Socialist Action

CONTENTS

- 1. The Provincial Executive Holds an Inquisition.
- 2. Towards a Workers' and Farmers' Government.
- 3. Canada Must Open the Doors.
- 4. & Treacherous Election Policy.
- 5. For A Socialist United States of Europe.

PUBLISHED BY -- SOCIAL LIST POLICE. GROUS -- Left Wing - C.C.F.

Secretary -- David Easton, 468 Markham Street, Toronto.

. FOR MEMBERS OF THE C.C.F.

VOL. I -- NO. 5.

November 28, 1938.

Single Copy - 1d Yearly - 25¢

THE PROVINCIAL EMECUTIVE STAGES A TRIAL

SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP CHARGED THE CONSTITUTIONAL VIGLATION AS THELVE LEADING NEWBERS ARRAIGHED.

A dozen members of the S.P.G. were invited to appear before the Provincial Executive on Wednesday, November 16th on the charge of being "a member of, or worker for the S.P.G., an organization which does not conform to the principles, policy, constitution and laws of the C.C.F." The hearing confirmed beyond a doubt our allegation that the Prov. Ex. was attempting to dissolve the S.P.G. because of its revolutionary program. Indeed, some very interesting positions were brought to light by members of the Prov. Ex. in the course of the evening. Messrs. E.B.Jolliffe and A.H.Woods, for example, were quite categorical in their statements that no one had a right to belong to the C.C.F., disciplined member or otherwise, if he differed with any of the principles of the C.C.F.

Despite the fact that an entire group of members was charged with functioning as a group contrary to the interests of the CCF, the Prov. Ex. nevertheless tried to hold an individual.inquisition of each member. This was successfully thwerted by the firm stand of the defendants, but only after two comrades had been grilled in private session. The accused nembers insisted on their right to a common trial, and asked for an open hearing of their case, with CCF ers given the privilege of attending. This was not even considered by the members of the Prov. Ex., who were anxious to perform the unpleasant task of expelling the left wing behind closed doors.

The Prov. Ex. had only one bit of "evidence" to substantiate its charge, viz., the issue of Socialist Action containing the Program of Action suggested for the CCF. The essence of the evidence was this: Inasmuch as the contents of the paper differs with the program of the CCF, it is therefore unconstitutional and irregular, and cannot be permitted. Inasmuch as the program of the S.P.G. is avowedly in fundamental disagreement with the present CCF program, it has no right to exist within the organization. Inasmuch as the individual members of the S.P.G. do net agree with the present program of the CCF, they have no right to membership. Jolliffe contended that these differences were fundamental, and therefore there was no doubt as to the stand of the Prov. Ex. One member of the S.P.G. offered to plead guilty in writing to this charge of having fundamental ideological differences with the P.E., if the charge in turn was submitted in writing. The Prov. Ex. conveniently declined to take advantage of this offer, and suggested that their statements were not charges, but merely "evidence".

Leavens, of Woodbine club, on the other hand, was not so brazen in his stand, however equally bureaucratic in essence. Ke maintained that while it was quite legitimate for revolutionaries to function as C.C.F. members, they nevertheless had no right to form a group, and that this latter, constituted in his opinion, a violation of discipline. We pointed out in reply that in reality several groupings functioned in the CCF. In the first place there was the New Commonwealth group, publishing a paper which is not the official organ of the CCF, and which at times opposes official CCF policy before the public, as for example, a recent article favoring an isolationist position for Canada, when the summer national convention had adopted a confused and garbled resolution favoring collective security in a modified form. A Vancouver group publishing the "Flame", an internal organ containing some splendid revolutionary material, was also cited as a case in point. As long as the policy and program of the CCF was weak and ineffective, so long would groups continue to exist and grow. In this situation left wing groups would play a positive role in the hammering out of a clean-cut revolutionary program for the party. No one doubts that the Stalinists are boring from within the CCF in their insidious manner. The Toronto Regional Council appears to be their most successful stamping ground at the moment. There is only one effective answer to the poison of Stalinism which vitiates the independence and militancy of the labor movement wherever it goes, and that is a revolutionary program, the program of the S.P.G. We are open and above-board in our activity. We are a group, and we champion our right to remain as such. The Prov. Ex. hasn't a single political answer to our program. They make no effort to answer us politically. The reply is the trial itself -- bureaucratic administrative measures - expulsions. They have nothing else to say.

