

The Cleveland Fiasco

The Cleveland Conference was another Stalinist "united front" masquerade which adds nothing whatsoever to strengthen and unify the Left wing for the struggle. That was to be expected. A service to the working class would have been possible there only if the conference had been convened under the sign of a change of trade union policy and a renunciation of the monstrous system of mistakes and crimes which have demoralized and decimated the Left wing forces in the labor movement, robbing them of the possibility of playing their natural role in the present beginning of a new rise in working class activity. Instead of that the whole affair was consecrated to the task of covering up the past and perpetuating the policies, methods and practices which have brought such tragic results.

From the point of view of trade union tactics, the class conscious workers have to reject the findings of the Cleveland Conference in toto. Faced with the overwhelming evidence on every side of a revival of the conservative labor organizations and a sweeping movement of the workers into them, a trade union conference at this moment can serve a progressive purpose only if it draws the inescapable conclusion. That is, to recognize that this new impulse of the workers for organization, even in the most conservative unions, is in itself a progressive development which the revolutionaries must assist and encourage and take part in. Regardless of variations in the process, due to the exceptional conditions in certain instances, it is absolutely clear to anyone who has eyes to see that this drift toward the A. F. of L. unions is the main line of trade union development in the new situation arising from the collapse of the Stalinist paper unions, the economic upturn and the inauguration of the N.R.A. A national trade union conference, called together in such a situation, must deal with main lines if it does not want to leave the track entirely.

The Stalinist engineers of the Cleveland Conference could not do this without revealing and admitting the falsity of all they have said and done and tried to do on the trade union field in the past period. They would have had to admit that life itself is refuting the contentions which they set up as rigid principles. They would have been obliged to recognize that the sectarianism and bureaucratic mismanagement of the paper unions under their control have brought results which operate as an objective factor to discredit and paralyze the independent union movement, to rob it for the time of its great vitality and by that to push the main stream of the awakening workers back into the conservative organizations, even into those against which they have previously revolted.

From the point of view of the proletarian united front the Cleveland conference was a comedy, unique and perhaps a little more ridiculous than the previous exhibitions. As every vegetable has its season, so every change of the moon brings a new type of "united front." The "united front from below," which condemned all non-Communist leaders as Fascists and excluded any cooperation with them, gave place to the approach to all reformist organizations for a united front with a non-aggression pact excluding criticism. This attempt to include everybody at any price is already out of date. The dealings with the Fascists and Social Fascists in general are given up, in favor of the exclusive unity—and a touchingly affectionate one—with the Musteltes, that is, with the "Left social Fascists," the "most dangerous" of the whole conglomeration of black shirts and brown shirts who lurked behind every bush.

This bloc in reality is a crude horse trade which Muste conducts on the principle of give and take, with the express proviso that the CPLA does not do any of the giving. Muste and Budenz sign their names to joint manifestos (which cost nothing), sit on the platform, and gain a certain rehabilitation before the Communist workers. This is a real gain for them. They are hot foot for this kind of "unity," and naturally so. But when it comes to the question of concrete agreements in any sector of the trade union field, they invariably balk. The "united conference" at Cleveland showed the Musteltes dissenting and keeping their hands free in every case.

All this is funny enough. But the sum total results of the Stalinist adventures in the trade union field are no joke. Just at the moment when the workers are beginning to stir again, to move in masses in sharp collisions against the employers—in a word, in a situation made to order for an advance of revolutionary organization and influence the reactionary labor bureaucrats reestablish their organizations and secure their positions and prestige on the support of new

hundreds and thousands of workers, while the Left wing suffers catastrophic defeats. The most outstanding illustration of this anomaly is to be seen in the needle trades.

But this superficial appearance of things is in reality a contradictory process which is not without positive aspects which promise much for the future. If thousands of the class conscious workers, caught in the overwhelming pressure of external forces, are turning their backs on the cut and dried trade union schemes of the Stalinists and reentering the conservative unions, this movement does not necessarily imply a retrogression on their part. Any movement towards trade union organization is progressive. And when this is accompanied by a profound disillusionment with the Stalinist dogmas and the Stalinist leadership its progressive nature is by no means impaired. On the contrary, the decisive break of the advanced workers out of the straight jacket of Stalinism is the first and most necessary condition for the reemergence and flowering of a genuine Left wing in the labor movement. And that also is the necessary basis for a reconstruction of American Communism.

—J. P. CANNON.

Stalinists Ready to Give Up Saar to Hitler

One bloody sacrifice of the German working class is not enough for the adventures of the C. P. G. leadership. They are all set to commit a new crime. A crime which constitutes a crowning laurel worthy of all their previous deeds. A crime which shows up to a "T" their unconditional capitulation before the nationalist phraseology of the Nazis.

The negation of internationalism in proletarian politics and the headless race with the Nazis for the exploitation of the chauvinistic instincts of broad masses in Germany—these are the fundamental causes of the class treachery of the C. P. G. "Tear the Chains of Versailles!", "National and Social Revolution of the People", the united front with the N. S. D. A. P. (National Socialist German Labor Party)—I. e., the Fascists under Hitler) during the "Red Referendum", the wounding of degenerate militarists and notorious labor assassins (like Major Gieseler, who later betrayed the whole party apparatus)—all these are important milestones in the German workers' path of sorrows. The consistent execution of such a policy, based on the fundamental error of nationalism, could not help leading to capitulation.

This course is now to be continued by the position of the party on the Saar problem. The party's position in this question is the most monstrous thing imaginable for Marxists and internationalists. The working class of the whole world must be made aware of what a completely degenerate bureaucracy is capable of. It is not in this case a matter any longer of theoretical dispute. No, it is simply a criminal offense.

The Saar territory, which is to decide by referendum in 1935 as to how it wishes to shape its political future, has been under a League of Nations protectorate ever since the peace treaty. In the referendum the natives will have an opportunity to express their will in three ways: namely (1) for the maintenance of the status quo ante, that is, the present state of autonomy; (2) for annexation to France; (3) for the return to Germany.

Due to the social and economic composition of the Saar (preponderance of the coal and iron industries) there can be no doubt that the labor vote will play the decisive role in the referendum. It is also clear that nothing is further from the minds of the workers than the idea of desiring annexation to French imperialism. That possibility is excluded beforehand.

The Saar bourgeoisie is already today falling into step with the Third Reich. The Catholic Centre also. This surprises no one. The social democracy is of greater importance, however. For years they stood in the front ranks of the repatriation enthusiasts and there was no official celebration in Prussia in which some S. P. G. minister did not participate in the intonation of patriotic hymns to the German loyalties of the Saar proletariat. Today, after the S. P. G. has thus helped Herr Hitler into the saddle, after the latter has banished all the patriotic ministers to the concentration camps, the social democrats in the Saar are forced to revise their point of view most radically. They put forward the slogan

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The Class Face of the N.R.A.

The class conscious worker who has pursued with any measure of watchfulness the unfolding improvisations of this latest "Great Effort" of capitalism will receive the Green-Wool legend of NRA's unionism with his tongue in his cheek. He will remember the sudden "strike truce edict" of the great labor friend in the White House following hot on the trail of the powerful challenge to the coal bosses thrust out by the miners of Pennsylvania last July. (The promised, "fair", "pro-union" coal code is, by the way, still in the offing.) He has witnessed the Johnson-Ritchberg comedy around section 7 (a) of the Recovery law. He has seen an automobile code adopted with a stridently anti-labor, open shop "merit" clause. He has heard the Recovery cop, Whalen, invoke NRA for the arrest of peacefully picketing shoe and bakery strikers in New York. And so on down the line.

But even more striking than all these manifestations of the "pro-labor" tendencies of the Recovery administration are its acts which involve the parts assigned to Green, Lewis and Co. themselves. A national arbitration board is named: Only two representatives of "organized" labor. And what representatives!—John L. Lewis, the reactionary czar of the United Mine Workers and Bill Green, Hoover's darling. Two labor representatives out of a board of seven....

The steel barons meet for a code hearing. Bill Green arrives as representative of the administration. The steel men rise in angry protest—they won't negotiate with the President of the A. F. of L. Green apologizes, swears he is not there, god forbid, as a representative of labor but as a legitimate spokesman for the NRA. No use. You can't fool the good capitalist instincts of the steel men. They turn their heels on poor Mr. Green.

A few facts, an incident, that speak volumes! The case-hardened boss class will not give up its class positions one inch without a fight. They know that it is only the docile William Green. They know that he is ever ready to talk peace to them, to betray every last worker he represents.

But no matter. To accept him as an administration representative? The idea alone makes the steel Tories see nightmares of a Soviet! Not an inch of such a concession, it sets precedents!

And the good General Johnson wears out his knees in genuflections before them, repudiates Green as representative and ruefully rehabilitates him upon the protests of his colleagues.

But enough—the class face of the NRA is unmistakable. For Roosevelt it represents an effort toward a revamping of capitalism by internal reform and through the mobilization of a huge class collaborationist machine. For the steel barons it is a risky experiment. They will not deal with Browder's "Fascist" A. F. of L. Green. Tomorrow they may have to deal with social Fascist Norman Thomas and the day after tomorrow—with Left social Fascist Muste? You never can tell. It isn't safe to give in to anyone who represents labor!

But the labor movement remains silent. The official Communist party shows no comprehension for the events or their possibilities. The Left wing of the trade unions is out of the picture.

Only one solitary gesture of protest rises against this hypocrisy of the NRA: It comes—alas—only from a lady social worker who has been appointed to a post in the administration.

Mrs. Kleck of the Russell Sage Foundation withdraws her acceptance of the post on the grounds that NRA does not give labor sufficient representation, that it deprives the workers of their only genuine weapon of bargaining—the right to strike, etc. The lady liberal took the reformism of Roosevelt at its face value. Her protest is genuine. Of course, it is only the isolated protest of a sincere labor sympathizer.

What the NRA deserved was a protest from mass pressure by labor itself. That will come, that will be effective and take the road to workers' victory when the Left wing realizes the tremendous opportunities afforded by the situation, when the Communists appraise and analyze the present situation realistically, when the militant section of labor penetrates the A. F. of L. and snatches the leadership of organized labor away from the Greens and the Wolls and the Lewises.

—SAM GORDON.

HANDS OFF CUBA!

Stalin Invites Pilsudski to Review the Red Army

The hangman of Communists, the jailer of thousands of workers and peasants, the Fascist dictator of Poland has been invited by Joseph Stalin to participate in the Red Army demonstration on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, whose vicious, bitter hatred and enmity to the Workers Republic is a secret to no one and which he has taken no pains to conceal is asked to come to Moscow to celebrate the overthrow of the landlords and exploiters; to review the army of Lenin and Trotsky. Sinister omen!

The revolutionary workers throughout the world must ask with horror what is the significance of this move that is so filled with implications of treachery. Following close on the heels of Radek's visit to Poland, where he was feted and entertained in regal style by the editor of Pilsudski's official organ, the *Gazetta Polska*, the invitation to Pilsudski contains the serious warning that the Stalinist betrayal in Germany was but the first stage in their complete repudiation of internationalism. The question becomes more insistent: Is the defense of the Soviet Union to be entrusted to the Pilsudskis, the Herriots? And is the world proletariat to be sacrificed to that insidious end?

The heinous theory of Socialism in One Country has led directly to the capitulation before the Brown Shirts. Why? Because civil war in Germany might have disturbed the chimera of an isolated national socialist society. For these self-

same reasons the Communist International has not met in Congress for more than five years to discuss the burning problems facing the working class of the world. In its stead are the non-aggression pacts—scraps of paper which will be violated at the first opportunity by the imperialists.

And now the logic of the Stalinist policy leads them not to call upon the world proletariat to observe the November revolution by a powerful struggle against Fascism—and Fascism is not in Germany alone—but by tender felicitations from the Fascist Pilsudski. What can the Polish workers say to this invitation when they are clubbed, jailed and murdered for the observance of the Russian Revolution? Stalin is indifferent to them. What cynicism is expressed for the revolutionary movement in the sending to Pilsudski the dossier of the latter's record in the Polish nationalist movement in the Czarist days.

It is hinted in the bourgeois press, and has not been denied by the *Daily Worker*, that a military alliance between Soviet Russia and Fascist Poland is in preparation. We sound the warning that there can be no greater betrayal of internationalism, of the interests of the working class, no greater danger to the Soviet Union than the consummation of such a perfidious alliance. Let the Communist workers take note. The cook is preparing us another peppy soup. This time it is Soviet Russia that is at stake!

