

Toronto Workers in Anti-Fascist Strike

Toronto, Canada.—No action on the part of workers in Canada since the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 carries such tremendous significance as the mass parade and demonstration against Fascism which took place in Toronto on July 11th. For the first time in fifteen years working class solidarity found expression in a monster parade involving about 10,000 workers belonging to trade unions and political organizations. The United Front Committee had issued a call for the 2-hour strike and demonstration to begin at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of July 11th. An hour before that time large numbers of workers had already begun to assemble in Wellington Park in the heart of the clothing trades district. When 3 o'clock came, workers were pouring into the park by the hundreds, whole factories marching down together or hurrying to the assembly point by street-car, were seen everywhere. A spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the scene as the workers, freed from the drudgery of the factories, cheered each newly-arrived group, cheered their class brothers and sisters who this afternoon were joining hands in a mass protest against the bloody rule of Hitler in Germany and capitalist reaction all over the world. By 3:45 P. M. when the first section of the parade moved off, the park was a sea of humanity—more than that—a host of workers taking up battle against a common enemy. Ten thousand workers, three hundred banners, all raising the voice of proletarian struggle against the murderous regime of Fascism.

The parade moved off from Wellington Park through the clothing district on to University Ave., and past the parliamentary buildings to assemble on a mass in Queens Park. In the front ranks were the workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, some 1400, followed by the ILGWU, the Industrial unions and other unions affiliated. Then came other mass organizations, the auxiliaries of the party, the Y. C. I. and finally the International Left Opposition, under whose banner marched the Toronto branch of the Left Opposition, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Usner Kamf Club—as well as a body of about 60 unorganized workers brought out on strike by the Left Opposition. The last banner in the parade, the parting shot, was "Forward to Victory Under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky!"

As the revolutionary organizations left Wellington Park, the strains of the Internationale rose above the throng—sung with a spirit that is characteristic only of proletarians on parade.

In Queens Park, the throng created a scene unique in the history of the Toronto working class. Here the 10,000 paraders were greeted by a crowd of about 15,000, many of whom were workers anxious to participate in the demonstration while hundreds came only to see what was going to happen. It was a glorious spectacle. A closely packed crowd with banners waving overhead, mirroring all the phases of the class struggle. It was the class struggle and not a Jewish nationalist protest such as the elite of Toronto's Jewry had staged in Massey Hall in collaboration with the city bourgeoisie. The united front of workers aroused proletarians and bourgeois alike to a realization of the strength of a working class protest based on working class unity. The demonstration aroused the hopes and admiration of multitudes of workers and aroused the fury of the bourgeoisie—to which the latest police campaign against the marchers testifies.

Taking up their stand at the base of the 48th Highlanders Monument a speaker from each organization addressed the crowd. When the L. O. contingent arrived, Charles Green of the Left Poale Zion, chairman of the Jewish Workers United Front Committee, was speaking. In the tumult it was impossible to hear him unless you were close at hand. When he finished, our comrade, Maurice Spector, took the stand. Comrade Spector clanked on either side by a trio of cops, opened with an attribute to the united front of the marchers for breaking through the police ban on meetings and raising the strong arm of the proletariat against the Canadian bourgeoisie. He urged the marchers to continue the struggle for free speech and assembly, for the repeal Section 98 and for the release of the eight leaders of the Communist Party of Canada who were now serving long terms in Kingston penitentiary. He went on to discuss the victory of Fascism in Germany, what a catastrophe it was for the German working class and the international revolutionary movement. Warning the workers that the Fascist victory in Germany presented the greatest danger to the continued existence of proletarian rule in the Soviet Union, comrade Spector urged them to maintain a solid fighting front against Fascism, to defeat Fascism and save the Soviet Union by the method of class struggle. He concluded with the ringing slogans: Down with Hitler! Long Live the Soviet Union! etc. A rousing cheer was the answer of the workers to comrade Spector's remarks as he stepped the monument. The cheering was echoed as our comrades shouted: Forward to Victory Under

the banner of Lenin and Trotsky. By this time several other speakers were being heard in various parts of the park. It was not long before comrade Jack McDonald also of the Left Opposition, took the stand. He warned the workers not to be led into believing that this demonstration alone would mark the victory of the struggle for free speech in Toronto; time and again he stressed the necessity for continuing militantly the struggle for free speech and assembly and against the pernicious section 98. He continued with an analysis of the German events, speaking in greater detail than had comrade Spector.

