WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

LITA



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 E art 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, Nevern ber 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New Y ork, N. Y. under the act of Man

VOLUME VI, NO. 43 [WHOLE NO. 190]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1933

another Stalinist "united front" while the Left wing suffers catasmasquerade which adds nothing trophic defeats. The most outpositive to strengthen and unify the standing illustration of this anom-Left wing for the struggle. That aly is to be seen in the needle was to be expected. A service to trades. the working class would have been possible there only if the confer- of things is in reality a contradicence had been convened under the tory process which is not without visations of this latest "Great Efsign of a change of trade union positive aspects which promise fort" of capitalism will receive the policy and a renunciation of the much for the future. If thousands Green-Woll legend of NRA's union-monstrous system of mistakes and of the class conscious workers, ism with his tongue in his cheek. decimated the Left wing forces in ure of external forces, are turning He will remember the sudden the labor movement, robbing them their backs on the cut and dried "strike truce edict" of the great peasants, the Fascist dictator of for more than five years to discuss "democratic" regime of Roosevelt. markable ease. The De Cespedes of the possibility of playing their trade union schemes of the Stalin-labor friend in the White House Poland has been invited by Joseph the burning problems facing the Warships are steaming full speed regime offered no resistance. Quietnatural role in the present begin- ists and reentering the conserva- following hot on the trail of the ning of a new rise in working tive unions, this movement does not powerful challenge to the coal bossclass activity. Instead of that the necessarily imply a retrogression whole affair was consecrated to the on their part. Any movement totask of covering up the past and wards trade union organization is Pennsylvania last July. (The properpetuating the policies, methods progressive. And when this is acmised, "fair", "pro-union" coal code the Workers Republic is a secret and practices which have brought companied by a profound disillulis, by the way, still in the offing.) such tragic results.

organizations and a sweeping movel gence and flowering of a genuine trade union conference at this mo- And that also is the necessary basis line. ment can serve a progressive purpose for a reconstruction of American only if it draws the inescapable Communism. conclusion. That is, to recognize that this new impulse of the work ers for organization, even in the most conservative unions, is in itself a progressive development Stalinists Ready to 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 untional trade union conference, call- of all their previous deeds. A President of the A. F. of L. Green ed together in such a situation, erime which shows up to a "t" apologizes, swears he is not there must deal with main lines if it does not want to leave the track en- fore the nationalist phraesology of labor but as a legitimate spokesman

The Stalinist engineers of the this without revealing and admitting the falsity of all they have less race with the Nazis for the heels on poor Mr. Green. ting 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 heap obliged to recognize the contentions when a possible to recognize the contentions of the class trace with the Nazis for the exploitation of the chauvinistic inspeak volumes! The case-hardened boss class will not give up its class of the battle will not be as rigid principles. They would have heap obliged to recognize the content of the class trace with the Nazis for the exploitation of the chauvinistic inspeak volumes! The case-hardened boss class will not give up its class of the battle will not be as rigid principles. They would have heap obliged to recognize that have been obliged to recognize that the sectarianism and bureaucratic the Sectarianism and bureaucratic that the interest of the People's, the united front that he is ever ready to talk peace to the sectarianism and bureaucratic to them, to betray every last workagainst which they have previously such a policy, based on the funda-From the point of view of the not help leading to capitulation. rveolted.

proletarian united front the Clevebitions. As every vegetable has its front". "The united front from excluded any cooperation with them, gave place to the approach to all reformist organizations for a united front with a non-aggression pact to include everybody at any price Fascists in general are given up, the peace treaty. In the referenin favor of the exclusive unityand a touchingly affectionate onethe "Left social Fascists", the "most dangerous" of the whole every bush.

This bloc in reality is a crude horse trade which Muste conducts with the express proviso that the This is a real gain for them. They possibility is excluded beforehand. are hot foot for this kind of "unity", and naturally so. But when crete agreements in any sector of Third Reich. The Catholic Centre the trade union field, they invariaat Cleveland showed the Musteites portance, however. For years they dissenting and keeping their hands patriation enthusiasts and there

the sum total results of the Stalin-did not participate in the intonaist adventures in the trade union tion of patriotic hymns to the Gerfield are no joke. Just at the moman loyalties of the Saar proletar ment when the workers are begin- lat. Today, after the S. P. G. has ing to stir again, to move in masses thus helped Herr Hitler into the in sharp collisions against the em-saddle, after the latter has banished ployers—in a word, in a situation all the patriotic ministers to the made to order for an advance of concentration camps, the social revolutionary organization and in-democrats in the Saar are forced to fluence the reactionary labor bu- revise their point of view most radireaucrats reestablish their organi- cally. They put forward the slogan zations and secure their positions and prestige on the support of new

The Cleveland Conference was | hundreds and thousands of workers,

But this superficial appearance

-J. P. CANNON.

Give Up Saar to Hitler

One bloody sacrifice of the German working class is not enough for the their unconditional capitulation be god forbid, as a representative of the Nazis.

mismanagement of the paper unions Socialist German Labor Party—i. er he represents. under their control have brought e., the Fascists under Hitler) during the "Red Referendum", the wooresults which operate as an objective factor to discredit and paralyze ing of degenerate militarists and tive? The idea alone makes the independent union movement, notorious labor assassins (like independent union movement, notorious labor assassins). The idea alone makes the and it will have plenty of new and schemes—the methods of fattening and about 80,000 victims suffering putting forward THEIR OWN the independent union movement, Major Giesecke, who later betrayed to rob it for the time of its great the model of the mo to rop it for the time of its great shocks of attacks, covered strength in the whole party apparatus)—all soviet! Not an inch of such a con- also by barrages of heavy artillery. The aristocracy of labor as a means vitality and by that to push the there are important milestone in cospient it gots proceedings! main stream of the awakening these are important milestones in cession, it sets precedents! workers back into the conservative the German workers' path of sororganizations, even into those rows. The consistent execution of

This course is now to be continued by the position of the party on unique and perhaps a little more the Saar problem. The party's posiridiculous than the previous exhimonstrous thing imaginable for Marxists and Internationalists. The moon brings a new type of "united working class of the whole world must be made aware of what a lilization of a huge class collabora- lod. Delow, which condemned all non-capable of. It is not in this case barons it is a risky experiment. should not lead to a minimizing of dispute. No, it is simply a criminal offense.

The Saar territory, which is to is already out of date. The deal- future, has been under a League ings with the Fascists and Social of Nations protectorate ever since dum the natives will have an opportunity to express their will in with the Musteites, that is, with three ways: namely (1) for the maintenance of the status quo ante, that is, the present state of autoconglomeration of black shirts and nomy; (2) for annexation to brown shirts who lurked behind France; (3) for the return to Ger-

Due to the social and economic composition of the Saar (preponon the principle of give and take, derance of the coal and iron industries) there can be no doubt CPLA does not do any of the giv-that the labor vote will play the ing. Muste and Budenz sign their decisive role in the referendum. It names to joint manifestos (which is also clear that nothing is furcost nothing), sit on the platform, ther from the minds of the workers and gain a certain rehabilitation than the idea of desiring annexabefore the Communist workers, tion to French imperialism. That

The Saar bourgeoisie is already today falling into step with the also. This surprises no one. The social democracy is of greater imwas no official celebration in Prus-All this is funny enough. But sia in which some S. P. G. minister

(Continued on page 4)

of the N.R.A.

The class conscious worker who has pursued with any measure of watchfulness the unfolding improsionment with the Stalinist dogmas He has witnessed the Johnson-From the point of view of trade and the Stalinist leadership its pro-Richberg comedy around section 7 union tactics, the class conscious gressive nature is by no means im- (a) of the Recovery law. He has workers have to reject the findings paired. On the contrary, the deci- seen an automobile code adopted of the Cleveland Conference in sive break of the advanced work with a stridently anti-labor, open toto. Faced with the overwhelm- ers out of the straight jacket of shop "merit" clause. He has heard ing evidence on every side of a Stalinism is the first and most the Recovery cop, Whalen, invoke revival of the conservatie labor necessary condition for the reemer- NRA for the arrest of peacefully picketing shoe and bakery strikers ment of the workers into them, a Left wing in the labor movement. in New York. And so on down the

> But even more striking than all these manifestations of the "proabor" tendencies of the Recovery 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 for the NRA. No use. You can't The negation of internationalism fool the good capitalist instincts of the steel men. They turn their

But no matter. To accept him

litates him upon the protests of are facing the American imperialist cess has not been without effects. his colleagues.

to anyone who represents labor!

test rises against this hypocrisy of tures in the shade. the NRA: It comes—alas—only from a lady social worker who has to strengthen its hands at home in been appointed to a post in the administration.

Mrs. Kleeck of the Russel 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 the Lewises.

The Cleveland Fiasco The Class Face HANDS OFF CUBA!

Stalin Invites Pilsudski to Review the Red Army

vicious, bitter hatred and enmity to the imperialists. no pains to conceal is asked to come to Moscow to celebrate the

Lenin and Trotsky. Sinister omen! The revolutionary workers 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, administration are its acts which the invitation to Pilsudski contains the serious warning that the Stalinist betrayal in Germany was but the first stage in their complete that insidious end?

socialist society. For these self-stake!

The hangman of Communists, the same reasons the Communist Interjailer of thousands of workers and national has not met in Congress Cuba have found an answer in the without bloodshed and with re-Stalin to participate in the Red working class of the world. In its ahead to Cuban waters. Marines ly and with "dignity" it abandoned versary of the Bolshevik revolution. -scraps of paper which will be vention!-just to protect American the responsibility for the "burden Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, whose violated at the first opportunity by lives and property. At the first of government" rested on other

alone-but by tender felicitations for the Fascist Pilsudski. What tervention. horror what is the significance of can the Polish workers say to this Stalin is indifferent to them. What cynicism is expressed for the revuoltionary 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 repudiation of internationalism. the Daily Worker, that a military The question becomes more insist-alliance between Soviet Russia and ent: Is the defense of the Soviet Fascist Poland is in preparation. Union to be entrusted to the Pil-We sound the warning that there sudskis, the Herriots? And is the can be no greater betrayal of interworld proletariat to be sacrificed to nationalism, of the interests of the working class, no greater danger The heinous theory of Socialism to the Soviet Union than the conin One Country has led directly to summation of such a perfidious aladventurers of the C. P. G. leader hearing. Bill Green arrives as rethe capitulation before the Brown liance. Let the Communist workship. They are all set to commit presentative of the administration. Shirts. Why? Because civil war ers take note. The cook is preparions, the economic upturn and the a new crime. A crime which con- The steel men rise in angry pro- in Germany might have disturbed ing us another peppery soup. This inauguration of the NRA. A na stitutes a crowning laurel worthy test—they won't negotiate with the the chimera of an isolated national time it is Soviet Russia that is at

U.S. Prepares Assault on Europe

be called trench warfare is before directly with unions, exclusively the country."