U.S. Prepares Assault on Europe

The New York Times in an editorial on August 20, issues a warning against any attitude of panic should the NRA not succeed according to expectations. It says: "But it is now evident that the issues of the battle will not be decided by the first shock of attack. A long period of what may be called trench warfare is before the country."

The main issues of this trench warfare are already discernible—and it will have plenty of new and greater shocks of attacks, covered also by barrages of heavy artillery. First and foremost, in the order of importance, is the onslaught upon the world market to be launched as soon as the home front is sufficiently prepared. In other words we are facing the American imperialist offensive against Europe. Its further fate and even the fate of the recovery program, is bound up closely with this offensive. Conversely that will also influence the trend of the American working class movement in the coming period.

Let us say at the outset that this should not lead to a minimizing of the importance of the domestic market or of the significance of relationship of forces at home. On the contrary. Precisely that aspect must be the starting point of an accurate estimation of American prospects in the world market. The huge domestic market is the stronghold and the reservoir from which proceeds the operations abroad. The extent of this penetration since the world war has already left the American imperialist imprint upon Europe. But now operations are being prepared for a far more formidable scale destined to put all past ventures in the shade.

The American bourgeoisie needs to strengthen its hands at home in order to be able to move with that much more certainty abroad. Efforts toward this strengthening are taking place in three different directions which, however, all fit in to one pattern: Between the various financial and industrial units which make up the national economic structure; in the relationship between capital and labor and finally in the relationship of the government to both. The specific method, or instrument, by which this is hoped to be accomplished, is the NRA.

In regard to the first of these directions named, the most noteworthy factors are the reorganization accomplished in the financial structure of the country, eliminating some of its most antiquated features and immensely strengthening the great metropolitan institutions as well as the reorganization of industry on a much more formidable monopoly basis. Not only is this the monopoly form of the past large enterprises, but it is the addition of a degree of governmental supervision and control through industrial codes which facilitates the elimination of small com-

petitors on a perfectly legal basis. In regard to capital and labor relations the efforts are distinctly to re-establish the old condition of "identity of interests" which was somewhat badly shattered during the crisis. The aim is not merely the "identity of interests" on the old narrow basis of collaborating directly with unions, exclusively craft in composition, and confined to the aristocracy of labor, or through labor banks, labor insurance schemes or stock ownership schemes—the methods of fattening the aristocracy of labor as a means of better keeping the proletariat under control. Such means are no longer sufficient. Moreover changes have taken place in the composition of American labor; the leveling process has not been without effects. Now the idea is to extend the "identity of interests" to an alliance based upon joint interests in recovery, to embrace the working class generally. First among the measures applied is the reorganization of labor power to the productive forces through reduction of working hours in order to blunt the most dangerous edges of the unemployment problem. Secondly, the affirming of the right to organization and collective bargaining which in reality means a tacit agreement to a further extension of the conservative unions for the purpose of cementing the alliance. Wages are, of course, to be adjusted to the needs of capital and its profit incentive. But for the whole it is hoped that the NRA machinery of labor ad-

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Soldiers and Students Oust Gov't.; U.S. Sends Navy

The rapidly developing events in Cuba have found an answer in the "democratic" regime of Roosevelt. Warships are steaming full speed ahead to Cuban waters. Marines are being mobilized—not for intervention!—just to protect American lives and property. At the first serious threat to the money bags of the Wall Street oligarchs the mask is stripped from the face of the "liberal" administration and it reacts like the most honored of the reactionary regimes in United States history. For the workers in the United States the central problem is the fight at home against intervention.

The Cuban situation is developing with hurricane speed. De Cespedes and his concentration cabinet have been swept away. The regime was not one month old when the military, the students and the ABC dissident wing blew it into eternity.

Communists to Be Tried for Goering Reichstag Fire

On September 17 the trial of those accused in the German Reichstag fire will commence before the Supreme Court at Leipzig. Unquestionably this represents the most monstrous and most brazen frame-up yet recorded in working class history engineered with all the skill for which the Nazis have become notorious. The accused are Ernst Torgler, former chairman of the Communist party Reichstag fraction; Van der Lubbe, the Dutch Nazi dupe, and the three Bulgarian Communists, who had been living as exiles for some time in Germany, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneoff.

The Reichstag fire on Feb. 27, dramatically initiated the terror regime which today can claim among its victims hundreds of workers, killed or maimed for life; acts which in their gruesome details defy description, the battering and devastation of all semblance of working class organization, the muzzling of all freedom of opinion and about 80,000 victims suffering the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps. On Feb. 27, under the glare of the flames, Hitler said to the reporter of the London *Daily Express*: "You are witnessing the commencement of a great historical epoch. This blaze is the beginning." And strangely enough, although this date fell right at the height of the election campaign, neither Hitler nor Goering nor Goebbels were out on the stump; all were assembled in Berlin—waiting for the fire.

All aid by foreign counsel has been denied the accused by the Nazi government. No one not under strict Nazi discipline is to be allowed to pry into this frame-up. Among such foreign counsel offering their services were attorneys Arthur Garfield Hays of the United States, Branting of Sweden, the well known writer Romain Rolland and many others. These have now constituted a committee to conduct a public hearing at the Hague simultaneously with the Leipzig trial.

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Congress of Second International

"The whole program and policy of the world socialist movement", begins the cablegram sent to the *New Leader* (August 26, 1933) by Abraham Cahan from Paris, "are being examined in the face of the calamity that has overtaken Germany by the special conference of the Labor and Socialist International meeting here."

What a significant change there is between this and the keynote struck at the last congress of the Second International a bare two years ago in Vienna!

Today—what a difference! exclaimed the president of the International, Emile Vandervelde, comparing its status at the Vienna congress with that which prevailed on the eve of the world war. "Despite the Communist split," he wrote with lyrical jubilation in the organ of the Austro-Marxists (*Der Kampf*, July-August 1931), "the International of 1931 represents numerically an incomparably greater power than that of 1914. There is hardly one of its large parties which has not at least once participated in the government in one form or another. It is a socialist, the head of the foreign office of

the British empire, who will next year act as chairman of the disarmament conference. It is leaders of socialist governments, Branting here, Stauning there, who have for the first time introduced comprehensive, unilateral reductions of the military expenditures of their countries. It is socialists who, at the head of the Prussian government, stand in the front line of the struggle for the defense of the republican achievements. And as socialists have been, under changing circumstances, in the government in Belgium, in Finland, in the Baltic States, in Austria and in the majority of the German lands, it might be said without exaggeration that the majority of the members of the Executive of the Socialist Labor International are former or future ministers. This is certainly proof of mounting power."

In place of all these "proofs of mounting power", an unmistakable mood of depression has settled upon the upper circles of the Second International. It has missed becoming complete despair only because of the unquenchable hopes kept

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The coup d'etat was accomplished without bloodshed and with remarkable ease. The De Cespedes regime offered no resistance. Quietly and with "dignity" it abandoned the seat of power, saying only that the responsibility for the "burden of government" rested on other shoulders.

The painless amputation of the De Cespedes regime is to be explained by the fact that it failed entirely to enlist the support of the workers. Although the general strike came to an end with the return to work of the Havana bus drivers and later the stevedores and dock workers, strikes continued throughout the island in the cities and on the sugar plantations. These movements became ever deeper in character. Here and there the military attempted to put down the strikes but the soldiers, for the most part, fraternized with the workers. This strike movement cut away the ground under the feet of the government.

On the other hand the De Cespedes regime revealed its sympathies with American imperialism and the Machadistas. Not only had the De Cespedes regime organized Machado's escape, but it revealed a great reluctance to satisfy the popular demand for the arrest and trial of all the agents of the former dictator and the removal of his supporters in mayoralities and governmental posts. This infuriated the anti-imperialist elements of the petty bourgeoisie.

Finally the government signified its intention of cutting the soldiers' pay. This was the last straw. The soldiers rebelled. The movement developed with remarkable speed and immediately swept beyond its initial objectives. The soldiers of Camp Columbia, a Havana post, took to the radio and asked for the support of all enlisted men. The response was immediate. The entire army and later the navy joined the movement.

The rebellion of the military is a rebellion of the rank and file against the government carried out against their own officers. Their first action was to arrest all commissioned officers. And now for the first time in the present revolution the soldiers and sailors are putting forward THEIR OWN LEADERS. At the head of the army and navy stand non-commissioned officers. Throughout the army and navy the same selection is taking place.

The soldiers and sailors by themselves cannot constitute a regime. They need political leadership. In the present situation that has been supplied by the petty bourgeoisie. Under the slogan of the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly the petty bourgeoisie have created a Junta of five: four professors and a banker.

What will the petty bourgeoisie demand in the Constituent Assembly? The petty bourgeois masses are inflamed with anti-imperialist sentiments. The press reports that they signify their intention to fire on American marines should they be landed. A student jumps to the roof of an automobile and denounces American imperialism.

The situation indicates that the demand will be raised for the abrogation of the Platt Amendment in the Cuban Constitution giving the United States the right to intervene with military forces in Cuba. The demand will also be made to denounce the treaty between the two countries which gives the United States that right.

But the leaders of the new movement, the Junta, do not dare to say this openly. They are afraid of intervention by the United States to "protect foreign lives and property."

This lack of plain speaking characterizes the program of the new government. How could it be otherwise? The petty bourgeoisie have no social program. They cannot cope with the problems of modern society. Their position in society is a desperate struggle for existence between the capitalist and proletarian grindstones of the social process. They are incapable of conceiving, let alone carrying through, the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society; that involves the obliteration of their own existence as a class.

In the Cuban revolution the summit of their social vision is the Manifesto of their Junta of professors and a banker. On the one hand they stand in awe of the American imperialist colossus: "Strict respect of the debts and obligations of the republic." This is assurance to the Chase National Bank and the House

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The Teachers Can Organize With Aid of Workers

The fight of the teachers in defense of their living and teaching conditions cannot be won by themselves alone. The experience of the Chicago and Havana teachers, to take only recent events, proves this. The militant mass demonstrations of the Chicago teachers were successful in winning a measure of relief. But the attacks on the school system and on the teachers directly and indirectly are not only continued but intensified. In Cuba it required the action of the entire population to unseat the dictator who oppressed the country including the teachers.

The teachers are employees of the state. In defense of their interests they must contend directly against its enormous power and manifold apparatus of coercion and repression. The character of the movement which can successfully resist its onslaughts is indicated by the hurricane which swept Machado out of office. Such a movement the teachers cannot build nor even lead.

In a word the teachers movement must seek allies among those strata of the population whose interests bring them into conflict with the state. Real estate associations, chambers of commerce, civic betterment societies, etc., sometimes fight government policies in pursuit of their special interests, principally in the matter of reduction of taxes. But this coincidence is more apparent than real. Real estate associations everywhere are now pressing for reduction in taxes at the expense of the school system and the living and teaching conditions of the teachers. The present drastic economy program in education is proceeding under the whip of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

More fundamentally, the real estate associations and chambers of commerce are the organizations of the ruling classes who instigate and carry through the attacks on the teachers. THROUGH THE STATE. The state is their state. Their conflict with it is an attempt to REFORM ITS POLICIES IN THEIR INTEREST AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKING CLASSES WHICH INCLUDE THE TEACHERS. That is why they were not found in the ranks of the demonstrators in Chicago and Havana. If the teachers depend on them they will be betrayed. That is inevitable.

The position of teachers in capitalist society as a section of the working class marks out the road they must travel in resisting the blows of the capitalist class. They must join hands with the workers. Only the working class movement of which the teachers must become a part, as they have in France, can solve the problems of the free school system and the living and teaching conditions of the teachers.

This fundamental orientation must be reflected in the policies of the teachers movement and its organizational forms. The organization of teachers unions has already given the historic answer to the question: what organizational forms shall the teachers movement take? It follows that the basic organizational form of the teachers resistance is the trade union. And it makes it necessary for the teachers to enter the trade union movement. The defense of culture leads to the trade union movement.

This fundamental orientation and this fundamental organizational form does not exclude other, temporary forms of organized resistance. But it indicates the relation in which they must stand toward the teachers trade unions and the trade union movement. —ST.

