance to the strike of the Durable Leather Goods and Cloak workers. Our members have been invited to attend the strike meetings and have daily appeared on the picket lines. Comrade MacDonald has addressed meetings of the railroad workers and valuable contacts exists in the Boot and Shoe Trade.

Bureaucratic Expulsion Rebuked

A short time ago the Stalinists organized a "united front" on the election issue. The presence of delegates from the Left Opposition, Unser Kamf and Spartacus Clubs was the cause of the Stalinist bureaucrats bringing in a motion for our exculsion on the same grounds that the Right wing bureaucrats demand the expulsion of Left wing organizations from their conferences.

Several years ago when we were excluded from a Stalinist packed election conference we had only 3 votes registered against the motion. This year over 30 delegates voted against the Stalinist split policy and bureaucratic ultimatism. Amongst those who voted and spoke against the motion were the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, who voted in a bloc. This organization is the most militant of the Left wing on the English field. The delegation of the Furriers Union representing 800 workers also appealed to the delegates to reject the introduction of the Amalgamated methods in a Left wing conference.

A leaflet on this question was issued in English and Jewish languages, and for the first time in Toronto, protest against Stalinist opportunism and bureaucracy is being heard amongst the Ukrainian Left wing masses.

—M. Q.

Anti-War Confab of Boston Youth

After many weeks of delay, a youth conference against war and fascism was finally held in Boston. Despite all the talk about the need of a broad united front conference, there were present delegates from several Y. C. L. units, N. S. L., the National Alumni Assn., the Marxian Youth Club and one pacifist youth organization, a total of 14 delegates from 11 organizations.

After the election of the officers and credentials committee, Max Weiss, the district organizer of the YCL in the Boston section, took the floor and opposed the proposal of the provisional committee to elect a resolutions committee. In spite of the fact that four YCL members had previously agreed with us that such a committee should be elected, that resolutions should be presented, and that a discussion should be held, Weiss' "stirring" appeal for "concrete proposals only" (such as the distribution of leaflets) quickly made them swing into line. The Marxian Youth Club delegates, Lewitt and Craine, were the only ones to demand that a discussion on the problems confronting the conference take place. The defeat of our proposal turned the conference into a vaudeville show.

The Pacifist Position Explained

Prof. Dana, the first star number on the program, waxed eloquent on the work done by Rolland and Barbusse in their struggle against war. Not a word as to what to do should war break out, not a word about the struggle conducted by the revolutionary movement. Pure pacifist tommyrot!

Following the report of the credentials committee, John Weber, the organizational secretary of the Party spoke as a member of the New England Anti-war Committee. Among other things, he said that the peace pacts signed by the Soviet Union were hindrances to imperialist war. He ended by saying that he was not concerned with his own viewpoint on the conference, but rather with the concrete proposals of action against war. "To-night we are not concerned with our own positions on war. We want no quibbling."

The conference was thrown open for discussion. The chairman made it clear time and time again that only concrete proposals were to be discussed. The first participant in the discussion, comrade Craine of the Marxian Youth Club, stated that her organization had seriously considered the question of war, had discussed it and come to definite conclusions. She pointed out that a clear understanding of our positions was the first pre-requisite for the struggle against war. The statement of the Marxian Youth Club to the conference was read, which contained an analysis of the danger of war, of the causes for the defeat of the working class, the victory of Fascism, and proposed methods to fight against war. The statement ended with a declaration that only the working class could lead this struggle against war and Fascism, and that it was the duty of the Communists, youth and adult, to initiate this struggle, instead of leaving it in the hands of a group of liberal and pacifist elements who are entirely divorced from the working class and its organizations.

Slanders as Usual

This was the only serious contribution to the conference, the only clear-cut position presented. In spite of all the attempts of the Stalinists, to prevent a discussion on policies,, the Communist stand on war was heard at the conference. The fear of the YCL to take a stand on this Communist approch outside of labeling it "objective aid to the bourgeoisie" is nothing less than cowtowing and capitulation before liberalism and pacifism on so important a question.

The "concrete" contribution of the Y. C. L. consisted of three proposals: Participation in international Youth Day, holding a mass meeting, squads to visit other organizations and get them to participate in the conferences. Besides a pledge to contribute $25 to International Youth Day, and to issue a certain number of leaflets, the Y. C. L. had nothing to say. These, plus our proposals for the holding of open-air meetings and discussion meetings on war and Fascism, sum up the accomplishments of the conference. Comrades Burgin, Craine and Weiss were elected as the arrangements committee for International Youth Day.

The Marxian Youth Club will continue to fight for a Communist approach to these problems of war and Fascism, because only such an approach can solve them and overcome them.

—R. C.

Fight for Unions in Los Angeles

Los Angeles.—In the midst of an intense and ever growin strike wave, with the class-consciousness of the workers developing at a rapid pace, the TUUL once again refused to recognize the necessity for one union (through the I. L. G. W. U.) and instead made feeble attempts to organize the workers into their insignificant dress and cloak section of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

The situation in Los Angeles is an excellent example of their isolated character, for whatever the causes may be, the ILGWU has become the mass organization. There are 2,000 workers who have already joined and each succeeding day sees an influx of new workers. Left wing, Right wing, and workers who have never belonged to a union before are all gripped with the necessity for organization.

Organizing a Small Shop

For example, I am a needle trades worker, recently I got a job in one of the many small shops here. The shop has 13 workers, five are Mexicians and Spanish workers who before have shied even at the mention of a union but now rebel against their forty hour week and their lower than-minimum wages. After having contacted the most important workers in the shop, and through them the others, I learned that the majority of workers in the other dress shops had already begun the struggle for the 35 hour week and higher wages. I came to my shop and got the workers together then I called for the stopping of all machines at the end of seven hours and to proceed to the ILGWU hall where we could conduct a shop meeting and decide for a plan of action inside the shop. The workers did not need any pep talks. The most backward workers accepted my agitation with the greatest enthusiasm and after seven hours work and with no more preparation they stopped work and all proceeded to the union hall. On the way to the hall and in the hall while waiting for an organizer of the union—for I was not yet a member—I advanced the idea of joining the union. I showed the necessity for a united working class and proved to them that only through a union could be achieve our aims. Before the organizer came the thirteen workers had paid their initiation fees and dues, and had become members of the ILGWU.

We held the shop meeting and they elected me shop chairman. We decided to continue working seven hours a day and agreed to meet the following day to decide upon prices. The next day I was fired. Before I left I spoke to the boss: I told him his shop was a union shop and although he had fired me he could not fire the union; that the workers were going to work a thirty-five hour week and that they would shortly present him with a list of prices. I pointed out the fact that not only were the workers not getting the union scale but they were not even getting the minimum wage scale. After speaking to the workers and reminding them of the meeting that night, I left. Seven hours later they stopped working and were leaving the shop when the boss announced that all wages were to be raised until they conformed with the $14 wage scale.

Will the T. U. U. L. Learn?

The workers in the shop have seen the effectiveness of united action and they have pledged themselves to help in the fight for better conditions. They have joined the conservative class-collaborationist—yes—but they **have** joined it.