Subotage of A. C. W. Leaders
No account of this demonstration would be complete without a few remarks concerning the activities of the affiliated organizations of the united front. From the beginning of the conference we had to contend with the efforts of the Right wing reformist leaders to delay action and to give the conference a Jewish nationalist character. Especially anxious to get around the idea of a strike and a parade was Nesbitt, the spokesman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. He raised all manners of objections, ranging from the demand that the Industrial Union be shut out of the conference to a request for postponement of the strike on the ground that the locals had not yet discussed the question. All sections of the conference opposed Nesbitt on the first point but the result that in the actual working out of the demonstration the Amalgamated was not a formal member of the conference. Instead a committee of the united front conference worked out the mechanics of the united front demonstration with a committee from the Amalgamated for a two week postponement, from June 27 to July 11 was granted to take away from the union leaders any excuse for non-participation.

Stalinist Stupidity
The sabotaged tactics of the Amalgamated Union leaders produced a counter obstacle in the ultimate attitude assumed by the Stalinists. Frequently transgressing the boundaries of the united front by indulging in fierce attacks upon all and sundry, the Stalinists at first demanded as a first prerequisite for affiliation to the conference that the social democratic organizations admit their responsibility for the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Only that! Our comrades opposed this as did almost every other organization in the conference. The Left Opposition stated that while it was true that the social democrats, Noske and company, were responsible for the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, a confession of guilt could not be demanded as a condition for affiliation to the conference. The Stalinists were swamped on this issue.

Again when the Amalgamated asked for the postponement of the strike, the Stalinists wanted to refuse the request and to call the strike without the Amalgamated. This was a criminal position, for it would have played right into the hands of the Amalgamated leaders and shut out of the conference the largest union in the Jewish section of the united front. When the request for postponement was carried against the Stalinists they went so far as to issue a special addition of the Kamf in which they naturally went out of their way to slander the Amalgamated but also made the Poale Zion and the Left Opposition targets for their lies and mud slinging. This editor of the Kamf might have split the united front. The Amalgamated leaders at first attempted to seize upon it as a pretext for non-participation. It was only the skillful tactics of the Left Opposition and the Left Poale Zion that overcame the damage done by the Stalinists.

It is no exaggeration to say that had the conference followed the policies of the Stalinists there would have been no strike and demonstration. The two hour strike and demonstration also dealt a crushing blow to the confused Stalinist theory of the "united front from below". The success of the genuine united front was apparent to all.

Results of Strike
What are the results and what conclusions can be drawn from the united front of the Toronto workers? The strike and demonstration is unique as the only working class protest, of a mass nature that has taken place in Canada, and possibly in North America. The workers of this city have learned that Fascism is not a regime that is distinguished by its pogroms against the Jews, but a regime that signifies the last efforts of decay capitalism to save itself from the exploited masses. They have learned that Fascism means destruction for the proletariat and that Fascism can only be fought by proletarian struggle.

Besides arousing the political consciousness of thousands of workers in a united front against Fascism the demonstration has been a vindication of the policies and tactics of the Left Opposition.

—B. B.

READ SPREAD AND SUPPORT THE MILITANT IT IS YOUR PAPER

Los Angeles Unemployed Movement

The unemployment movement in Los Angeles is in many respects the most interesting in the country, from the standpoint of the number of workers included, the powers which the organization has won for itself, and the size and cohesiveness of the Left wing within the movement. The movement dates back over a year and a half, in an organized form, and sufficient experience with it has been accumulated to allow certain political lessons to be drawn. The Left Opposition has participated in a leading and initiating capacity in this movement from the beginning, and has clearly shown what possibilities of objective work are open to us in the elementary working-class movement, and what can be achieved by correct Communist policies carried out with energy and persistence.

The unemployment movement in Los Angeles got under way about January 1932. A committee composed of Left wing elements of extremely diverse character—untouched Communists, anarchists, syndicalists, Musteites, and others—was organized. After much discussion as to the basic approach to the question of unemployment, an agreement was reached as to the necessity of accepting as a fact the backwardness of the workers in this region, and a minimum program was worked out.