Our comrades stated that this marks the beginning of a totalitarian regime in the party, not one whit different from Stalinism. The S.P.G. disagrees with the P.E., therefore out it goes - that is the position of our "leaders". It is time the membership took a hand in this very serious situation. The S.P.G. repeats before the entire party its demand for an open trial. We ask for a province-wide convention, particularly as there had been no political discussion at the last conference. The Prov. Ex. cited the constitution to the effect that the demand of at least 51% of the clubs was required in order to have that right. We asked for the privilege of addressing an appeal to the Ontario membership, which was denied us. The clause calling for a convention is thus reduced to a mere sham in the hands of the present leadership.

The P.E. says: "You disagree with the program of the CCF, therefore you have no right to belong." We say: "Yes, it is true; we plead guilty to that charge. We are revolutionaries, We have major differences on many of the key questions, War, Fascism, the Road to Power, etc., with the present right-wing leadership. We have never denied this. On the contrary, we have openly fought for these ideas. It is the P.E. who obscures the issue by trying to frame us with a charge of constitutional violation. We have never broken discipline - unless ideological differences and the championing of those ideas within the party are breaches of discipline." Only bureaucrats can claim this to be a violation of discipline and that is the answer of the P.Ex.

THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE STAGES A TRIAL

SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP CHARGED WITH CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATION AS TWELVE LEADING NEW DERS ARRAIGHED.

A dozen members of the S.P.G. were invited to appear before the Provincial Executive on Wednesday, November 16th on the charge of being "a member of, or worker for the S.P.G., an organization which does not conform to the principles, policy, constitution and laws of the C.C.F." The hearing confirmed beyond a doubt our allegation that the Prov. Ex. was attempting to dissolve the S.P.G. because of its revolutionary program. Indeed, some very interesting positions were brought to light by members of the Prov. Ex. in the course of the evening. Messrs. E.B.Jolliffe and A.H.Woods, for example, were quite categorical in their statements that no one had a right to belong to the C.C.F., disciplined member or otherwise, if he differed with any of the principles of the C.C.F.

Despite the fact that an entire group of members was charged with functioning as a group contrary to the interests of the CCF, the Prov. Ex. nevertheless tried to hold an individual inquisition of each member. This was successfully thwarted by the firm stand of the defendants, but only after two comrades had been grilled in private session. The accused members insisted on their right to a common trial, and asked for an open hearing of their case, with CCF'ers given the privilege of attending. This was not even considered by the members of the Prov. Ex., who were anxious to perform the unpleasant task of expelling the left wing behind closed doors.

The Prov. Ex. had only one bit of "evidence" to substantiate its charge, viz., the issue of Socialist Action containing the Program of Action suggested for the CCF. The essence of the evidence was this: Inasmuch as the contents of the paper differs with the program of the CCF, it is therefore unconstitutional and irregular, and cannot be permitted. Inasmuch as the program of the S.P.G. is avowedly in fundamental disagreement with the present CCF program, it has no right to exist within the organization. Inasmuch as the individual members of the S.P.G. do net agree with the present program of the CCF, they have no right to membership. Jolliffe contended that these differences were fundamental, and therefore there was no doubt as to the stand of the Prov. Ex. One member of the S.P.G. offered to plead guilty in writing to this charge of having fundamental ideological differences with the P.E., if the charge in turn was submitted in writing. The Prov. Ex. conveniently declined to take advantage of this offer, and suggested that their statements were not charges, but merely "evidence".

