

# Roosevelt Long-Range Program

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export. Wages in many fields remained high in comparison with Europe, although the shortage of labor has disappeared as witnessed by the restrictions on immigration.

The situation confronting American economy gives little reason to think that through the peaceful operation of natural and spontaneous forces, the present crisis will, like all previous ones, go on through a phase of stabilization and prosperity to a boom which will again set new high records.

The recovery which now seems to be under way is essentially a breathing-spell in a long, hard and painful process of readjustment, marked by internal shocks and disturbances, and abroad by increasingly sharp conflict of interests with the older powers in the effort to find a bigger place in the world markets.

The driving force of American industrial expansion supplies the motive power; the machinery adjusts itself by displacing agriculture and raw material production with the increasing production of manufactured products, small scattered industry and banking by powerful aggregates of capital and large-scale branch banking, production directed to the extent of 90 percent toward the home market by an increasing proportion of exports, and isolationism by a life-and-death interest in world affairs.

**Roosevelt Contribution to Capitalist Technique**

Roosevelt's contribution to capitalism's technique for getting out of the crisis appears to lie, first, in the recognition that natural and spontaneous recovery is not enough to assure, as heretofore, the transition back to "normal" prosperity after the crisis, inasmuch as his most energetic actions are taken precisely in the face of such a recovery, and to take effect over a period of years.

Second, he proposes to treat this coming period evidently on the basis of an emergency comparable to a state of war. That implies a mobilization of the full powers of the state, the coordination under Federal control of economic activities such as railroading, the encouragement to banks to consolidate and unify operations under Federal (or Federal Reserve) control, the unification of whole branches of industry in all important respects except actual ownership through trade associations, the concentration of all holdings of

gold under the control of the government, etc.

This feature of concentration and coordination is one of the most marked characteristics of the Roosevelt policies. Its result must be to shorten the period of readjustment and to combine as much as possible of its burdens with those of the cyclical (1929-1933) crisis.

The currency policy of the government, the much-mooted question of inflation, must be regarded as part of a general mobilization of control in the hands of the Federal government on a "war-like" basis. In its most extreme form, it becomes a policy of "managed currency", thus fully integrating finance and banking into the system of government controls.

**The Mobilization of Public Opinion**

Third, corresponding to the concentration and mobilization of industry, transportation and finance, is the mobilization of "public opinion", comparable to that of wartime except that the element of compulsion is lacking. This accounts for much of the demagoguery in the President's official statements and in his legislation. The incident of the reception of several hundred aggressive bonus petitioners at Fort Hunt, where they were allowed to wear themselves out in action and finally split, a part joining the reforestation camps, is especially illuminating, not only in contrast with the methods used by Mr. Hoover last year in dealing with the "Bonus Expeditionary Force", but also in the light of the substantial reductions in expenditures for veterans carried through by the Roosevelt administration.

Similarly, the farmer, feeling the increasing pressure of the crisis on top of the general crisis of American farming, has been politically restless for years. By concessions such as the promise of inflation and the agricultural relief bill, it is proposed to win his sympathy or at least acquiescence in the whole program, while at the same time carrying out the work of reducing the production of American farms to as large an extent as possible with the consent of the farmer himself. The only alternative policy would have been to let him be starved and foreclosed off the farms by the naked operation of economic forces.

Similarly, in face of the real attacks on its standards and organizations, the support of the working class is sought through the ap-

peal to employers to increase wages voluntarily; through the announced intention of including binding agreements on wages and working conditions among the subjects on which trade associations are to agree, through the friendly attitude toward minimum wage legislation, and the Black bill for the thirty-hour week. All this in the face of the \$1 a day forced labor, the 10 per cent wage cut for the railroad workers, the anti-labor provisions of the Industrial Recovery Bill, etc.

**A Period of Drastic Readjustments**

So long as American business looked forward to automatic recovery and new high records of prosperity after every crisis, the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover policy of minimum intervention of government in economic life was a natural corollary.

Under present conditions we see American economy, to provide an outlet for its rapidly growing productive forces in a cramped world, readjusting itself by closing small banks and businesses and enlarg-

ing big ones, expanding its production of manufactured goods at the expense of its production of foods and raw materials, reaching out more and more for export markets as its home markets diminish, and above all, throwing the main burdens of these readjustments on to the working class. This means that the next period is one of drastic and painful readjustments internally, and of sharpening conflict of interests internationally.