My role—and the role of a Communist will be to expose the reactionary policies of the leadership of the ILGWU and to form an effective Left wing opposition within it. It is high time that the TUUL realizes that it will continue to remain as impotent and isolated as it is at present that it will not get the message of militancy to the workers, unless it changes its attitude and integrates itself into the mass unions.

—FLORENCE WYLE.

Growth of Fascism in England

Will the British Workers Learn from the German Experience

Edinburgh.—The advent of Hitlerism has given the impetus to the formation of Fascist groups in Britain. Brown Shirt, Blue Shirt, Green Shirt and Black Shirt organizations are coming into existence in different parts of the country and all of them seek to emulate Herr Hitler.

In Scotland, a Scottish Fascist party has been formed under the leadership of Weir Gilmour, a former member of the Labour party. This group plays upon the religious and nationalist feelings of the Scottish workers by calling upon them to support such things as Home Rule for Scotland and the expulsion of the Roman Catholics from Scotland, while Gilmour also advocates the formation of a Scottish industrial union.

In London, a Green Shirt organization has come forward with an appeal to the youth of England. The young men and women must save the British Empire from ruin by means of supporting the much discussed currency scheme known as the Douglas Credit System which, once adopted would bring prosperity to the shores of Britain.

The outstanding personality in the ranks of the British Fascists, however, is Sir Oswald Mosley, another former member of the Labour Party and a member of the Labour government. He has organized a Black shirt group known as the British Union of Fascists and in the capacity of propagandist he has published a book in which he outlined the main features of the Corporative State. Mosley has paid several visits to Italy and is a great admirer of Mussolini.

However he sees certain flaws in Italian Fascism and he would remedy these weaknesses upon the basis of rationalized British industry with a new political structure adapted to British traditions. The monarchy would be retained as the great unifying force in the Empire but the House of Lords would be abolished as being antiquated and in place of the present parliament there would be a National Corporation elected from the best brains in banking, industry and politics. The state would settle all industrial disputes and the trade unions would be forbidden to strike but would be called upon to aid the state in the reconstruction of industry. In order to achieve this delightful scheme of things, the forces of anarchy must be overcome. And Mosley sums up this part of the program as meaning the struggle against Communism which must first of all be destroyed in Fascism is to triumph.

AAll the Fascist groups take up this latter point with great enthusiasm. Their literature abounds with threats against prominent Communists who are being at the root of all the troubles that afflict mankind and especially the British Empire. The numerical strength of the Fascists is uncertain but they probably number 10,000 and are mean-time the favorite theme of music hall comedians and the popular cartoonists. But despite this ridicule they have started actively to interfere with strikes and Communist meetings and are obviously being financed by certain sections of the capitalist class. Their main recruting ground is the middle class and the lumpen-proletariat—quite a useful combination for any dirty work—and their ranks are likely to be considerable strengthened as the crisis deepens or if the working class should swing to the Left.

The numerical weakness of Fascism is in direct contradiction to the tremendous interest that is being taken in the subject of Fascism in general. The popular press devotes whole pages to the development of Hitlerism in Germany and each new atrocity against Jew or Communist is justified or condemned in line with the particular policy being pursued by the given newspaper. Hitler is written up as a hero or a villian. His policy is praised by the **Daily Mail** or vigorously attacked by the **Manchester Guardian.** The later newspaper has led the field in the matter of exposures of German Fascism and unlike the organ of the Labour party, the **Daily Herald,** has made the defense of Jew or Communist a special feature. While in contradistinction to the organ of the Communist party, the **Daily Worker,** it has found space for the brilliant analysis of the German situation by comrade Trotsky although it took pains to point out that it disagrees with Trotsky's belief in the world revolution.

All the political parties have discussed the Fascist question and they are all in opposition to Fascism but the organs of the Conservative party advise the youth of Britain to watch and learn from Hitler whose easy triumph is welcomed with ill-concealed delight. The rapidly decomposing Liberal groups have declared against Hitlerism but their spokesmen enunciate policies that are as near to being Fascist as makes the difference arhdly discernible. .Thus the parties of the capitalist class are leering at Hitler but endeavor to hide their admiration under a cloak of mock condemnation.

When we turn to the working class movement we find a strange scene of confusion. All the parties are against Fascism; all are apprehensive as to the nearness of the monster; all have talked and demonstrated against German Fascism but all are entangled in a net of confusion when it comes to the question of how to defeat Fascism, of how to destroy the reptile before it releases its deadly sting. In this connection all are agreed upon the necessity for a united front. But when we come to the question of just what is meant by a united front then we come up against certain peculiarities of the British labour movement that have made it the despair of its comrades in other lands.

Thus when the Communist party approached the Labour party, Trades Unions, Cooperatives and the Independent Labour Party for a united front against Fascism they singled out not the most important issues around which unity must be built but presented these organizations with a complete industrial and political platform embracing everything from the Versailles Treaty to the legal rights of the trade unions. The Labour party and the Trade Unions replied by stating that while they were against Fascist dictatorhsip they were also against Communist dictatorship and whilst they agreed upon the necessity for a united front they could not join with the Communists but would call upon the workers to join the Labour party to show the world the peaceful path to Socialism.

But this position did not suit the intelligentsia of the Labour party now comprising the Socialist League, a recently formed group of Fabians, ex-members of the I. L. P. ex-members of the C. P. and including J. T. Murphy, Colonel Malone, Raymond Postgate, C. D. H. Cole, and Sir Stafford Scripps. They also would have nothing to do with the Communist party but they thought that the question of Fascism raised the other question of the policy of the Labour party. In the course of their speecthes and writings they succeeded in formulating a brand new program.

They declare that the Labour party may gain a parliamentary majority at the next general election but that then the capitalists would let loose the forces of Fascism. To meet this situation the Labour party must request the king to create a majority of Labour peers in order to abolish the reactionary House of Lords. Then an emergency Powers Act would be passed with the consent of the king. Parliament would be dissolved and country would then be ruled by a series of Orders in Council which would be operated by a body of National and District councillors appointed by the Labour cabinet and would also enpower the armed forces and the police to deal with the Fascists pending the socialization of the banks, mines and railways, etc.

This wonderful scheme, in which the monrachy would cooperate in the establishment of Socialism, was immediately seized upon by the leaders of the Conservative party who labelled it "Fascist" and much to the disgust of Lansbury, Clynes and Henderson, the Labour party was accused of secretly planning a dictatorship. The executive of the party and the General secretary of the trade unions have, of course, denounced the scheme and have even hinted that they may deal with the members of the Socialist League as they previously dealt with the Communists, i. e., by throwing them out of the Labour party. In reply, the Socialist League have been at great pains to point out that they only wish to deal with Fascism in a Constitutional manner and that they are just as much against dictatorship as is Lansbury and in the course of the controvery they arrive at the remarkable conclusion that German Fascism is no dictatorship.

Thus the editor of their monthly organ, the **Socialist Review,** writes: "The Nazi regime is no dictatorship. Hitler and his hooligans were every one of them elected to do just what they are doing—bait the Jews and suppress the Communists." The fact of the matter is that the Labour party is saturated with love for the constitution and both the Rights and the "Lefts" would seek to destroy Fascism by lawyers' tricks.