Strike of the Doll Workers Grows

New York.—The second week of the Doll and Toy workers strike finds the strikers militant and fighting. Already strikers have been beaten and arrested by the police. The picket lines are holding strong and most of the doll trade is out. With prospects of the strike continuing indefinitely, we must not put faith in the NRA; and also the negotiations in Washington between the bosses' Association and the Union, over the codes, may fall through. Preparations for strike relief must be started immediately. We must appeal to all labor unions and other labor organizations to help us during the strike. Many of the strikers cannot pay their initiation fees, because they have no money. Therefore this outside assistance will be gladly welcomed.

Workers, demand shop meetings in the union hall and not in the shop, because the boss will try to get the weak ones to go back to work by promises. He is doing this in order to break the strike and afterwards to worsen our conditions lower than before the strike. Also see that these meetings are held regularly, and that full reports are given to the workers to act upon and decide.

—A DOLL WORKER.

MOONEY MEETING IN BOSTON

A Free Tom Mooney mass meeting will take place at the Parkman Bandstand on the Boston Common, Saturday, September 9th at 8 P. M.

Congress of the 2nd Int'l. Ex-Ministers Gloomy -- Socialist Workers Awakening

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alive in the breasts of the social democratic statesmen that the portals of their respective bourgeois ministries have not yet been closed to them for aye. No intoxicating pacans of victory were sung in Paris. The vocabulary of triumph made way for the vocabulary of defeat.

Nepul, as if recalling Vandervelde's greetings to the Vienna assembly, remarked rather maliciously about the "comrades who used to come to international congresses as ministers of state, and who are now emigres". The Russian Menshevik Abramovitch, whose wisdom is held in doubt even by his conferees in view of his questionable achievements before and after the 1917 revolution, declared that "the German capitalists knew the socialists would not fight". The Czech Menshevik Winter spoke off-handedly of the "collapse of the German party" (only yesterday it was the backbone of the Second International). The secretary of the International, Fritz Adler, casually mentions in the course of his report that the German "Social Democracy was crushed". Even the most hopeful among the delegates, the same Vandervelde who still presides over the International and yearns to transfer his presidency to the cabinet of His Royal and Pious Majesty, King Albert of Belgium, can pump nothing more inspiring from the wells of his eloquence than the proclamation that "the International still lives despite all disasters".

Of major disasters, there has been no lack for the Second International since August 1914, when it passed—ministers and intendants—into the camp of imperialism. That it has been able to survive as a movement embracing millions of workers is due not to any inherent powers of its own, nor even to the support of a bourgeoisie frightened by the prospect of the social revolution. The principal source of strength of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the world war has been drawn from the degeneration of the Communist International induced by the policy and the regime of world Stalinism.

If Stalinism has succeeded in maintaining its stranglehold on the official Communist movement only by living parasitically off the defeats of the proletariat which it helped to multiply for the last ten years—the social democracy, in turn, has been able to prolong the breathing spell it gained after the failure of the first spontaneous, and unsuccessful, post-war revolutionary wave, by a parasitic living off the blunders and crimes of Stalinism. Its strength has been essentially the weakness of its principal contender for the support of the proletarian masses. "Our policies and successes may not be perfect, but those of the Communists are worse!"—that is the beseeching note that has formed the motif of the pleas of the social democratic statesmen for years past.

Each time that a new impulsion swept tens and hundreds of thousands of socialist workers away from their old moorings and set them on the road towards Communism at a lively pace, they encountered a perfectly harmonious united front between the reformist and the Stalinist leaders standing in the way of their progress. Stalin, Brandler and Zinoviev did as much as mortals could to extend the lease of life of the German (and international) social democracy by the course they pursued in 1923. The powerful Leftward movement of the British proletariat in 1925-1926 was brought to an abrupt halt and turned backward—not so much by Purcell, Citrine and Swales, as by Stalin, Bucharin and Tomsy who propped up these tottering pillars of British capitalism. The widespread mood for struggle engendered by the terrific crisis of world capitalism, did not strengthen the Communist movement by an influx of socialist militants; instead, the latter were violently repulsed by the strategists of the Third Period and driven back into the reformist camp.

In other words, not all of the cabalistic obscurity about the "united front from below" has succeeded in eliminating infinitely more effective and genuine united front "from above": between the social democratic leaders and what passes for a general staff in the ranks of Stalinism. The former have exerted all their strength to pull back the Leftward movement of the masses into the reformist swamp; the latter have left no means unused to push back into the same swamp the workers moving towards Communism. A more harmonious and more disastrous division of labor has rarely been seen in the history of the proletariat. And it is only by understanding the tragic significance of this process that one can explain how the corpse of 1914 was able to revive and to grow so strong in the past decade.

The Second International did not revive, it got without saying, as a revolutionary proletarian organization. It became an objective obstacle to the revolution. Nor did its revival even as the numerical addition of national petty bourgeois parties of labor take place along an unbroken line. Quite the contrary. Even in the course of its rejuvenation, it passed through more than one convulsing crisis. Many of them afforded the Communists the opportunity of extending on to a world scale that which

was accomplished in one country in 1917: the final historical liquidation of social reformism. Under the stunning blow of the German catastrophe, the Second International is passing through such a crisis at the present time. That is why the former and future ministers of state assembled at Paris conducted their affairs in so lugubrious an atmosphere.

The classic party of reformism, the German social democracy has been mercilessly crushed and its leading staff scattered by the fascists despite all the assurances it gave of its anxious servility. The "great" Austrian social democracy, praises for whose cheap Viennese bread and municipal apartment houses were sung all over the world, clings piteously to the sword-belt of Chancellor Dollfuss and prepares to resign itself to the fate of its German brother party like a doomed criminal in the death cell. The French socialist party is split into two independent parts, the Center of Leon Blum and Co. and the Right wing of "future ministers", Renaudel and Marquet who are even now negotiating with Daladier for places in the Cabinet. (With genuine French delicacy, the Renaudel wing still remains, as a pure formality and a concession to socialist public opinion, inside the same party as Blum and Aurioi, while carrying on what has become more than a flirtation with Daladier, in spite of the stern, forbidding decisions of party congresses. A true-to-life Continental triangle, a French ménage à trois!).

Matters are, if anything, worse in England. First, the defection of ministers MacDonald and Thomas, and then the definite disaffiliation of the strong Independent Labour Party from the Second International, have not strengthened the position of the Second International in Britain. What is left is the Labour Party. And as the Menshevik correspondent of the New York Forward, Ivanovitch, observes, with a considerable amount of injured justification, "It should be kept in mind that the English and the other European socialists grew up in such sharply different spiritual circumstances that they were never able to find a common language. To the European socialists, the Englishmen were always too cold-blooded about important theoretical and principled questions, they were too great opportunists, conciliators, and short-sighted practicalists." And the parties mentioned constitute most of what is of real consequence in the Second International.

The day of miracles having passed it is futile to look towards the Second International for a genuinely progressive movement. The working class of the world can march forward only by casting it off, by accelerating its disintegration, by driving it and its whole ideology out of its ranks. But in marching forward, the socialist workers are instantly confronted with the problem: Whither shall we go?

The answer is not so simple as it was a decade or more ago. In those days, the break with reformism led almost directly to the Communist International. At the present time, what has changed in the situation is precisely the fact that the discreditment of the Second International goes hand in hand with the bankruptcy of the Stalinists. The workers repelled by international reformism are not attracted by international Stalinism. At the present time, the existence of distinct and irreconcilable currents in the Communist movement makes imperative a qualification of the general slogan: On to the Communists!

The Leftward moving socialist workers are confronted with the choice of a decadent Stalinist apparatus and—the Left Opposition, the inheritor of all that is revolutionary and progressive in Marx and Lenin. In many of the organizations which have hung between the Second International and Communism, the choice is even now being made. These include the British I. L. P., the German Socialist Workers' Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, the Norwegian Labor Party and groups of a similar trend. Among them the ideas of the Left Opposition, the impulsion towards a new banner, a new program and a new organization, are making irresistible advances. Tomorrow, the same choice will occupy the thoughts of thousands, tens of thousands and more socialist workers as they realize more acutely the truth of Luxemburg's judgment that the Second International is a stinking corpse.

The importance of the Paris Congress of the I. S. I. does not lie in the frustrated thwarted aspirations or the revived hopes of the former and future ministers of the bourgeoisie. It lies only in the powerful subterranean movement of the reformist workers to the Left, a movement which has already broken through the bureaucratic crust in full force at some points. The situation dictates the most astute and comradely attention of the Left Opposition. "The union of the truly revolutionary socialist militants and the regenerated sections of the Communist parties strangled by the Stalin machine, is the guarantee of the tremendous future which lies ahead. The unbearably smothered banner of the Left Opposition will be the proud standard of the coming movement!" —SHACHTMAN.

Pravda Admission Shows Growth of Left Opposition

"...Among individual party members of some cells there began to circulate within the past period unsigned anti-party syllabuses and questionnaires on the history of Bolshevism, of the Comintern and of the January plenum decisions, which were distributed to individual members in connection with the cleansing of the party. Such documents were discovered in the cells of the Sacharotrust (Sugar trust), in the transport institute, in the chemico-technological and the evening machine building institutes. All these documents contain perversions of party history, program, policy and strategy, and on some questions—open Trotskyist interpretations".

These lines were published in Pravda of July 19, 1933, No. 2733. They are taken in full from the decision of the secretariat of the Kiev city party committee adopted June 28th and published in the Kiev Proletarian Pravda on July 3rd.

"The decisions," says Pravda, "contain a censure of the secretaries of the party cells of those organizations in which the 'syllabuses' were discovered: one author of these cribs (syllabuses) Kanavsky, is expelled from the party, another, Viaznikoff, is strongly reprimanded and taken off from all party work, the third author of these anonymous cribs, Haritonoff, is turned over to the regional cleansing committee."

The Stalinist bureaucrats are amazed—are they still a few people in the party who dare think for themselves? They ask: "How did it happen that during two months time cribs, harmful and inimical to Leninism (the bureaucrats make the gratuitously substitute the word Leninism for Stalinism) have been going the rounds of the Communists under the guise of scientific syllabuses?"

Pravda explains the cause of this "strange" phenomenon. "...When anonymous Trotskyist cribs make the rounds in the biggest cells, this indicates not only the loss of party feeling (read: the ineffective work of the GPU and the apparatus ideas among the party masses) of those who used them but also the lack of vigilance and the weakening of ties with the cells of those leading party organizations under the very nose of which all this took place."

These quotations need no comment. They speak volumes for the growth of Bolshevik-Leninist influence and ideas among the working class, in the "biggest cells" of the party and throughout the Soviet Union. The cynical bureaucracy, with all its repressions and deportations is powerless to halt the wave of sentiment for the Left Opposition.

Chauvinist Policy or Stalinist Antics -- Which?

New York.—The incredible antics of the Stalinists have by now become so commonplace as to cease to be matters for wonder. Nevertheless in the interests of working class education—how not to act—let us record a monstrous piece of Stalinist confusion. More ridiculous than any are the Puerto Rican Anti-Imperialist Ass'n. which carried on a "struggle" against the T. W. Grant Store in Harlem, New York.

Together with several other Spanish speaking auxiliaries of the Stalinist party this mockery of a revolutionary organization, the anti-Imperialist League put forward a demand that "fifty per cent of the employees of the Grant Store should be Latin-American."

So astounding was the nature of this "error", that when we first heard of it in the bourgeois press we believed it a calumny against the workers' organizations. We were unable to believe that people calling themselves Communists could present such a demand as even the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. have not yet dared to bring forward. It was hard to conceive that people calling themselves internationalists could go to such an extreme as would only result in the pitting of one nationality of workers against another.

The Stalinist demand can have only one interpretation—the company should fire a certain section of the workers employed by them now and replace them with Latin-American workers. We were finally convinced that this was no bourgeois calumny when we saw its confirmation in the Stalinist Liberator, an article was published in this sheet which not only repeated this demand but which was nothing short of a nationalistic and chauvinist tirade of the worst sort. This demand is not only anti-working class but is especially ludicrous when advanced by a section of foreign born workers. Just another example of the bankruptcy and stupidity of the "Communist leaders" among the Spanish speaking workers in New York.