First and foremost, in the order of of better keeping the proletariat unwears out his knees in genuflections the world market to be launched as longer sufficient. Moreover changes But enough—the class face of the recovery program, is bound up NRA is unmistaken. For Roose-closely with this offensive. Conternal reform and through the mob- class movement in the coming per-

completely degenerte bureaucracy is tionist machine. For the steel Let us say at the outset that this a matter any longer of theoretical They will not deal with Browder's the importance of the domestic "Fascist" A. F. of L. Green. To market or of the significance of morrow they may have to deal with relationship of forces at home. On social Fascist Norman Thomas and the contrary. Precisely that aspect excluding criticism. This attempt decide by referendum in 1935 as to the day after tomorrow—with Left must be the starting point of an how it wishes to shape its political social Fascist Muste? You never accurate estimation of American can tell. It isn't safe to give in prospects in the world market. The huge domestic market is the strong-But the labor movement remains hold and the reservoir from which silent. The official Communist party proceeds the operations abroad. The shows no comprehension for the extent of this penetration since the events or their possibilities. The world war has already left the Am-Left wing of the trade unions is out erican imperialist imprint upon Eurprepared for a far more formidable Only one solitary gesture of pro- scale destined to put all past ven-

> The American bourgeoisie needs 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 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 Second International a bare two hoped to be accomplished, is the years ago in Vienna!

In regard to the first of these directions named, the most note- national, Emile Vandervelde, comprotest from mass pressure by la worthy factors are the reorganizawill be effective and take the road structure of the country, eliminat the eve of the world war. "Deto workers' victory when the Left ing some of its most antiquated spite the Communist split." portunities afforded by the situaling the great metropolitan institu- organ of the Austro-Marxists (Der power." tion, when the Communists ap-tions as well as the reorganization Kamf, July-August 1931), "the Inpraise and analyze the present sit- of industry on a much more formid- ternational of 1931 represents numuation realistically, when the mili- able monopoly basis. Not only is erically an incomparably greater tant section of labor penetrates the this the monopoly form of the power than that of 1914. There is A. F. of L., and snatches the lead- past large enterprises, but it is hardly one of its large parties ership of organized labor away the addition of a degree of govern- which has not at least once partifrom the Greens and the Wolls and mental supervision and control cipated in the government in one -SAM GORDON. litates the elimination of small com- the head of the foreign office of

craft in composition, and confined The main issues of this trench to the aristocracy of labor, or of labor power to the productive the fire. forces through reduction of work- All aid by foreign counsel dangerous edges of the unemploy- Nazi government. No one not un the NRA machinery of labor ad-ultaneously with the Leipzig trial.

(Continued on Page 4)

Soldiers and Students Oust Gov't.; U.S. Sen 1s Navy

The rapidly developing events in The coup d'etat was accomplished serious threat to the money bags shoulders. of the Wall Street oligarchs the And now the logic of the Stalin- of the Wall Street oligarchs the mask is stripped from the face of ist policy leads them not to call the "liberal" administration and plained by the fact that it foiled the "liberal" administration and plained by the fact that it failed upon the world proletariat to oboverthrow of the landlords and exploiters; to review the army of powerful struggle against Fascism States history. For the workers in strike came to an end with the reand Fascism is not in Germany the United States the central problem is the fight at home against in-drivers and later the stevedores

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 frameup 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, the support of all enlisted men. The

The Reichstag fire on Feb. 27, somewhat badly shattered during dramatically initiated the terror the movement. regime which today can claim among its victims hundreds of workers, tack. A long period of what may old narrow basis of collaborating killed or maimed for life; acts against the government carried out devastation of all semblance of missioned officers. And now for And the good General Johnson importance, is the onslaught upon der control. Such means are no glare of the flames, Hitler said to wears out his knees in genuflections soon as the home front is sufficientbefore them, repudiates Green as large state of American laborates labora representative and ruefully rehabioffensive against Europe. Its fur- Now the idea is to extend the "id- And strangely enough, although ther fate and even the fate of the entity of interests" to an alliance this date fell right at the height based upon joint interests in recov- of the election campaign, neither ery, to embrace the working class Hitler nor Goering nor Goebbels velt it represents an effort toward versely that will also influence the generally. First among the meas- were out on the stump; all were a revamping of capitalism by in- trend of the American working ures applied is the reorganization assembled in Berlin-waiting for

ing hours in order to blunt the most been denied the accused by the ment problem. Secondly, the af-der strict Nazi discipline is to be firming of the right to organization allowed to pry into this frame-up. are inflamed with anti-imperialist and collective bargaining which in Among such foreign counsel offerreality means a tacit agreement to ing their services were attorneys they signify their intention to fire a further extension of the conserva- Arthur Garfield Hays of the United tive unions for the purpose of cem-States, Branting of Sweden, the be landed. A student jumps to the enting the alliance. Wages are, of well known writer Romain Rolland roof of an automobile and denounccourse, to be adjusted to the needs and many others. These have now of capital and its profit incentive. constituted a committee to conduct But for the whole it is hoped that a public hearing at the Hague sim-

(Continued on Page 4)

Army demonstration on the anni-stead are the non-aggression pacts are being mobilized—not for inter- the seat of power, saying only that

The painless amputation of the and dock workers, strikes continu-The Cuban situation is developed throughout the island in the invitation when they are clubbed, ing with hurricane speed. De Ces cities and on the sugar plantations. vance of the Russian Revolution? pedes and his concentration cabinet These movements became ever have been swept away. The regime deeper in character. Here and was not one month old when the there the military attempted to put military, the students and the ABC down the strikes but the solidiers, for the most part, FRATERNIZED WITH THE WORKERS. This strike movement cut away the ground under the feet of the gov-

On the other hand the De Cesedes 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 mayoralties 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 response was immediate. The entire army and later the navy joined

The rebellion of the military is a rebellion of the rank and file which in their gruesome details against their own officers. Their defy description, the battering and first action was to arrest all comworking class organization, the the first time in the present revthe horrors of the Nazi concentra- LEADERS. At the head of the tion camps. On Feb. 27, under the army and navy stand non-commissioned officers. Throughout the the reporter of the London Daily army and navy the same selection

> 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 erected a junta of five: four professors and a banker.

> What will the petty bourgeoisie demand in the Constituent Assembly? The petty bourgeis masses sentiments. The press reports that on American marines should they es American intermeddling.

> 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 lack of plain speaking characterizes the program of the new otherwise? The petty bourgeoisie have no social program. They candern society. Their position in society is a desperate struggle for process. They are incapable of conceiving, let alone carrying through, the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society: that involves the

In the Cuban revolution the summit of their social vision is the of the unquenchable hopes kept Chase National Bank and the House

(Continued on Page 4)

Congress of Second International

"The whole program and policy the British empire, who will next tional meeting here."

What a significant change there

Today-what a difference! exclaimed the president of the Interparing its status at the Vienna conthrough industrial codes which faci- form or another. It is a socialist,

of the world socialist movement", year act as chairman of the disbegins the cablegram sent to the armament conference. It is lead this openly. They are afraid of New Leader (August 26, 1933) by ers of socialist governments, Brant-intervention by the United States Abraham Cahan from Paris, "are ing here, Stauning there, who have to "protect foreign lives and probeing examined in the face of the calamity that has overtaken Ger-prehensive, unilateral reductions of prehensive, unilateral reductions of financial and industrial units which many by the special conference of the military expenditures of their the Labor and Socialist Interna- countries. It is socialists who, at the head of the Prussian govern- government. How could it be ment, stand in the front line of the struggle for the defense of the struck at the last congress of the republican achievements. And as not cope with the problems of mosocialists have been, under changing circumstances, in the government in Belgium, in Finland, in the existence between the capitalist and Baltic States, in Austria and in proletarian grindstones of the social the majority of the German lands, it might be said without exaggeration that the majority of the membor itself. That will come, that tion accomplished in the financial gress with that which prevailed on bers of the Executive of the Socialist Labor International are obliteration of their own existence he former or future ministers This as a class. wing realizes the tremendous op- features and immensely strengthen- wrote with lyrical jubilation in the is certainly proof of mounting

> In place of all these "proofs of Manifesto of their junta of professmounting power", an unmistakable ors and a banker. On the one hand mood of depression has settled upon they stand in awe of the American the upper circles of the Second In- imperialist collosus: "Strict respect ternational. It has missed becom- of the debts and obligations of the ing complete despair only because republic." This is assurance to the

(Continued on Page 2)

Aid of Workers

The fight of the teachers in defense of their living and teaching conditions cannot be won by them ministries have not yet been closed catastrophe, the Second Internaselves 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 entire population to unseat the dictator who oppressed the country in-

cluding the teachers. nor even lead.

chambers of commerce, civic betterment societies, etc., etc., sometion of taxes. But this coincidence estate associations everywhere are disasters"! now pressing for reduction in taxes at the expense of the school system and the living and teaching condi- al since August 1914, when it pass- of ministers MacDonald and Thomtions of the teachers. The present drastic economy program in educa- the camp of imperialism. That it tion of the strong Independent Labtion is proceeding under the whip has been able to survive as a move- our Party from the Second Interof the United States Chamber of ment embracing millions of workers national, have not strengthened the Leninism for Stalinism) have been cuses. Finally they decided to show

STATE. The state is their state. Their conflict with it is an attempt to REFORM ITS POLICIES IN THEIR INTEREST AT THE EX-TEACHERS. That is why they is inevitable.

The position of teachers in capia part, as they have in France, can solve the problems of the free school system and the living and teaching conditions of the teachers.

must be reflected in the policies of for years past. the teachers movement and its organizational forms. The organizational form of the teachers resistmakes 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.

Strike of the Doll Workers Grows

the Doll and Toy workers strike camp. 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 es into the reformist swamp; the 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. will be gladly welcomed.

Workers, demand shop meetings get the weak ones to go back to in the past decade. work by promises. He is doing this in order to break the strike ditions 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.

The Teachers Can Congress of the 2nd Int'l. Pravda Admission The Boston Needle Trades N.Y. Upholsterers

alive in the breasts of the social in 1917: the final historical liqui-

democratic statesmen that the portals of their respective bourgeois the stunning blow of the German paeans of victory were sung in Paris. The vocabulary of triumph why the former and future ministmade way for the vocabulary defeat.