The Roosevelt program is not to stem or reverse these tendencies, nor, as in the old days of unalloyed optimism, to let them work themselves out blindly. On the contrary, it not only accepts the existing trends of American economy, but put itself at their head to give them leadership and support during the critical period to come. Through mobilizing and concentrating economic control, with a corresponding mobilization of demagogic propaganda, it attempts to hasten the necessary domestic readjustments and present a solid front against the outside world in the struggle for international markets, and against the working class, the farmers, and broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie at home.

—B. J. FIELD.

# Stalinism Weakens the U.S.S.R.

The revisionist conception of Socialism in One Country and the policies flowing from it have not only helped to lay the political foundation for a cyclical revival of capitalism but also have aided in creating a danger for the Workers' Fatherland far greater than active support of revolutions outside of Russia could have done. Stalinism with its theory of the "united front from below", together with the social democrats, has helped to lead the German working class to defeat. It has helped to destroy the second strongest Communist party of the world. At the same time its impotence has been instrumental in creating a condition the workers fear.

With the rise of Hitler to power not only has the revolutionary movement had a set-back but we are beginning to witness an alignment of social forces favorable to a capitalist attack on the Soviet Union itself. In spite of the so-called "non-aggression pacts" between the USSR and other nations, particularly France and Poland,

the contradictions between the imperialist world and an isolated workers' state are developing toward the point of explosion.

**If the Workers Triumphed**

Had the German working class defeated Hitler, thereby taking a step toward social revolution, the influence of their success would have spread. Workers throughout the world would have been heartened and the objective revolutionary factors created by the present world crisis might have been matched by a growth of subjective factors now lagging behind. A political crisis for capitalism, as well as its economic crisis, might have developed.

History is replete with examples of revolutionary movements in one country leading to progressive reforms in other parts of the world. As comrade Trotsky pointed out in *Whither England?* the great French Revolution served as a powerful stimulus to the growth of the labor movement and democratic tendencies in England; the July Revolution of 1830 in France was largely responsible for the first English Election Reform Bill in 1831; the revolutionary movement of Chartism contributed to a reduction of the English working-day in 1844-47 and to the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846; the influence of the Russian Revolution in 1905 helped to raise the Labor Party to the position of an important fraction in the English Parliament, while the Russian Revolution of 1917 was to a large extent responsible for the new Election Reforms of 1918.

In short, an examination of history leads us to the conclusion that a triumph of the workers in Germany would have strengthened the international working class in general.

**Defeats Bring Reaction**

But with the rise of German Fascism the reverse is true. Both the German workers and the international working class movement have suffered a tremendous defeat. Just as the defeat of the great French Revolution led to the restoration of the Bourbons in France and the Corn Laws in England, the defeat of 1848 dealt a blow to the English working class, and the defeat of the German workers in 1923 gave American capital the opportunity to begin with the realization of its plans for the (momentarily) peaceful subjugation of Europe, so today, a similar wave of reaction is beginning to set in.

Instead of a series of advances a series of set-backs are likely. Nor has the reason between the imperialist nations and the USSR lessened because of the silence of the Comintern. On the contrary it has increased. The existence of the Soviet Union still remains a threat to the capitalist world. Its territory is needed by the imperialists during the present period of their decay and it is the one power all of them wish to destroy. But now political conditions for intervention have shifted in their favor. The Soviet Union's first line of defense (the possibility of effective workers' resistance in other countries and particularly in Germany) has been temporarily weakened.

(To be continued)

—SIMMONS, Kansas City, Mo.

# The Textile Code

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calling for labor representation being turned to precisely what they were intended for—the formation of company unions. Even the American Federation of Labor is not acceptable to our industrial magnates, unless it is needed to head off a real class conscious union. Particularly the steel and coal industries have been active in the formation of these company unions. The New York Times reports of "numerous instances of coercion to force the workers into the company unions. In some parts of Kentucky, workers have been evicted from company houses for refusal to sign company union rolls." This practice will within the next few weeks probably assume national proportions.

These are the first few signs of the trend of the future developments. Many workers undoubtedly believed that the Roosevelt program will lead the country back to "prosperity". Their disillusionment will be both soon, sharp and complete. The working class cannot expect aid from the Roosevelt administration; this the hard master of events will make only too clear. To secure a living wage, to secure a thirty hour week, no conference board will suffice. For this the American working class must be organized into powerful industrial unions that will learn and know how to fight for better conditions.

