

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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Workers Party Calls All Revolutionary Workers to Join the Socialist Party

THE Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party finally smashed the Old Guard domination, and the Old Guard withdrew. By rejecting the Old Guard, the convention ratified the slogan of an inclusive, democratic party, open to all who stand for the goal of socialism and who are willing to work loyally within the framework of the party.

From these two significant developments we draw two conclusions:

1. By breaking with the Old Guard and by opening its doors to revolutionary workers, the Socialist Party becomes the best rallying ground for the revolutionary forces in building the party of the American proletarian revolution.

2. Taking the militant Socialists at their word, the revolutionary workers outside the Socialist Party should immediately join it.

Acting on these conclusions, the National Committee of the Workers Party, exercising the authority expressly given to it by the party convention, has formally dissolved the organization and all its members are joining the Socialist Party. The Spartacus Youth League has taken similar action to join the Young People's Socialist League.

These conclusions, and the actions proceeding from them, are the result of a careful and concrete analysis of the course of development of the Socialist Party during the last two years.

Turning Point at Detroit

The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party in 1934 marked a decisive turning point in the history of the movement. The Declaration of Principles then adopted, despite the ambiguity and confusion of its formulations, made a sharp break with the classical reformism of the post-war Social Democracy, and gave evidence of a determination not to repeat the terrible mistakes and crimes of the parties which had led the Austrian and German masses to the yoke of Fascism. The Waldmans, Pankens and Noskes rightly characterized the document as a break with "democratic Socialism," i.e., the cowardly and treacherous Social-Democratic reformism of the war and post-war years.

Though the leftward tendency of the Socialist Party has not achieved programmatic clarity and, in some respects, retrogressive steps were taken at Cleveland, nevertheless the general trend of the party, as measured by the activities of its membership and the increasing violence of its collisions with the extreme right wing of the party, is undoubtedly progressive. This is to be seen, for example, in the fruitful work of the Socialist militants among the unemployed—a field completely neglected in the past; in the tendency to coordinate the work of Socialists in the trade unions, despite the resistance of party reactionaries allied with the trade union bureaucracy; in the firm stand of the Left Wing in breaking with the hidebound reactionary opposition to the United Front; and in the steadily increasing interest of the party membership in the fundamental questions of the revolutionary program, above all in the consistent development within the Socialist Party on the question of the struggle against war.

The Question of War

War is the most crucial issue of this epoch. On this question the Social Democracy founded and collapsed in 1914. On this question, today, both the international Social Democracy and the degenerate Third International reveal their ideological bankruptcy and their readiness to betray the working class to the imperialists. It is this question that divides the proletariat today into the two camps: those who will and those who will not fight against imperialism war.

Along of all the important parties in the Second International, the Socialist Party of America took a firm and courageous stand against capitalist government "sanctions." Along of all these parties, the American party repudiated the fictitious distinction between "peaceful" and "aggressive" capitalist nations. In spite of the terrific barrage of Stalinist pressure, the Socialist Party has continued to develop more clearly and decisively toward a genuinely rev-

Statement of National Committee

The Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party has brought to an organizational climax the internal struggle which had arisen out of the Leftward development in the party. The break with the Old Guard shifts the center of gravity to the Left and facilitates the growth and activity of the party. This, as well as the militant position the party has taken on the crucial question of imperialist war, confronts revolutionary workers throughout the country with a new situation. The composition of the Socialist Party today is no longer what it was under the domination of the Old Guard. Into its ranks have entered a new generation of class-conscious militants, inspired by the spirit of the class struggle, who want to make the party a party of revolutionary Marxism. They represent a movement of great potentialities for the cause of a mass party of socialist revolution in the United States.

The Workers Party, formed to advance the interests of revolutionary internationalism, cannot stand apart from this movement. It is fully conscious of the tremendous importance of this movement for the future of the American and international working class and of the fact that this movement can be advanced more speedily and consistently in the direction in which it has traveled only by the closest, most loyal and direct contact with it.