Leavens, of Woodbine club, on the other hand, was not so brazen in his stand, however equally bureaucratic in essence. He maintained that while it was cuite legitimate for revolutionaries to function as C.C.F. members, they nevertheless had no

right to form a group, and that this latter, constituted in his opinion, a violation of discipline. We pointed out in reply that in reality several groupings functioned in the CCF. In the first place there was the New Commonwealth group, publishing a paper which is not the official organ of the CCF, and which at times opposes official CCF policy before the public, as for example, a recent article favoring an isolationist position for Canada, when the summer national convention had adopted a confused and garpled resolution favoring collective security in a modified form. A Vancouver group publishing the "Flame", an internal organ containing some splendid revolutionary material, was also cited as a case in point. As long as the policy and program of the CCF was weak and ineffective, so long would groups continue to exist and grow. In this situation left wing groups would play a positive role in the hammering out of a clean-out revolutionary program for the party. No one doubts that the Stalinists are boring from within the CCF in their ingidious manner. The Toronto Regional Council appears to be their most successful stamping ground at the moment. There is only one effective answer to the poison of Stalinism which vitiates the independence and militancy of the labor movement wherever it goes, and that is a revolutionary program, the program of the S.P.G. We are open and above-board in our activity. We are a group, and we champion our right to remain as such. The Prov. Ex. hasn't a single political answer to our program. They make no effort to answer us politically. The reply is the trial itself -- bureaucratic administrative measures - expulsions. They have nothing else to say.

Our comrades stated that this marks the beginning of a totalitarian regime in the party, not one whit different from Stalinism. The S.P.G. disagrees with the P.E., therefore out it goes - that is the position of our "leaders". It is time the membership took a hand in this very serious situation. The S.P.G. membership took a hand in this very serious situation. The S.P.G. repeats before the entire party its demand for an epen trial. We ask for a province-wide convention, particularly as there had been no political discussion at the last conference. The Prov. Ex. cited the constitution to the effect that the demand of at least 51% of the clubs was required in order to have that right. We asked for the privilege of addressing an appeal to the Ontario membership, which was denied us. The clause calling for a convention is thus reduced to a mere sham in the hands of the present leadership.

The P.E. says: "You disagree with the program of the CCF, therefore you have no right to belong." We say: "Yes, it is true; we plead guilty to that charge. We are revolutionaries, We have major differences on many of the key questions, War, Fascism, the Road to Power, etc., with the present right-wing leadership. We have never denied this. On the contrary, we have openly fought for these ideas. It is the P.E. who obscures the issue by trying to frame us with a charge of constitutional violation. We have never broken discipline - unless ideological differences and the championing of those ideas within the party are breaches of discipline." Only bureauerats can claim this to be a violation of discipline and that is the answer of the P.Ex.

the farmer to repay leans in kind, the first claim on farm income to be an adequate living for the man who tills the land-these are but some of the steps which must be taken immediately to assure the farmer land and a living.

To achieve this program, we need a taxation program which will sedure sufficient funds to ease the tax burden of the workers, the small home owner and farmer. Let us tear the veil of mystery off taxation: Taxation, t bottom, is the grand strategy whereby the burden of society is placed on one class or another. Municipal taxation is almost entirely taxation of real state. Thereby the big corporations escape from the full taxation to which they should be subjected. One of the chief tasks of 'labor'... must be to centralize relief costs and public works financing in the Federal Government so that the small home owners and farmers do not bear the brunt. The burden must be placed on those best able to bear it: the higher incomes and wealthy corporations.

The workers will pass by the CCF if it continues to put forth the old program and phrases proven outworn so many times in the past. What it needs is a clean break with the reformist abstractions in the Regina Manifesto, and the adoption of a concrete program of action that will really answer the basic needs of the exploited and oppressed. Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government, -- by all means. But that is possible only with a program of real domands.

CANADA MUST OPEN THE DOORS!