The Communist party has no illusions as to the constitution and even the leaders of the Independent Labour Party are becoming somewhat clear on this point but, nevertheless, all is not well with the anti-Fascist united front of these two bodies. Beginning on the basis of no criticism it was not long before the leaders were busily engaged in attacking each other. And when Fenner Brockway accused the Third International of having betrayed the interests of the working class movement, Pollitt replied by calling Brockway a counter-revolutionary. And declaring him to be "worse than any Trotskyist" he urged the rank and file of the I. L. P. to deal with its leaders.

In the midst of this word warfare a section of the united front broke down. The Lancashire, Wales, North Eastern branches of the I. L. P. refused to continue the united front and make an appeal to the National Council which proved ineffective. The latter body met in conference and after three days' labor produced yet another policy for th I. L. D. But in the course of the debates on this policy a split took place over the question of contniuing the united front with the Communist party. John Paton, general secretary of the I. L. P. resigned and five members of the National Council voted against the new policy which was only carried by a majorit of four votes.

Thus the I. L. P. looks like losing yet another portion of its already greatly reduced membership. While one section staggers back to the Labour party and a few members go over to the Communist party, the main section will hold on to their precarious role of centrism, swinging between right and left. The latter wing of the party is being led by Maxton and Brockway who are endeavoring to stem off the evil day of complete disolution. They are now supporting the world congress of all revolutionary working class organizations to be held in Paris. They do not favor a criticism of the policies of the Second and Third Internationals but desire a discussion on "positive revolutionary principles". At the same time they leave the door open for an entry into the Stalin stronghold by declaring that "the German Communist part held correct revolutionary principles but applied them wrongly", while "the cooperation of the I. L. P. and the C. P. is begining to unify revolutionary activity that may well facilitate the creation of a united revolutionary movement."

Both the I.L.P. and the C.P. are at low ebb and it well known that wires are being pulled in order to push on the formation of a United Communist Party in Great Britain composed of a fusion of the two forces. Such a move would give a temoprary lease of life to the bankrupt Stalinists as well as to the I. L. P. reformists but soon the contradictions of the Stalin line would bring the shaky structure down again.

The danger of Fascism has brought to the forefront the basic problems confronting the British working class movement and the brief experience of the united front movement of the I. L. P. and the C. P. has once again proved that there are no short cuts to success. At the same time it has revealed the Communist possibilities lying latent in the application of the united front if based on sound principles. Neither the I. L. P. nor the C. P. possess these essential qualities—hence the failure to take advantages of the weakness of the discredited labour party.

—T. C.

August 14, 1933.

Hitler's "Socialist" Demagogy Unmasked by Brutal Facts

Only in the last few days has Hitler shown himself to be the brutal representative of the interests of industrial and agrarian feudalists, that he always was. It is only a few days since Herr Baldur von Schirach declared war against "reaction", and Herr Goebbels, the dawn of the "second revolution". The masses of proletarian and petty-bourgeois admirers of Hitler had intoxicated themselves with the crazy notion that, after the steamroller of the terror had done its work with brutal thoroughness, now the road to socialism was open. Hitler's staff of torturers and their assistants could not dream of the purposes for which they were being used. Every organized resistance had to be destroyed, the vanguard of the proletariat had to be locked up in the hell of the concentration camps, and thrown into the depths of illegality, so that the mutinous part of the Nazi troops might be deprived of any support outside of its own ranks, and so be crushed helplessly under the double pressure of terror and corruption.

Herr Wagner, who wanted to provide the petty-bourgeoisie with an effective organization within the social structure for the assertion of its interests against big industry and big finance, could only be sent out into the wilderness after Hugenburg had preceded him there. It was not his program that Hitler betrayed—it was never an end in itself to him, but always only the means to achieve power—it was "only" his petty-bourgeois supporters. Now, when national socialism disposes of the whole power and has smashed all other mass organizations, it discloses itself with brutal frankness as that which it had never ceased to be, as the instrument of power in the hands of monopoly capital.

Composition of Economic Council

This brutal frankness is expressed in the composition of the Economic Advisory Council, that has taken the place of representation by social class, which was explicitly rejected by Schmidt, former insurance company director and now Minister of Economy. To this council there belongs only a single farmer, in the shape of a single estate tenant; on the other hand, there are four trust magnates, a gentleman from the Potash Trust; then Bosch, the master of the Cehmical Trust, and two gentlemen from the Steel Trust, Voegler and Thyssen, as well as Reinhart of the Kommerz Bank, the former financial adviser of Bruening. If the social character of a regime is shown by what classes of society provide the income and for whose benefit it is spent, then there never was a government of such brutally exploiting a character as that of the savior, Hitler. Never were the possessing classes so gently dealt with, never was such naked robbery committed against the poorest classes, as now.

Presents for the possessing classes:

1. Amnesty for tax evasion, together with forbearance of half the taxes evaded.

2. Almost complete freedom from taxes for capital invested in fixed forms.

3. Abolition of the tax on trucks.

4. The freedom from taxes, just announced, for newly-organized enterprises.

5. The law decreed by the new Minister of Economy, Schmidt, for the creation of compulsory cartels, which gives the government the right to forbid the creation of enterprises and the expansion of existing ones. That means: the struggle against unemployment by throttling production and assuring monopoly profits.

6. Raising the price of the cheapest food fats through an increase in the duty on lard from 75 to 100 marks.

On the other hand, the working class has been singled out for not less than two kinds of additional taxes on wages:

1. The so-called marriage relief, which must be paid by all single men. It begins at an income of 75 marks a month, that is, even below the income-tax exemption level. It is graduated, beginning with 2 percent and ending with 5 percent for an income of 500 marks. In other words, the graduation ends just where it ought to begin; with the higher incomes. It is calculated on the gross wages, without counting deductions. On all wages and salaries, 1 1-2 percent was held back on July 1. Even those who do not receive wages, are graduated from 2 to 5 percent. But here the 2 percent tax begins with an annual income of 750 marks and the 5 percent tax with 5500 marks and more. The very big incomes are therefore spared, and by far the greatest part of the tax is raised from the wage-earners. It is therefore a concealed tax on wages, especially as the marriage relief which is supposed to be financed by it, is not a gift but a loan which must be paid off in eight years.

2. The "voluntary donation for creating employment", according to the data of its inventor, the new Finance Minister, Reinhart, has brought in 400 million marks. Naturally, it is just as voluntary as the "donation" of the victim of a robbery. Every worker knows that he will lose his job if he refuses to "donate".

Jobless Are Not Spared

But even the unemployed are not spared in this campaign of robbery. The budget estimate for 1933 closes, both in revenues and expenditures, at 400 million marks lower than in 1932. How was this trick of a saving in expenditudes worked, in spite of the lavish additional spending for the sake of increased profit on capital and for the militarization of Germany? For the support of grain prices, in 1932 there were provided 67 millions, now 125, nearly double the amount. The "Dresdner Bank" receives 100 millions. The expenditures for military purposes were raised from 636 to 670, and including the special department of Herr Goering, Aviation, to 745 millions, that is, an increase of over 100 millions. On top of that must be added the **concealed** expenditures of the budget (which is free from any kind of control, and the tax relief for capital ownership, already mentioned.