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The Boston Needle Trades Right Wing Unions Growing -- T. U. U. L. Isolated

In May 1933 the International Ladies Garment Workers called a strike in the dress industry. The industry was seventy-five percent unorganized. The International controlled the majority of the organized shops, while the Industrial Union had a very small number of organized shops, the majority of its members being in unorganized shops. Conditions in general in the industry were very bad. Workers were earning as low as seven and eight dollars per week and in many cases even lower. This was true of the union as well as the open shops. The Industrial Union due to its wrong policy and with the aid of the international terror policy lost most of its membership, and was not in a position to call a strike, did not even have a policy to propose to the workers. The old policy of unity from below did not work, the international members did not respond. When the members of the Left Opposition in the Industrial Union more than a year ago pointed out the necessity of reentering the International in a body, they were bitterly attacked in the good old Stalinist fashion. The Industrial Union leaders said they had patience, the workers will have to come to us when they realize the betrayal of the International. But time went on and the Industrial Union lost more shops, more members.

In the International the workers were very discontented, had very few active elements and were very discouraged. However, these few did fight, demanding that something be done to better conditions. The International in order to maintain control in the shops gave all kinds of concessions to the bosses and did not want to call a strike. To the workers they gave all their excuse. Finally they decided to show the workers that they tried to improve the conditions, at the same time hoping to organize more shops and have more funds. For this they called a strike in May at the end of the season. The strike lasted about a week. They demanded nothing from the bosses, and thus they succeeded in getting agreements in many shops that had fought the union bitterly for many years. The workers were told to be satisfied, since they had gotten a union. In some cases they even managed to get small wage increases and the promise that next season they would get better conditions since they would be organized. The Industrial Union also called out its shops on strike at the same time that the International did and sent the workers back at the same time. Many of the Industrial Union members that worked in open shops were told by their leaders to go to the International with the shop. In that way the latter gained many members from the former.

Union Members Begin To Stir

A long slack period took place shortly after the strike. The Left wing workers slowly began to make proposals and demanded that something be done to improve conditions. The international members gained courage when they saw that they could get out of the shop and put up a fight. More workers attended the meetings, made proposals and worked out demands for the coming season.

For the last few years due to the collaboration of the International with the bosses in their attempt to maintain control over the shops, a system was introduced into the industry of one price for each line of dresses. It made no difference how much more work there was on the different styles they were all settled for one low flat rate. The workers had to work very hard and could not make a living. They began to demand that this evil be abolished, and a minimum wage per hour be established for every craft in the industry, that prices be settled in every shop for each garment according to the amount of work in it.

Reject Boss Proposals

Meetings were called, discussions took place and the union officials under the pressure of the workers also began to admit that the one price system must be abolished and promised to fight against it. The cost of living rising daily they felt that something must be done; the workers were very discontented. The International began to call for conferences with the bosses, telling them that the wages must be increased, at the same time trying to stall off the members with all kinds of promises. In the meantime the NRA appeared and the government conciliator was brought in as arbitrator. A membership meeting of the dressmakers was called in Faneuil Hall where about seven or eight hundred workers came to hear the report of the conference, and the proposals made by the bosses through the government and the union representatives. They told the workers that the employers offered a fifteen percent increase for workers making less than twenty-five dollars per week, and a ten percent for workers earning above this sum. In addition they proposed a forty hour week and every thing about the same as before.

The workers felt that this was no improvement; that it meant starvation just as before. A discussion was permitted and the workers let them know what they thought of their miserable proposals. Jennie Chipowitz, a member

of the Left Opposition, took the floor and unmasked the entire proposal, gave a correct analysis of the conditions prevailing in the industry and told them what the proposals meant for the workers in view of the rising cost of living; that the forty hour week would not abolish unemployment since there was a forty hour week existing for years in the industry. She demanded a thirty hour week, and at the same time appealed to the workers not to demand of government representatives to improve their conditions. This can be accomplished only through the united efforts of the working class. She appealed to them not to return to work until they had secured better conditions. The government and the union officials received their answer in a stormy applause when the speaker got through. It signified a strong protest against the offer. The officials were astounded, even frightened; they did not expect such a determination on the part of the workers. The government official rose and apologetically asked the workers to be patient since he realized that the speaker represented the sentiment of the workers. He promised them that everything would work out, that conditions will be improved. As a result, the entire offer was rejected by the workers.

The union leaders went back to hold further conferences with the employers and the government arbitrator. They sent the members to work with indefinite prices, told them that another meeting would take place where they will again bring further proposals which they expected to get from the employers. They promised not to make any settlement without the approval of the workers. Then what took place?

Union Leader Confuses Workers

The next week another meeting was called in Faneuil Hall where about a thousand workers came, eager to know under what conditions they are going to work. Kramer, the manager of the International, this time without the conciliator, told the workers that he managed to make the employers change their offer of a fifteen percent wage increase, to twenty-five percent, but that they insist on the one-price system for each line. Again the workers protested against it. They knew that the twenty-five percent increase, on the one-price system with piece work would mean nothing because should the styles this year mean more work, this would in reality be a reduction. Instead, they demanded a minimum wage of a dollar an hour for operators, and that a minimum scale be established for every craft. A motion to this effect, endorsed by the workers, was discouraged by the manager of the union. He succeeded in confusing the workers and got the motion defeated. He again told the workers to go back to work, to wait, that he would again confer with the employers, try to get as much as possible and not to settle without the consent of the workers. The following week the workers were told again that the conciliator suggested to accept the one price piece work system and that all settlements are only temporary pending the acceptance of the code.

Now the code has been accepted. We in Boston are not yet affected by it. We can expect nothing from it. Only the united efforts of the workers can improve our conditions.

Hyman Comes to Boston

A couple of weeks ago the Industrial Union called a mass meeting with Louis Hyman, president of the union and invited the members of the International to participate. They were going to give a report about the New York strike and talk about the Boston settlement, but as usual the International workers, in spite of their dissatisfaction with their union settlement, did not come to the meeting. Hyman spoke on the code in the cloak industry, on the roles played by the Industrial and International Unions in Washington. The Industrial Union spokesmen were not given a hearing there, since they did not represent the cloak-makers. Hyman was given the floor, not to speak, but only to answer questions that were put to him. Among other questions, he answered that if the cloakmakers would have been elected, he did not say much about the New York strike, what role the Industrial Union played and what they accomplished. He did say however that 50,000 dressmakers were on strike and that the reason the International got such a good code was due to the fact that the workers were on strike. When he was through, Eva Weiner, member of the Left Opposition, took the floor and asked him why he sent in the cloak-makers into the International through the back door, while he is sitting in the Industrial office; she asked him why the leaders of the industrial union were not with the workers to help them fight against the betrayals of the corrupt leadership of the International. She pointed out how they failed to carry out a genuine unity policy in the cloak and dress industry. Comrade Weiner also asked him why he did not report what the Industrial Union position was in the recent dress strike in New York, and what it was going to do now that the bulk of the workers were in the Industrial Union. His answer was mild.

N.Y. Upholsterers Union Growing, Strike Goes On

The balance sheet in the sixth week of the New York Upholsterers general strike leaves Local No. 76 of the A. F. of L. with a firmer grip in the trade than it had for many years. The skeleton to which it was reduced since the beginning of the crisis has been fattened up considerably by rallying under its banner about eighteen hundred upholsterers as compared to the few hundred it had before the strike.

With twenty-five shops already settled and negotiations being made daily for more settlements, the spirit and militancy of the strikers has been manifested to such a degree that the bosses and the NRA mediator, Colonel Phillips, have been forced to beat a retreat. This does not mean, however, that they will be content to mark time. The valuable experiences we have gained so far in the strike will be completely lost if we do not draw the proper conclusions from them. The upholsterers must reject any further negotiations offered them by the representatives of the NRA. The only conceivable solution that the blue eagle can offer us is that we go back under the same intolerable open shop conditions we have been slaving under the past few years.

Until all our demands are granted we must continue to strike and engage in intensive picketing. The strike is not yet won; the larger shops are still on strike and using every means to terrorize and demoralize the strikers. We must mobilize our forces in mass picket lines. The demonstration of three hundred of the most militant upholsterers of the union in front of the Trade Shop in Long Island has shown us the way. Participants in that demonstration included not only members of Local 76 but also members of the Furniture Workers Industrial Union.

The enthusiasm with which the latter were greeted is only another indication that their place is inside Local 76. Inside Local 76 they can become a powerful force that can influence and lead the upholsterers in still greater struggles against the employers. Outside of Local 76 they are doomed to remain an isolated sect: small in numbers, weak in influence, and completely separated from the masses, maintaining a meaningless paper organization which would, to say the least, only abuse the confidence of those workers in the Industrial Union who have not yet voted with their feet.

A terrible condemnation of the bankrupt policy of the TUUL union was very clearly demonstrated at a mass meeting of the upholsterers which was called for Tuesday morning, September 5, at which only seven workers showed up. No comment is necessary when that number is compared to the five-six hundred which attend the daily strike meetings of Local 76.

By pursuing their present ruinous course the Stalinist leaders of the Industrial Union are only disorientating, discrediting and isolating the Left wing workers from the main body of workers which is now streaming into Local 76.

We must follow this movement into Local 76 in full force and without hesitation. The Left wing workers must demand once more of their leaders: unity with Local 76, build one strong union in the industry. It is not yet too late. Now is the time.

—LANKIN.

He said that there was no way for him to get into the International now; that the workers were not ready to fight there for his conditions and would not need him. He said that they intended to keep the office, that the workers would eventually come back and would have a place to go. On the question of the dress strike, he said that the Industrial Union had also participated in the strike, had many shops out and was fighting for conditions, nothing more.

Now we ask the leaders of the Industrial Union: How do they expect to get conditions if the International controls the major part of the industry and we are compelled to be guided by their settlements? The Left Opposition says that it is the duty of the Left wing leaders and workers to be together with the bulk of the workers and become a part of the mass union to fight against the betrayals of the international leadership, point out to the workers the correct policy, lead them, guide them and help them win conditions.

—A NEEDLE TRADES WORKER.

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Hitler & the Prospects of War

(Copyright Harpers Magazine)
(Continued from last issue)
2. A Revealing Document

The skeptical, or the simply cautious reader will reply that our interpretation of the latter program is, at best, a hypothesis, which has certain marks of verisimilitude but by no means the stamp of authenticity. To this one can reply: the program flows from the imperative logic of the circumstances and in its own right must have as the point of departure that the opponent will always make his best moves. The uncertainty of literally proving the "hypothesis" unfolded above, lies in the fact that the opposition literature of the National-Socialists is exceptionally abundant and contradictory, whereas the governmental practice is still very recent and meager. The author was fully aware of this difficulty when he undertook this work. But we were assisted by a fortunate accident which supplied us in time with a political document of extraordinary value.

We refer to an "Open Letter" of Hitler to Papen, published in the form of a little brochure on October 10, 1932. Rather sharply polemical in tone, the "Letter" remained unnoticed outside of Germany. The leaders of National-Socialism talk and write too much! Still, it should have found a place on the table of every diplomat or journalist who occupies himself with the present-day foreign policy of Germany. Let us recall the circumstances of the document. Papen was then Chancellor. Hitler was in expectant opposition—between August 23, when Hindenburg refused to appoint him head of the government, and January 30, when the Reichsmarschall was forced to yield the command of Germany to Hitler. The "Open Letter" was not destined for the masses, but for the ruling classes, and had as its aim to prove to them that the social regime of Germany cannot be saved solely by bureaucratic methods; that only the National-Socialists have a serious program in foreign policy; finally, that he, Hitler, is as far removed from effete resignation as he is from adventurism. The letter is almost void of demagoguery, it is serious in tone and veracious in essence. Today, it may be assumed, Hitler would gladly burn his own brochure in the furnace. All the more attentively should his adversaries examine it.