The objective situation in which we were working may be characterized by the following facts: Los Angeles is probably the most notorious open-shop town in the United States. Trade unions are exceedingly weak there, while the

Chamber of Commerce, on the other hand, is intimately linked up with the local administrative apparatus, sending its representatives to meetings of local governmental bodies and maintaining a private anti-radical armed force, the "Red" Hynes squad. Second, the city of Los Angeles is included within an agricultural area, specializing in fruit and vegetables, and constituting together with it the county of Los Angeles. Because of the predominance of farmer elements in this region, the county as a whole is even more backward than the city. A further complication is the special exploitation of the Mexican workers, who constitute an important element in this region and have been separated from the native American workers by barriers of language, customs, and lower living standards. They have been used as strikebreakers on many occasions in the past.

The beginning of the unemployment activities were made in the working-class neighborhoods on the basis of the lack of attempts by state and welfare agencies to afford any relief. The first step was the organization of neighborhood welfare committees, which in turn organized committees to visit welfare and relief institutions to ask for relief action.

First Steps in Organization
The first attempts at organization were made by five people: Halstead, Firth (a syndicalist), Meyers (of the Opposition of the Proletarian Party), Downing (of the anarchist wing of the I. W. W.), and Jane Rose. With the help of a sympathetic socialist, an assistant principal, the use of a school for meetings was obtained. Leaflets were printed, distributed from house to house, posted up in the neighborhood stores, and after a week of these preparations a meeting was held. The first response was about forty workers, a number of whom had been in the trade union movement in the past, and one or two had formerly been socialists.

N.Y. Upholsterers Strike Grows

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The general strike demands would be, no longer available. There is no reason, except Stalinist disregard for the interests of the strike, to explain why they did not immediately adopt the strike demands of the majority. Workers are indignant and enraged at what appears to them to be an open bid to the bosses on the part of the Industrial union for settlement on the basis of scab conditions.

And in this connection, we must note the ominous significance of the complete boycott of this strike in the Communist press. Can this mean that the Party and the TUUL intends to ignore a mass strike simply because it is not under their control? Possibly, since this is not the first strike that has been ignored by the Daily Worker, and major ones at that. But more probably the reason can be found in that they have not yet recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown by the striking upholsterers who voted with their feet to support the A. F. of L.

Now, the members of the Industrial union, who in some respects represent the cream of the industry, have it as their duty to be among the masses of the trade, who are now moving into the ranks of local 76. Just as before the split in 1930, the Left wing can now carry on a much more effective fight for their point of view within the mass union, where they should constitute themselves as the Left wing, the nourishing leaven to the entire movement, leading it in the direction of class struggle and militancy. Especially now, after the mass of strikers have spoken, it is your duty to come back en masse—reintegrate yourselves into the main body of the upholsterers, local 76, in New York and similarly in other cities. Demand of your leaders to do likewise.

Win the Strike, Beat the Bosses!
We call on you men in the strike to close your ranks and fight for the realization of the full demands of the strike. You have every opportunity now, if you put your hearts into it, to deal the bosses' association a crushing blow, and to raise your conditions with one mighty sweep from the miserable status it is now into one of decency, with more leisure to develop yourselves towards a greater measure of control over the conditions of your lives. Fight in solidarity and you will win!

For the Left wing group,
—CARL COWLE,
—SOL LANKIN.

Trotsky Moves to France

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can only say that they are covering up an infamy with a calumny. Now they are using the concession made by the bourgeoisie French government to a revolutionary fighter to distort the truth again, and prevent the workers from realizing what effective work for the revolution comrade Trotsky is doing, in the fields of propaganda and organization, in spite of the handicaps of physical isolation from the official representative of the October Revolution, the Communist International.

Every revolutionary worker and party member should demand that the necessary steps be taken for the reinstatement of comrade Trotsky and the International Left Opposition into the Communist International.

—(From La Verite)

New Burdens for Workers in NIRA

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though big industry has always effectively ignored these laws, except when they have been invoked against labor, now it will be provided with legal instrumentality for the acceleration of trustification and monopoly at the expense of the small capitalist.

Despite the obvious fact that the Recovery Act favors the concentration of capital, the big industrialists have shown, as we have indicated, a certain reluctance in submitting to the provisions of this law. Ill-concealed grumbling goes on in high places. In many of the large industries, production has been stepped up in order to build a large stock to meet the eventual price rises with a possibly reduced working force when the codes finally go into effect. The anarchic character of capitalist production is shown by the fact that the individual industries are looking out for their own particular interests even though they may be at the expense of the system.

The anomaly in the situation is demonstrated by the petty bourgeoisie which has been throwing its entire support to the Roosevelt program, although it will be driven closer to the edge of the abyss by the working of this law. This constitutes one of these contradictions peculiar to American politics.