The secret of spending more money and yet saving expenses is easily solved. They took away from the poorest, in order to be able to give to the richest. The war cripples and war orphans receive, instead of 1313 millions, only 1040 millions, that is, 25 percent less. The expenditures for the unemployed are reduced from 945 to 520 millions, that is, cut down by almost half. That a "balance" in the budget should be established, at least in the theory of the budget estimate, is a miracle. But this miracle is not brought about by any magical power of Hitler's, but through the starvation of the disinherited and the hell of the concentration camps.

—UNSER WORT.

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

Vol. VI, No. 41 (Whole No. 188)
Saturday, September 2, 1933
Subscription rate: $2.00 per year
Foreign $2.50 5 cents per copy

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Disarmament and War - V. I. Lenin

Imperialist War and Class War are Sharply Contrasted

(This article was published by comrade Lenin in October 1916, in the **Social-Democrat,** the Bolshevik publication issued in Geneva, Switzerland during the war. It is of especial importance now, when preparations are being made for an Anti-War Congress with the participation of Barbusse and other pacifists. It clearly states the revolutionary line in the struggle against war, and distinguishes it from petty-bourgeois pacifism. To read this document now enables one to measure the distance which separates the line of Lenin and that of Stalin, the "greatest disciple of Lenin".—Ed.)

* * * *

One of the main arguments in favor of disarmament is that, and it is not always directly expressed: We are against war, in general against any war, and the most definite, clear and unequivocal expression of this view of ours is the demand for disarmament.

We have dealt with the incorrectness of this argument in an article on the Junius pamphlet, to which we refer the reader. Socialists cannot be against every war, without ceasing to be socialists. One must not let himself be blinded by the present imperialist war. For the imperialist epoch, just such wars among the great powers are typical, but democratic wars and insurrections too, are absolutely not impossible, such as for instance wars of oppressed nations against their oppressors, for their liberation from oppression. Civil wars between proletariat and bourgeoisie. for socialism, are inevitable. Wars between victorious Socialism in one country against other countries, bourgeois or reactionary are possible.

Disarmament is the ideal of Socialism. In Socialist society there will be no wars, consequently disarmament will be realized. But he is no Socialist, who expects the realization of Socialism **without** the social revolution and the dictatorship. Dictatorship is state force, which supports itself, immediately, upon **force.** Force in the twentieth century—as in the epoch of civilization in general—is neither the fist nor the club, but the **army.** To take disarmament into our program would mean to say: We are against the use of arms. In that there is to be found just as little Marxism as if we were to say We are against the use of force!

We want to point out that the international discussion on this question has been carried out mainly, if not exclusively, in the German language. And in German, two words are used, the distinction between which is hard to reproduce in Russian. One is (Abruestung) "disarmament", and is used, for instance, by Kautsky and the Kautskyans in the sense of limitation of armaments. The other is (Entwaffnung) "total disarmament", and is mainly used by the Lefts in the sense of abolition of militarism, in the sense of abolition of every militarist (warlike) system. We are speaking in this article of the **second** demand, which is prevalent among some **revolutionary** Social-Democrats.

II.

An oppressed class, which does not endeavor to learn how to use arms and to possess arms, would only deserve to be treated like slaves. Without becoming bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, we must not forget that we live in a class society, and that there is not and cannot be any other way out of it than the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

In every class society—whether based on slavery, serfdom or, as at present, on wage labor—the oppressing class is also armed. Not only the present standing army, but also the present militia—even in the most democratic bourgeois republics such as Switzerland is there arming of the bourgeoisie **against** the proletariat. This is such an elementary truth that it is scarcely necessary to spend much time on it here. It suffices to point to the use of the army (including the republican-democratic militia) against strikers, a phenomenon which is the same in all capitalist countries without exception. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the most important, most fundamental, and most significant facts of capitalist society in the present period.

And in the face of such a fact it is proposed that the revolutionary social-democrats set up the demand for total disarmament! That means the same as the complete rejection of the standpoint of the class struggle, the rejection of every thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: Arm the proletariat, to conquer the bourgeoisie, to expropriate and to disarm it. This is the only possible tactic for the revolutionary class, a tactic which arises out of the whole **objective development** of capitalist militarism and is prescribed by this development. Only **after** the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie, can it throw all weapons onto the ashpile, without being disloyal to its world-historical task; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only then, and in no case before.

If the present war produces fear among the reactionaries, the christian-socialists and the weepy petty-bourgeois, **only** horror and fear, only aversion to any use of weapons, to blood, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and always was terror without an end. And if the present war, the most reactionary of all the wars of this society, is **preparing an end in terror,** then we have no occasion to fall into despair. In its objective meaning the "demand" for disarmament—or, more correctly, the dream of disarmament at a time when before the eyes of the whole world, through the forces of the bourgeoisie itself, the only legitimate and revolutionary war, that is the civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie, is being prepared, is nothing but an expression of just such despair.

If anyone says that this is a visionary theory, we want to remind him of two **world-historical** facts: the role of the trusts and of factory work for women on the one hand, the Commune **of 1871** and the December insurrection of 1905 in Russia on the other.

It is the bourgeoisie's affair to develop trusts, to drive children and women into the factory, to ruin and skin them alive there, and condemn them to the worst misery. We do not "demand" such a development. We do not "support it", but we struggle against it. **But** how do we struggle? We know that trusts and factory work for women are a progressive step. We do not want to go backward, to handwork, to capitalism without monopoly, to home-work for women. Forward through trusts and the rest, and over them, to Socialism!

These considerations, which take into account the **objective course** of the development, can be applied with suitable changes to the present militarization of the people. **Today** the imperialist bourgeoisie is militarizing not only the whole people, but the youth too. Tomorrow perhaps it will go on to the militarization, of women too. To this we can only say: So much the better! So much the faster is it going ahead! And the faster it goes ahead, the nearer we are to the armed insurrection against capitalism! How can the social-democrats let themselves be intimidated by the militarization of the youth, if they have not forgotten the example of the Commune? This is no "visionary theory", no dream, but a fact. And it would be very bad in fact if the social-democrats, in spite of all economic and political facts, were to begin to doubt that the imperialist epoch and the imperialist war must inevitably lead to a repetition of such facts.

A bourgeois witness of the Commune wrote the following in an English newspaper in May, 1871: "If the French nation consisted only of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and children over 13 fought at the time of the Commune alongside the men. It cannot be otherwise in the future battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The proletairan women will not stand by passively and see how the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot down the poorly-armed or unarmed workers. As was the case in 1871, they will take up arms, and out of the present intimidated nations—or more correctly, out of the present workers' movement, which has been disorganized by the opportunists more than by the governments—there will develop, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international union of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Now militarization embraces all of public life. Imperialism is a bitter struggle of the great powers for the division and redivision of the world, and therefore it must lead to further militarization in all countries, even in the neutral and the small countries. But what will the proletarian women do about it? Will they only curse at every war and every phase of militarism and only demand disarmament? Never will the women of an oppressed class, which is truly revolutionary, content themselves with such a miserable role. They will say to their sons:

"Soon you will be grown up. They will give you weapons. Take them and learn the craft of war. This knowledge is necessary for the proletarian—not in order to shoot at your brothers, the workers of other countries, as happens in this war and as the betrayers of socialism are advising you to do—but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, to poverty and to wars, not with pious wishes, but through victory over the bourgeoisie and through **their disarming".**

If anyone rejects such propaganda, particularly in connection with the present war, he would do betetr not to use big words about international social-democracy, about the struggle against war.