Nenni, as if recalling Vanderrelde's greetings to the Vienna assembly, remarked rather maliciously about the "comrades who used to come to international congresses Cuba it required the action of the as ministers of state, and who are now emigres". The Russian Menshevik Abramovitch, whose wisdom is held in doubt even by his con-The teachers are employees of freres in view of his questionable the state. In defense of their in- achievements before and after the terests they must contend directly 1917 revolution, declared that "the clings piteously to the sword-belt interpretations". against its enormous power and German capitalists knew the socialmanifold apparatus of coercion and ists would not fight". The Czech repression. The character of the Menshevik Winter spoke off-handedmovement which can successfully ly of the "collapse of the German resist its onslaughts is indicated party" (only yesterday it was the by the hurricane which swept backbone of the Second Internation-Machado out of office. Such a al!). The secretary of the Intermovement the teachers cannot build national, Fritz Adler, casually mentions in the course of his report In a word the teachers movement that the German "Social Democracy must seek allies among those strata was crushed". Even the most hopeof the population whose interests ful among the delegates, the same bring them into conflict with the Var dervelde who still presides over wing still remains, as a pure formstate. Real estate associations, the International and reagns to ality and a concession to socialist transfer his presidency to the cab- public opinion, inside the same inet of His Royal and Puissant party as Blum and Auriol, while times fight government policies in Majesty, King Albert of Belgium, carrying on what has become more pursuit of their special interests, can pump nothing more inspiring principally in the matter of reduction the wells of his eloquence than the proclamation that "the is more apparent than real. Real International still lives despite all

no lack for the Second Internation- in England. First, the defection themselves? They ask: "How did International in order to maintain bring further proposals which they ed-ministers and intendants-into as, and then the definite disaffiliais due not to any inherent powers position of the Second International of its own, nor even to the support in Britain. What is left is the under the guise of scientific syl- prove the conditions, at the same more fundamentally, the real of a bourgeoisie frightened by the Labour Party. And as the Men-labuses?" estate associations and champers of prospect of the social revolution. shevik correspondent of the New Prayda explains the cause of this and have more funds. For this the ruling classes who instigate and carry through the attacks on the teachers THROUGH THE The principal source of strength of york Forward, Ivanovitch, observity of the social democracy since the Russes, with a considerable amount of anonymous Trotskyist cribs make end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution and the end of the social democracy since the Russian revolution revolution and the end of the so world war has been drawn from kept in mind that the English and this indicates not only the loss of nothing from the bosses, and thus ciliator, told the workers that he the degeneration of the Communist the other European socialists grew party feeling (read: the ineffective—they succeeded in getting agree—managed to make the employers ments in many shops that had change their offer of a fifteen perand the regime of world Stalinism, ual circumstances that they were to stem the advance of Marxian fought the union bitterly for many cent wage increase, to twenty-five

PENSE OF THE WORKING maintaining its stranglehold on the aeg. To the European socialists, those who used them but also the be satisfied, since they had gotten one-price system for each line. Again TEACHERS. That is why they by living parastically off the devere not found in the ranks of the proletariat which it etical and principled questions, they leading party organizations under the demonstrators in Chicago and the demonstrators in Chicago and Hayana. If the teachers depend helped to multiply for the last ten were too great opportunists, concil- the very nose of which all this season they would get better con- the with piece work would mean distance and short sighted practical took place." on them they will be betrayed. That the box box oblaction in last ten were too great opportunists, concil- the very not not them they will be betrayed. That the social democracy, in lators, and short-sighted practical- took place." failure of the first spontaneous, and consequence in the Second Internatalist society as a section of the unsuccessful, post-war revolutionary tional. working class marks out the road wave, by a parasitic living off the they must travel in resisting the blunders and crimes of Stalinism. ed it is futile to look towards the blows of the capitalist class. They Its strength has been essentially Second International for a genuinemust join hands with the workers. the weakness of its principal con-Only the working class movement tender for the support of the proof which the teachers must become letarian masses. "Our policies and successes may not be perfect, but accelerating its disintegration, by those of the Communists are worse" driving it and its whole ideology -that is the beseeching note that has formed the motif of the pleas forward, the socialist workers are This fundamental orientation of the social democratic statesmen

Each time that a new impulsion swept tens and hundreds of thou- it was a decade or more ago. In tion of teachers unions has already sands of socialist workers away those days, the break with reformgiven the historic answer to the from their old moorings and set ism led almost directly to the Comquestion: what organizational forms them on the road towards Commun. munist International. At the preshall the teachers movement take? ism at a lively pace, they encoun-sent time, what has changed in the It follows that the basic organiza- tered a perfectly harmonious united situation is precisely the fact that national) social democracy by the brought to an abrupt halt and general slogan: On to the Comturned backward-not so much by munists! Purcell, Citrine and Swales, as by Stalin, Bucharin and Tomsky who propped up these tottering pillars of British capitalism. The widepread 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 New York.—The second week of and driven back into the reformist

In other words, not all of the cabalisic obscuriy 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 masslatter have left no means unused to push back into the same swamp the workers moving towards Communism. A more harmonious and The importance of the Paris Con-

revive, it goes without saying, as crust in full force at some points. and afterwards to worsen our con. a revolutionary proletarian organi- The situation dictates the most asaddition of national petty bour- militants and the regenerated secgeois parties of labor take place tions of the Communist parties leaders" among the Spanish speakalong an unbroken line. Quite the strangled by the Stalin machine, is ing workers in New York. contrary. Even in the course of the guarantee of the tremendous fuits rejuvenation, it passed through ture which lies ahead. The unbe more than one convulsing crisis, smirched banner of the Left Op-Many of them afforded the Com- position will be the proud standard munists the opportunity of extend- of the coming movement! Saturday, September 9th at 3 P. M. ing on to a world scale that which

was accomplished in one country crisis at the present time. That is conducted their affairs in so lugu-

brious an atmosphere. it gave of its anxious servility. The praises for whose cheap Viennese bread and municipal apartment houses were sung all over the world, wing of "future ministers", Renau- 3rd. del and Marquet who are even now negotiating with Deladier for places in the Cabinet. (With genuine French delicacy, the Renaudel spite of the stern, forbidding decisions of party congresses. A trueto-life Continental triangle, a French nenage a trois!).

turn, has been able to prolong the ists." And the parties mentioned

The day of miracles having passed it is futile to look towards the ly progressive movement. The working class of the world can march forward only by casting it off, by out of its ranks. But in marching instantly confronted with the problem: Whither shall we go?

The answer is not so simple as

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 British I. L. P., the German Socialary 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 orthousands, tens of thousands and of workers against another. more socialist workers as they real-

-SHACHTMAN.

Left Opposition

"....Among individual party questionaires on the history of Bolshevism, of the Comintern and ers of state assembled at Paris of the January plenum decisions. which were distributed to indivi-"great" Austrian social democracy, stitutes. All these documents con-

French socialist party is split into Kiev city party committee adopted

ganizations in which the 'syllabusis expelled from the party, another, dustrial Union lost more shops, Viaznikoff, is strongly reproved and taken off from all party work, the than a flirtation with Daladier, in third author of these anonymous cribs, Haritonoff, is turned over to were very discontented, had very the regional cleansing committee." few active elements and were very The Stalinist bureaucrats are

> it happen that during two months control in the shops gave all kinds expected to get from the employers. time cribs, harmful and inimical to of concessions to the bosses and They promised not to make any set-Leninism (the bureaucrats make did not want to call a strike. To thement without the approval of the the gratuitously substitute the word the workers they gave all their exgoing the rounds of the Communists the workers that they tried to im-

If Stalinism has succeeded in never able to find a common languideas among the party masses) of years. The workers were told to percent, but that they invested since the party masses of years. The workers were told to percent, but that they instead an isolated sect: small in numbers, official Communist movement only the Englishmen were always too lack of vigilence and the weaken- a union. In some cases they even the workers protested against it:

breathing spell it gained after the constitute most of what is of real ment. They speak volumes for the called out its shops on strike at would in reality be a reduction. In-their feet. growth of Bolshevik-Leninist influ- the same time that the Internation- stead, they demanded a minimum ence and ideas among the working al did, demanding only what the wage of a dollar an hour for operclass, in the "biggest cells" of the International did and sent the workparty and throughout the Soviet ers back at the same time. Many established for every craft. A mo-Union. The cynical bureaucracy, of the Industrial Union members tion to this effect, endorsed by the which was called for Tuesday ations is powerless to halt the wave told by their leaders to go to the of sentiment for the Left Opposi-

Chauvinist Policy or Stalinist Antics --Which?

New York .- The incredible antics front between the reformist and the the discreditment of the Second In- of the Stalinists have by now beance is the trade union. And it Stalinist leaders standing in the ternational goes hand in hand with come so commonplace as to cease way of their progress. Stalin, the bankruptcy of the Stalintern. to be matters for wonder. Never-Brandler and Zinoviev did as much The workers repelled by internatheless in the interests of working as mortals could to extend the lease tional reformism are not attracted class education—of how not to act tional with the bosses in their atof life of the German (and inter-by international Stalinism. At the -let us record a monstrous piece present time, the existence of dis- of Stalinist confusion. More ridicourse they pursued in 1923. The tinct and irreconcilable currents culous than any are the Puerto Ric powerful Leftward movement of the in the Communist movement makes an Anti-Imperialist Ass'n. which British proletariat in 1925-1926 was imperative a qualification of the carried on a "struggle" against the T. W. Grant Store in Harlem, New

Together with several other Spanish speaking auxiliaries of the Stalinist party this mockery of a Imperialist League put forward a demand that "fifty per cent of the for every craft in the industry, that employees of the Grant Store should prices he settled in every shop for be Latin-American,"

So astounding was the nature of this "error", that when we first being made. These include the heard of it in the bourgeois press. we believed it a calumny against calling themselves

and stupidity of the "Communist thing about the same as before.

Six Months 50 Cents.

Organize With Ex-Ministers Gloomy -- Socialist Workers Awakening Shows Growth of Right Wing Unions Growing -- T. U. U. L. Isolated Union Growing,

to circulate within the past period unorganized. The International dustry and told them what the proto them for aye. No intoxicating origin at the present time. That is the cleansing of the party. Such industry were very bad. Workers ed a thirty hour week, and at the the German social democracy has documents were discovered in the were earning as low as seven and same time appealed to the workers been mercilessly crushed and its cells of the Sacharotrust (Sugar eight dollars per week and in many not to demand of government releading staff scattered by the Fasc- trust), in the transport institute, cases even lower. This was true of presentatives to improve their conist club despite all the assurances in the chemico-technological and the union as well as the open shops. ditions. This can be accomplished the evening machine building intain perversions of party, history, the International terror policy lost them not to return to work until spirit and militancy of the strikers program, policy and strategy, and most of its membership, and was they had secured better conditions has been manifested to such a deon some questions—open Trotskyist not in a position to call a strike, The government and the union of gree that the bosses and the NRA or Chancellor Doniuss and prepares to resign itself to the fate of its German brother party like a doomed criminal in the death cell. The of Leon Blum and Co. and the Right Kiev Proletarian Pravda on July ago pointed out the necessity of workers. The government official proper conclusions from them. The "The decisions", says Pravda, in the good old Stalinist fashion. ized that the speaker represented the representatives of the NRA. The

more members. In the International the workers

discouraged. However, these few time hoping to organize more shops

Union Members Begin To Stir A long slack period took place meetings, made proposals and worked out demands for the coming season.