Unlike the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire of reformism and social-patriotism, the Socialist Party has freed itself from the strangulating domination of the Right wing and has advanced toward the position of revolutionary Marxism on a number of basic questions, notably on the question of war, the central question of our time.

Unlike the Communist Party, in which the bureaucracy has stifled every last remnant of party democracy, outlawing all views contrary to those imposed upon the ranks by an appointed officialdom, the Socialist Party openly takes a stand for internal democracy, welcomes revolutionists into its ranks and offers the possibility of putting forward in its

revolutionary conception of the nature of the proletarian struggle against war. In this field the Cleveland convention made its most important theoretical contribution, adopting a detailed resolution which goes further in the direction of a Leninist position against war than any Socialist party has ever done.

Naturally, it remains to be seen to what extent this developing position on war has been and will be assimilated by the party membership. Undoubtedly, this position will not become fully integrated into the actions of the Socialist Party without a systematic educational campaign. Such an educational campaign will scarcely be complete unless it involves all the basic questions which are inextricably involved in the war question—the international nature of the class struggle, the road to power, the nature of the workers' state, etc.—questions on which clarity in the Socialist ranks lags considerably behind the development of the war issue.

The Break With the Old Guard

Indeed, the most basic and far-reaching gains made by the Socialist Party do not yet lie in the realm of theoretical clarification. The revolutionary potentialities in the Socialist Party have been best-expressed by

midst the rounded views of consistent revolutionary Marxism.

At its last convention, the National Committee of the Workers Party was instructed to follow closely the developments within the Socialist Party and was given full power to take appropriate action in the event of a favorable outcome of the internal struggle. By virtue of this authority, the National Committee herewith decides to dissolve the Workers Party as a separate organization and calls upon all its members to enter the ranks of the Socialist Party of America. It appeals to all revolutionary workers to follow this example.

The comrades who have been grouped in the Workers Party join not as a separate faction, and take their places side by side with the militant fighters in the ranks of the S.P. with the aim of building it into a mass party of revolutionary socialism. We aim to work loyally and devotedly in the ranks of the Socialist Party and to observe discipline in action. We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas. We assume all the obligations and duties of party membership and ask no special privileges. On the basis of equal duties and equal rights we obligate ourselves to work loyally and devotedly to build the Socialist Party into a powerful, united organization in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League endorses the declaration of the Workers Party. By the authority of the last convention, the National Committee hereby formally dissolves the Spartacus Youth League and calls upon all its members and sympathizers to take their place in the ranks of the Young People's Socialist League.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

its break with the ossified Old Guard. We have often pointed out what, in our opinion, has constituted the main weakness of the fight against the Old Guard; it was permitted to look like a purely organizational fight between groups contending for power, while the basic programmatic issues underlying that struggle were not clarified. Fighting for corrupt and reactionary principles the Old Guard, nevertheless, has formulated the issues more clearly than its opponents. But, fortunately for the future of the working class movement, the break was irrevocably made at Cleveland and the Socialist workers are free to develop their destiny without the deadening influence of the Old Guard.

And what a noxious, poisonous influence the Old Guard was! What a debilitating influence the Waldmans and Pankens exerted on a generation of Socialist workers! In ideological solidarity with the Scheidemanns and Noskes who slaughtered the German revolutionists and delivered the European working class back into the hands of capitalism; repudiating every vestige of Marxism which remained imbedded in the Social Democracy even in its opportunist years preceding the war; either part of or allied with the class-collaborationist trade union bureaucrats—not to speak of all the outright racketeers among the Old Guard!—and even now trailing Dubinsky and Hillman into the