That the Roosevelt administration may be over-reaching itself in its Recovery program is the opinion of not a few industrialists. The frank skepticism expressed in the higher circles is reflected by Wm. Kiplinger, writing in the July issue of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's organ. He says:

"We are building up a great system of government-dictated artificialities, including inflation, government credits, government competition, government control."

"Every intelligent person wonders whether and when the system will fall down. There is no factual answer. There are merely sour theories of failure and sentimental hopes of success."

"A majority of well-informed thinkers think this: For the next year or perhaps a year and a half the new schemes will give an impetus to business so that there will be something resembling moderate prosperity. Meanwhile there will be great blunders, great new false relationships, and the cumulative effect of these errors will bring a new set of critical problems a year or more hence."

Dissension Marks French S.P. Meet

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cialist Action by their perditional policies. On the contrary, the Right and the Center wings bore down heavily upon the Left, which upon the motion of Paul Faure extended "the hand of friendship and solidarity" to the Right wing which came to the Congress with a declaration of war. The Left wing has also given this tendency positions in the leadership and on the editorial board of *Populaire* (organ of the French S. P.). These are in large part the results of the policy of "social Fascism". By placing the workers who are turning to the revolution before the dilemma of either being "left social Fascists" or Stalinists, they impel them to the center of the Right. The true Communist policy consists in demanding of the Left wing that they be decisive, that they apply the ideas that they stand for.

The Congress of the Socialist party has ended. The Socialist workers will again see the same debates reopen in their units that took place before the Congress. What happens will depend upon them, upon whether they force their leaders to carry out their demands. They pretend, and we can see the justice in it, that they do not want to be placed in the same camp with the parliamentarians, the Right wing group. But if they want to be taken seriously they will drive the latter from their party.

—(From La Verite)

The Background of the New Deal Policy

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force of all capitalist production—the realization of surplus values, the realization of profits. To check the heavy tendency of the falling rate of profit by preparing for an increase of the mass of profit and an increase in the aggregate capital was the problem. It was tackled first by raising the intensity of exploitation of the workers. A higher degree of rationalization and standardization within industry, new efficiency methods to increase the output per man, together with direct speed-up and even longer working hours, were the measures applied. In a recovery, industry will thus start from a high level of intensity of exploitation. Secondly, an enormous depression of the wage level below the value of labor power was forced through ruthlessly. In this the drop in commodity prices naturally served as a means of facilitation, the heavy unemployment and its competition for jobs did the rest. The result is that on a whole the disproportion between value added by applied labor power and the actual wage paid is constantly on the increase. But what is especially to be borne in mind is the fact that industry starts today from an extremely low wage level.

These were the measures affecting the working class most directly. But there were others worthy of attention from the point of view of studying the background of the present situation. For example the problem of expansion of credits. Undoubtedly the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its billions made available for the bankers and big industrial corporations served this purpose admirably. In the main, however, the huge sums expended went to buttress the large metropolitan banking institutions to help them in paying in settlement of previously contracted obligations. The funds expended did not become transformed into productive capital; for during the course of the crisis there was a generally constant drop in new capital emissions, in new financing. Nevertheless finance capital faces the recovery stage with a greater fluidity of credits. Simultaneously there has been a cheapening of the elements of constant capital by the price fall of commodities and raw materials.

Concentration of Capital
Aside from these points mentioned there is also to be taken into consideration the reorganization of industry and banking already accomplished. With hurricane speed the crisis eliminated the weaker and more antiquated sections of the capitalist structure, countless of small independent producers whom they supported. Industrial mergers, rationalization and standardization were given more favorable conditions, subsidies were made ready for the monopoly enterprises, efforts were initiated to adjust the various sections of industry to better correspond with the whole and branch banking by the big metropolitan institutions began to make real headway. All in all these were important steps as a result of which the organic composition of American capital is becoming higher. But it still remains for the Roosevelt administration recovery policies to cap the climax.

Some pressing steps are yet to be taken by American capitalism to complete the adjustments of its structure of national economy. These are now in the making and those workers who may credulously believe that the departure of methods of the Roosevelt administration, from that of its predecessor, will in any way at all mean a departure from the capitalist imperialist and monopoly basis, will experience some rude awakening. To the extent that these methods are new, precisely to that extent do they also serve much more effectively to reinforce the imperialist monopoly basis of American capitalism.