For the last few years due to the collaboration of the Internatempt 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 revolutionary organization, the antiimum wage per hour be established each garment according to the am-

ount of work in it. Reject Bosses Proposals Meetings were called, discussions Communists also began to admit that the one stacle to the revolution. Nor did the Left Opposition. The union of of foreign born workers. Just an this sum. In addition they propose pointed out how they failed

-On Club Plan (Clubs of Four)) thought of their miserable propos bulk of the workers were in the als. Jennie Chiplowitz, a member International. His answer was mild. Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

In May 1933 the International of the Left Opposition, took the Ladies Garment Workers called a floor and unmasked the entire pro strike in the dress industry. The posals, gave a correct analysis of industry was seventy-five percent the conditions prevailing in the in-Union had a very small number of that the forty hour week would not grip in the trade than it had for organized shops, the majority of its abolish unemployment since there members being in unorganized was a forty hour week existing for it was reduced since the beginning shops. Conditions in general in the years in the industry. She demandwrong policy and with the aid of the working class. She appealed to daily for more settlements, the did not even have a policy to pro- ficials received their answer in a pose to the workers. The old pol-stormy applause when the speaker bers of the Left Opposition in the ened a bit; they did not expect such ed so far in the strike will be com-Industrial Union more than a year determination on the part of the pletely lost if we do not draw the reentering the International in a rose and apologetically asked the body, they were bitterly attacked workers to be patient since he real "contain a censure of the secretarThe Industrial Union leaders said the sentimat of the workers. He only conceivable solution that the ies of the party cells of those orthey had patience, the workers will promised them that everything blue eagle can offer us is that we have to come to us when they real- would work out, that conditions es' were discovered: one author of ize the betrayal of the Internation- will be improved. As a result, the open shop conditions we have been these oribe (cyllabuses) Konoveky these cribs (syllabuses) Kanevsky, al. But time went on and the In- entire offer was rejected by the slaving under the past few years. workers.

The union leaders went back to itrator. They sent the members to work with indefinite prices, told amazed—are they still a few people did fight, demanding that something them that another meeting would in the party who dare think for be done to better conditions. The take place where they will again

Union Leader Confuses Workers

The next week another meeting was called in Fanueil Hall where about a thousand workers came. eager to know under what condiphenomenon...."When they called a strike in May at the tions they are going to work. ditions since they would be organ- nothing because should the styles those workers in the Industrial These quotations need no com- ized. The Industrial Union also this year mean more work, this Union who have not yet voted with tors, and that a minimum scale be with all its repressions and deport- that worked in open shops were workers, was discouraged by the manager of the union. He succeed-International with the shop. In ed in confusing the workers and that way the latter gained many get the motion defeated. He again number is compared to the fivetold the workers to go back to six hundred which attend the daily work, to wait, that he would again strike meetings of Local 76. confer with the employers, try to 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 on ungged ool soul pure modern proposals and solutions. fight. More workers attended the porary pending the acceptance of the code.

Now the code has been accepted. We in Boston are not yet affected workers must demand once more by it. We can expect nothing from of their leaders: unity with Local it. Only the united efforts of the 76, build one strong union in the tions.

Hyman Comes to Boston A couple of weeks ago the Industrial Union called a mass meeting

of the International to participate. now; that the workers were not They were going to give a report ready to fight there for his condiabout the New York strike and talk tions and would not need him. He about the Boston settlement, but said that they intended to keep as usual the International workers, the office, that the workers would in spite of their dissatisfaction eventually come back and would with their union settlement, did not have a place to go. On the question come to the meeting. Hyman spoke of the dress strike, he said that the on the code in the cloak industry, Industrial Union had also particion the roles played by the Indus- pated in the strike, had many trial and International Unions in shops out and was fighting for con-Washington. The Industrial Union ditions, nothing more. spokesmen were not given a hearing Now we ask the leaders of the British I. L. P., the German Social the workers' organizations. We ist Workers' Party, the Revolution- were unable to believe that records under the pressure of the workers the clock-makers. Hyman was always the leaders of the workers the clock-makers. Hyman was always the leaders of the workers the clock-makers. were unable to believe that people under the pressure of the workers the cloak-makers. Hyman was given pect to get conditions if the Interthe floor, not to speak, but only to national controls the major part of could present such a demand as price system must be abolished and answer questions that were put to the industry and we are compelled even the reactionary leaders of the promised to fight against it. The him. Among other questions, he to be guided by their settlements? A. F. of L. have not yet dared to cost of living rising daily they felt answered that if the cloakmak. The Left Opposition says that it is bring forward. It was hard to con- that something must be done; the ers had been given the chance to the duty of the Left wing leaders ner, a new program and a new organization, are making irresistible internationalists could go to such The International began to call for would have been given the charge to the duty of the Left wing leaders
workers were very discontented. elect their own representatives, he and workers to be together with the internationalists could go to such The International began to call for would have been elected. He did bulk of the workers and become a advances. Tomorrow, the same an extreme as would only result in conferences with the bosses, telling the nitting of one nationality them that the wages must be instrike what role the Indicate the Indi the pitting of one nationality them that the wages must be instrike, what role the Industrial against the betrayals of the Intercreased, at the same time trying to Union played and what they accomntional leadership, point out to the The stalinist demand can have stall off the members with all kinds plished. He did say however that ize more acutely the truth of Lux-only one interpretation—the com- of promises. In the meantime the 50,000 dressmakers were on strike pany should fire a certain section NRA appeared and the government and that the reason the Internation-International is a stinking corpse. pany snound are a certain section international is a stinking corpse. pany snound are a certain section international international is a stinking corpse. pany snound are a certain section international international is a stinking corpse. pany snound are a certain section international international is a stinking corpse. now and replace them with Latin- trator. A membership meeting of to the fact that the workers were munism. A more narmonious and the importance of the L. S. I. does not lie American workers. We were final-the dressmakers was called in Fan. on strike. When he was through, has rarely been seen in the history in the frustrated thwarted aspira-ly convinced that this was no bour-ueil Hall where about seven of Eva Weiner, member of the Left fees, because they have no money. The fees was no pour uen man where about seven of the geois calumny when we saw its eight hundred workers came to Opposition, took the floor and askby understanding the tragic signi- former and future ministers of the confirmation in the Stalinist Liber- hear the report of the conference, ed him why he sent in the cloakficance of this process that one can bourgeoisie. It lies only in the acion, an article was published in and the proposals made by the boss- makers into the International Workers, demand shop meetings makers that one can bound and the international in the union hall and not in the explain how the corpse of 1914 was powerful subterranean movement of this sheet which not only repeated es through the government and the through the back door, while he is in the union hall and not in the short of a national state with the reference of 1914 was possible to revive and to grow so strong the reformist workers to the Left, this demand but which was union representatives. They told sitting in the Industrial office; she a movement which has already nothing short of a nationalistic and the workers that the employers of asked him why the leaders of the The Second International did not broken through the bureaucratic chauvinist tirade of the worst sort. fered a fifteen percent increase for industrial union were not there This demand is not only anti- workers making less than twenty- with the workers to help them fight working class but is especially lud- five dollars per week, and a ten against the betrayals of the corrupt zation. It became an objective ob. siduous and comradely attention of icrous when advanced by a section percent for workers earning above leadership of the International. She its revival even as the numerical the truly revolutionary socialist other example of the bankruptcy ed a forty hour week and every carry out a genuine unity policy in the cloak and dress industry. Com-The workers felt that this was rade Weiner also asked him why he no improvement; that it meant did not report what the Industrial SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT starvation just as before. A dis- Union position was in the recent cussion was permitted and the dress strike in New York, and what One year \$2.00; six Months_\$1.00 workers let them know what they it was going to do now that the

Strike Goes On

The balance sheet in the sixth many years. The skeleton to which 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 snops already been forced to beat a retreat. This ther negotiations offered them by go back under the same intolerable

Until all our demands are granted we must continue to strike and hold further conferences with the engage in intensive picketing. The employers and the government arbshops 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 uphoisterers in still greater struggles against the employers. Outside of weak in influence, and completely separated from the masses, maintaining a meaningless paper organization which would, to say the

A terrible condemnation of the bankrupt policy of the TUUL union was very clearly demonstrated at morning, September 5, at which only seven workers showed up. No

We must follow this movement into Local 76 in full force and without hesitation. The Left wing workers can improve our condi- industry. It is not yet too late. Now is the time.

-LANKIN.

with Louis Hyman, president of He said that there was no way for the union and invited the members him to get into the International

> workers the correct policy, lead them, guide them and help them win conditions.

-A NEEDLE TRADES WORKER.

THE MILITANT

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

League of America (Opposition)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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

Vol. VI No. 42 (Whole No. 189) SATURDAY, September 9, 1933 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year

litler & the Prospects of

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

The skeptical, or the simply cautious reader will reply that our interpretation of the littler program program nows from the imperative logic of the circumstances and in org pontics one must have as the point or departure that the opponent win aiways make his pest moves. The unicuity of literally proving the "hypothesis" unfolded above, ries in the fact that the opposition literature of the Nationalsocialists is exceptionally abundant and contradictory, whereas the gov ernmental practise is still very recent and meager. The author was runy aware or this difficulty when ne undertook this work. But we were assisted by a fortunate accident which supplied us in time with a political document of extraordin-

form of a little brochure on Octover 16, 1932. Rather snarply 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 polemic. Papen was then Chancellor. Hitler was in expectant opposition—between August 13, When Mindenburg refused to appoint him head of the government, and January 30, when the Field Marshall 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 a ministry of barons and privy Germany cannot be saved solely by the National-Socialists have a seriis almost void of demagogy, it is ing into his hands the helm of serious in tone and veracious in foreign policy. It is not Wilhelmserious in tone and veracious in essence. Today, it may be assumed, littler would gladly burn his own brochure in the furnace. All the more attentively should his adversaries examine it.

explained to Papen, "that the power But let us return to the "Open which disarmed us, will today seri- Letter". With an unusual bruskously also disarm itself without be- ness, it attacks the slogan launching forced to do so." It is just as ed byPapen on naval armament: absurd to wait for France to agree even if Germany had the meanssome fine day or other to the re- and it hasn't-it would not be perarmament of Germany. Its enor- mitted to convert them into warmous military preponderance re-ships and it would be powerless to lieves France of the necessity of violate the prohibition. The slogan an entente with a vanquished foe of military armament alone drove on the basis of equality of rights. England to the aide of France: Any attempt to propose a military there you have the results "of of the petty bourgeoisie, may, of Kansas City branch of the Left revolutionary movements and out- fatherland is a bourgeois-reaction- proletariat of all Europe. "Let us armaments, will not only be very collar received but will immediate the struggle for the arming of analysis, must regard as harmful.