"It is absurd to think," Hitler explained to Papen, "that the power which disarmed us, will today seriously also disarm itself without being forced to do so." It is just as absurd to wait for France to agree some fine day or other to the rearmament of Germany. Its enormous military preponderance relieves France of the necessity of an entente with a vanquished foe on the basis of equality of rights. Any attempt to propose a military agreement to France in return for armaments, will not only be very coldly received but will immediately be brought to the attention of the state against which it might be aimed! Hitler is alluding of course to the Soviet Union. It is possible for Germany to gain the right to arm itself only by means of "a genuine re-establishment of the European equilibrium." England and Italy are interested in the realization of this goal, but in no case under no conditions is France. "It is inconceivable to think that the lack of intimacy and of concordance with England and Italy can be made up for by the establishment of better relations with France!" The fundamental thesis of the foreign policy of Hitler, which places a cross over the ideas, or if one prefers, over the illusions of Locarno, leaves nothing to be desired in the way of clarity. In the declaration of May 17, we will not of course find so clear an exposition. But the declaration in no way contradicts the "Open Letter": on the contrary, it develops and applies its program for a definite stage.

The goal of German policy is the re-establishment of the military sovereignty of the state. Everything else is only a means thereto. But the means need not at all be constructed in the image of the goal. Under no circumstances must Germany present itself to the world with a rearmament program of its own, even less so to this Disarmament Conference. For two reasons no conference is able to adopt a decision which would radically change the material relationship of forces; the very demand for the right to armaments, while remaining a purely platonic demonstration, will nevertheless permit France to suppress the question of its own disarmament and, what is worse yet, bring England closer to France.

This latter result is, according to Hitler, already obtained to a certain degree as a result of the thoughtless policy of Papen. England is forced to support France much more than it wants to. It must be recognized that the criticism addressed by Hitler to the "Gentlemen's Club," and to the "Chancellor of the Reich himself as a dilettante and an adventurer, is not merely biting but also quite convincing. The "national" barons and bureaucrats have no foreign policy at all. The rattling of an inexistent weapon is dictated to them by domestic considerations; they are ready to utilize the nationalist movement while arresting, at the same time, its further growth. Undoubtedly taking his inspiration from Bismarck, Hitler does not recoil from a blow at the last Hohen-

Trotsky Warns Against Nazi Designs on Soviet Union

zollern: Papen and his colleagues are only the epigones of the theatrical policy of Wilhelm II, with this fundamental difference, that the Kaiser had a first class army, whereas they have only the memory of it. Hitler hits a bull's eye here.

It is not hard, after this, to understand how badly mistaken was that part of the press and diplomacy which sought to discover the real program of the present German government in the rhetoric of Papen on the peculiar curm of death on the field of battle. It must not be lost sight of that Papen, whom the Nazis, during the brief period of his rule, treated as a captain of the dragons, feels himself in their midst like a man who is constantly on probation. On May 13, he adopted an unusually loud tone so as to put himself in harmony—but he was mistaken in his calculations. One may have one's own opinion about the tastes of an elderly captain of the dragons who, between taking a dose of Urodonal and drinking down a glass of Liniadi-Jenos water, propagates among young people the advantages of shrapnel over arteriosclerosis; but one thing is indisputable: behind Papen's discourse is concealed no program. The "pacifism" of the present Chancellor is much more dangerous than the bellicose flights of the Vice-Chancellor.

In passing, we find the explanation for the sharp contradiction between Hitler's declaration and the previous policy of Neurath, Nafelny and others. Hitler became Chancellor at the cost of accepting a ministry of barons and privy councillors. The camarilla around Hindenburg consoles itself with the idea of pursuing also its policy under Hitler. In all likelihood, it is only the threatening repercussions of Papen's speech that gave Hitler the possibility of finally taking into his hands the helm of foreign policy. It is not Wilhelmstrasse which dictated the declaration of May 17 to the new Chancellor. On the contrary, it is Hitler who subdued the fantasies of the barons and the privy councillors of Wilhelmstrasse.

But let us return to the "Open Letter". With an unusual brusqueness, it attacks the slogan launched by Papen on naval armament: even if Germany had the means—and it hasn't—it would not be permitted to convert them into warships and it would be powerless to violate the prohibition. The slogan of military armament alone drove England to the aid of France; there you have the results "of your truly fatal leadership in foreign policy," Mr. von Papen!

The struggle for the arming of Germany, on sea and on land, must be based upon a definite political idea. Hitler calls it by its name: the need of "strengthening the defense against the latent dangers of the East" is comparatively easy to motivate. Sympathy for such a program is guaranteed in advance on the part of "clear-visioned persons" in the West—obviously not in France. It is only from the standpoint of "the defense necessary for us in the East," with regard to the Baltic Sea, that England can be persuaded to accept "corrections" also in the naval paragraphs of the Versailles treaty. For it must not be forgotten: "at the present time, it is important for the future of Germany to have an attitude full of confidence towards England".

The German national movement can and should demand armament, but the German government must in no case expound this demand. Today, it must insist only and exclusively upon the disarmament of the victors. Hitler considered it self-evident that the Disarmament Conference is condemned to failure. "There would be no need at all," he wrote three months before his advent to power, "for the German delegation to participate interminably in the Geneva Disarmament comedy. It would suffice to expose clearly before the whole world the wish of France not to disarm, for us thereupon to quit the Conference, stating that the peace of Versailles has been violated by the signatory powers themselves and that Germany must reserve for itself under these circumstances the drawing of the corresponding conclusions."

The declaration of Hitler, as Chancellor, only serves to develop this melody. The refusal of the victors to disarm would signify the "final moral and real liquidation of the treaties themselves." Germany would interpret such conduct as the desire "to remove it from the Conference". In that case, it would be hard for it "to continue to belong to the League of Nations". Truly, the "Open Letter" is indispensable as the key to the strategy of Hitler!

The departure of Germany from the League of Nations should be accompanied by a disaffection between France, on the one hand, and England and the United States, on the other. The first pre-conditions will be created for the re-establishment of the "European equilibrium" in which Germany must occupy a growing place. With the concordance of Italy and England, Hitler will acquire the possibility of re-

arming Germany, not by petty contraband measures but by big "corrections" in the Versailles treaty. Parallel to this, will be developed the program of "defense" against the East. In this process, a critical point must inevitably supervene: war. Against whom? Should the line against the East prove to be the line of least resistance, the explosion can also take place along a different direction. For, if it is still possible to discuss to what degree offensive means are distinguished from defense means, it is already beyond discussion that the military means suitable for the East are equally suitable for the West.

Hitler is preparing for war. His policy in the domain of economics is not dictated by the abstraction of autarchy, but primarily by a concern over the maximum economic independence of Germany in case of war. To the aims of military preparation must also be subordinated the service of obligatory labor. But the very character of these measures indicates that it is not a question of tomorrow. An attack upon the West in its more or less probable future could be carried out only on condition of a military alliance between Fascist Germany and the Soviets. But it is not the most turbulent sections of the White Guard emigration that can believe in the possibility of such an absurdity or can seek to make a threat out of it. The attack against the East can take place only on condition of the support of one or several states of the West. This variant is, at all events, the more real one. But here too the preparatory period will not be measured by weeks or by months.

The four-power pact, deciding nothing fundamental in advance, can only organize the mutual contact of the largest states of western Europe: it is a guarantee against hazards of a secondary order, but not against fundamental antagonisms. Hitler will strive to extract from the pact all the advantages for the attack against the East. The regulations of the pact pre-determine no more than ten percent of its future destiny. Its real historical role will be determined by the actual relationships and the groupings of its participants, their allies and their adversaries.

Hitler is prepared for the next ten years not to undertake any military actions against either France or Poland. In the declaration, he fixed five years as the term which genuine equality of rights for Germany in the matter of armed forces must be accomplished. These terms need not, of course, be invested with a sacred significance, but indirectly they nevertheless outline the bounds, in point of time, within which the leading circles of Fascism confine their plans of revenge.

Domestic difficulties, unemployment, the ruin and the distress of the petty bourgeoisie, may, of course, push Hitler to premature actions which he himself, by a cool analysis, must regard as harmful. In living politics, one must base

himself not only upon the plans of the opponent but also upon all the entanglements of the conditions in which he is placed. The historical development of Europe will not meekly obey the order of march worked out in the Brown House of Munich. But this order of march, after the seizure of power by Hitler, has become one of the greatest factors in European development. The plan will be altered in conformity with events. But one cannot understand the alterations without having before him the plan in its entirety.

The author of these lines does not consider himself at all called upon to mount guard before the Versailles treaty. Europe needs a new organization. But we beside it if this work falls into the hands of Fascism. The historian of the twenty-first century will, in that case, inevitably have to write the epoch of the decay of Europe began with the war of 1914. Called the "war of democracy", it soon led to the domination of Fascism which became the instrument concentrating all the forces of the European nations towards the aim of "the war for liberation"...from the results of the preceding war. Thus, Fascism, as the expression of the historic blind alley of Europe, was at the same time the instrument of the destruction of its economic and cultural acquisitions...

Let us hope, however, that this vital strength left to open up to itself a different historical road. Prinkipo, June 2, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

Richard Rall

Comrade Richard Rall, an active member of the Left Opposition in Kansas City, passed away Monday August 28. Pneumonia was the official cause but the bosses speed-up—the real murderer.

The auto plant where comrade Rall had been working up to the time of his illness had been driving its hired slaves from seventy to eighty hours a week during the months of May, June and July. This speed-up robbed comrade Rall of all physical resistance to disease and drove him a victim of capitalist exploitation, to death at the early age of 21.

Richard Rall had a rich proletarian background. His father was a militant worker in the early struggles and free speech fights of the western workers. The Russian Revolution opened the eyes of the elder Rall to the need of political action. This turn of events made a vivid impression upon the then young comrade, Richard Rall.

Comrade Rall came to Kansas City two years ago and immediately took up the study of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This brought him to the conclusion that the program of the Left Opposition was the only one that would lead the world proletariat to victory.

Up to the time of sickness, comrade Rall was the organizer of the Kansas City branch of the Left Opposition and the study class of the Spartacus Youth Club which, under his able tutelage grew from twelve to twenty.

Disarmament and War-V.I. Lenin

(Continued from last issue)

(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.)

The adherents of disarmament are opposed to the point in the program on the "arming of the people" for this reason among others, that the latter demand is supposed to lead more easily to concessions to opportunism. We have already examined the most important part: the relation of disarmament to the class struggle and to the social revolution. Now let us examine the question of the relation of the demand for disarmament to opportunism. One of the most important reasons why it is unacceptable is precisely the fact that it, and the illusions created by it, inevitably weaken and take all force from our struggle against opportunism.

There is no doubt whatever about the fact that this struggle is the most important question on the agenda of the International. A struggle against imperialism, which is not indissolubly connected with the struggle against opportunism, is nothing but an empty phrase or a swindle. One of the main deficiencies of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, one of the main reasons for a possible fiasco (failure, or collapse) of these terms of the Third International, lies precisely in the fact that the question of struggle against opportunism was not even openly posed, not to speak of a decision on this question in the sense of the necessity of a break with the opportunists. Within the European movement opportunism has conquered—for the time being. In all the larger countries two shades of opportunism have been formed: first, a dishonest, cynical and therefore less dangerous social-imperialism, that of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thomas, Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, etc.; and second a concealed form, the "Kautskyan type": Kautsky, Haase and the "Social-Democratic Co-operative Group" in Germany; Longuet, Pressmann, Mayeras, etc. in France; Ramsay MacDonald and other leaders of the "Independent Labor Party" in England; Martov, Tschedise, etc. in Russia; Treves and other so-called "Left reformists" in Italy.

The sincere form of opportunism is frankly and openly opposed to the revolution, and to the beginning revolutionary movements and outbreaks, it is in open alliance with its government, no matter what different forms this alliance may take, ranking from participation in the

Imperialist War and Class War are Sharply Contrasted

ministry up to participation in the war committees of industry. The concealed opportunists, the Kautskys, are more harmful and dangerous to the labor movement, because they hide the defense of their pacts with the government behind fine-sounding and also "Marxist" phrases and pacifist slogans. The struggle against both these forms of the prevailing opportunism must be carried out in all fields of proletarian policy: parliamentary, trade union, strikes, the army, etc. But in what does the most important peculiarity consist, which distinguishes both forms of the prevailing opportunism?

It consists in the fact that the concrete question of the connection of the revolution with the revolution are passed over in silence, are veiled over or are treated with reservations as to police prohibitions. And this is done—irrespective of the fact that, before the war, unofficially on innumerable occasions and officially in the Basle Manifesto the connection of precisely this coming war with the proletarian revolution was pointed out.

The main defect of the demand for disarmament consists precisely in the fact that in it all the concrete questions of the revolution are evaded. Or are the adherents of disarmament in favor of an entirely new kind of unarmed revolution?