Half a million German Jews knock at the doors of the world, fleeing in terror from the furious sadism of Nazi reaction. Innocent men, women and children are doomed to physical extermination as the "whipping boys" for the crimes of bankrupt German capitalism. The tragic plight of this minority commands immediation on the part of the Canadian labor movement. There can be no temporizing -- THIS IS A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH! Give the Jews the right of asylum in Canada!

There has been much public weeping and gnashing of teeth on the part of our leading citizens in sympathy with the victims of the terror. Pity is cheap, but the Wailing Wall does nothing to provide a refuge for the homeless. The "democratic" governments of Britain, France and America hope to strengthen their bargaining power against Germany in the post-Munich imperialist negotiations, by pretending to champion the cause of Jowry. Britain, looking for cheap colonial labor for her least profitable outposts of Empire, suggests as a haven the plague-ridden ex-German colonics of Africa, and British Guinia, where it is almost impossible for white men to exist. This ingenious scheme would only mean a slower, more protracted death for the refugees unable to endure the equatorial climate and the rigours of primitive conditions.

The only hope of the Jew is the labor movement of the world

and particularly of the new world. The Cenadian, along with the American working class should demonstrate in the streets, by a half-day stoppage of work, their hatred of the Mazi regime, and their sympathy with the terrorized Jews. The trade unions and all working class organizations must form a united front to protest the brutal pogroms, and to force the government to open the doors to the refugaes.

Not only is this a life and death question for the Jews-it means strengthening our own labor movement by striking a blow at reaction, both German and domestic.

It can be argued that Canada has its own problems to look after; that free entry of the refugees means taking away jobs from our own workers, and reducing the relief that should go to our own workless. The question of absorbing the refugees into the economy must be tied up with the fight for a broad program of public works, to take care of all the unemployed, both immigrant and Canadian. The hours of work in industry must be shortened, to divide the jobs among all the available workers, with no reductions in pay. The united front of labor organizations must demand that the \$50 millions budgetted for national "defence" be turned over to the social services and relief. Further funds necessary can be raised by a tax on the higher incomes and rich corporations.

CANADA MUST OPEN THE DOOR TO THE REFUGZES FROM FASCIST TERPOR!

DIVERT THE DEFENCE BUDGET TO SOCIAL SERVICES!

PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS AT TRADE UNION RATES OF PAY FOR REFUGEE AND HATIVE UNDERLOYED!

SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE WHO SUFFER AT THE HAUTS OF FASCISM IS ONE OF THE BEST WAIS OF ESTABLISHING, IN THIS COUNTRY, AN UNBREAKABLE WALL AGAINST THE ADVITOR OF CANADIAN PASCISM.

A TREACHEROUS ELECTION POLICY

Considerable resentment has developed as a result of the recommendation of the Toronto Regional Council for the sponsoring of independent candidates in the Municipal elections. At the last T.R.C. meeting a heated discussion ensued on this and the matter of the Ward IV elections. Delegates from the Ward insisted on their right to contest the aldermanic field if they so desired. David Lewis, Dominion Secretary, by "accident", was on hand to defend the line of the 7.R.C. This came as a complete surprise to many present, as heretofore the Prov. and Nat. Ex. had opposed the tendency to water down the socialist character of C.C.F. principles and tactics. It can only be interpreted as a move to the right, now that the left wing has been dealt with in summary There can be no doubt as to the stand of every genuine socialist in the CCF on this question. Our party must not play the game of bourgeois politics. The program of the party is first and foremost; the man is only a secondary consideration. Socialists must expose this reactionary practice -- they must not surrender to it.

FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Following is a partial text of a speech delivered recently by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the socialist Workers Party of the United States, at the Hotel Center, New York, on "The war crisis in Europe and the meaning of the Munich pact."