Roosevelt camp; comfortable, aging Philistines, stern and implacable only against revolutionists and militants,—for a decade and a half these traitors poured their poison into the minds and hearts of Socialist workers. The socialist worker, seeking a way out from capitalism, could find guidance, in all those years, only in the venal and corrupt Jewish Forward or its English version, the New Leader. The worker or student seeking to learn something of scientific socialism was delivered into the hands of the Algernon Lees and the Rand School! Groups of workers engaged in struggle against repressive administration in their unions, if they were naive enough to bring their problems to the Julius Gerbers, were betrayed to the bureaucrats not only by being restrained from struggle, but also by the direct process of stool-pigeoning. The Old Guard gave aid to not a single one of the important struggles for democratic rights on behalf of political prisoners! They did not lift a finger to aid the organization of the millions of unemployed. Under their regime, the Socialist Party had all the vices of the European Social Democracy without even the advantage of being the party of the masses.

Degeneration of the Communist Party

Now the Socialist workers are freed of this horrible, parasitic excrescence. At first thought, indeed, it appears incredible that thousands of militant workers and youth could have joined the Socialist movement while the Old Guard ruled the party. They joined, of course in spite of the Old Guard. The main influx has come since 1928. That influx was only possible because of the degeneration of the Communist Party.

The revolutionary workers have been joining the Socialist Party since 1928 because the relative autonomy of state and local organizations made it possible for them to function in it, even though under fearful handicaps. In the Communist Party, they could not function at all. It is no mere coincidence that the Socialist Party has grown precisely in the years since the Communist Party, yoked to the "national Socialism" of Stalin, ceased in actual fact to be a party. It is no accident that the growth of the Socialist Party began in the same year that we, then the Left Opposition, were expelled from the Communist Party. The C. P. became nothing more than a rigid apparatus-clique; even the memory of party democracy disappeared; scoundrels and nonentities were appointed by Stalin and consecrated overnight as "beloved leaders"; party policies are infinitely closer to those of the Old Guard than to those of militant Socialism. From this repellent caricature of a revolutionary organization, an organization neither revolutionary nor a party, thousands of revolutionary workers recoiled. Instead, they joined the Socialist Party. From the first they chafed at the Philistine passivity imposed by the Old Guard, and now they have smashed through the Old Guard.

It is extraordinary, indeed, to contemplate the dialectics of this swift development. The Socialist Party is left an empty shell by the surge of revolutionists to the Communist Party in 1919. But the Communist Party becomes a stifling apparatus. Workers recoil and enter the Socialist Party and give it new life. But in the process they have also transformed the party and driven out the Old Guard Democrats who controlled it. Thus the drive of the proletariat to revolutionary organization asserts itself in spite of all obstacles.

Party Democracy

That drive is, of course, not completed. It is just beginning and will not end this side of the American proletarian revolution. The Socialist workers are now in a state of evolution toward a consistent Marxist conception of their tasks. Not the least of the forms that dialectics takes is the conflict, the give and take, of ideas about theory, strategy and tactics. Only that which is dead—like the prison regime of the Old Guard and the caricature of monolithism which is the Communist Party—provides no arena for ideological differentiation. The mature revolutionist seasoned in the front lines of the class struggle, conscious of the manifold practical problems of the party and the signifi-

(Continued on Page 3)

WHY WE ARE JOINING THE SOCIALIST PARTY

SPEAKERS: (JAMES P. CANNON
(A. J. MUSTE
MAX SHACHTMAN, CHAIRMAN

Friday Evening, June 12, 1936

IRVING PLAZA HALL
154 STREET & IRVING PLACE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

at 8 o'clock

THE NEW MILITANT TAPPEZE AGAIN

(Continued in this issue)
By KARANDASH

Bittleman Takes the Swing this Time in Pamphlet "Going Left"

One year after Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, the gangs of reaction raised their rancors and guns in Paris on May 6, 1934 against the "corrupt" Daladier government. On this day, "l'Humanite," the central organ of the French Communist Party, appealed for a demonstration in the very midst of the reactionary gangs, and with precisely the self-same slogans, against the "corrupt" and "fascist" Daladier. This was a repetition on a minor scale of the Red Referendum in Germany, where the Stalinists appealed to the workers to cast their votes against the Socialist (social-fascist) government of Braun and Severing together with the Nazis. In France the Stalinists did not mix their votes with the fascists, instead they staged a demonstration which could not be distinguished from that of the fascists, thus sowing confusion among the workers.