IV. We go on. We are in no way opposed to the struggle for reforms. We do not want to ignore that dismal possibility, that if the worst comes to the worst, mankind will live through yet another imperialist war, if, irrespective of the numerous outbreaks of the ferment among the masses and their discontent and irrespective of our efforts, the revolution fails to develop out of this war. We are in favor of a program of reforms, which is directed against the opportunists too. The opportunists would be only too happy if we were to leave to them alone the struggle for reforms, and betake ourselves to the misty distances of some "disarmament" in order to save ourselves by flight from the sad reality. "Disarmament" is just that, a flight from ugly reality, but absolutely not a struggle against it.

A propos: one of the main deficiencies in the posing of the question, for example of the defense of the fatherland, among certain Left wingers, lies in the fact that the answer is not concrete enough. It is theoretically far more correct, and practically far more important, to say that in the given imperialist war the defense of the fatherland is a bourgeois-reactionary swindle instead of setting up "general" theses against "every" defense of the fatherland. This is not correct, and also does not "hit" the immediate enemies of the workers within the workers' parties, the opportunists.

In the question of the militia, in working out a concrete and practically necessary answer, we should have said, "We are not for a bourgeois militia, but only for a proletarian militia". And therefore "Not a penny and not a man", not only for the standing army but also for the bourgeois militia, even in such countries as the United States or Switzerland, Norway, etc. And all the more so, because even in the freest republican countries (for instance in Switzerland) we see the Prussianization of the militia, the prostitution of the militia for the purpose of mobilization against strikers. We can demand: selection of officers by the people, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign workers with the native-born (this is an especially important point in such imperialist countries as Switzerland which exploit foreign workers more and more shamelessly and leave them without rights) and moreover: the right, let us say, for each hundred inhabitants of a given country to create free associations for the study of the art and science of war, with free selection of instructors and payment of the work of the instructors out of State funds, etc. Only under such conditions could the proletariat acquire the knowledge of war for itself and not for its slaveholders, and the interests of the proletariat unquestionably demand such knowledge. The Russian revolution has shown that every success, even if it is only a partial success, of the revolutionary movement, as for instance the conquest of a certain city, of a certain factory district, a certain part of the army, will inevitably force the victorious proletariat to realize just such a program.

Finally, it is a self-understood that one must not fight against opportunism with programs alone, but by inflexibly seeing to it that they are carried out. The greatest and most fatal error of the now bankrupt Second International lay in the fact that its deeds did not correspond to its words, that the habit of the conscienceless revolutionary phrase was cultivated (see the present relation of Kautsky and his partners to the Basle Manifesto). If we approach the demand for disarmament from this point of view, we must first of all raise the question of its objective meaning.

Disarmament as a social idea—that is, as one whose origin is due

to a certain social situation and which can have an influence on a certain social milieu, and which does not merely remain the caprice of an individual or of a circle—has evidently arisen from the special, unusually "calm" conditions of existence of a few small states, which have stood aside from the bloody road of the war for a fairly long time, and hope to continue to remain on the side. In order to be convinced of this, it is sufficient to visualize the line of reasoning of the Norwegian adherents of disarmament: "We are a small country, we have a small army, we can do nothing against the great powers (and therefore they are powerless to resist being forcibly drawn into an imperialist alliance with one group or another of the great powers!), we want to continue in peace in our little corner and carry on our little corner politics and demand disarmament, compulsory courts of arbitration, eternal neutrality, and the rest" ("eternal" neutrality—like that of Belgium, evidently?)

The petty effort of the small states to remain on the side—the petty-bourgeois wish to remain at all costs far from the great battles of world history—and to use their relatively monopolistic position to remain in an ossified passivity—this is objectively the situation which can obtain a certain success and a certain circulation for the idea of disarmament in a few small states. It is self-understood that this effort is reactionary and rests on illusions alone, since imperialism is drawing the small states after all, in one way or another, into the whirlpool of world economy and world politics.

We can illustrate this by the example of Switzerland. The imperialist situation prescribes for it, objectively speaking, two directions for the labor movement. The opportunists are trying to make an alliance with the bourgeoisie, to make Switzerland a republican-democratic monopoly federation, to make money out of the tourists of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and to be able to use this "peaceful" monopoly position all the more profitably and all the more quietly. In practice, this policy of the alliance of a small privileged layer of workers in a small country, itself in a privileged position, with the bourgeoisie of its own country, is opposed to the masses of the proletariat. The genuine social-democrats of Switzerland are trying to use the relative freedom of Switzerland, its "international" position (as neighbor to the countries of the highest civilization), as well as the circumstance that Switzerland, thank God, does not speak its "own independent" language but three world languages for the broadening, consolidation and strengthening of the revolutionary alliance of the revolutionary elements of the proletariat of all Europe. "Let us help our bourgeoisie to remain in the monopoly position of dealing in the quietest manner possible in the beauties of the Alps, for a long time to come; perhaps then a few penalties will fall off for us"—this is, objectively speaking, the content of the policy of the Swiss opportunists. "Let us help the alliance of the revolutionary proletariat among the French, the Germans and the Italians to overthrow the bourgeoisie"—that is the object-content of the policy of the Swiss revolutionary social-democrats. Unfortunately this policy is still only inadequately carried through by the "Lefts" in Switzerland, and the excellent and the excellent decision of its party congress in Aarau in 1915, recognition of the revolutionary mass struggle for the time being still remains on paper. But that is not the question now.

The question which interests us can be posed in this way: Does the demand for disarmament correspond to the revolutionary direction among the Swiss social-democrats, or not? Obviously this is not the case. Objectively speaking, the "demand" for disarmament corresponds to the opportunistic, narrowly-national, line of the labor movement, limited by the horizon of a small state. Objectively speaking, "disarmament" is the most national, specifically national, program of the small states, and in no way an international program of international social-democracy.

—N. LENIN.

P. S. In the last issue of the English magazine, *The Socialist Review* (September 1916), the organ of the opportunistic "Independent Labour Party", we find on page 287 the resolution of the Newcastle Conference of this party—"refusal of support to any conceivable war of any conceivable government", even if this war should "nominally" be a defensive war. And on page 205 we find in the editorial the following statement, "We do not approve the insurrection of the Sinn-Feiners (the insurrection Ireland in 1916). We do not approve of any armed insurrection altogether, just as we do not approve of militarism and war no matter what kind of form it may take."

Is it still necessary to point out these "anti-militarist" and "such adherents of disarmament, not in small state, but in a great power, are the worst kind of opportunists? And yet they are perfectly right in theory when they regard the armed insurrection as being also "one of the forms" of militarism and of war.

October 1916. —N. LENIN.

Inflation Hits the American Working Class

When President Roosevelt was granted the power to reduce the gold content of the dollar by one half and to inflate currency the inter-relation of politics and economics was clearly seen by the stimulation this act gave to the increase of the prices of commodities. Neither of these measures have been carried out, nevertheless, a state cannot adopt such a far reaching political measure, knowing the experience of post-war Europe, without expecting immediate effects upon the economic system and upon prices.

The commodities that the workers buy have increased greatly in price and average over 30 percent in many cities. Many economists deny this and inform us that inflation amounts to only about 1 percent. One of the many tricks they use is the method of taking an average of about 300 commodities, the majority of which the workers do not even buy once a year. In this manner the capitalist spokesman try to cover up the increase in prices of the daily consumed commodities the workers use.

Again the question of currency inflation is coming to the fore. This time directly in relation to the NRA. General Johnson correctly informs the public that unless the machinery for credit is organized as fast as the codes are being signed the NRA will not function properly. This means increased credit inflation now, to be followed by currency inflation later. Within the last few weeks the Federal Reserve Board has been increasing its purchases of government bonds. This is also a form of credit inflation.

The apologists of capitalism are systematically propagandizing the general public to the effect that there is no inflation. This is true only in the sense that the technical financial machinery of inflation has not been put into motion on a broad scale. The cost of living, however, has gone up rapidly and consistently, and this is what the worker means by inflation, because this is how inflation is expressed in his every-day life. All lies that have an element of truth, or a half truth unexplained constitute the best kind of capitalist propaganda. Such is the case with the question of inflation. When the capitalist economists inform us that there

has been no inflation, meaning only right currency inflation, they are correct. But the real problem only begins where these writers leave off.

Currency inflation is only one form of inflation and not the best as experience has proven. Currency inflation will only be resorted to if the other forms and other methods applied fail to bring the desired results. Then we may be forced with the problem of actual devaluation of the dollar.

Credit inflation measures were started under the Hoover administration and have been increased since. The effects, however, were washed out by the decline in world prices. Nevertheless, the policy of the Hoover and later the Roosevelt government, through the different farm relief organizations, through the R. F. C. and N. R. A., as well as the banking and currency acts, taken together all constitute measures in this direction.

The currency policy of the government is now following up its farm relief and R. F. C. policy by having the Federal Reserve increase its purchases of government securities in the open market. Since this leads to the replacing of Federal Reserve notes, backed by a minimum of 40 percent gold, by notes, backed by what is called sound collateral, this leads to a form of inflation. The general result is that since the Roosevelt government took office, there have been over a hundred million dollars of the new Federal Reserve Bank notes issued, but this has been more than counterbalanced by the heavy decrease in the old Federal Reserve notes outstanding. The further expenditure of public funds under the recovery plan will stimulate the inflation of credit, started under the Hoover administration.

On the foreign exchange markets the dollar has declined 30 percent. When Roosevelt issued his statement to the London conference instructing the American delegation not to participate in plans for currency stabilization, the policy of "controlled inflation" took another jump upward. The immediate effects of the fall of the nation's currency on the foreign exchanges usually does not effect the domestic prices to a great degree. However, in this case it did move prices upward on the home market. On the other hand, the fact that Amer-

ica is the world's creditor nation has a tendency to force the dollar toward par. But further measures against this tendency have been taken by the government.

Nevertheless, the government measures that is: the conferring of power to inflate currency, the going off the gold standard, the embargo on gold, the power to reduce the gold content of the dollar by 50 percent, the public works projects, the credit inflation and the fall of the dollar on the foreign exchange by 30 percent, all this has had the effect of causing prices to rise rapidly. Senator Thomas, who sponsored the Farm Adjustment Act amendment, said in behalf of his proposed inflationary measure: "If the kind of inflation we are having brings back the 1926 price level, then perhaps we may not need to resort to physical inflation of currency." Thus Senator Thomas informs us that inflation existed prior to the measures of the Roosevelt government. He is correct and today prices have been increased.

The Frazier Jellie and Company, dealing with the effects of inflation on stock market prices listing some stocks from March the third to June the nineteenth, finds that in dollars industrial stock rose 78 percent; rails 80 percent and utilities 65 percent. This is the price advance in terms of dollars. From the standpoint of the theoretical advance in terms of gold the rise in price has been: industrial 45 percent; rails 47 percent; and utilities 34 percent.

Hughes, of the Consolidated Press calculated that the advance due to inflation is between 41 and 46 percent. Inflation changes and price rise in the cost of living differ from the stock prices. The transfer of wealth from currency to commodities and stocks is the logical process of inflation plus the fear of currency inflation.

America's gigantic economic system, its creditor position, and its tremendous gold supply gives this group of imperialists a strong position despite the path of inflation in which it is now traveling. Nevertheless, even these bulwarks are no guarantees against the coming storms.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Discussion on the German Defeat

(Continued from last issue)
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.

That the proletariat is the only revolutionary class in modern society is due to the fact that the same forces that atomize all other classes tend to consolidate the workers, making them cohere more and more. It is the only class in society capable of revolutionary organization. But it cannot fulfill its historic mission without Socialist ideology. So long as the proletariat is not imbued with Socialist ideology it remains a class in itself. The workers cannot achieve class consciousness spontaneously or instinctively. To quote Lenin, "it can only be brought to them from without." And again, "Since there cannot even be talk of the working masses developing their own ideology independently during the course of their movement—the question is to be posed only thus: bourgeois or Socialist ideology?"