The struggle for the arming of analysis, must regard as harmful.

The struggle for the arming of analysis, must regard as harmful.

The struggle for the arming of analysis, must regard as harmful.

The struggle for the arming of twelve to twenty the monopoly position of dealing the struggle for the fatherland.

The struggle for the arming of twelve to twenty the monopoly position of dealing the struggle for the fatherland.

The struggle for the arming of twelve to twenty the monopoly position of dealing the struggle for the fatherland.

The struggle for the arming of the struggle for the arming of the struggle for the fatherland.

The struggle for the arming of the struggle for the struggle for the arming of the struggle for the struggle for the struggle for the struggle for the arming of the struggle for the s In the declaration of May 17, we and applies its program for a definite stage.

The goal of German policy is the re-establishment of the military conference is condemned to failure. an average of about 300 commodiate as the banking and currency acts, need to resort to physical inflation 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 dethe 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 dilletante and an adventurer, is not merely biting but also quite convincing. The "national" barons the League of Nations should be however, has gone up rapidly and and bureaucrats have no foreign accompanied by a disaffection be-consistently, and this is what the policy at all. The rattling of an tween France, on the one hand, and worker means by inflation, because inexistent weapon is dictated to England and the United States, on this is how inflation is expressed them by domestic considerations: the other. The first pre-conditions in his every-day life. All lies that they are ready to utilize the nation. will be created for the re-establish- have an element of truth, or a half currency on the foreign exchanges alist movement while arresting, at ment of the "European equilibrium" truth unexplained constitute the the same time, its further growth. in which Germany must occupy a best kind of capitalist propaganda. Undoubtedly taking his inspiration from Bismarck, Hitler does not reacce of Italy and England, Hitler of inflation. When the capitalist upward on the home market. On bismarck, Hitler does not reacce of Italy and England, Hitler of inflation. When the capitalist upward on the home market. On bismarck, Hitler does not reacce of Italy and England, Hitler of inflation.

Nazi Designs on Soviet Union

is, at best, a hypothesis, which has zollern: Papen and his colleagues certain marks of verisimintude but are only the epigones of the theatby no means the stamp or authentic- rical policy of Wilhelm II, with ny. To this one can reply: the 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 rapen on the peculiar charm of death on the held of battle. It must not be lost sight of that Papen, whom the Nazis, during the prief period of his rule, treated as a captain of the dragoons, feels nimsen in their midst like a man who is constantly on probation. On May 13, he adopted an unusually llitter to Papen, puonshed in the loud tone so as to put himself in narmony—but he was misatken in his calculations. One may have ms own opinion about the tastes of an elderly captain of the dragoons who, between taking a dose of Urodonal and drinking down a giass of Huniadi-Jenos water, propragates 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, Nadolny and others. Hitler became Chancellor at the cost of accepting councillors. The camarilla around "It is absurd to think," Hitler of Wilhelmstrasse.

ly be brought to the attention of Germany, on sea and on land, must In living politics, one must base twelve to twenty. the state against which it might be based upon a definite political be aimed! Hitler is alluding of idea. Hitler calls it by its name: course to the Soviet Union. It is the need of "strengthening the degenuine re-establishment of motivate. Sympathy for such the European equilibrium". England program is guaranteed in advance "It is inconceivable to think that standpoint of "the defense necesthe lack of intimacy and of concord-sary for us in the East", with reance with England and Italy can gard to the Baltic Sea, that Engbe made up for by the establish- land can be persuaded to accept Neither of these measures have rency inflation will only be resort- of power to inflate currency, the ment of better relations with "corrections" also in the naval France!" The fundamental thesis paragraphs of the Versailles treaty. of the foreign policy of Hitler, For it must not be forgotten: "at which places a cross over the the present time, it is important the experience of post-war Europe, forced with the problem of actual by 50 percent, the public works ideas, or if one prefers, over the for the future of Germany to have without expecting immediate effects devaluation of the dollar.

The German national movement exposition. But the declaration in but the German government must price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the Farm Adjustment price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the price are price are price and average over 30 percent washed out by the decline in world sponsored the price are price ter": on the contrary, it develops In no case expound this demand. In many cities, many to the Hoover and later the Roosevelt his proposed inflationary measure: he wrote three months before his workers do not even buy once a ures in this direction. advent to power, "for the German year. In this manner the capitaldelegation to participate interminist spokesman try to cover up the ernment is now following up its evelt government. He is correct ably in the Geneva Disarmament increase in prices of the daily con- farm relief and R. F. C., policy by and today prices have been increascomedy. It would suffice to expose sumed commodities the clearly before the whole world the use. wish of France not to disarm, for Again the question of currency ities in the open market. Since this stating that the peace of Versailles time directly in relation to the cision which would radically change has been violated by the signatory NRA. General Johnson correctly these circumstances the drawing of as fast as the codes are being signthe corresponding conclusions."

> this melody. The refusal of the the last few weeks the Federal "final moral and real liquidation of its purchases of government bonds. the treaties themselves". Germany This is also a form of credit inwould interpret such conduct as the flation. desire "to remove it from the Conference". In that case, it would systematically propagandizing the be hard for it "to continue to belong to the League of Nations". Truly, the "Open Letter" is indis-only in the sense that the technipensable as the key to the strategy of Hitler!

The departure of Germany from a broad scale. The cost of living,

Trotsky Warns Against arming Germany, not by petty controlled trahand measures but he hig "cortraband measures but by big "corrections" in the Versailles treaty. explosion can also take place along in its entirety. a different direction. For, if it is East are equally suitable for the West.

Hitler is preparing for war. His 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 the more or less proximate future could be carried out only on condition of a military alli- and cultural acquisitions.... ance 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 veeks 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 not against fundamental antagonthe actual relationships and the allies and their adversaries.

Hitler is prepared for the next tion, he fixed five years as the term 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, Fascism confine their plans of re-

venge. Domestic difficulties, unemploy-

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 Parallel to this, will be developed after the seizure of power by Hit- the Social-Democrat, the Bolshevik the program of "defense" against ler, has become one of the great-publication issued in Geneva, Switthe East. In this process, a criti-est factors in European develop-zerland during the war. It is of cal point must inevitably super- ment. The plan will be altered in especial importance now, when prevene: war. Against whom? Should conformity with events. But one parations are being made for an war committees of industry. The cial, unusualy "calm" conditions of the line against the East prove to cannot understand the alterations Anti-War Congress with the parti- concealed opportunists, the Kautbe the line of least resistance, the without having before him the plan cipation of Barbusse and other skyans, are more harmful and dan which have stood aside from the

degree offensive means are distin- upon to mount guard before the from petty-bourgeois pacifism. To fine-sounding and also "Marxist" guished from defense means, it is Versailles treaty. Europe needs a read this document now enables phrases and pacifist slogans. The to visualize the line of reasoning already beyond discussion that the new organization. But woe betide one to measure the distance which struggle against both these forms of the Norwegian adherents of dismilitary means suitable for the it if this work falls into the hands separates the line of Lenin and of the prevailing opportunism must armament: "We are a small countwenty-first century will, in that ple of Lenin".-Ed.) case, inevitably have to write the policy in the domain of economics epoch of the decay of Europe began

old continent still has sufficient precisely the fact that it, and the in the Basle Manifesto the connect of world history—and to use their vital strength left to open up to illusions created by it, inevitably tion of precisely this coming war relatively monopolistic position to itself a different historical road. Prinkipo, June 2, 1933.

-L. TROTSKY.

Richard Rall

-the real murderer.

This turn of events made a vivid of the Kautskyan type: Kautskycomrade, Richard Rall,

was the only one that would lead ists" in Italy.

isarmament and War-V.I.Lenin Imperialist War and Classito a certain social situation

(Continued from last issue) (This article was published by Munich. But this order of march, comrade Lenin in October 1916, in The author of these lines does olutionary line in the struggle cause they hide the defense of their long time, and hope to continue to still possible to discuss to what not consider himself at all called against war, and distinguishes it pacts with the government behind remain on the side. In order to of Fascism. The historian of the that of Stalin, the "greatest disci- be carried out in all fields of pro-

> The adherents of disarmament are with the war of 1914. Called the oppo ed to the point in the program portant peculiarity consist, which an imperialist alliance with one "war of democracy", it soon led to on the "arming of the people" for distinguishes both forms of the prethe domination of Fascism which this reason among others, that the vailing opportunism? became the instrument concentrat-latter demand is supposed to lead It consists in the fact that the in our little corner and carry on ing all the forces of the European more easily to concessions to op- concrete question of the connection nations towards the aim of "the portunism. We have already exwar for liberation"....from the results of the preceding war. Thus, the relation of disarmament to the
>
> Freeding as the eventual of the preceding war. Fascism, as the expression of the class struggle and to the social review in silence, are veiled over or are historic blind alley of Europe, was olution. Now let us examine the treated with reservations as to at the same time the instrument question of the relation of the de police prohibitions. And this of the destruction of its economic mand for disarmament to opportundone-irrespective of the fact that, states to remain on the side-the Let us hope, however, that this reasons why it is unacceptable is numerable occasions and officially all costs far from the great battles our struggle against opportunism. pointed out.