(To be continued)

—V. I. LENIN.

N.R.A. and Changing Forms Of Amer. Capitalist Economy

The launching of the NRA has brought out in bold relief the intellectual sterility of Stalinism in America. When we examine the columns of the **Daily Worker,** we find the usual blatant generalities. One looks in vain for a sober, scientific analysis of the issue, with a view to the establishment of a correct perspective for action on the part of the working class.

The most important feature of the N. R. A. lies in the fact that the new Roosevelt turn signifies the initial stage of an entirely new political and economic organizational form for American capitalism. It is the beginning of state capitalism—the final economic form of capitalist society. How soon a more advanced stage of state capitalism is reached will depend—upon the juxtaposition of a number of political and economic factors.

It is altogether inadequate to call the NRA, "the Slavery Act" and let it go at that, as if capitalism in any of its forms is not slavery for the workers. To refuse to recognize this new turn, first, by clear-cut analysis and second, by the posing of new slogans and tactics is to continue the "tail end" position that the Stalinists have always followed with unenviable consistency.

Despite the recent notable increase in strike activity throughout the country, the overwhelming numbers of the American working class along with the petty bourgeoisie is still convinced that the Roosevelt program actually means the "re-employment of men and dollars." The present administration is very skillful and effective in the use of demagogy. When will the disillusion come? Not until it has soaked thoroughly into the consciousness of the workers by their own experiences in the actual results and meaning of the N. R. A.

Under these conditions it is absurd to launch general appeals to fight the N. R. A. as a "slavery act" on a united front basis. These appeals will bring nothing concretely, but will weaken the possibilities for the future when the necessity for genuine united front action will become of utmost importance. The labor lieutenants, on whom the NRA relies to a considerable extent to successfully put it over, have in the meantime stimulated themselves into such activity as they have not seen in years. The labor provisions of the Act were specially designed to enlist the support of organized labor. Aside from the nullification arising out of bitter opposition by the big open shop industrialists, the law specifically and in so many words gives labor the right to organize and bargain collectively. The reason for this paradox lies in the realization on the part of the Administration that a threat was necessary in order to whip into line the recalcitrant industrialists.

The years of depression have created havoc in the labor organizations. More than one of the old line unions have seen their membership decline and disappear. The fakers have been a bit apprehensive about their pie card and felt that something ought to be done about it. The NRA gives them the opportunity and they are seizing it with both hands.

A recent bulletin brings us the news, for instance, that in Akron, Ohio, 1,500 workers have joined the A. F. of L.'s United Federal Union of Rubber Workers while 2,000 have joined the steel union in the Youngstown district. When one considers that these two basic industries have been traditionally open shop, the news achieves real significance. This bit of news can be multiplied hundredfold for the country as a whole. Everywhere the A. F. of L. is busy organizing. Johnson's declaration that no police machinery will be set up to ferret out and prosecute code violations plays right into the hands of the A. F. of L. leaders. The tasks of organized labor under the NRA will be "simplified" for the time being to the extent that it engages in policing the industries.

What is the Left wing under the TUUL doing? It is reviving its social insurance bill as a main proposition to put before the American workers! Even if the "Communist" social insurance bill were more Left than that offered by the socialists, which it is not, the T. U. U. L. would still be widely dodging the main issue.

The reaction of the Left wing to the necessities of the moment must be immediate. The tasks before it are clear. Every effort must be made to get back into the conservative unions at once.

Where Left wing unions already exists constituting a factor in the industry for which they are organized, they must be extended by well planned and executed organization drives.

It is safe to predict that the time in which organization efforts will be tolerated will be short. Therefore, every possible advantage that the workers can squeeze out of the situation must be utilized. Swiftness of action will count a great deal.

Will the N. R. A. give us shorter hours and a minimum wage scale? Very well, then, we shall organize to see to it that we get no less than that which is granted to us. We shall fight to prevent the minimum wage scales from becoming the rule. We shall fight to retain present wage scales in a number of industries from being lowered to the minimum set by the codes and for wage increases to meet increased cost of living. Such should be the tenor of our argument.

(Continued on Page 4)

Discussion on the German Defeat

The article appearing below is a second contribution to the discussion on the problems of the German situation after the victory of Fascism. The views expressed are those of the writer. —Ed.

I.

The victory of Fascism in Germany is now an irrefutable fact. The defeat of the German proletariat means, of course, an indubitble set back to the revolutionary re-organization of society. To minimize the Fascist victory is to open wide the gateway to subsequent disasters. But there is no less danger in overestimating it. Fascism is victorious but its victory is not final. Its triumph was gained in Germany over a demoralized proletariat. It won because the workers were demoralized by the betrayal of the party of social democracy and the party of Stalinism in Germany. To draw erroneous political conclusions from this betrayal—to blame the workers—is to lead to further demoralization, despair and catastrophe on the international scale.

The "amazing thing" about the experience in Germany is that Hitler was able to come to power **legally,** i. e., that Hitler's assumption of the state power did not provoke elemental resistance on the part of the workers. The worshippers of the **elemental** are aghast at this discrepancy between the dynamic background and the inertia of the proletarian mass. The proletariat of Germany, they sigh, is the "best organized working-class in the world" and yet despite its strength and organization, the Fascists literally slid into power without any resistance. Nothing approaching such passivity can be cited from past history. There are no analogies that seem to apply. The incentive to set them in motion seems to obtain, and yet the masses do not budge. Their lives are at stake and yet the workers remain docile, indifferent or stupefied. Learnedly, facts and figures are being culled to prove that the masses did act spontaneously in the past. Why, the same workers openly resisted the very same Fascists even before Hitler assumed power. Still more preplexing is the fact that even at the beginning of its historical journey the proletariat evinced unmistakable initiative. At their weakest, the workers tended "instinctively" to organize themselves, rising up spontaneously, throwing up their own leaders, and at times acting despite their leaders when the latter tried to stem their elemental urge. But now, almost on the brink of their historic goal, the workers seem paralyzed. Once Fascism assumes power, they permit it to crack their skulls and destroy their organizations. There are a number of revolutionists who are at present voicing privately their indignation, if not disgust with the workers of Germany and their "psychology". The German workers, they say, are after all Germans and like all Germans they have been drilled and organized to the point of becoming automatons, ready to goose-step no matter who commands. It is a shameful fact that today in America there are Marxists who produce such psychology to account for the passivity of the German workers. In order to explain the situation in Germany, they find it unnecessary to dig into the tragic historical course of the working class in Germany; the role of their parties explains nothing; the treachery of social democracy and the supplementary treacherous policies of the official German Communist Party explain nothing. Psychology explains everything—" the racial psychosis" fully accounts for everything, not only in Germany but in America also. Why are the American workers so inert? Are they not imbued with the psychology of rugged individualism and not the psychology of hay-foot, straw-foot? Answer—"They suffer from the racial American psychosis". Our rugged individualists, if they happen to be American workers are also provincial and hence "terribly backward". Clearly, the American workers—all workers—e to blame if they do not know **how** or **why** to fight; clearly, the workers and only the workers are to blame for failing to learn what their psychopathic leaders cannot teach them.