There is no third. Of course, this does not imply that the workers do not participate in the formation of Socialist ideology. But they participate not as workers but as theoreticians of Socialism, only to the extent to which they are able to master the scientific knowledge of their generation and are capable of advancing it. Lenin expressed his complete agreement with Kautsky in condemning as absolutely incorrect the opinion that "Socialist consciousness (i. e., class-consciousness) is the inevitable and direct result of the proletarian class struggle." Socialism and the class struggle spring up side by side and not one from the other. They spring from different prerequisites. Of course, Socialism as a science is rooted in the same contemporary economic relations as the class struggle of the proletariat. But Socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. And the vehicle of science is not the proletariat but the bourgeois intelligentsia. "Thus, Socialist consciousness is something that is brought from the outside (von Aussen Hineingetragen) into the class struggle of the proletariat, and not something elemental (urwuechsig) that springs from it."

It is by means of the party, and the party alone, that the proletariat can be organized politically and transformed into a class for itself; and it is by means of the revolutionary party that the proletariat is instilled with Socialist ideology. Thus the party opposes itself to the state. In relation to the proletariat, the class in itself, in capitalist society, the party is an objective force (von Aussen Hineingetragen) and not a subjective force (urwuechsig).

The task of the party, as Lenin posed it, lies precisely in diverting the workers' movement from its elemental channels—from its urge to bourgeois ideology as a class in itself—and attracting under the wing of the party—imbuing it with Socialist ideology as a class for itself. Once a party has achieved this task, the fate of the proletariat becomes inextricably linked with the fate of the party which gains absolute control over the allegiance of the workers. This does not mean that the party having once achieved its task cannot degenerate and fail to fulfill its historic role and thus betray the proletariat. If the workers obey the party blindly, it is only because they have been blindfolded by treacherous leadership; it is only because the treachery of the leaders has not been exposed to them. To first blind the workers and then to accuse them of their blindness is to heap treachery upon treachery. The bulk of the workers in Germany have been attracted to the parties that claim to be the agencies of Socialist ideology. They have been trained to believe that the party of social democracy—originally a revolutionary party—truly continued to represent their class interests. Hence they obeyed it. The Communist party of Germany attracted another section but failed to gain over the social democratic workers because its own policies were at the core as treacherous as those of social democracy, and therefore could not counter-act or expose the peridy of social democratic leaders. The workers attracted to the Communist party could not but obey the Stalinists. Outside of these two parties, there remained that section of the German proletariat that was still imbued with bourgeois ideology and those German workers therefore could not identify their own interests with either the socialists or the Stalinists. If they responded at all elementally it was only to gravitate into the camp of Fascism.

The German workers who were imbued with Socialist ideology could not and would not act without their parties. Only a petty bourgeois can pretend astonishment at such "subservience or servility"; only knaves or fools could presume that the workers should have broken on the instant with their traditions of decades and have acted on "their own". The solidarity of the workers is no myth. They cohere so solidly, in fact, that nothing can prevent their being organized internationally as well as nationally—but on one condition, and one condition only, if an organization exists capable of directing them in their historic course. Alone they cannot and will not find the way. At all times and under all conditions in capitalist society a

true revolutionary party is necessary.

No true revolutionary party existed in Germany. There, the leaders usurped the authority of the once revolutionary parties to corrupt the ideology and decapitate the working class. Not Hitler, but the Socialists and the Stalinists paralyzed the workers. By their silence or by their spoken order, the proletariat of Germany was mobilized not to oppose Fascism until the order to act would be given. The order never came, and now Marxists are "amazed" who do not know either what the proletariat is and what it is capable of, or what the party is and what the party may degenerate into. To repeat, the proletariat of Germany was defeated by Fascism because no true revolutionary party existed in Germany. The betrayal of its party reverted the proletariat back into a condition of a class in itself. As such it was helpless in the face of Fascism. Unless this lesson is learned once for all the disaster that threatens mankind will become a reality.

Whether or not Fascism will succeed in establishing itself in the majority of industrial countries is a life and death question for all these countries. An epoch of imperialist wars will inevitably follow the Fascist victory. In every country where the proletariat remains a class in itself, Fascism must win in conflict with the proletariat.

Leaving all other considerations aside for the moment, the proletariat of no nation can fulfill its historic mission, defeat Fascism and reorganize society, unless it is im-

bued with its international essence. In other words, the proletariat cannot become a class for itself unless the workers in each nation can think and act in international terms. The workers cannot so act—unless a true international party obtains. Regardless of all other forms of organization, if there be no such party, the proletariat will remain politically unorganized, and either remain in or revert to the demoralized condition of a class in itself and therefore prove unable to wrest the power from the bourgeoisie no matter what its strength, no matter what the objective conjunction of events.

Fascism is the inevitable program of those who rule our destinies at present. To their program, and to the program of the Socialists as well as that of the Stalinists, i. e., the official Communist Party must be counterposed the revolutionary scientific program—to win the decisive majority of the working class of America, sweeping along behind the true revolutionary party the broadest masses of the population in order to overthrow the bourgeois state within the national boundaries, and to lay the foundations for the socialist state as an integral part of the permanent revolution the goal of which is the establishment of a world-wide socialist society. The necessary and only means for achieving these aims is the international revolutionary mass party based upon the platform of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

This is the lesson of the German experience.

—JOHN G. WRIGHT.

U.S. Prepares Assault on Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

visory boards and of arbitration will make the alliance complete. Nevertheless the promoters are not at all overlooking its usefulness also as a means of entirely outlawing working class rank and file resistance. In all of this the relationship of the government to the various component parts of national economy fits and performs its function to strengthen the hands of the American bourgeoisie in the home market. The executives of advanced capitalism and of the backward labor movement, the presidents, Roosevelt and Green, jointly make their appeal to capital and labor. On a vast scale the means of keeping the working class in subjection are being reinforced.

The NRA as such, that is as far as an actual recovery in the country is concerned, is about to face its decisive test. But, judging by surface manifestations, it would appear that its most essential objects enumerated above, are well on the way to being accomplished. In this respect the NRA climaxes the reorganization of American national economy in its present stage. The offensive against Europe can soon proceed full force. American capitalism again proves itself as the most advanced of capitalisms and the full effects of the latest forward steps upon its working class should soon become visible. But this question we leave until a later point in our estimate.

The United States, as we already know, is the world's principal manufacturer, its principal commodity warehouse and its principal banker. The estimated wealth of the United States reaches above the three hundred billion mark and by far outdistances that of any other nation. Its enormous annual capital accumulation since the war had to seek new fields of investments. A heavy proportion thereof was exported to other countries to be employed at a higher profit rate. It became the means of promotion of the exportation of super profits. The total estimated amount of foreign papers held in the United States, including the items listed under foreign government—runs into \$28,000,000,000. But most characteristic of the American intervention in Europe during this period, is the fact that the loans advanced recorded a change from its first form of loans to governments for purposes of stabilization to loans to industrial enterprises. The latter are estimated at about seven to eight billions. American imperialism thus began to lay its hands on the national economy of the European powers. Its general intervention, had the objective of permitting Europe to rise again but within specifically defined limits, to assign to its nations their specific but reduced ratings in world economy.

In the United States the annual capital accumulation has suffered an enormous reduction during the crisis. But the masters now anticipate its rise at a vastly accelerated rhythm. And for that the NRA machinery of attempted regulation of class relations is to prepare the ground at home for more effective operations abroad. Even bearing in mind the scope of such operations in the past, we should be prepared for the fact that the campaign of American finance capital for the conquest of the world market, will actually in its real magnitude begin only tomorrow.

For this offensive the principal instrument is finance capital backed up by a now more completely organized monopoly, expressed in greater centralization and concentration of finance and industry. One of the initial means is likely to be the advancing of additional large scale loans and credits—

influenced by political motives—as a means of promoting the exportation of commodities. But this, in general, will be backed up by the commands of a power of a superior national economy, and with that, heavier political and military preponderance. It is not for the purpose of creation of jobs that the United States naval constructions are now vastly speeded up.

The crushing defeat suffered by the German working class signals a much freer rein for the American imperialist offensive. To the masters of Wall Street it signifies that the danger of a further extension of the Bolshevik revolution has been allayed. They breathe easier. Their responsibility, as the rulers of the strongest world power, for damping up against the extension of October, has become enormously lightened by the bankruptcy of the Stalinist International. They feel that they can now afford to proceed more ruthlessly and more mercilessly against their competitors in the world market. Their consciousness of power, their consequent unbridled expansion, will know no bounds. It is their much more complete world hegemony, as a means of self-preservation, which is at stake. It is the struggle for the maintenance of capitalism as the continued form of social relations. But the further advance will also lay the foundation for much more furious conflicts within the world arena. That, however, is only one side of the problem. Simultaneously with this develops the shifting of gravity of the revolutionary center from Europe to America. It is here in this country that future revolutionary struggles on a more gigantic scale than anything hitherto experienced can be expected.

—ARNE SWABECK.

OUR COMRADES CRITICIZE THE MILITANT

We have received some criticism from comrades Ainsworth and Hamilton on the article we published in the Militant of August 12, entitled "A Delegate Visits the Soviet Union." The essence of the criticism of both comrades is that this article gave emphasis to the conditions of poverty prevailing. Comrade Ainsworth, however, got the wrong impression when he thinks the article conveyed the idea that the population lives worse than hoboes, that it gives one the feeling that people are dying like fleas in a frost or that party officials, in spite of their fixed maximum salary and rigid party discipline, spend their time dining and dining with foreigners in the best hotels, etc. This, of course, is a very much exaggerated impression of the article in question.

Comrade Hamilton states his criticism in regard to what would happen to a casual reader who peruses this issue and, without becoming acquainted with our general analysis, and gets a bad impression from the article in question. It is true that this article did not attempt to give an analysis. The delegate merely conveyed his direct impressions. In the full sense of the word these are penned by a supporter of the Soviet. But that in no way could release him from the obligation of describing conditions as he found them. Even though that conveys a bad picture the truth must be told. And there need be no doubt that the story was one true to actual facts.

—The Militant.

When the National Recovery Administration, including its Labor Advisory Board, headed by Green and Lewis, agreed to the velle open shop clause in the automobile code they started something. The coal barons and other industrial magnates are now insisting on the same privilege.

Workers Demand Hands Off Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

of Morgan that their loans and the magnificent interest rates have nothing to fear from the revolutionary junta. At the same time it is a pitiable attempt on the part of these near-sighted revolutionists to stave off intervention.

But as great as is their awe of the imperialist bourgeoisie still greater is their fear of "riots" and "bloodshed"; that is to say, to translate these phrases into the language of the class struggle, of the proletariat, of civil war to oust the imperialists and the native bourgeoisie. Between these two giants the petty bourgeois junta is caught as in the jaws of a vise and is doomed to early extinction.

Already on the third day of its existence it has begun to retreat before the revolutionary ascent of the masses of the proletariat and even recoils before its own supporters. An Associated Press dispatch of September 7 says that the junta has "secretly resolved to disarm all civilians and began to try to restore to their former positions of power ousted Monday night and Tuesday." So cowardice breeds treachery!

That is the road which the junta is traveling. But that is not the road of the proletariat. Slow to move in the present overturn, it is now raising its voice. Its demands are, as yet, essentially democratic and not incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. But there are signs that the workers will not stop with demands for higher wages and better conditions. Already in the interior they have seized sugar plantations to force the owners to comply with their demands. A majority of the plantations seized are owned by American interests, who own sixty percent of the plantations in Cuba. The lives of American executives are being threatened by the workers.

Thus the struggle for better conditions and higher wages leads to the struggle against American imperialism. Anti-imperialist sentiments are deeply rooted in the proletariat and in the entire nation. Will the proletariat rise to give leadership to the anti-imperialist struggle? That is the question that the next weeks will decide.

But the workers of Cuba cannot by themselves defeat the imperialist intervention. The economy and politics of Cuba are inextricably intertwined with the economy and politics of the United States. The same capitalists oppress the worker masses of both countries. The fate of the proletariats of both countries are inseparably connected. The struggle against American imperialism is a fight against the oppressors here at home.

The workers of the United States must come to the support of their Cuban brothers. That is the first point on the agenda of the American working class today—a demonstration of the solidarity of the American proletariat with the struggles of the Cuban workers for better conditions and higher wages against the Cuban bourgeoisie and the American imperialists.

Green and Woll, Dubinsky and Hillman will not organize the movement. They are bound to the imperialist state by their position in the labor movement and through the NRA. It is not their job to stir the masses to action and organize the movement of protest and solidarity.