Comrade Richard Rall, an active the struggle against opportunism, tirely new kind of unarmed revolumember of the Left Opposition in is nothing but an empty phrase or tion? Kansas City, passed away Monday a swindle. One of the main defici-August 28. Pneumonia was the of- encies of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, ficial cause but the bosses speed-up one of the main reasons for a possible fiasco (failure, or collapse) The auto plant where comrade of these germs of the Third Inter-Co-operative Group" in Germany; Comrade Rall came to Kansas Longuet, Pressemane, Mayeras, etc. City two years ago and immediate- in France, Ramsay MacDonald and

War are Sharply Contrasted

pacifists. It clearly states the rev- gerous to the labor movement, betrade union, strikes, the army, etc.

ism. One of the most important before the war, unofficially on in- petty-hourgeois wish to remain at weaken and take all force from with the proletarian revolution was remain in an ossified passivity—

There is no doubt whatever The main defect of the demand which can obtain a certain success about the fact that this struggle for disarmament consists precisely and a certain circulation for the is the most important question on in the fact that in it all the con- idea of disarmament in a few small struggle against imperialism, which are evaded. Or are the adherents this effort is reactionary and rests is not indossolubly connected with of disarmament in favor of an en- on illusions alone, since imperial-

We go on. We are in no way and world politics. opposed to the struggle for reforms. We do not want to ignore that dismal possibiltiy, that if the worst lialist situation prescribes for it, Itali had been working up to the national, lies precisely in the fact comes to the worst, mankind will objectively speaking, two directions hazards of a secondary order, but time of his illness had been driv- that the question of struggle against live through yet another imperialist for the labor movement. The oping its hired slaves from seventy opportunism was not even openly war, if, irrespective of the numer portunists are trying to make an isms. Hitler will strive to extract to eighty hours a week during the posed, not to speak of a decision ous outbreaks of the ferment among alliance with the bourgeoisie, to bureaucratic methods; that only Hindenburg consoles itself with the from the pact all the advantages months of May, June and July. This on this question in the sense of the the masses and their discontent make Switzerland a republicanidea of pursuing also its policy for the attack against the East speed-up robbed comrade Rall of necessity of a break with the op- and irrespective of our efforts, the democratic monopoly federation, to ous program in foreign policy; finin only the threatening and frespective of our efforts, the democratic monopoly federation, to disease program in foreign policy; finin only the threatening recovery determine no more than ten percent and drove him a victim of capital portunists. Within the European revolution fails to develop out of make money out of the tourists of is only the threatening repercusdetermine no more than ten percent and drove him a victim of capitalmovement opportunism has conthis war. We are in favor of a their mperialistic bourgeoisie, and to moved from effete resignation as he is from adventuresm. The letter in into his bands the letter into the lett Richard Rall had a rich proletar-opportunism have been formed: too. The opportunists would be only and all the more quietly. In pracgroupings of its participants, their ian background. His father was a first, a nhonest, cynical and there- too happy if we were to leave to tice, this policy of the alliance of militant battler in the early strug fore less dangerous social-imperial them alone the struggle for re- a small privileged layer of workers gles and free speech fights of the ism, that of Messrs. Plekhanov, forms, and betake ourselves to the in a small country, itself in a priten years not to undertake any western workers. The Russian Rev-Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thom-misty distances of some "disarma-vileged position, with the bourgemilitary actions against either olution opened the eyes of the elder as, Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, ment" in order to save ourselves France or Poland. In the declara- Rall to the need of political action. etc.; and second a concealed form, by flight from the sad reality. to the masses of the proletariat. "Disarmament" is just that, a The genuine social-democrats of which genuine equality of rights impression upon the then young Haase and the "Social-Democratic flight from ugly reality, but absolutely not a struggle against it.

A propos: one of the main deficily took up the study of Marx Endother leaders of the "Independent tion, for example of the defense highest civilization), as well as the gels, Lenin and Trotsky. This Labor Party" in England, Martov, of the fatherland, among certain circumstance that Switzerland, brought him to the conclusion that Tscheidse, etc. in Russia, Treves Left wingers, lies in the fact that thank God, does not speak its within which the leading circles of the program of the Left Opposition and other so-called "Left reform the answer is not concrete enough." "own independent" language but It is theoretically far more corthe world proletariat to victory. The sincere form of opportunism rect, and practically far more im- ening, consolidation and strengthen-Up to the time of sickness, com- is frankly and openly opposed to portant, to say that in the given ing of the revolutionary alliance of ment, the ruination and the distress rade Rall was the organizer of the the revolution, and to the beginning imperialist war the defense of the the revolutionary elements of the course, push Hitler to premature Opposition and the study class of breaks, it is in open alliance with ary swindle instead of setting up help our bourgeoisie to remain in ranking from participation in the not correct, and also does not "hit" beauties of the Alps, for a long time

granted the power to reduce the right currency inflation, they are has a tendency to force the dollar geois, but only for a proletarian lans to overthrow the bourgeoise" and Italy are interested in the realization of this goal, but in no case sons" in the West—obviously

not half and to inflate currency the leave half and to inflate currenc for the standing army but also for social-democrats. the bourgeois militia, even in such this policy is still only inadequately crease of the prices of commodities. as experience has proven. Curmeasures that is: the conferring Switzerland Norway, etc. And all Switzerland, and the excellent and the more so, because even in the the excellent decision of its party state cannot adopt such a far methods applied fail to bring the embargo on gold, the power to restance in Switzerland) we see the tion of the revolutionary mass reaching political measure, knowing desired results. Then we may be duce the gold content of the dollar Prussianization of the militia, the struggle) for the time being still illusions of Locarno, leaves nothing an attitude full of confidence toupon the economic system and upon
Credit inflation measures were the fall of the dollar on the foreign strikers. We can demand: selection prostitution of the militia for the remains on paper. But that is not purpose of mobilization against the question now. started under the Hoover administraction exchange by 30 percent, all this has of officers by the people, abolition The commodities that the work- tration and have been increased had the effect of causing prices to of all military law, equal rights for will not of course find so clear an can and should demand armament, ers buy have increased greatly in since. The effects, however, were rise rapidly. Senator Thomas, who foreign workers with the nativeno way contradicts the "Open Letin no case expound this demand. in many cities. Many economists prices. Nevertheless, the policy of Act amendment, said in behalf of ant point in such imperialist coun-Today, it must insist only and ex- using this and inform us that it government, through the different "If the kind of inflation we are foreign workers more and more and payment of the work of the instructors out of State funds, etc. but this has been more than coun-terbalanced by the heavy decreased cent; rails 47 percent; and utilities part of the army, will inevitably any conceivable government", even victors to disarm would signify the Reserve Board has been increasing terbalanced by the heavy decrease cent; rails 47 percent; and utilities part of the army, will inevitably realize just such a program.

ture of public funds under the re- calculated that the advance due to that one must not fight against covery plan will stimulate the in- inflation is between 41 and 46 per- opportunism with programs alone, flation of credit, started under the cent. Inflation changes and price but by inflexibly seeing to it that On the foreign exchange markets from the stock prices. The transland most fatal error of the now they are carried out. The greatest the dollar has declined 30 percent. fer of wealth from currency to bankrupt Second International lay When Roosevelt issued his state- commodities and stocks is the loginin the fact that its deeds did not cal process of inflation plus the fear correspond to its words, that the habit of the conscienceless revolu-America's gigantic economic sys-tionary phrase was cultivated (see tremendous gold supply gives this his partners to the Basle Manition despite the path of inflation in for disarmament from this point

> Disarmament as a social ideathat is, as one whose origin is due October 1916.

which can have an influence on a eertain social milieu, and which does not merely remain the caprice of an individual or of a circleministry up to participation in the has evidently arisen from the speexistence of a few small states, bloody road of the war for a fairly be convinced of this, it is sufficient letarian policy: parliamentary, do nothing against the great powers (and therefore they are powerless But in what does the most im- to resist being forcibly drawn into ers!), we want to continue in peace mand disarmament, compulsory courts of arbitration, eternal neutrality, and the rest" neutrality-like that of Belgium, evidently?)

The petty effort of the small this is objectively the situation The main defect of the demand which can obtain a certain success the agenda of the International. A crete questions of the revolution states. It is self-understood that ism is drawing the small states after all, in one way or another, into the whirlpool of world economy We can illustrate this by the ex-

ample of Switzerland. The imperoisie of its own country, is opposed Switzerland are trying to use the relative freedom of Switzerland, its "international" position encies in the posing of the ques- neighbor to the countries of the three world languages for the broadthe immediate enemies of the work- to come; perhaps then a few peners within the workers' parties, the nies will fall off for us"-this is, Unfortunately

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. "disarma-Objectively speaking, ment" is the most national, the 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 force the victorious proletariat to if this war should "nominally" be a defensive war. And on pagt 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 prove that

these "anti-militarists", that 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

-N. LENIN.

course to the Soviet Union. It is the need of "strengthening the deposible for Germany to gain the right to arm itself only by means the East" is comparatively easy to When President Roosevelt was has been no inflation, meaning out- ica is the world's creditor nation transfer to reduce the right currency inflation, they are has a tendency to force the dellar. It is the world's creditor nation have said, "We are not for a bour. French, the Germans and the Ital-

omics was clearly seen by the stim-

ed the NRA will not function pro-

The apologists of capitalism are general public to the effect that there is no inflation. This is true cal financial machinery of inflation has not been put into motion on

Currency inflation is only one taken by the government. ulation this act gave to the in- form of inflation and not the best Nevertheless, the government been carried out, nevertheless, a ed to if the other forms and other going off the gold standard, the

the victors. Hitler considered it percent. One of the many tricks farm relief organizations, through having brings back the 1926 price

workers having the Federal Reserve increase ed. its purchases of government securin the old Federal Reserve notes 34 percent. outstanding. The further expendi-

structing the American delegation of currency inflation. not to participate in plans for currency stabilization, the policy of jump upward. The immediate efprices to a great degree. However, coil from a blow at the last Hohen. will acquire the possibility of re-economists inform us that there the other hand, the fact that Amer-

informs us that inflation existed The currency policy of the gov- prior to the measures of the Roos-

"controlled inflation" took another tem, its creditor position, and its the present relation of Kautsky and fects of the fall of the nation's group of imperialists a strong posi- festo). If we approach the demand usually does not effect the domestic which it is now traveling. Never of view, we must first of all raise theless, even these bulwarks are the question of its objective mean-

the victors. Hitler considered it percent. One of the many the self-evident that the Disarmament they use is the method of taking the R. F. C. and N. R. A., as well level, then perhaps we may not out rights) and moreover: the "There would be no need at all", ties, the majority of which the taken together all constitute meas
of currency'. Thus Senator Thomas inhabitants of a given country to right, let us say, for each hundred create free associations for the study of the art and science of war. with free selection of instructors

The Frazier Jelke and Company, Only under such conditions could us thereupon to quit the Conference, inflation is coming to the fore. This leads to the replacing of Federal dealing with the effects of inflation the proletariat acquire the knowl-Reserve notes, backed by a minimum on stock market prices listing some edge of war for itself and not for of 40 percent gold, by notes, backed stocks from March the third to its slaveholders, and the interests powers themselves and that Germany must reserve for itself under
machinery for credit is organized this leads to a form of inflation.