On February 7 and 8 the French working class was treated to the spectacle of a Socialist Party proposing a united front to the C.P. and the latter refusing the proposal. "l'Humanite" replied to the S.P. in substance as follows: If you want to struggle against fascism, you should apply to the Amsterdam-Brussels Committee whose particular specialty this is. A few months later the "line" was changed.

That is why in 1936, Bittleman has to write, "It is strange that the Left elements... should have allowed this Old Guard and Trotskyist slander to creep into the draft program" (p. 20).

Bittleman develops five-twifths of his pamphlet to a "criticism" of the draft program on the question of Fascism and War. On these central questions the Left Socialists have moved closest to the revolutionary Marxist position. On the other hand, the degeneration and betrayal of the Third International stand out most sharply precisely in the struggle against Fascism and War. The Stalinist line and policy in this sphere are only too clear. It is hardly surprising therefore that the Stalinists should concentrate their efforts upon trying to reach the further clarification or evolution of the Socialists on these burning questions of our epoch.

The draft expresses the fundamental thesis of the League of Nations on war: only the overthrow of capitalism can put an end to war. Unable to criticize the Left Social-

ists for what they say, Bittleman attacks them for what they allegedly fail to say. According to Bittleman, the chief quality of failing to mention the central task of the anti-war struggle. A serious charge, indeed!

In the school of Marx and Lenin we have been taught that history has put the following alternative to the advanced capitalist countries: Either socialism—or a new series of imperialist wars. It is clear that therefore the central task of the struggle against war is the proletarian revolution, the only means of overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

An American Austro-Marxist in the minds of the Left Socialists the idea that "the central task in the anti-war struggle today is the struggle for peace" (p. 27). "For the Communist Party," writes Bittleman, "the central task is to fight against imperialism war under the slogan of peace for the struggle for peace" (p. 28). This is the central slogan not of Marxism but of Austro-Marxism. Bittleman, whether he knows or not, is a true disciple of Max Adler.

Back in 1915, Max Adler wrote a pamphlet *Prinzip oder Romanik* (also in which he advanced the idea that the central task in the anti-war struggle today is the struggle for peace) (p. 27). "For the Communist Party," writes Bittleman, "the central task is to fight against imperialism war under the slogan of peace for the struggle for peace" (p. 28). This is the central slogan not of Marxism but of Austro-Marxism. Bittleman, whether he knows or not, is a true disciple of Max Adler.

Every day, almost every hour, brings added proof of the Stalinist treachery, over which the Stalinists unfurling the usurped banner of the imperialist war in civil wars—for there is really nothing more to be said. The "Friedensrat" (peace council) is a "Mittelpunkt". The idea of peace must be made our central slogan! . . . This is what the events have taught them. . . . Not a Friedensrat, but a "Friedensrat", one feels like shouting to these great utopians who are running around with such a petty utopia. Not the idea of peace—but the idea of civil war, citizen Adler's slogan after the fashion of the central point of our program. . . . We say to you: either socialism will become the organizer of civil war

of the League. It is not that sanctions were defeated, but their sabotage and betrayal. This is the slogan in bold type, the "revolutionary" position on the League of Nations!

In the Camp of Revisionism

Everywhere the Stalinists have taken over the views of the revisionists of Marxism, their precursors in betrayal. As is well known, Bernstein and his associates proposed by a wholly altered Marxist theory of the State. How do the Stalinists stand with regard to this marploting of revisionism? The Stalinist theory of the State is a rehash of the views of revisionists, not to be distinguished from them except in ignorance and clumsiness.