But according to our fetishists of the **elemental,** the American, just like the German worker is supposed to fight anyway, no matter what he knows and what he doesn't. Why aren't the American workers responding elementally like the American petty-bourgeoisie, the farmers, who are in open revolt? The farmers are seething, militantly they try to force their demands upon the state, they mobilize—and the workers....? "They are still too backward," replies our revolutionary thinker. Small wonder that with such Marxists abroad one finds the most sanguine perspectives of the conjuncture in the American revolutionary press. The big bourgeoisie is prepared for riot, for spontaneous mass outbursts; it has put all its state machinery in order to meet the gravest eventualities, even to the extent of preparing the Army to take over the railroads, if and when necessary. The ruling gang is alarmed by the lull below, fearful that the longer the masses remain dormant the sharper and more violent may prove the expulsion. But the revolutionists are busy manufacturing alibis, maintaining their prestige, and screening their own bewilderment.

Is the big bourgeoisie of America merely hysterical from an acute attack of "crisis psychosis"? Not quite. Though somewhat distended in panic, its eyes see clearly nevertheless. For one thing the big bourgeoisie sees danger on the part of the petty bourgeoisie which as a class responds the quickest and easiest to the elemental in accordance with its subordination to bourgeois ideology which is propagated and instilled in **all** individuals in society by the bourgeois **state,** especially its propagandist agencies.

It is precisely because of this in capitalist society that we find in history "spontaneous and instinctive" mutinies of the workers. Whoever sees in the elemental uprisings of the workers organic, political acts—the beginnings or expressions of revolutionary class struggle—does not understand an iota of Marxism.

The proletariat, as a class fully class-conscious, as **a class for itself,** is historically the irresistible force for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. In the class struggle between the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the hegemony of the bourgeoisie depends upon its maintaining the proletariat permanently in a demoralized condition, in the condition of a **class in itself.** To this end all the agencies of the bourgeois state are directed to permeate the workers with bourgeois idology. And because of this, as Lenin pointed out, "the elemental development of the workers' movement takes its course precisely in subordination to bourgeos ideology." The less the workers are imbued with Socialist ideology the more readily do they respond elementally, to mutiny in despair or revenge.

(Continued in next issue)

—JOHN G. WRIGHT.

L.O. Holds Successful Meeting in N.Y.

Upwards of 500 workers came to the Irving Plaza Hall to listen to the report of comrade Max Shachtman on the fate of the second and third Internationals. An enthusiastic atmosphere was manifest throughout the entire proceedings of the meeting. Workers never before seen at Opposition meetings were in evidence through every part of the hall. Besides these there were scores of Party members and sympathizers, Lovestoneites, Socialists and every other shade of working class political opinion present. The questions uppermost in the minds of the most developed elements in the working class movement—is there a chance for the revival of the International Socialist movement? Will there be a resurgent movement within the ranks of the Communist International after the Hitler victory in Germany?—these questions and others of a similar nature were posed by the speaker of the evening and developed and elucidated in a manner as to rouse in the minds of the workers present a serious and critical approach to the problems confronting all revolutionists at the present time.

Following the collection, the floor was thrown open for questions and discussion. Dozens of questions followed: Does the speaker have the temerity to say that the Communist Party is liquidated in Germany when the Communists there are painting slogans on working class houses? Why were the Italian workers defeated when they had such great leaders to guide them as Lenin and Trotsky? What is the direction of the Left Socialist groupings, S. A. P., I. L. P., etc? Why didn't the Left Opposition make a determined struggle against Fascism in action?

Quite a number of the questions revolved around the problem of a new International. To these comrade Shachtman replied that there was now a serious discussion going on in the ranks of the International Left Opposition and that as soon as a full and thorough discussion had been concluded and a policy democratically determined the L. O. would make its standpoint clear to the entire working class. It was after midnight when the speaker concluded with the questions, so it was quite apparent that discussion could not unfortunately be had. The meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

Prepare Youth Day for War Fight

(Continued from page 1)

tion to its regular anti-militarist propaganda.

Today the heavy clouds of war looms over the entire world. The threat of Japanese imperialism to the Soviet Union, its robber war and conquests in China, the consolidation of German Fascism, the conflicts between the imperialist nations, England vs. the United States, Japan vs. the U. S., Germany vs. France, Austria vs. Germany, and so on, brood an impending massacre. The capitalist nations are reaching an economic and political impasse. It is becoming more and more difficult for them to settle their problems peacefully.

France is armed to the teeth. Japan, England and the United States have been and are increasing their naval forces. Roosevelt is preparing the psychology of the American workers for a war situation. His national labor boards closely resemble those organized during the last war. Through the Civil Conservation Camps, the American bosses represented by Roosevelt's government are preparing a reserve of several hundred thousand young workers for the new imperialist slaughter.

..To counteract this process of militarization of the youth, little effective work is being done. The Stalinist Communist party and Young Communist League gives over to the Barbusses, Sinclairs and Dreisers the leadership of the struggle against war. In the trade unions, which are essential for war or anit-war puropses the Left wing is insignificant.

International Youth Day belongs to the militant and class conscious young workers. To give it real meaning to enshrine it in the hearts of the American youth an orientation of international revolution is necessary. Only on such a basis can an effective struggle against militarism and war be conceived of. The Left Opposition youth will dedicate itself to this and endeavor to carry on the tradition of the handful of bold young fighters who met at Berne.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

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NRA & State Capitalism

(Continued from Page 3)

Concurrently, we must strengthen our unemployed work. Demand for social insurance, as well as all other related unemployed demands and activities must be constantly held in the foreground. We must particularly develop united front action among the various unemployed organizations in the field on every possible occasion.

If we are at all successful in dealing with the tasks that present themselves to us with such clearness, when the mass disillusionment sets in the vanguard will be recompensed by added strength and power. The Left Opposition wing can rally to its banner new valuable revolutionary forces by demonstrating that it is capable of understanding the new turn of events and applying correct Marxian tactics. **—JOSEPH S. GIGANTI.**

Left Socialist Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

munist groups though all of them still defend the basic line of Comintern policies which lead to the failure and disasters. These people still declare that what needs to be corrected is only the "third period" sectarian aspects of the Stalinist policies.

The resolution for the Brussels conference deals with Germany, declaring that the "victory of Fascism has shown to the whole world the bankruptcy of the Social Democratic and Communist parties." It condemns the coalition policy of the Social Democrats and their acceptance of the "lesser evil" theory. Both statements are entirely justified and correct. Yet the character of the conference cannot fully be judged in advance. As far as at least some of the initiators are concerned its prospects still stand between the camps of reformism and Communism. A first test will be afforded at the gathering now taking place and the prospects for the trend toward the Left Opposition gaining momentum must be said to be good.

The Issue Within the British I.L.P.

The attitude of the British I. L. P. to this conference is of interest. The Right wing of its National Council has lined up against further co-operation with the Communist party. In turn the leaders of the latter label the I. L. P. leaders bag and baggage "counter-revolutionaries", "Fascists", "enemies of the Soviet Union", etc. The I. L. P. National Council, after many differences within it were revealed, finally decided that in regard to the conference resolution its view is: "That whilst both the Second and the Third Internationals bear a share of the responsibility (for Germany) the nature of the failure is different. The Social Democratic failure is due to its reformist and compromising policy. The Communists had correct revolutionary principles but applied them incorrectly."