June the nineteenth, finds that in dollars industrial stock rose 78 perdemand such knowledge. The Rus-The general result is that since cent; rails 80 percent and utilities sian revolution has shown that the Roosevelt government took of 65 percent. This is the price ad every success, even if it is only a The declaration of Hitler, as inflation now, to be followed by dred million dollars of the new the standpoint of the theoretical ary movement, as for instance the Chancellor, only serves to develop currency inflation later. Within Federal Reserve Bank notes issued, advance in terms of gold the rise in conquest of a certain city, of a

> Hughes, of the Consolidated Press rise in the cost of living differ

> > -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.

question is to be posed only thus: a reality. of advancing it. Lenin expressed letariat. 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 pre-requisites. Of course, Socialism as a science is rooted in the same contemporary economic relations as the class struggle of the proletar-Aussen Hineingetragenes) into the wuechsig) 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 On a vast scale the means of keeprevolutionary party that the proletariat is instilled with Socialist ideology. Thus the party opposes itself to the state. In relation to as an actual recovery in the coun-lightened by the bankruptey of the the proletariat, the class in itself, try is concerned, is about to face Stalinist International. They feel in capitalist society, the party is its decisive test. But, judging by that they can now afford to proan objective force (von Aussen Hin- surface manifestations, it would eingetragenes) and not a subjective appear that its most essential ob-

the workers' movement from its elemental channels—from its urge tional economy in its present stage. more complete world negemony, as point on the agenda of the Amerito hourgeois idealogy as a class in The offensive against Europe can a means of self-preservation, which can working class today—a demonitself—and attracting under the soon proceed full force. American is at stake. It is the struggle for can working class today—a demon- C. P. of the Saar as authentic. That criminal policy of the C. P. in the cracy of Stalin has already left begains absolute control over the to heap treachery upon treachery. The bulk of the workers in Germany have been attracted to the the party of social democracyoriginally a revolutionary partypolicies were at the core as treach-

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 na-

isted in Germany. There, the leaders usurped the authority of the once revolutionary parties to correvolutionary crass in modern so-paralyzed the workers. By their ciety is due to the fact that the silence or by their spoken order, same forces that atomize all other the proletariat of Germany was classes tend to consolidate the mobilized not to oppose Fascism workers, making them cohere more until the order to act would be and more. It is the only class in given. The order never came, and organization. But it cannot fulfill not know either what the proletarits historic mission without Social- at is and what it is capable of, or ist ideology. So long as the prole- what the party is and what the tariat is not imbued with Socialist party may degenerate into. To re-

aside for the moment, the prole-Lenin and Trotsky. tariat of no nation can fulfill its This is the lesson of the German historic mission, defeat Fascism and experience. reorganize society, unless it is im-

true revolutionary party is neces-bued with its international essence, In other words, the proletariat can not become a class for itself unless the workers in each nation can think and act in international terms.

other forms of organization, if nothing to fear from the revolutionthere be no such party, the prole- ary junta. At the same time it is tariat will remain politically un- a pitiable attempt on the part of organized, and either remain in or these near-sighted revolutionists to revert to the demoralized condition stave off intervention. of a class in useif and therefore

Workers Demand Radek's Visit to Polish Dictator Hands Off Cuba

.... rage 1) (COHOL.

But as great as is their awe of from the bourgeoisie no matter greater is their fear of "riots" and what its strength, no matter what "bloodshed"; that is to say, to the objective conjunction of events. translate these phrases into the pliments, etc.... Fascism is the inevitable program language of the class struggle, of tariat is not impued with Socialist party may degenerate into. To reidentify may degenerate into a constant into the control of the cont self. The workers cannot achieve was defeated by Fascism because present. To their program, and to the imperialisis and the native

That is the road which the Junta part based upon the platform of road of the proletariat. Slow to Leaving all other considerations the Communist International of move in the present overturn, it is now raising its voice. Its dedential advisor of the butcher Pil-the international proletariat—esmandş are, as yet, essentially democratic and not incompatible with Gazeta, received by the municipal Polish workers-will probably tell 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. are being threatened by the work- to have an effect on broad sections to have an effect on broad sections a whole section of a working class

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 eadership to the anti-imperialist the Saar are as follows: struggle? That is the question that the next weeks will decide.

But the workers of Cuba cannot by themselves defeat the imperialof the proletariats of both counceed more ruthlessly and more tries 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

Green and Woll, Dubinsky and of view. The United States, as we already ultaneously with this develops the Hillman will not organize the know, is the world's principal man-shifting of gravity of the revolu-movement. They are bound to the erica. It is here in this country in the labor movement and through ous. The truth is that under no the NRA. It is not their job to stir circumstances do these gentlemen the masses to action and organize want to be less nationalistic than the movement of protest and soli- the Nazis, regardless of the price darity.

The Communist movement must movement. It must approach every working class organizations of whatever political shade or trade union philosophy with the proposal

aggerated impression of the article Committee at 94 Fifth Avenue.

said: "My case is to be handled solely by the Terzani Defense Com- in practice they merely had their membership book in his pocket! slightest doubt that the whole chain mittee and its attorneys, and all hands full searching for "devia- The clumsy forgery made by the of events will be laid bare and exmoney 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 should be prepared for the fact though that conveys a bad picture illo, likewise anti-Fascists, charged with murder here in 1927.

> —The Militant.
>
> —The Militant.
>
> —The Militant.
>
> When the National Recovery Administration, including its Labor
>
> We York and outstanding red in the City of New York and outstanding red ary proletariat. And it is into this life in the National Recovery Administration, including its Labor almost daily.

The new orientation of Soviet dek, the Polish Communist, the much. That is a matter of diplomforeign policy which is expressed friend of Rosa Luxemburg (it was acy and Communists, members in the various non-aggression pacts he, by the way, who represented of the party, who have other things and in the definition of the "ag- the Polish social democracy at the to do and are not diplomats, cangressor" clause with France and Zimmerwald and Kienthal Confer- not bother with diplomacy. Soviet

her vassals has brought about a ences of 1915 and 1916) passed diplomacy is one thing and the proseries of "amity acts" between the through the length and width of letarian struggle is another thing, Pilsudski dictatorship ("Faithful Poland, visited the major industrial and "the Trotskyists for the purguardian of Western Civilization"- centers and even spent a day with poses of their counter-revolutionary says Maitre Paul Boncour) and the his mother at his native Tarnow. Stalinist bureaucracy.

ties, exchanges of favors and com- Soviet war!

The most significant of these latgreat revolutionist Karl Radek, who men o'war and remarked philososaw's official organ, the Polska ship did not have any cause to in-

'successes" of Litvinoff, was play- any discomfiture. It did not orbroadest masses of the population even recoils before its own support- ed up by the Stalinist press (see ganize any demonstrations to greet

He held a most remarkable speech After the pacts of rapprochement at Gdynia, the Polish war port consigned under the high patronage of structed with French capital for state is surrounded by a host of the Quai D'Orsay comes a string of competition with Danzig and acvisits and return-visits of repre-cording to Stalinist writings (which, sentatives of so-called public opin- it is true, date back a year or two), prolecarian diplomacy should take ion, receptions to military authori- for the preparation of the anti-

Radek affixed his signature to the

Nor did the Polish Stalinist party This visit, which followed the cause the flirt and his flirtation

did not breathe a word about the ate it with a few radical phrases. Let us first recall the exploits of declarations of Radek which were What counts for everything with the famous renegade. Greeted by published by the whole bourgeois them is good relations with the the whole reactionary press which press (they distinguished themselves capitalist states who will permit for several weeks did not cease merely by a campaign against the them to build "socialism in one publishing photos of the honorable voyage of the "counter-revolutioneditor as well as his declarations, ary" Trotsky) and who want to hide received by Miedzinski, the confi- his declarations from the eyes of far surpassed by another Soviet sudski, and the director of Polska pecially from the eyes of the and governmental authorities; Ra- us that all this does not count for

work, want to mix up the two". Diplomacy? Yes, we realize the need of it as long as the Soviet bourgeois states with whom it is forced to maintain relations. But into account the opinion of the international protetariat and its fundamental interests. In order to Golden Book of the town, greeted please the bourgeois diplomats and all correct to compromise the au-

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. The Stalinists, who in their press They think they can always placcountry".

> But even Radek's exploits were 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 oland!

When Benito Mussolini sends his Polish imitator his photo or when of autonomy—which is absolutely that in order to gain the praise of the infallible Pope Pius XI sends a cross to Pilsudski in appreciaa whole section of a working class zation—that is quite natural. But right through hell. Such a party when the representative of the Soviets thus renders homage to the butcher of the Polish people, that is something that is likely to apodious character of the whole thing. It must also be underscored that such an act is in no way necessit ated by any economic and political

> Before the worker and peasant masses of Poland, fighting against Soviet Union.

The actions following close on The Left Opposition must take the heels of the German capitula-

Stalinists and Saar Referendum

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

First of all, by 1935 Hitler will long ago have been thrown out of the government (!). In all probaist intervention. The economy and bility there will by that time be a Soviet Germany (!). But even if intertwined with the economy and Germany should still be Fascist, politics of the United States. The then there is all the more reason same capitalists oppress the worker for the workers to return to the masses of both countries. The fate 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 presentthoritative political leader of the

The whole motivation is of course they will have to pay. There may be people who believe that by 1935 party was the one whose task it them the dupe, Van der Lubbe, who, gang on April 5. In a public statement issued immediately after his release, Terzani

That idea was reserved only for to work at the firing with his Dutch tive frame-up are not yet uncover-

> ism betrays a complete lack of many with his name spelled with Nazi terror still demands its toll. the class point of view. That is a letter that does not exist in the It can be defeated only by an effecall. But the suggestion that the Dutch alphabet. Since then it has tive mass protest of the downtrod-Saar workers voluntarily turn them- also been proved that for the last den and all the enemies of Fascism. selves over to the Fascist prisons- couple of years he has not been a The working class of the world

Every single day workers are murdered, shot, beheaded and hanged, tortured by the tens of man nationalists who had opposed thousands and imprisoned under in- the coalition with the Fascists. His human conditions in Germany. Every distributor of a leaflet is attention of the Nazi led to raids

(Continued from Page 1) in the name of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg has sunk so low correct—a slogan that will not fail the bourgeoisie for its staunch na' rightfully belongs on the garbage heap of history. The slogan for the Saar workers

can only call for autonomy. It is pear strange to honest Communists, of no consequence to the working even those who believe in the genclass if the bourgeoisie calls this eral line! That this act was carseparatism. Its interests are de- ried out by a man with such a cided by nothing else but the actual cided by nothing else but the actual grand revolutionary past as Han-facts. It must defend its life and ecki's, that is bound to be painful its property in the Saar from mur- for some, but it only aggravates the derers 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 the bloody dictatorship, this act sigshould have opened the eyes of the nifies nothing less than the rehabililast worker and decided him, in the tation of Pilsulski by the Stalinist interests of his class, not to vote bureaucracy as an old revolutionfor the slogans of the C. P. It is ary and a present friend of the never good to be praised by the class enemy.