The essence of the revisionist theory of the state does not lie in the denial that the state is an instrument of class rule but in the assertion that there are stages in the evolution of the state. At a certain stage the state can lose its specific class character, cease to be an instrument of class rule, and become an instrument of national oppression, and therefore can be utilized to advance the interests of other classes. The revisionists never denied that the state was an instrument of class rule, or even that the democratic state could be utilized by the bourgeoisie for its rule. But, said they, once the state has evolved to a democracy, it has reached that stage when a transition is possible, when the state need no longer serve as the instrument of bourgeois rule.

It was Karl Kautsky who insisted that the International was "in the nature of things an instrument of peace. . . . The struggle for peace is the international organization of the working class." This is the position of the socialists in Lenin and the Bolsheviks attacked.

From the instrument of the world proletarian revolution, the Third International has been transformed by Stalin into an instrument for peace.

New Converts for the League

Every day, almost every hour, brings added proof of the Stalinist treachery, over which the Stalinists unfurling the usurped banner of the imperialist war in civil wars—for there is really nothing more to be said. The "Friedensrat" (peace council) is a "Mittelpunkt". The idea of peace must be made our central slogan! . . . This is what the events have taught them. . . . Not a Friedensrat, but a "Friedensrat", one feels like shouting to these great utopians who are running around with such a petty utopia. Not the idea of peace—but the idea of civil war, citizen Adler's slogan after the fashion of the central point of our program. . . . We say to you: either socialism will become the organizer of civil war

The Anti-Trotsky Cliques Hold Up

The disintegration which has been taking place within the various sectarian groups, which have made a common platform of fighting "Trotskyism," had several open manifestations during the past week. In addition to open split, accompanied by the most disgraceful episodes, information is made public of the frightful decomposition and internal stagnation of these bankrupt cliques. The rank and file workers who were misled into these blind alleys on an ultra-"revolutionary" program are drawing a balance of their unfortunate experiences and returning to our ranks. This process is especially noticeable among the youth.

A statement made public last week by a majority of the clique led by B. J. Field was expressive of the mood on the Communist League (for treachery during the Hotel strike), operating under the pretentious title of the League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party. It is a split in the organization and of an attempt by Field to impose "unity" by means of physical force. This method of persuasion was resorted to in order to inform of the majority, F. L. Demby and S. Stanley, had submitted a statement to the "National Committee" declaring the organization to be a "number of disconnected cliques" and intention to sever all relations with it. Thereupon, according to the statement, "the door was locked" and Stanley and Demby were attacked with stones to the floor and beaten about the head. Field participated in the attack, his group outnumbering the other members at the time. Eight out of the ten members of the group supported the position of Demby and Stanley in severing relations with Field.

Simultaneously with the disgraceful finale of the Field adventure came the announcement of secessions from the group following upon previous expulsions and withdrawals. A total of ten comrades announced their repudiation of the platform of the Oehler group and its intention to follow the lead of the Workers' Party in joining the Socialist Party. Five other members had previously left the Oehler group and returned to the W.P. Several others who have been kicked to the curb are at their next steps.

Meantime the world-shaking announcement is made by the "Revolutionary Workers League" (Oehler group) that the "disintegration of the entire group (of Field) makes it impossible to continue negotiations with the League for a Revolutionary Party (Field group), looking toward a fusion with it." So that's off. But that is not all. The Oehlers are very thoroughly going people and when they start to break off negotiations they believe in doing a complete job. The same statement which pronounces the Oehlers are very thoroughly announces a suspension of the momentous negotiations with the "Italian Left Fraction of Communism" in order to give the three members of the latter organization an opportunity to conclude their discussions in their ranks in the U. S. and internationally over the class character of the Soviet Union. It is to be inferred that if and when this matter is cleared up one way or another the negotiations will either be resumed or finally broken off. We shall see what we shall see.