In connection with these developments our British Left Opposition section appeals to the comrades of the Independent Labor Party" imploring them to make clear their position, especially on the basic problems of the revolution. The lack of this formulation makes it possibe in the I. L. P. to find today those who stand for immediate adhesion to the Communist party rubbing shoulders with those whose rightful place is in the labor party. The I. L. P| has not yet fully found its way to the Communist position. Consequently it has not yet fully made the break with Centrism.

The British Communist party is now campaigning for a "United Communist Party". The unity is to be brought about by a "Unity Congress", and, we are told a "democratic" one. But this congress is to be on the basis of the Comintern program. That is the program adopted at the Sixth Congress, the program of "socialism in one country", which separated the workers from the mass of trade unionists, which evolved the fatal theory of "Social Fascism", and which is at the basis of the capitulation and defeat in Germany. Our British Left Oppositionists say to the I. L. P.:

"It is impossible to talk of unity on such terms. But the I. L. P. cannot exist on the mistakes of the C. I. For this reason it is all the more necessary to begin an exhaustive discussion which shall aim at facing up to the main problems posed by the present world situation and by the experience of the past in order to formulate your own viewpoint. And such a discussion would have profound effects, not only inside your own organization, but also inside the C. P. G. B. and would be the first step towards the real unity of the best revolutionary forces on the basis of ideological unity."

Temps and Stalin

(Conti[illegible]m Page 1)

of repentance, as was done by Kamenev and Zinoviev....it would be impossible to accord him the permission to return to the USSR". To every politically literate person it can only mean that Stalin, "absolutely competent source", formally obligated himself to the agent of French finance not to admit Trotsky to the USSR even if he should sign a letter of repentance. "However, the correspondent adds in passing, it is not at all in Trotsky's character to sign such letters"

Temps carefully circumvents the contradiction of why "it would be impossible to accord Trotsky the permission to return to the Soviet Union", even in case of repentance, if he has no program, no adherents and is foreign to the masses. The experienced correspondent kept political discipline and did not ask any embarrassing questions of the "absolutely competent source". The categorical obligation of Stalin: Let the French stock market not fear a rapproachment with Mosocw: "Trotsky will in no case be admitted to the USSR", sufficed for him this time. Yesterday Stalin made this pledge to Hitler, today to the Comite des forges.

Once again: let the Stalinists consider well this remarkable document. This is not chatter of the yellow, tabloid press. Not in vain did Jores once say: **Temps** is the bourgeoisie turned newspaper."

Hitler & the Prospects of War

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the appraisal of the internal as well as the foreign policy of National-Socialism.

The guiding philosophical and historical ideas in the declaration are truly pitiful in their pretentious medigrity. The idea proclaimed by Hitler of the necessity of re-adapting the state frontiers of Europe to the frontiers of its races, is one of those reactionary utopies with which the National-Socialist program is stuffed. Present-day Europe is decomposing economically and culturally not because its national frontiers are imperfect, but because the old continent is cut up in every direction by customs prison walls, separated by the disorder of the monetary systems, that is, systems of inflation, and crushed by the militarism which Europe requires to insure its dismemberment and its decadence. A shifting of the internal frontiers by a few dozens or hundreds of miles in one direction or another, would, without changing much of anything, involve a number of human victims exceeding the population of the disputed zone.

The assurances given by the National-Socialists that they renounce "Germanization" do not signify that they renounce conquests: one of the central and most persistent ideas in their program is the occupation of vast territories in "the East", so that a strong German peasantry may be established there. It is not by accident that the pacifist declaration, having suddenly and unexpectedly left the ground of the "ideal" separation of the races, warns in a half-threatening tone that the source of future conflicts may arise out of the "overpopulation of Europe, primarily of Germany: the East. And when, lamenting the injustice of the German-Polish frontier, he declared that one could without difficulty find "in the East" the solution capable of satisfying alike the "claims of Poland" and the "legitimate rights of Germany", he simply had in mind the annexation of Soviet territories. The renunciation of Germanization signifies, in this connection, the principle of the privileged position of the Germanic "race" as the seignoral casts in the occupied territories The Nazis are against assimilation but not against annexation. They prefer the extermination of the conquered "inferior" peoples to their Germanization. For the time being fortunately, it is only a matter of hypothetical conquests.

When Hitler asserts with indignation that the great German people has been transformed into a second class nation, and that this conflicts with the interests of international solidarity and the principle of equal rights for all peoples, **this** idea rings false from **these** lips: the whole historical philosophy of National-Socialism proceeds from the allegedly organic inequality of nations and the right of the "superior" races to trample upon and to extirpate the "inferior" races. Taken as a whole, the Hitler program for the reconstruction of Europe is a reactionary-utopian medley of racial mysticism and national cannibalism. It is not hard to submit it to an annihilating criticism. However, it is not the beginning of the realization of this program that is on the order of the day of the Fascist dictatorship, but the **re-establishment of the military power of Germany,** without which it is impossible to talk of any program whatsoever. It is only from this standpoint that the declaration offers any interest.

Hitler's program is the program of German capitalism, the most dynamic and the most aggressive of all, and which is at the same time bound hand and foot by the results of the defeat. It is this combination of potential strength and actual weakness that predetermines the exceedingly explosive character of the aims of National-Socialism as well as the extreme prudence of the most immediate steps towards the attainment of these aims. One can speak today of loosening and gradually untying the knots, but not of cutting them asunder.

Any revision of the treaties, especially of the system of armaments, would signify a change in the present relationship of forces: Germany would have to grow stronger, France weaker. Outside of this, the very question of revision has no meaning for Germany. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the rulers of France will accept no changes that would weaken its position to the benefit of Germany. That is why the Nazis regard as illusory and fantastic any policy calculated upon an improvement of the international position of Germany by way of an agreement with France. It is from this conviction which, as will be seen further on, runs through all the political activity of Hitler, that flows the inevitability of a new conflict between Germany and France. But not today. nor yet tomorrow. It is precisely this "correction" with regard to time that Hitler makes in his declaration and, in this sense, it is not a mere "deception". When Goering set fire to the Reichstag, he risked nothing but the heads of his agents. The premeditated firing of Europe is a more ticklish enterprise. In its present state, Germany cannot make war. It is disarmed. This is no phrase, it is a fact. Bespectacled students and unemployed with a swastika band are no substitute for the Hohenzollern army. To be sure, here and there Hitler can partially violate the obligations dealing with armaments. But he will not resolve upon any open measure on a large scale which would involve him in a direct and flagrant conflict with the prescription of Versailles. Only some "fortunate" circumstances, in the form of complictions between the heavily armed states of Europe, could permit National-Socialism, in the very next period, to execute a panther's leap, its "March 5th" in foreign policy But in their absence, Hitler will be forced to confine himself to grand diplomatic combinations abroad and to petty militancy contraband at home.