Higher Living Standard an Illusion

What do these methods imply? First of all the completion and further rounding out of the reorganization program already initiated during the crisis. In this, two measures now on the way lend themselves particularly well, and are being utilized to the hilt, for demagogic propaganda fostering illusions of capitalist liberal generosity. We have in mind the questions of a return and a stabilization of the purchasing power of the masses and the reorganization of labor power to the productive forces by reduction of working hours. In regard to the first question what is to be expected? Is it a matter of securing what is abstractly called a decent standard of living for the masses? Not at all as far as the capitalist rulers are concerned. It is simply a matter of securing conditions under which surplus values can be realized, and to that extent to stabilize the purchasing power; but on a level distinctly lower than used to be known as the celebrated American standard.

In regard to the second question, that of working hours, it should be noted that during the crisis with industry running at partial capacity, overproduction still resulted in short order. The relative decrease of employer living labor, compared to the amount of crystallized labor and compared to the amount of capital which it set into motion, became transformed into an absolute decrease of necessary labor power.

for the productive forces. With a huge unemployed army this embodied prospects of the class struggle to develop at a rapid pace against the owners of private property. From this there need be no misunderstanding. It is not the welfare of the working class as expressed in shorter working hours which is the concern of the recovery policies. On the contrary; it is the aim to neutralize the unemployed army by taking off a part of the overplus and obtain a better working basis in the interests of capitalism.

The third measure in the way, and a keystone in the industrial recovery policies, is the increase of commodity prices. That is so essential for capitalism for its realization of the profits contemplated for the future. What it will mean to the working class, however, is an entirely different matter. It will form part of the bitter experiences which will be their lot under the New Deal. The rise in commodity prices proceeds both by the way of inflation as well as by setting arbitrary monopoly prices.

In this general program there remains still the one most essential step to be accomplished: that is to increase the ration of American capitalism in world economy. It is not at all let out of sight in the New Deal. Granted the re-establishment of confidence, within capitalism, in the process of reproduction, which is now so valiantly aimed at, the conditions will be fully prepared for a gigantic offensive upon the world market. A dress rehearsal has already taken place in the London economic conference.

—ARNE SWABECK.

After the Collapse of London Confab

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ing degree, and the bourgeoisie will fight and is fighting against higher taxes. The French government is being forced to the wall by a choice between reducing expenses, which means an open attack on the civil service employees, and inflation as the short and easy way out of debt. At the same time French capitalism is being forced to a sharper open offensive against wages in the effort to lower costs and prices, while in the other imperialist countries the effort is to raise prices. France may quite conceivably be later than other countries in turning upward from crisis to depression, as it was in entering the crisis.

The crisis in Germany shows little improvement, primarily because foreign trade continues to decline in spite of the most vicious attacks by German capitalism on the proletariat in order to reduce wages to a point where it can compete more effectively in the world market. The financial weakness of Germany is expressed by the fact that gold reserves are 9.2% of note circulation; this means high interest rates as a burden on profits, and increasing difficulty in offering liberal financial terms as a stimulus to exports, which was formerly one of the greatest supports for German trade expansion. Production figures and unemployment statistics (the latter being particularly unreliable) show that a little, but very little, progress is being made, in spite of the enormous sacrifices which are being extorted from the workers. In meeting the actual crisis, Italy, in spite of the concentration of control of industry and labor in the "total State", has shown no more ability to deal with the crisis than bourgeois-democratic States; the only difference is that the working class has been ground down further and its resistance broken. Gold continues to leave the country, reflecting the inmost thoughts of capital as to the prospects of the regime. Budgetary difficulties are nearly as much of a problem as in France, and are further increased by the grandiose bluff of the "public works construction program".

The period of increasing strains throughout international capitalism is preparing for a period of violent shocks and disturbance, social, political and military. As the Left Opposition has predicted, the cyclical upturn within the framework of the general world crisis of capitalism is intimately connected with rising militancy and aggressiveness on the part of the workers. The huge wave of strikes in the United States in the most varied industries and localities, in spite of the illusions offered by the National Recovery Act; the mounting discontent in other countries (in England even the backward farmers are striking against the payment of tithes to the clergy, which have been going on for four hundred years), the growing shadow of approaching war, pile ever-increasing tasks on the shoulders of the Communists, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. Now less than ever can sectarianism, futile gestures which waste energy, and splitting of the revolutionary forces, be tolerated without crushing penalties in the future. Clarity of policy and unity in action are imperatively called for by the immediate needs of the world situation.

—B. J. FIELD.