"We've always known and we've always said that the capitalist system, sinking ever deeper in decline and decay, is moving steadily by its own inner logic to a new world war. During the recent crisis of European diplomacy we saw this conception come perilously close to concrete realization. During thos days the world stood in the very shadow of catastrophe. If the masses of the world recoiled in horror and grasped at a postponement at any price, if the hands of the imperialists at the last moment trembled — nevertheless, everybody knows the Eunich pact was not a solution; everybody realizes now that it was not salvation, but only reprieve.

The diplomatic crisis around the war that was for the moment averted was only a rehearsal -- and so the world understands it -- of another crisis soon to come which will hereld the inevitable outbreak of war. The horrifying experience of the past days is fraught with menace and warning for all the people of our planet. The spectacle of the doored millions, waiting in agonizing fear for the decision of four diplomats at hunich -- waiting to hear their fate -- is symbolic of their helplessness in the face of unprecedented deception and betrayal.

A lesson in Realism

The capitalist statesmen met in a closed room. They, the realists of imperialist politics, were not in the least concerned with senseless abstractions about peace, honor, justice, democracy, etc. They discussed the redivision of the world from a point of view that was calcusively materialistic. They weighed and measured the prospect of spilling oceans of blood with as much concern for the victims as four matter-of-fact butchers in a slaughter-house. The only friend of the masses in that room, the only warning voice that spoke for peace, was that of an uninvited and invisible guest -- the specter of revolution which could not be expressed. That is the only real force for peace, for delay, for postponement of war that is left in this mad capitalist world.

The inevitable war that may be postponed but not avoided is the price humanity must pay for the failure of the workers, the progre sive class in society, to fulfill their historic mission, for their failure to overthrow the decayed and outworn social system and replace it by socialism. If the coming war is, by all signs, to begin as a new senselss imperialist slaughter, with reactionary fascism on the offensive, it is the result in the first place—and lot us never forcet it— it is

--19--

the result of the betrayal of the proletariat by the Social Democracy in the last war and in the revolutionary struggles which followed it. In the second place it is the result of the capitulation and betrayal of the German proletariat by the two partness in historic crime, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

Masses are Against War

It is important for us, I think, to take note of the main features of the war-shaking crisis which culminated in the Munich Paot. The main outlines are clear enough. The most positive feature of the whole experience was the indubitable opposition of the masses to a new war. This sentiment, as all observers testify, was virtually universal. It manifested itself everywhere in every way that was open to the bewildered masses to express themselves. Even in Germany, where we have been falsely told so often that the fascist war lord rules with the enthusiastic consent of the massos, the newspaper correspondents testify to the profound dread of var which seized the people and their unrestrained joy when it seemed to have been averted.

The spontaneous rejoicing of the masses in all countries was only superficially expressed in homage to the statesmen who had condescended to postpone the conflict. At bottom it was an expression of the profound opposition of the masses of all countries to another war. The terrible experience of the holocaust of 1914818 with its more than ten million dead and more than twenty million wounded and crippled and maimed, with its hunger and starvation, its innumerable infant victims of malnutrition, its epidemics to the whole horrifying mess of bloody death and destruction — all this still lives in the memory of the present generation of hunans.

How many lives will a new war cost, now that the instruments of death have been tremendously increased with multiplied officiency? -- that is the fearful cuestion which was uppermost in the minds of all the inhabitants of our planet as they swayed on the brink of another war. No! It is impossible to arouse any popular enthusiasm for another military adventure. And in the face of this universal sentiment the imperialist masters dread the social consequences of a plunge into the dark unknown.

The Real Face of Democracy

The second feature of the crisis which came to a point at Munich, which ought to enlighten millions who have been duped and doped by false prophets, was the attitude displayed throughout the entire affair, consistently, up to the very end, by the authentic spokesmen of the capitalist democracies. With their own hands they stripped away the veil of illusion and deceit and showed their real class face at Munich. They demonstrated clearly and with brutal cynicism the fact that there is no fundamental difference between democratic and fascist capitalism. The agreements they signed at Munich, and especially

the amiable protocol of smity and good will signed by Chamberlain and Hitler gave a crushing refutction to the liars and deceivers who have taught the masses to stake their heads on British democracy in their struggle against fascism.