—H. S.

# Narrow Down N.Y. Free Tom Mooney Meet

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of the delegates present but was subjected to the usual barrage of abuse on the part of Minor, Alexander and other party leaders. Even those staunch upholders of democratic principles, the Mustekites, who complained so loudly when they were refused the right to distribute their paper at the recent united front National Youth Day, refused to fight for the elementary right of every working class organization to a voice in a united front conference. The conclusions to be drawn from the actions of the C. P. L. A. delegate, a certain Larry Cohen, who not only was given the opportunity to speak but was elected to the executive committee, is that they are in full agreement with the Stalinist clique policy of an exclusive Free Tom Mooney movement.

An executive committee of 25, arbitrarily selected by the executive of the previous conference, was elected without any consideration of the organizations represented at the present conference. Again upon an appeal by Minor, the conference voted down a motion by the L. O. delegate to include in the execu-

tive representatives of the political organizations in the conference. So effectively did the steam-roller work that even a non-partisan representative, the one from the I. L. D. who was nominated from the floor and received an equal vote with the other nominees was declared not elected by the chairman for the simple reason that the delegate spoke up for the right of the Left Opposition and all political organizations to a voice at a united front conference!

There were 314 delegates present at the conference representing 74 organizations. Out of the entire delegation 34 came from trade unions. Of the non-party delegates present there was only the C. P. L. A., the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Lovestonesites, the Federated Press, the Weisbord group and the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). The trend of the conference was for work in the A. F. L. locals, socialist locals and opponent fraternal organization locals. The organizational secretary, "Brother" Begun, even stressed penetration of the Knights of Pythias, the Moose, Elks, the American Legion and the boy scouts. These organizations are to send

delegates to future Mooney conferences.

The conference, though adopting the principle of the united front of all working class organizations departed in actuality from this principle and set itself the task of winning the local organizations and disregarding entirely the central bodies.

It is necessary at this time to issue a warning to the Left wing workers who for years have been in the thick of the struggle to free Tom Mooney from the capitalist jail which has held him since 1917; that unless a real united front of all workers organizations is forged, Tom Mooney will not be released. The Left Opposition, as its statements and actions have shown, stands for such a policy of united action, a policy which, through a correct application of the united front, will force the S. P. leaders and the A. F. L. labor fakers to answer before their following and the whole working class, if they will abstract the unity with the Left wing and Communists in order to force the capitalist fallers to free Tom Mooney.

—M. GELDMAN.

# THE EUROPEAN ANTI-FASCIST CONGRESS . . . AN ANTI-TROTSKYIST SLUG FEST OF THE STALINISTS

"Let these Gentlemen Hold the Congress in Peace!"  
-- Say the Police to the L. O. Protest Delegation

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Labor (Gilly miners); Delegation from a meeting of 500.

**Greece.**—Greek section of the Left Opposition; General Federation of Wounded War Victims; Union of War Veterans; Union of Widows and Orphans Woodworkers Trade Union of Athens; Barbers Trade Union of Athens; Bakers Trade Union of Athens;

**Poland.**—Polish section of the Left Opposition; Meeting of Polish Emigres of the Paris District;

**Switzerland.**—Swiss section of the Left Opposition; Young Socialists of Zurich; Marxist Circle of Zurich;

**Jewish Workers.**—Clarke group of the Paris district;

**Germany.**—German section of the Left Opposition;

**Italy.**—Italian section of the Left Opposition; Group of anti-Fascist emigres of the Paris district;

**Hungary.**—Hungarian section of the Left Opposition; Hungarian language group of building workers; Factory meeting of building workers of the Paris district;

**France.**—French section of the Left Opposition; Amsterdam Committee, Charente-Inferieure (Oleron); Public meeting in Lille, Red Aid (Chavigny section); Railroad workers; Several meetings in the Paris district; Workers meeting at Montigny-en-Gohelle; Indo-Chinese group of the Paris district; Trade union section, Committee for the Defense of l'Humanite, and various other sections of the Red Aid and workers meetings.

The sum of these credentials represented about one hundred delegates. We repeat, we limited the number of delegates from the provinces and from abroad for material reasons.

According to prattle of the Stalinists, the Oppositionists "represented no one"; but, one of the organizations represented by us, the General Federation of Disabled War Victims of Athens consists of SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBERS!

**Bureaucratic Siffing**

All the credentials of Oppositionist organizations were automatically rejected.