Diligent inquiry by our reporter failed to uncover any tangible information about the present state and whereabouts, if any, of the "Communist League of Struggle" (Albert Weisbord). The cafeterias are thick with rumors that Weisbord has departed for Chicago, that he has returned, that he has broken down on the way there or back, that he has retired into seclusion in order to write a book about his life and adventures, etc. Up to the moment of going to press our reporter was unable to locate any authorized spokesmen who could deny or confirm any or all of these rumors.

Left Is Anti-Stalinist

The only difference between the above formulation of Bittleman and the classic formulation of the revisionists is that the latter would have insisted that such a government could proceed to "build a socialist society" instead of to "make a proletarian revolution."

It is interesting to note that the world has insisted that such a government could proceed to "build a socialist society" instead of to "make a proletarian revolution."

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T. O'Flaherty Lead

The New Militant learns with great sorrow of the sudden death of T. J. O'Flaherty, an adherent of "Trotskyism" from the first days of the formation of the Left Opposition in the United States. O'Flaherty was one of the first to announce his unqualified support to the Left Opposition and to join the Communist Party of America and to remain a firm supporter of the Fourth International movement led by L. D. Trotsky.

The December 15, 1928 issue of the Militant, organ of the Communist League (Opposition), announced O'Flaherty's adherence to the cause of the Bolshevik-Leninists as follows:

"T. J. O'Flaherty, the most popular Communist propagandist in America and the writer of the famous Daily Worker column 'As We See It' and a revolutionist of many years standing has issued a statement setting forth his unconditional support of the Platform of the Russian Opposition and his solidarity with all comrades expelled for these views."

"After studying new material on the question of the Trotsky line in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern," said O'Flaherty in his statement, "I have come to the conclusion that the line of the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky is the correct Leninist line and therefore I associate myself with the membership of the Party the political line really advocated by Trotsky in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern." Comrade O'Flaherty's statement then went on to set forth his agreement with the position of the Russian Opposition on the various issues (Anglo-Russian Committee, Chinese Revolution, etc.).

The Communist Party forthwith expelled him.

Write for the Militant

Comrade O'Flaherty wrote for the Militant from time to time and was interested in other activities. Interested in the agrarian question, he proceeded to function for some years in the Northwest and edited the farmers' publication, the *Producer's News* (Plentywood, Mont.). At the same time he was engaged in literary efforts. He was ill during all these years, particularly with his heart, for which he was taking treatment for many years. He had a heart ailment which he decided to pay a visit to his native home, on the wild spot, the Aran Isles, on which the famous film, *Man of Aran*, was made during the time. He lived the hard life that all must live on this barren place. During this time, he wrote and had published his first book, "Armenian Alley" based on life on the Isles. At a time, he left the Aran Isles and lived and labored in Dublin, London and other places in Great Britain, contributing articles from time to time to the labor press. He returned to the Aran Isles upon the completion of his second book, "Cliffmen of the West" where his persisting illness soon thereafter brought the peace of death to him.

Comrade O'Flaherty in a recent letter to comrades in New York expressed the hope and belief that he would soon return to the United States, health greatly improved and be able to continue his revolutionary activity more fully. He returned to the Aran Isles, a Bolshevik, to the end, and all his friends and comrades, who are legion, are glad to honor the memory of a revolutionary stalwart.

Do You Want to Know
the sources of the social patriotism of the Third International
the significance of the theory of "Socialism in one country"
the relation of this theory to the working class movement in Russia, Germany, China, England and elsewhere
the place of the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary movement
the meaning of the so-called "Trotsky-Stalin" struggle
the program for world Socialism

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Stalinists Hege on Committees; Explain Non-Revolutionary Aims

From Revolution (Paris)

On the morning after the elections, the "communists" declared that they were going to devote themselves to the organization of Rank and File Committees of the People's Front.

Thorez wrote in *l'Humanite*, May 10:

"We will insist on the democratic election of Committees of the People's Front in the country, city and village."