The two imperialist camps represented at Munich -- the democratic and the fascist -- showed a common antagonism to the Soviet Union, antagonism to the state that was raised up by the October Revolution; with a gesture of contempt they thrust aside the Stalinist traitors who have served them so well. Years long now, Stalin has courted the favor of the imperialist masters assembled at Munich, but this could not win for him at the decisive moment a nod of recognition or an invitation to the conference. The miscrable propaganda of Stalin and his prostituted hirelings in those days amounted to nothing but a whining protest at this ingratitude.

Not enough Yet!

"LOCK,"--THEY SAID IN EFFECT--"LOOK, WHAT WE'VE DOI'E FOR YOU. WE KILLED A WHOLE GENERATION OF REVOLUTIONISTS IN RUSSIA; WE DESTROYED THE COMINTERN; WE BUTCHERED THE RED GENERALS AND DEMORALIZED THE RED ARWY."

AND THE CCLD-BLOODED IMPERIALIST MASTERS ANSWERED BY THEIR ACTIONS: "YOU HAVEN'T DONE EHOUGH YET. YOU MAVEN'T RESTORED THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. THAT IS OUR REAL OBJECTIVE. YOU, BY KILLING THE BOLSEEVIKS, BY ASSASSINATING THE RED GENERALS, BY DISORGANIZING SOVIET ECONOMY AND DEMORALIZING THE RED ARMY-BY ALL THIS YOU HAVE OHLY MADE IT EASIER FOR US TO ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION TOGETHER WITH HITLER."

The third feature of the diplomatic crisis was the diplomats fear of the masses, that unknown quantity, that algebraic $^{\pi}X^{\pi}$ which cast its menacing shadow over their conference.

The profound anti-war sentiment was known to them. They also have memories of the past war and its unforseen consequences. They recall that it began with England as the dominant world power, buttressed on the east by the empire of the Czar, that historic "mainstay of European reaction." Within two and a half years after the war began, the whole structure of Czarism was in the dust and the mighty upsurge of the Russian Revolution had upset the world balance. In the west the United States, profiting by the dislocation and exhaustion of the European nations, emerged from the war as the first power of the world, relegating England to second place and starting the world-wide empire on the road to dissolution.

What will be the consequences of the next war?--that is the question which paralyzed the hands of the diplomats and disturbed their dreams. Will we lose the war if we win it as before? Will the multiplied efficiency of the war weapons bring crisis and revolution in six months instead of two and a half years? Will the American colossus extend and strengthen its hegemony still more? The incluctable contradictions of all the capitalist.

nations and of the world-system as a whole push them relentlessly to war and yet the statesmen falter and tremble in fear of the unknown.

"But Chamberlain and Daladier are betrayers," whine the Stalinists, who taught the masses to trust the capitalist democracies and their authentic leaders. What a puerile explanation of the collapse of their own policy! Chamberlain and Daladier never promised to defend anything except the imperialist interests of their class. They remained faithful to their class. It is the snivelling Stalinists, the Social-Democrats, and labor fakers of all stripes, who betrayed their class by chloroforming it with the illusion of the Peoples' Front—that is the partnership of labor with its mortal class enemy.

Stalin's Next Step

That, in the post-Munich world situation, can be the next steps of Stalin? Some naive people - including some superficial newspaper correspondents and columnists - predict a new turn to revolutionary policy on the world arena. Some Stalinist workers, I have no doubt some of them are sitting in this hall tonight, cherish this hope of a treturn to revolutionary activity. They see what they want to see. Many of them are so sich of waving the American flag, and are so hoarse from singing the Star Spangled Banner, that they want to believe it was all a superclever revolutionary maneuver to deceive the capitalists. Now that the policy has failed so miserably, so catastrophically, they want to believe that there will be a return to revolutionary activity on the part of Stalin and his clique.