Potential strength does not liberate from actual weakness. If the Germany of the Hohenzollerns set itself the task of "organizing Europe" in order thereafter to undertake a new partition of the world, present-day Germany, thrown far back to the rear by the defeat, is forced to set itself once more those tasks which Bismarck's Prussia solved long ago: the attainment of the European equilibrium as a stage in the unification of all the German territories. The practical program of Hitler is today bounded by the European horizon. The problems of continents and of oceans are beyond his field of vision and can be of practical concern to him only in so far as they are interwoven with the internal problems of Europe. Hitler speaks exclusively in **defensive** terms: this corresponds entirely to the stage through which renascent German militarism must pass. If the military rule—the best defensive is the offensive—is correct the diplomatic rule—the best preparation for the offensive is to take care of the defensive—is no less correct. In this sense, Brockdorf-Rantsau, who had a taste for paradox, told me in Moscow: **Si vis bellum para pacem.**

Hitler is counting upon the support of Italy, and within certain limits, this is assured him—not so much because of the identity of internal regime (the purely German Third Reich is, as is known, a frankly Latin plagiarism), as because of the parallelism in—at least their negtive—foreign aspirations. But with the Italian crutch alone, German imperialism will not rise to its feet. Only under the condition of support from England can Fascist Germany gain the necessary freedom of movement. Therefore: no adventures, no declarations which smack of adventure! Hitler understands: every blow against the West (a blow against Poland would rebound against the West), would promptly bring closer together England and France, and would oblige Italy to the greatest reserve. Every imprudent, premature, risky act of revenge-politics would lead automatically to the isolation of Germany and, given its military impotence, to a new humiliating capitulation. The knots of the Versailles treaty would be drawn still tighter. An agreement with England demands a self-limitation. But Paris—and Paris is just what is involved——is well worth a mass. Just as the agreement with Hindenburg, through the medium of Papen, permitted Hitler to accomplish his coup d'etat in the form of an interpretation of the Weimar Constitution, so an agreement with England, through the medium of Italy, is to permit Germany "legally" to ravage and to overthrow the Versailles treaty. It is within this framework that the declaration of May 17 must be viewed. Hitler's pacifism is not a fortuitous diplomatic improvisation, but a component part of a grand maneuver which is to change radically the relationship of forces in favor of Germany, and to lay the bases for the European and the world offensive of German imperialism.

However, this is but one part of Hitler's program and only the negative part: to refrain from premature attempts at revenge is in essence the continuation of the Stresemann policy; it does not suffice to guarantee the **active** support of England. The declaration of May 17 contains a clear indication on the other, the positive, side of the Nazi program: the struggle against Bolshevism. It is not a question of the organizations of the German proletariat but of the struggle against the Soviet Union. In close connection with the program of the drive towards the East **(Drang nach Osten),** Hitler takes upon himself the protection of European civilization, of the Christian religion, of the British colonies and other moral and material values, against Bolshevisk barbarism. From this historic mission, precisely and primarily from this mission, he hopes to obtain **for Germany the right to arm itself.** Hitler is convinced that on the scales of Great Britain the danger of German Fascism to western Europe weighs less than the danger of the Bolshevik Soviets in the East. This evaluation constitutes the most important key to the whole foreign policy of Hitler.

The most important, but not the only one. The National-Socialist dictatorship will not only play upon the contradiction between the West and the East, but also upon all the antagonisms of western Europe: there is no lack of them. Placing a cross over the fantom of Austro-Hungary, Hitler pledges the special attention of Germany to the "young national states of Europe". He seeks auxiliary levers to reestablish the European equilibrium, proposing to the small and feeble states to rally around the vanquished and not the victor. Just as in its domestic policy, National-Socialism has assembled under its banner the ruined and the desperate. in order all the more surely to subject them to the interests of monopoly capital, so in his foreign policy Hitler will strive to create a united front of the vanquished and the injured in order all the more pitilessly to crush them in the future under the weight of German imperialism.

If Hitler has so eagerly accepted the English plan for armaments reduction, it is only because he counted in advance and with full certainty upon its failure. He did not need to take upon himself the odious role of the grave-digger of pacifist proposals: he prefers to leave that function to others. For the same reason, Hitler is not niggardly with his "warm thanks" to the American President for his declaration in favor of armaments reduction. The more broadly and extensively the program of disarmment is presented before the whole world, and the more ineviatbly it ends in a collapse, the more incontestable will be Germany's right to rearmament. No, Hitler is not preparing to overthrow Versailles by violence—for violence one must have power! But he is counting firmly upon the prospect that, after the failure of the British program which he "supports", England, together with Italy, will support with all their might the right of Germany to strengten its defense.... against the East. Nothing but defense, and only against the East!

(Continued in next issue)

—L. TROTSKY.

USSR Recognition A Class Question

(Continued From Page 1)

and particularly the unemployed workers around the slogan of recognition and financial support to the Soviet Union. This was the logical outcome of the theory of "Socialism in One Country", which divorces the progress of the revolution in the Soviet Unoin toward Socialism, from the interests of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the countries which are still dominated by capitalism. They have preferred to attempt to obtain recognition, not by the pressure of the masses, but by back-stage negotiations with the representaties of the capitalist class. Confronted with our slogans, they have denied that the proletariat would or could be mobilized around these demands, saying that the workers were too backward, that they would not understand, that it was a risky way of doing things, that it might arouse the antagonism of the bourgeoisie, that it might interfere with the cautious negotiations of the Soviet diplomats.

This policy of sacrificing the permanent and ultimate aims of the international working-class to the temporary and immediate ones of the Soviet State, is essentially opportunistic. It gains its immediate aims by retreating. How far this retreat will go we do not now know. The American government has in past negotiations with the Soviet government asked for guarantees against the use of Soviet recognition to further revolutionary activity in the United States, and has even demanded the abolition of the Communist International. We may doubt that the retreat will go that far, but at what point will it stop? Will that point be fixed by the intransigeance of the Stalinist diplomats or by the insolence of the American negotiators?

A correct revolutionary strategy cannot be based on the subordination or opposition of the international interests of the working class to the immediate interests of the first workers' state. With or without Stalinist leadership, the only sound policy remains: to pose the fight for recognition as a working-class demand joining the interests of the American workers with those of the Russian workers, to carry our demands in the course of struggle from recognition and long-term credits to steadily higher levels, forward to the demand for a joint plan of economic collaboration and as our ultimate goal, the international planning commission for world economy.

Unite the Interests of the Soviet

But now we are faced with the actual situation created by the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy., We must declare unequivocally—we are in favor of the recognition of the Soviet Union, because it strengthens the workers' state. The government of the workers state, however, is in the hands of Stalinism. For the present, the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy coincide with the immediate interests only of the Soviet State. The Left Opposition, on the other hand, always fights for the defense of the first workers' state as well as for the ultimate international revolutionary interests of the world proletariat. It is only the Stalinist apparatus that separates the two.

In defending the Soviet Union, we fight jointly with the present government, which is the Stalinist apparatus. When, and if, the interests of the apparatus or part of it conflict with those of the workers' state, as may occur in the event of intervention or a Thermidorian counter-revolutionary crisis, we defend the wokers' state and call on the international proletariat to mobilize for its defense.

Even then the immediate question of the recognition of the Soviet Union will be settled, therefore, the Left Opposition still poses as its task the mobilization of the revolutionary vanguard of the international working-class for the support of the next stage of the needs of the Soviet Union, for economic collaboration and for international defense. **—B. J. FIELD.**