Replying to questions asked by reporters, Duclos stated:

" . . . That is why our friend Thorez emphasized our action for the democratic election of Committees of the People's Front throughout the country. Thus we give proof that we are a party which bases itself on the people."

A propaganda pamphlet of the C.P., which we have already cited, formally states:

"The C. P. recommends Committees of the People's Front, democratically elected in the entire country, in the residential blocks and in the factories, and embracing not only members of organizations but the unorganized masses as well."

The Radicals in a Panic

It is therefore clear that the C.P. adopted a demand which we have not ceased to defend: practical organization, from below, of People's Committees, democratically elected. To that Vaillant-Couturier added that the Communists would constitute as well a "ministry of the masses."

That was enough for the entire Right and Radical Socialist press to set up a howl about the dictatorship of the proletariat, soviet, etc. Indeed, these gentlemen had the right slant!

In face of the impotence of Parliament, the People's Committees will appear as the only force capable of assuring the power of the working masses. The mass committees will set themselves against the arbitrary, dictatorial and police rule of the bourgeois state.

Intransigent and Jour published infamed articles against the proposed Committees. The bourgeoisie has learned something since 1917. But what was remarkable was that immediately all the famous "Jacobins" of the Daladier stripe began to howl against the "dictatorship of the clubs." All these capitalist demagogues, who had just lost 600,000 votes in the election,

in effect revealed themselves as the hypocritical enemies of the people who do not care a fig for them as contact with the workers.

Front, May 10, organ of the party of Deat and Paul Boncour, warned its readers:

"The latest discovery of the C.P. consists in the creation of Committees in the cities and neighborhoods to which the member parties of the People's Front are invited to participate. . . . Without anticipating the decisions our central bodies will not immediately act on this subject, we recommend the greatest circumspection to the secretaries of the groups. There will be enough difficulties for the republican government. . . . We risk the creation of new ones by mass and street action which will get out of its control."

Bergery's paper, *Fleche*, makes similar comments. Mr. Bergery pretends the saloons to the workers' meetings:

"If such a move can justify a frenzied campaign on the part of the trusts, it is certainly one which permits 'Temps' and other Right papers to declare that the Socialization of France is being organized."

Leard, deputy from Briej, undoubtedly thinks that the workers who elected him will defeat Deat with new votes.

Stalinists Retreat Under Fire

Confronted with these attacks, the Stalinists beat a quick retreat.

In *l'Humanite*, May 15, Vaillant-Couturier wrote:

"The point in question on the People's Front Committee is not of substituting itself for the parties, nor of substituting itself for the regular government bodies. The only question for them—arbitrary definition of power—is to actively second a government which is about to take office—supplanting a military which in the last week has permitted the flight of three billions of gold—in face of very heavy tasks and for which the action of the masses should be of great assistance."

In effect, Herriot, Daladier and Co. immediately declared that they would have no part of it, just as they attacked the workers after the events of Brest and Toulon, as they put the People's Front Government on the spot to execute its promises.

Let us begin the practical organization of the committee of the Radical blackmailed. The cardinal task of the hour is: 1) democratic election of the mass committees and 2) the putting of the People's Front Government on the spot to execute its promises.

Thorez declared in turn (*l'Humanite*, May 10):

"It is necessary to bring about the collaboration of the people with parliament and the government, as the program of the People's Organization stipulates. The Committees of the People's Front will be developed, strengthened, improved."

Thorez offered the following explanations in his speech at Grange-Bellec:

"It is this firm desire to guarantee the support of the masses through the medium of the People's Front Committees has already been exploited by the reactionary press which is trying to divide. . . . What is involved, however, is to improve what already exists. . . ."

"The bourgeois press pretends that this will be an intolerable and controlled parliamentary. . . . We, communists, think that only on the parliamentary and government plane one can obtain what the masses want and supported by their activity in the entire country."

"They pretend that such committees are revolutionary clubs, Soviets! The bourgeoisie is very well aware that this is not true, but it is faithful to its time-worn tactic: spread panic. . . ."