The Communist movement must take the initiative in building the movement. It must approach every working class organization of whatever political shade or trade union philosophy with the proposal for a united fight against the intervention of the United States in Cuba, in solidarity with the Cuban masses.

—S.

TERZANI OUT ON BAIL

Athos Terzani, young anti-Fascist worker accused of killing his comrade, Anthony Fierro, in a fight which broke up a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America in Astoria on July 14, was released on bail Wednesday afternoon, after spending 47 days in the Queen County jail in Long Island City. He was given a rousing reception by many friends in the office of the united-front Terzani Defense Committee at 94 Fifth Avenue.

In a public statement issued immediately after his release, Terzani said: "My case is to be handled solely by the Terzani Defense Committee and its attorneys, and all money contributed for my defense should be sent to Herbert Mahler, treasurer of the Committee."

Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, has agreed to act as one of the trial lawyers and it is expected that Clarence Darrow, veteran Chicago attorney, also will take part in defending Terzani. Darrow and Hays won an acquittal for Caligero Greco and Donato Carillo, likewise anti-Fascists, charged with murder here in 1927.

Grover Whalen, one time Commissioner of Police of the City of New York and outstanding red baiter, is now trying his hands at protecting the blue eagle insignia. He surely has his hands full with many strikes in progress in the city and new strike threats popping almost daily.

Radek's Visit to Polish Dictator

The new orientation of Soviet foreign policy which is expressed in the various non-aggression pacts and in the definition of the "aggressor" clause with France and her vassals has brought about a series of "amity acts" between the Pilsudski dictatorship ("Faithful guardian of Western Civilization"—says Maitre Paul Boncour) and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

After the pacts of rapprochement signed under the high patronage of the Qual D'Orsay comes a string of visits and return-visits of representatives of so-called public opinion, receptions to military authorities, exchanges of favors and compliments, etc., etc., etc.

The most significant of these latter was the visit of the one-time great revolutionist Karl Radek, who in his capacity as editor of the big Soviet Daily, the *Izvestia*, went to Poland on the invitation of Warsaw's official organ, the *Polska Gazeta* and of the Polish government.

This visit, which followed the "successes" of Litvinoff, was played up by the Stalinist press (see *L'Humanite*) as evidence of a change of relations of forces in the international arena to the advantage of the working class and the Soviet Union.

Let us first recall the exploits of the famous renegade. Greeted by the whole reactionary press which for several weeks did not cease publishing photos of the honorable editor as well as his decorations, Radek, received by the confidant advisor of the butcher Pilsudski, and the director of *Polska Gazeta*, received by the municipal and governmental authorities; Ra-

dek, the Polish Communist, the friend of Rosa Luxemburg (it was he, by the way, who represented the Polish social democracy at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences of 1915 and 1916) passed through the length and width of Poland, visited the major industrial centers and even spent a day with his mother at his native Tarnow.

He held a most remarkable speech at Gdynia, the Polish war port constructed with French capital for competition with Danzig and according to Stalinist writings (which, it is true, date back a year or two), for the preparation of the anti-Soviet war!

Radek affixed his signature to the Golden Book of the town, greeted the Polish work, lauded the Polish men o'war and remarked philosophically that the "seas unify"! As can be seen, his language was very correct and the Pilsudski censorship did not have any cause to intervene.

Nor did the Polish Stalinist party cause the flirt and his flirtation any discomfiture. It did not organize any demonstrations to greet the representative of the proletariat. He had already been greeted by the government....

The Stalinists, who in their press did not breathe a word about the declarations of Radek which were published by the whole bourgeois press (they distinguished themselves merely by a campaign against the voyage of the "counter-revolutionary" Trotsky) and who want to hide his declarations from the eyes of the international proletariat—especially from the eyes of the Polish workers—will probably tell us that all this does not count for

much. That is a matter of diplomacy and Communists, members of the party, who have other things to do and are not diplomats, cannot bother with diplomacy. Soviet diplomacy is one thing and the proletarian struggle is another thing, and "the Trotskyists for the purposes of their counter-revolutionary work, want to mix up the two".

Diplomacy? Yes, we realize the need of it as long as the Soviet state is surrounded by a host of bourgeois states with whom it is forced to maintain relations. But proletarian diplomacy should take into account the opinion of the international proletariat and its fundamental interests. In order to please the bourgeois diplomats and to conciliate with them it is not at all correct to compromise the authority of the proletarian state in the eyes of the international proletariat.

Let anyone show us an example of similar declarations in the time when Lenin was alive! Lenin also understood the necessity of diplomacy and even of concessions to be made to it. But you will find no such example. The Stalinists simply don't worry much over the opinion of the international proletariat. They think they can always placate it with a few radical phrases. What counts for everything with them is good relations with the capitalist states who will permit them to build "socialism in one country".

But even Radek's exploits were far surpassed by another Soviet diplomat, another Polish Communist also: Hanecki. Hanecki, as representative of the Soviet government, that is to say, of Stalin, in the course of an official audience transmitted to Pilsudski the documents of the Czarist police concerning his once revolutionary past in the struggle for the independence of Poland!

When Benito Mussolini sends his Polish imitator his photo or when the infallible Pope Pius XI sends a cross to Pilsudski in appreciation of services rendered to civilization—that is quite natural. But when the representative of the Soviets thus renders homage to the butcher of the Polish people, that is something that is likely to appear strange to honest Communists, even those who believe in the general line! That this act was carried out by a man with such a grand revolutionary past as Hanecki's, that is bound to be painful for some, but it only aggravates the odious character of the whole thing. It must also be underscored that such an act is in no way necessitated by any economic and political need.

Before the worker and peasant masses of Poland, fighting against the bloody dictatorship, this act signifies nothing less than the rehabilitation of Pilsudski by the Stalinist bureaucracy as an old revolutionary and a present friend of the Soviet Union.

The actions following close on the heels of the German capitulation show how great a part of the road to degeneration the bureaucracy of Stalin has already left behind it. They only counteract the heroic struggle of the Polish workers and peasants and reinforce the class enemy.

The ideas for which Radek and Hanecki once fought will have to be and will be defended by the Polish Marxists against Stalinist revisionism.

—ROGER.

Stalinists and Saar Referendum

(Continued from Page 1)

of autonomy—which is absolutely correct—a slogan that will not fail to have an effect on broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as on the workers.

And the Communists? The Stalinist leadership of the Comintern has issued the slogan "Back to Germany"! The argumentation for this outrageous position of the C. P. of the Saar are as follows:

First of all, by 1935 Hitler will long ago have been thrown out of the government (!). In all probability there will by that time be a Soviet Germany (!). But even if Germany should still be Fascist, then there is all the more reason for the workers to return to the Reich in order to strengthen the revolutionary work for the downfall of Fascism. Sentiments of separatism should not be aroused in the workers and in the middle layers of the population sympathetic to them.

This argumentation was presented to the present writer by an authoritative political leader of the C. P. of the Saar as authentic. That this is actually so may be gathered from the party press. Only a few weeks ago, at the beginning of August, *L'Humanite* (the organ of the French Stalinists) carried an article representing the same point of view.

The whole motivation is of course un-Marxist, hypocritical and ridiculous. The truth is that under no circumstances do these gentlemen want to be less nationalistic than the Nazis, regardless of the price they will have to pay. There may be people who believe that by 1935 Fascism will be replaced by the proletarian dictatorship. The incapable bureaucracy nurtures this belief, which helps it to substitute for lack of perspective with an unduly great optimism. By doing so it is following in the footsteps of the Comintern, whose German representative, the frightfully lamentable Heckert, broadcasts insults on the Moscow radio against all those "capitalists" and "defeatists" who do not believe in the Red October of 1933. The representatives of the C. P. G. have always been Marxists of that type which never hit upon the thought that a revolution is the concern of the class, but rather waited for someone else to start things rolling. On that famous July 20 it was to be the S. P. G. and today—the dissatisfied proletarian of the S. A. (the Brown Shirt Storm Troops). These "leaders" did not want to realize that their party was the one whose task it was to lead the masses to struggle.

That idea was reserved only for leading editorials in the *Rote Fahne*, in practice they merely had their hands full searching for "deviations".

The hope for a swift fall of Fascism betrays a complete lack of the class point of view. That is all. But the suggestion that the Saar workers voluntarily turn themselves over to the Fascist prisons—that is nothing short of criminal.

Every single day workers are murdered, shot, beheaded and hanged, tortured by the tens of thousands and imprisoned under inhuman conditions in Germany. Every distributor of a leaflet is threatened with death. Fascist Germany is one big prison, a ghastly torture chamber for the revolutionary proletariat. And it is into this frightful dungeon that people who still call themselves Communists (what a shame!) want to deliver the workers of the Saar. A party on whose flag the idea of Internationalism should occupy the foremost place, which still today speaks

in the name of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg has sunk so low that in order to gain the praise of the bourgeoisie for its staunch national character, it is ready to send a whole section of a working class right through hell. Such a party rightfully belongs on the garbage heap of history.

The slogan for the Saar workers can only call for autonomy. It is of no consequence to the working class if the bourgeoisie calls this separatism. Its interests are decided by nothing else but the actual facts. It must defend its life and its property in the Saar from murderers and thieves. That is the task facing it.

At the time of the last elections in the Saar (July 1933), when the Communists were praised by the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and the *Angriff* for their position in the question of the referendum, that should have opened the eyes of the last worker and decided him, in the interests of his class, not to vote for the slogans of the C. P. It is never good to be praised by the class enemy.

The Left Opposition must take up the struggle with all the necessary energy and clarity against the criminal policy of the C. P. in the Saar. The L. O. bears a heavy responsibility before history as the consistent Marxist leadership of the new German workers' party. We must aid the Saar workers with all our might, before it is too late, before they are delivered into a sea of blood and tears by characterless degenerates.

—J. (PARIS).

The German Communist Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

If this will not perceptibly influence the fate of the accused, it will at least, help to make the nature of the frame-up clear to the world.

Among class conscious workers there need be no doubt that this trial is the culmination of an outright frame-up. Much substantiated evidence is already at hand. Most outstanding is the secret memorandum worked out by the German Nationalist, Oberfohren. It gives a detailed description of the various links in the chain of events. First it describes the entering of the brown shirted incendiaries through the subterranean passage which leads from the residence of the Reichstag President, Goering, to the Reichstag building and which is the only secret avenue of entry to the building. The incendiaries, having done their job, returned to the Goering residence leaving behind them the dupe, Van der Lubbe, who, astounding as it may seem, went to work at the firing with his Dutch passport and a Communist party membership book in his pocket! The clumsy forgery made by the Nazis in supplying him with a passport is already well known to the world. It was made in Germany with his name spelled with a letter that does not exist in the Dutch alphabet. Since then it has also been proved that for the last couple of years he has not been a member of any Communist party, but a member of the Nazi party.

Oberfohren was one of the German nationalists who had opposed the coalition with the Fascists. His secret memorandum coming to the attention of the Nazi led to raids upon his home and confiscation of all material in sight. On May 7 he was found dead at his home in Kiel, a revolver with an empty magazine at his side—"a suicide".

A month later another dangerous witness, the engineer George Bell, who was simultaneously an accomplice, had been put out of the way under still more dramatic circumstances. George Bell had been in

charge of the Nazi, illegal, foreign division. He first came to international notice in connection with the Chervonetz forgery trial in Berlin, in 1930. (The notorious Druslovsky central in Berlin, produced in 1924, the forged Zinoviev letter, in 1925, the forged documents about the blowing up of the Sofia cathedral, and wound up by establishing a factory for the forging of Chervonetz which was exposed in the 1930 trial. During the forgery trial George Bell was exposed as an agent of the British oil king, Deterding, within the forgery central, Bell was in the Reichstag building on Feb. 27 and was the first to bring information to British reporters about the fire. But he became a dangerous accomplice. So, when German soil became too hot under his feet, he fled to Kufstein, Austria where he was murdered by a pursuing Nazi gang on April 5.

All the details of this provocative frame-up are not yet uncovered. But there need not be the slightest doubt that the whole chain of events will be laid bare and expose the provocation for what it is. Meanwhile the lives of the accused Communists are in danger. The Nazi terror still demands its toll. It can be defeated only by an effective mass protest of the downtrodden and all the enemies of Fascism. The working class of the world must not lose one minute in letting its powerful protest be heard.

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