The comrades who appeared with regular credentials officially stamped by workers organizations passed through the sifter of the national leaderships; all those recognized as "Trotskyists" were subject to the following maneuver: Their credential was demanded from them in order to issue a delegates card against it; they were requested to wait a minute, then they the bureaucrats cynically refused a card and retained the credential! Then, more diplomatically, they requested

them (the delegates) to return and upon returning, since they no longer had a credential nor a card, they refused them admission into the Grange aux Belles Hall! That did not happen without protest but the sergeants-at-arms brutally squelched the protesters. In a word, they systematically robbed the credentials from the members of the Opposition.

**Bureaucratic Measures Breed Arbitrariness**

Besides this, many of the scenes were comical: A delegate from an anti-Fascist committee was deprived of his credential and sent back to his district because they suspected him to be a Trotskyite, one of our comrades having previously presented a credential from Charente (the same place). The suspected "Trotskyite" was "liquidated" the real "Trotskyite" profiting by this lullaballoo secured a delegates card.

Another case is no less comical: A delegate from a Spanish trade union was recognized by a bureaucrat from his country and refused a card; accidentally, they returned his credential. A Swiss comrade whose credential had been rejected from Switzerland appeared with the Spanish credential. The Spanish Stalinist did not know him, he secured his admission card to the Congress!

However, they discreetly distributed credentials to members of the Young Communist League and the party; notwithstanding, that caused many surprises to the Stalinist apparatus.

**The Congress Begins**

The detailed instructions given to the sergeants-at-arms were directed at us. The organizers succeeded in creating a sentiment of violent reaction against any revolutionary intervention; the pretended struggle against the Young Patriots was only a means of striking at us. The management committee was organized with several guards and a corps under the leadership of a "specialist".

The sergeant-at-arms was baffled from the very first day, and not knowing whom to suspect, he bullied everyone: "And that one, isn't he a Trotskyist?" In this way a member of the party was violently thrown out because he didn't have his membership card on his person! The slogan was to hound the Trotskyists. A special squad was assigned to that task. The squad was completely put off the scent when they learned that a plain clothes detective was in the hall. "Take him out quietly No provocations!"

Get him to go out! . . . Outside on the sidewalk, two young workers who listened very attentively to "a Trotskyite" much to the chagrin of the sergeant-at-arms, were thrown into the street under the fallacious pretext that they weren't delegates.

Two Regimes, the Detectives and the "Trotskyites": Example of the Press Cards

Two detectives of the North-African police, Gaudin's agents, well known to the Algerian workers, presented themselves to the organization committee. Press cards, invitation. Admit the bearers of the cards. . . Come in, gentlemen; this way, gentlemen! And the dicks passed the zealous sergeant-at-arms.

Saraceno, former editor-in-chief of *Unita*, the central organ of the Italian Communist Party, possessing a regular press card, entered the Congress.

Led away into the cellar by the agents of the "political control" to the "special Italian committee" comrade Saraceno was forced to surrender his right to enter. Before allowing him to leave, the Stalinist "naziizer" (twenty against one) threw themselves on our comrade striking him with their feet and their fists. Our comrade had his glasses broken and was bruised on his left temple by the bureaucrats.

**Welcome to the Delegates**

Comrade Atlan was unable to obtain his delegate's card at Grange aux Belles and appeared at the Pleyel Hall on the first day of the Congress. They wrested his credential from him, threw him to a corner, violently slugged him and then threw him into the street. Since he protested and a crowd had already gathered about him, the sergeant-at-arms spoke to him in this tone: "You really want to enter! Oh well, come in!" Atlan once again entered the Pleyel Hall. Many delegates were commenting on the incident. Beaugrand reassured them, saying: "We will check up on his credential and then give him access to the hall." They drew Atlan into a small retreat, closed the door to the retreat. A member of the 13th Section of the Red Aid, Beaugrand, and Roumenge insulted him and slugged him, shouting to the disturbed comrades who were massed behind the door: "You see how they examine his credential, they are dealing with him in a comradely way". But in subdued tones they told Atlan that he would remain sequestered until the conclusion of the Congress and they beat him brutally. Atlan's cries drew the attention of numerous delegates who energetically insisted that they let him go.

To the delegates that protested they declared that Atlan was a police agent that they found in the hall. We have told above just how they received the police agents.