Illusion! These people have long since passed over to the other side of the barricades, their hands are red with the blood of innumerable revolutionists. In Aussia, in Spain, in France, in Switzerland, in China, in the United States -- on a world-wide scale, they have established themselves irrevocably as the hangmen of the revolution.

STALIN'S HATT MOVE WILL BE A DIPLOMATIC APPROACH TO HITLER, AND HITLER, IN TURN, WILL TALK BUSINESS. But not on the basis of abstractions, shibboleths, or "principles" -- Hitler's principles are as false and phoney as Stalin's, Hitler will demand, and Stalin will offer, concessions, concrete and tangible. A breach in the foreign trade monopoly, which will immediately undermine Russian industry and prepare its collapse? A slice of the Ukraine, as a beginning of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union? To show good faith on the part of Stelin, a new trial, perhaps, new killings? Litvinov's head, as the scapegoat for the discredited policy of alliances with the capitalist democracies? Another purge of the Red Army on which the disappearance" of Marshal Bluecher will be recorded as an advance payment? Or. proceeding to a drastic solution of the real conflict between the Soviet Union and all the imperialist countries, will Stalin move to a direct attempt to restore private property and open up the Russian market to foreign exploitation?

STALIN HILL FALL

These are the questions which can constitute the only presible basis for rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin. Phantastic, you say. No, the whole course of Stalin has been leading straight to this end. If you read, in the near future, some radical blustering in the Stalinist press, some hints and threats of a new appeal of the working masses of the world, you can understand it as the signal for the preparation of a new drastic turn to the right. Stalin and his clique, long ago, turned their backs on every hope and prospect of world revolution. The bureaucratic caste is concerned only with self-preservation, at any cost.

Stalin, like dictators of the imperialist countries, both democratic and fascist, fears one thing above all the masses. And well he may. A DEAL WITH HITLER INVOLVING A EREACH OF THE FOREIGN TRADE HONOPOLY, A CESSION OF SOVIET TERRITORY, OR AN ATTEPT TO RESTORE THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, MAY VERY WELL BE THE SPARK TEAT WILL SET OFF THE REVOLUTIONARY EXPLOSION IN RUSSIA, AND BRING STALIN TO HIS DOWNFALL.

If Hitler, now fully armed and backed by Britain and France, is ready to train the great guns against the Soviet Union, that is the fruit of the betrayal of the German proletariat and the shameful capitulation to Hitler in 1933. In 1932 - before Hitler came to power - Trotsky sounded a prophetic warning. He said that Hitler, once he crushed the German labor movement, and consolidated his internal position on the blood and bones of the workers, would reach an agreement with France and England, and become the spearhead of a new imperialist attack against the Soviet Union. This warning, ignored and derided, like all of the wise words of Trotsky, is now approaching a horrible realization. The responsibility rests exclusively with the betrayers and capitulators, the Stalinists and the leaders of the German Social-Democracy, those swine who even went to the length of presenting themselves in Hitler's Reichstag and offering to collaborate as a loyal opposition.

Whose the Responsibility?

It is the fashion now to blame the German masses for the consolidation of fascism in Germany and the monstrous military aggression of Hitler. Every scribbler, these days, writes about the war spirit of the German masses, their love of obedience, their stupidity, etc. Base calumny! the German proletariat waw the most advanced, the strongest, and best organized in Europe. They did not embrace fascism. They were not defeated in battlw. They were abandoned and betrayed. The jingo nationalist policy of Stalinism in France, in England and the other countries of democratic capitalism, left the German workers speechless and helpless to combat the nationalistic spirit propagated by Hitler.

Only Internationalist Voice

The only voice raised for a proletarian policy in the maropean war crisis was the voice of the Fourth International and its sections. Our comrades in Czechoslovakia - including the Sudeten areas - with unexampled courage, raised the one slogan of reason in the mad welter of capitalist nationalism. In the midst of the crisis, confronted on one side by the Nazi offensive, and on the other by the brutal persecution of the Czechoslovakian police state, they raised the slogan: "NEITHER GERMAN NOR CZECK GAPITALIST NATIONALISM, BUT THE SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE."