Cuban brothers. That is the first ed to the present writer by an au-up the struggle with all the necestion show how great a part of the sary energy and clarity against the road to degeneration the bureauwing of the party—imbuing it with Socialist ideology as a class for it
stration of the solidarity of the Ambert Social relation of the solidarity of the Stration of the solidarity of the Stration of the solidarity of the Stration of the solidarity of the Ambert Social relation of the solidarity of the Stration of the Strat Socialist ideology as a class for itself. Once a party has achieved

self. Once a party has achieved

self. Once a party has achieved

self. Once a party has achieved self. Once a party ha ter conditions and higher—wages August, L'Humanite (the organ of new German workers' party. We class enemy. class should soon become visible, more furious conflicts within the against the Cuban bourgeoisie and the French Stalinists) carried an must aid the Saar workers with The ideas for which Radek and article representing the same point all our might, before it is too late, Hancki once fought will have to before they are delivered into a sea be and will be defended by the of blood and tears by characterless Polish Marxists against Stalinist J. (PARIS). revisionism.

The German Communist Trial

(Continued from Page 1) Nazis in supplying him with a pose the provocation for what it is. passport is already well known to Meanwhile the lives of the accused The hope for a swift fall of Fasc the world. It was made in Ger-Communists are in danger. The that is nothing short of criminal. member of any Communist party, must not lose one minute in letting but a member of the Nazi party. | its powerful protest be heard.

Oberfohren was one of the Ger-

most place, which still today speaks stances. George Bell had been in

charge of the Nazi, illegal, foreign take the initiative in building the Fascism will be replaced by the If this will not perceptibly influ-division. He first came to interproletarian dictatorship. The in- ence the fate of the accused, it will national notice in connection with capable bureaucracy nurtures this at least, help to make the nature the Chervonetz forgery trial in belief, which helps it to substitute of the frame-up clear to the world. Berlin, in 1930. (The notorious for lack of perspective with an un- Among class conscious workers Drusxelovsky central in Berlin, union philosophy with the proposal for a united fight against the intervention of the United States in Cuba, in solidarity with the Cuban masses.

TERZANI OUT ON BAIL

Athor 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 in the footsteps of the Composation of the United States in Cuba, in solidarity with the Cuban masses.

Among class conscious workers at the culmination of an outright frame-up. Much substantiating 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 Reichstag building on Feb. 27 and a change from its first form of loans it gives one the feeling that peo- Fascist Khaki Shirts of America in is the concern of the class, but which loads from the residence of was the first to bring information to governments for purposes of stabilization to loans to industrial or that party officials, in spite of enterprises. The latter are estimated at about seven to eight bilated at about seven to eight billions. American imperialism thus time wining and dining with for the lions and today—the dissatisfied proletarlions to the huilding. The inconditions that the proletarlions to the huilding. The inconditions to the huilding that the lions to the huilding. The inconditions to the huilding that the lions to the huilding. The inconditions to the huilding that the lions to the huilding that the lions to the huilding. The inconditions to the huilding the lions to the lions to the huilding the lions to the lions to the lions to the huilding the lions to began to lay its hands on the national economy of the European nowers. Its general intervention of the state of the state

If the number on 189 your wrapper is . your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly

THE MILITANT 126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

this task, the fate of the proletariat becomes inextricably linked with the fate of the party which allegiance of the workers. This ing once achieved its task cannot ufacturer, its principal commodity tionary center from Europe to Amin imperialist state by their position un-Marxist, hypocritical and ridiculdegenerate and fail to fulfill its warehouse and its principal bankhistoric role and thus betray the proletariat. If the workers obey United States reaches above the the party blindly, it is only be- three hundred billion mark and by thing hitherto experienced can be cause they have been blindfolded far outdistances that of any other expected. 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 ported to other countries to be emparties that claim to be the agencies of Socialist ideology. They have been trained to believe that truly continued to represent their class interests. Hence they obeyed the American intervention in Eur- impression when he thinks the artiit. The Communist party of Germany_attracted another section but failed to gain over the social democratic workers because its own erous as those of social democracy, and therefore could not counter-act or expose the perfidy 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 capital accumplation has suffered analysis, and gets a bad impression the Stalinists. If they responded an enormous reduction during the from the article in question. It is

at all elementally it was only to crisis. But the masters now anti-true that this article did not atgravitate into the camp of Fascism. tionally—but on one condition, and ed up by a now more completely Advisory Board, headed by Green baiter, is now trying his hands at frightful dungeon that people who magazine at his side—"a suicide" one condition only, if an organiza- organiza the surely has his hands full with the workers of the Saar. A party who was simultaneously an accomthem in their historic course. Alone tration of finance and industry, code they started something. The many strikes in progress in the on whose flag the idea of Interna-plice, had been put out of the way they cannot and will not find the One of the initial means is likely way. At all times and under all to be the advancing of additional magnates are now insisting on the

No true revolutionary party exrupt the ideology and decapitate The workers cannot so actthe working class. Not Hitler, but unless a true international of Morgan that their loans and the That the proletariat is the only the Socialists and the Stalinists party obtains. Regardless of all magnificent interest rates have society capable of revolutionary now Marxists are "amazed" who do prove unable to wrest the power the imperialist bourgeoisie still

sen. The workers cannot achieve was deleated by Passesian because present. To their program, and to the program of the Socialists as bourgeoisie. Between these two in his capacity as editor of the phically that the "seas unify"! As thority of the proletarian state in crass consciousness spontaneously in the first state in Germany. The betrayal of its well as that of the Stalinists, i. e., grants the petty bourgeois junta is big Soviet Daily, the Izvestia, went can be seen, his language was very the eyes of the international proleor instructively. To quote Lenin, and the party reverted the proletariat back the official Communist Party) must caught as in the jaws of a vise and to Poland on the invitation of War- correct and the Pilsudski censor- tariat. from without." And again, "Since into a condition of a class in itself. be counterposed the revolutionary is adomed to early extinction. there cannot even be talk of the As such it was helpelss in the face scientific program—to win the deworking masses developing their of Fascism. Unless this lesson is cisive majority of the working class existence it has begun to retreat ment. own ideology independently during learned once for all the disaster of America, sweeping along behind before the revolutionary ascent of the course of their movement—the that threatens mankind will become the true revolutionary party the the masses of the proletariat and Whother or not Fascism will in order to overthrow the bourgeois ers. An Associated Press dispatch L'Humanite) as evidence of a the representative of the proletar-There is no third. Of course, this succeed in establishing itself in state within the national boundar- of September 7 says that the Junta change of relations of forces in the lat. He had already been greeted does not imply that the workers the majority of industrial coun- ies, and to lay the foundations for has "secretly resolved to disarm all international arena to the advan- by the government.... do not participate in the formation tries is a life and death question the socialist state as an integral civitians and began to try to re- tage of the working class and the of Sognatist ideology. But they par- for all these countries. An epoch part of the permament revolution store to their former positions of ticipate not as workers but as theor- of imperialist wars will inevitably the goal of which is the establisheticians of Socialism, only to the follow the Fascist victory. In evextent to which they are able to ery country where the proletariat ciety. The necessary and only treachery! master the scientific knowledge of remains a class in itself, Fascism means for achieving these aims is their generation and are capable must win in conflict with the pro-

JOHN G. WRIGHT.

U.S. Prepares Assault on Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

visory boards and of arbitration iat. But Socialist consciousness will make the alliance complete. can arise only on the basis of pro- Nevertheless the promoters are not tound scientific knowledge. And at all overlooking its usefulness the vehicle of science is not the also as a means of entirely outlawproletariat but the bourgeois intelling working class rank and file renigentsia. "Thus, Socialist con-sistance. In all of this the relasciousness is something that is tionship of the government to the brought from the outside (von various component parts of national economy fits and performs its funcclass struggle of the proletariat, tion to strengthen the hands of the and not something elemental (ur- 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. ing the working class in subjection

are being reinforced. The task of the party, as Lenin posed it, lies precisely in diverting the workers' movement for the market. Their reorganization of the NRA climaxes the sequent unbridled expansion of the market. Their consciousness of power, their consciousness of power, their consciousness of power than the workers' movement for the market of the way to being accomplished. In the work of the work of the party, as Lenin the way to being accomplished. In the work of the party, as Lenin the way to being accomplished. In the work of the party, as Lenin the way to being accomplished. In the work of the party, as Lenin the way to being accomplished. In the work of the party, as Lenin the way to being accomplished. In the work of the work of the work of the way to being accomplished. In the work of the work of the way to being accomplished. In the work of the work of the work of the way to being accomplished. In the work of th reorganization of American na- know no bounds. It is their much tional economy in its present stage. more complete world hegemony, as

a later point in our estimate. nation. Its enormous annual capital accumulation since the war had

to seek new fields of investments. A heavy proprotion thereof was exployed at a higher profit rate. It from comrades Ainsworth and Hambecame the means of promotion of litton on the article we published in the exportation of goods and the the Militant of August 12, entitled acquisition of super profits. The "A Delegate Visits the Soviet Untotal estimated amount of foreign ion". The essence of the criticism papers held in the United States, of both comrades is that this artiincluding the items listed under in- cle gave emphasis to the conditions ter-government-runs into \$28,000, of poverty prevailing. Comrade 000,000. But most characteristic of Ainsworth, however, got the wrong ope during this period, is the fact cle conveyed the idea that the popu-

to governments for purposes of ple are dying like fleas in a frost powers. Its general intervention, had the objective of permitting Eur- in question. ope to rise again but within specifically defined limits, to assign to criticism in regard to what would its nations their specific but reduced

rations in world economy. In the United States the annual cipate its rise at a vastly acceler- tempt to give an analysis. The deated rhythm. And for that the NRA machinery of attempted re-impressions. In the full sense of gulation of class relations is to the word these are penned by a prepare the ground at home for supporter of the Soviet. But that more effective operations abroad. in no way could release him from Even bearing in mind the scope of the obligation of describing condisuch operations in the past, we tions as he found them. that the campaign of American fin- the truth must be told. And there ance capital for the conquest of the need be no doubt that the story world market, will actually in its was one true to actual facts. real magnitude begin only tomor-

For this offensive the principal instrument is finance capital back- ministration, including its Labor conditions in capitalist society a large scale loans and credits-in-same privilege.

fluenced 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 preponderence. 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 damming up against the extension The NRA as such, that is as far of October, has become enormously mercilessly against their competitjects enumerated above, are well on ors in the world market. Their

forward steps upon its working also lay the foundation for much But this question we leave until world arena. That, however, is the American imperialists. only one side of the problem. Simer. The estimated wealth of the that future revolutionary struggles on a more gigantic scale than any-

-ARNE SWABECK.

OUR COMRADES CRITICIZE THE MILITANT

We have received some criticism

that the loans advanced recorded lation lives worse than hoboes, that

Comrade Hamilton states his happen to a casual reader who peruses this issue and, without becoming acquainted with our general legate merely conveyed his direct