**First Day in the Hall of the "Congress"**

The packed hall at the first session bore the aspect of a mass meeting rather than a Congress; no real discussion.

The delegates grouped according to languages had to obey national discipline, to make known the number of delegates desiring the floor. An Italian comrade requested the floor. The individual responsible for the group came to see him and demanded that he submit the out-

line of his speech.

The evening session was marked by a violent incident. A Belgian comrade, Verecken, handed in his name at the very beginning of the session and, unable to get the floor, made a point of order; they saw him from the platform, pulled him out of the hall, and kept him in the cellar. When several comrades protested against the violence committed, they were themselves violently dragged from the hall, their delegates' cards were demanded and taken from them and they were thrown out. Other delegates who protested against this violence were threatened with expulsion if they did not keep quiet.

The same afternoon two members of the Unitary Trade Unions, a railroad worker and a metal worker, were expelled from the hall. The sergeant-at-arms thought they had a "doubtful attitude".

The first day of the discussion, after the hollow and official optimism of the reports which contained neither analysis nor general perspectives, was devoted to anti-Trotskyist speeches of the usual type, and a theatrical scene in the course of which the Belgian delegate on the platform ripped the Hitlerite flag. The session concluded with collective singing.

**The Parade Ends**

Upon their entry into the corridor, two delegates, Oblin of Montigny and Devreyer, were simply thrown out of the hall because they were recognized as Trotskyists. Their credentials were torn up!

At the opening of this session comrade George Vitoris delegate from the General Federation of Disabled Veterans of the Imperialist War of Greece submitted a written request to the presidium demanding the floor. The chairman wrote back that each delegate who wanted the floor had to get it through an intermediary, the leader of his "national" section, who was always a Stalinist. Thus the floor was denied to any Oppositionist delegate.

The Left Opposition refused to submit to this anti-proletarian and bureaucratic decision. That is why on Monday morning at the moment when the chairman announced that Bergery, petty bourgeois radical, would take the floor, comrade Vitoris stood up and addressing himself to the Congress, shouted out: "Comrades, in the name of 60,000 disabled Greek War veterans I protest against the exclusion of the Left Opposition. I demand the floor in its name. Long live the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky! Long live the proletarian revolution! Down with Fascism! Long live Trotsky! Free Rakovsky!"

Bands of bureaucratic funkies coming from all parts of the hall threw themselves on him with savage bestiality, dragging him by the hair and beating him with their hands and feet. Comrade Marie Dimitriedes, delegate of the War Widows and Orphans of Greece; comrade Paget, delegate of the section of the Red Aid of Chavigny (Meurthe-et-Moselle); an Indo-

Chinese comrade, delegate of the Red Aid of Paris; comrade L. . . . were savagely slugged for having protested with comrade Vitoris. Our comrades struggled with the bureaucrats to retain their places. The Stalinists hurled themselves upon them but a great number of delegates, particularly the English delegation, indignant at the brutalities, protested energetically. It was only with considerable effort that the bureaucrats were able, despite the protests, to throw our comrades out of the hall.

But their anti-Trotskyist action did not stop at that. Once again led to the cellar of the theater, our comrades were searched and questioned in typical police manner and sequestered there under the guard of twenty "sergeant-at-arms" for more than two hours.

Among the bureaucrats Vaillant-Couturier, Comrade Vitoris protested to him and demanded that our imprisoned comrades be freed immediately. Vaillant-Couturier smiled ironically and turned his back.

It was only after the arrest by the police of the Left Opposition group, who came to the Congress to protest the treatment accorded our delegates, that our comrades were freed in the afternoon, although in a very bad condition.

During this time the radical bourgeois deputy, Bergery, continued his speech.

Obliged to free our comrades by the pressure of the comrades from the outside, Beaugrand demanded that our comrades sign a declaration stating that they were not beaten. Our comrades responded by saying that since they were beaten they would not sign such a declaration.

**In the Future We Will Speak to You with a Revolver**

In the meantime a German comrade was violently dragged from his seat and led away with violence into another corner of the cellar. He was told: "No discussion with you, give us your identification papers, your passport." They took all his personal papers besides and, returning two hours later, they said: "In the future we will speak to you with a revolver". All his personal letters were kept. Comrade Paget protested in the hall when he saw our comrades rounded up. He was immediately ejected into the street.