The French section of the Fourth International, the Internationalist Workers Party, reacted to the crisis with terrific energy under the same slogan.

In England, the paper of the Revolutionary Socialist Leaguethe British section of the Fourth International - came out during the week of the acutest crisis with the inspiring slogan of Liebknecht, blazoned across the first page: "Main Enemy is In Your Own Country."

On the very eve of the war crisis, with the prospect of a military explosion at any hour, delegates from all the most important countries, gathered in Switzerland and held the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International. THIS EVERT, THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF WHICH IS BEYOND EXAGGERATION, TESTIFIES TO THE BOUNDLESS REVOLUTIONARY VITALITY OF THE WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT OF RESURGENT BOLSEEVISM.

In a preliminary test our party responded worthily - that gives us a certain confidence for its future. It also gives us the right to address a brief message to those militants outside its ranks, who are sincerely seeking to work and struggle in an organized manner for socialism. Especially to Stalinist workers, we say: You must study and reflect on the experience, you must regain your proletarian health and sanity. Rid your system of the poison that has been pumped into your veins. And most important of all, get out of the pest-house of deceit and treachery. Leave the traitor party of Stalinism and join with us in building an honest party of revolution.

Everything comes back to the problem of the party, that is the great and outstanding lesson of the past twenty years. Without the revolutionary party, there can be no victory, but if the proletarian vanguard is organized, if it is armed with a correct program, disciplined and trained for struggle and sacrifice, all things are possible. Once the small wheel of such a party is geared into the great wheel of the historic process, the victory of the workers and the regeneration of humanity is assured.

Only Internationalist Voice

The only voice raised for a proletarian policy in the Propean war crisis was the voice of the Fourth International and its sections. Our comrades in Czechoslovakia - including the Sudeten areas - with unexampled courage, raised the one slogan of reason in the mad welter of capitalist nationalism. In the midst of the crisis, confronted on one side by the Nazi offensive, and on the other by the brutal persecution of the Czechoslovakian police state, they raised the slogan: "NEITHER GERMAN NOR CZECK CAPITALIST NATIONALISM, BUT THE SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE."

The French section of the Fourth International, the Internationalist Workers Party, reacted to the crisis with terrific energy under the same slogan.

In England, the paper of the Revolutionary Socialist Leaguethe British section of the Fourth International - came out during the week of the acutest crisis with the inspiring slogan of Liebknecht, blazoned across the first page: "Main Enemy is In Your Own Country,"

On the very eve of the war crisis with the prospect of a military explosion at any hour, delegates from all the most important countries, gathered in Switzerland and held the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International. THIS EVENT, THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICATION OF WHICH IS BEYOND EXAGGERATION, TESTIFIES TO THE BOUNDLESS REVOLUTIONARY VITALITY OF THE WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT OF RESURGENT BOLSHEVISM.

In a preliminary test our party responded worthily - that gives us a certain confidence for its future. It also gives us the right to address a brief message to those militants outside its ranks, who are sincerely seeking to work and struggle in an organized manner for socialism. Especially to Stalinist workers, we say: You must study and reflect on the experience, you must regain your proletarian health and sanity. Rid your system of the poison that has been pumped into your veins. And most important of all, get out of the pest-house of deceit and treachery. Leave the traitor party of Stalinism and join with us in building an honest party of revolution.

Everything comes back to the problem of the party, that is the great and outstanding lesson of the past twenty years. Without the revolutionary party, there can be no victory, but if the proletarian vanguard is organized, if it is armed with a correct program, disciplined and trained for struggle and sacrifice, all things are possible. Once the small wheel of such a party is geared into the great wheel of the historic process, the victory of the workers and the regeneration of humanity is assured.