**Young Socialists Protest**

A girl comrade, member of the Socialist Youth and of the Youth Anti-Fascist Committee, outraged by the proceedings against our comrades, began anew, protested vigorously on the floor. She too, was immediately made "harmless" by the anti-Trotskyist squad and finally reached the street with a bloody nose. The other Socialist Youth comrades left the meeting protesting with her. In discussing with the young Socialist comrades, our delegates made clear to them that these Stalinist maneuvers had nothing in common with a genuine united front.

Some of our comrades were still

Long Live the Proletarian Revolution! Down with Fascism! Long Live Trotsky! Free Rakovsky!

under guard at that time. A group from our headquarters came down to get them out. They demanded their immediate liberation of the squad leaders. A loud argument ensued in the hallway. Cops passing by interfered and reproached our comrades for not letting "these gentlemen hold their congress in peace."

The intervention of the group from our headquarters was, however, effective. Our comrades were immediately afterward released.

**Bergery Prepares the Break**

The opponents of the united front from organization to organization soon found themselves in an uncomfortable position with their combinations. The Pleyel Congress emphasized how the already miserable results of the Amsterdam horse-deals have sunk to even greater depths. Not only wasn't any retreat achieved but an obvious retreat is also being prepared by elements foreign to the party to break away from Amsterdam.

Bergery is prepared to take an important part of the Amsterdamers under his influence. Bergery does this with ease. He publicly advertises his support of Amsterdam. He cements his positions which will permit him to slant the door with greater advantage accusing the Communists of unimportance.

Bergery already has an undertaking, the "Common Front", which groups most of the independent personalities of Amsterdam on a platform which is on the same level as Amsterdam.

Many conferences have been held between the party and Bergery in the corridors and behind the scenes. Dorlot represented the party at the initial meeting of the "Common front".

The situation is serious. The party is trying and will still try many compromises. All that, of course, is happening without any party. Bergery's speech paved the way for his eventual break. From the Communist point of view Dorlot's reply was no less odious. It shows just where "the sympathies of the Political Bureau" rest.

**Last Day of the Parade**

After much petty discussion, one of our comrades, representing the Belgian Knights of Labor (the Gilly miners), requested the floor. The leader of the Belgian delegation stated that he could have the floor but only on the condition that he first submit to him the outline of his speech. Our comrade answered that his point of view was that of the Left Opposition. This was enough to gag him.

Most important in this last session was the intervention of comrade Aulas from the Unitary Federation of Teachers. Aulas demonstrated the responsibility that the R. I. L. U. bore in the German catastrophe and in the failure to

call a genuine Congress. He was continually interrupted by the bureaucrats and when he placed the criminal policy of the German Communist Party in its proper light his voice was drowned by a hue and cry from the howling pack.

The chairman proposed that this delegate from a red trade union be ruled out of order. In spite of a great number of votes against this bureaucratic decision Aulas was forced to leave the platform and the hall.

**Unanimity at Any Cost**

At the conclusion of the discussion the chairman made a long appeal proposing that the delegates show their agreement with the resolution presented by a demonstrative acclamation. He put the resolution to a vote and a half dozen hands were raised against it. Stupefied, the chairman believed, at the time, that the German delegates who had voted against it had not understood the resolution. He had the resolution translated and again they voted demonstratively against it. One of them explained his position by shouting out: "Long live Trotsky!"

Then a German delegate from Frankfurt stood up and said: "When I came to this Congress I was not a Left Oppositionist. But by your slanders against the Left Oppositionists who, in every case work as revolutionaries along with us in Germany, you have driven me closer to them and I vote against your resolution of confusion."

The organizers of the Congress who wanted a unanimous vote at any cost were thrown into confusion. They surrounded the French and Belgian delegates who had voted against the resolution. The chairman made a new ballyhoo appeal for unanimity. The Left Oppositionists who protested were thrown out of the hall. But even after they were ejected new hands were raised against the resolution. Nevertheless this did not prevent l'Humanite, French Stalinist organ, from declaring that the vote was unanimous.

**Results of the Masquerade**

The Congress has succeeded neither in improving the relation of the party to the masses, nor in sinking its roots among them nor in raising the fighting power of the party and the masses. The Congress was a party gathering and its results are already apparent.

The problem of Fascism and the struggle of the workers against it remains before the international working class. The Pleyel parade has not only not solved any of these problems but has augmented the confusion. The Left Opposition through its struggle against the criminal Stalinist policy alone can solve these problems.

From *La Verite*, organ of the French Left Opposition