Since then the press has shelved the People's Front Committee. But that was not enough for Messieurs the Radicals.

The pro-fascist Dominique was still writing in *Republique*, May 16:

"If Mr. Vaillant-Couturier constitutes his Ministry of the Masses, neither parliament nor the cabinet will be free. And we want it to be free."

In other words, the bourgeoisie will be less free to carry through its maneuvers against the working class, will be less free to resort to plot, to lie, to deceive in parliament. And that is what these gentlemen do not want!

But here also promises are made. We call upon the workers to put them into practice.

Let us begin the practical organization of the committee of the Radical blackmailed. The cardinal task of the hour is: 1) democratic election of the mass committees and 2) the putting of the People's Front Government on the spot to execute its promises.

Stalin Destroys the Conquests of October Revolution

Bolsheviks Hounded; Class Enemy Granted New Rights

It is possible to learn how "Trotskyists" are unseated by reading a telegram from Krasnaya Pravda on the January 17 issue of Pravda under the following scorching headline: "The Trotskyist Calumny of Soviet District Membership Meeting." In the district membership meeting in Bouzham, Suravetz, the director of the machine and tractor station criticized the party regime or, as Pravda puts it, "he openly and brazenly calumniated the party, denying that conscious discipline exists in the party."

The indignant correspondent states in his telegram that "one would imagine that such a speech would have met with harsh repudiation." However, those present at the meeting listened to Suravetz without any protest. "Only towards the Stalinist regime this account of the meeting sided completely with Suravetz. Not only the secretary of the District Committee but even the representatives of the District Committee, i.e., the important party summit procured, not daring evidently to proceed too much counter to the mood of the meeting. "Only towards the Stalinist regime this account of the meeting, as a consequence of the indignation expressed by individual (!) Communists—reads the telegram—did the secretary of the District Committee briefly remark that the criticism of Suravetz was incorrect and was a repetition of everything the Trotskyists said in their time." The entire mechanism of the party stands clearly revealed before us. "The individual indignant Communist"—is, of course, the author of the correspondence himself, the General Secretary of the district. He has his direct instructions from the secretary explained to the meeting that the very same criticism of the party regime received by those present with obvious sympathy was nothing else than "Trotskyism." The secretary was unable to do more. It ought to be added that similar episodes occur at meetings and thousands of party meetings. Whether Suravetz is actually a

consciously Bolshevik-Leninist or simply arrived independently at certain conclusions, is immaterial. . . .

Privileges and Repressions

By means of a special decree the highest institutions of learning of all social restrictions in the sphere of education. Henceforth children of former noblemen, capitalists and kulaks will be accepted into the same plane with the children of workers and peasants. "Today there is no longer any need for these restrictions," announced Stolovitskiy at a session of the C.B.C. in January, 1936. One would imagine that these words as well as the privilege itself were to be understood in the sense that the stabilized socialist society is no longer in need of an artificial defense against the youth of bourgeois descent. The only thing to do would be to greet the new decree! But the background of liberal measures of this sort, all the more monstrous is the new flood of bureaucratic viciousness against the oppositionists, the savings representatives against the working class, the moment that the latter raises a voice in criticism. As a matter of fact there is no contradiction here. The luxurious growth of bourgeois relations in the sphere of the distribution of the articles of consumption, the re-establishment of ranks in the army and the creation of a privileged stratum of "the best people" on the basis of personal performance open up the possibility of a career for the self-seeking progeny of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the self-same General Secretary, when he only speaks his direct instructions from the secretary explained to the meeting that the very same criticism of the party regime received by those present with obvious sympathy was nothing else than "Trotskyism." The secretary was unable to do more. It ought to be added that similar episodes occur at meetings and thousands of party meetings. Whether Suravetz is actually a

The Class Nature of the Soviet State Bureaucracy Strangles the Factory Committees

A Letter from Leon Trotsky

You ask the question of whether the present Soviet system can give way to a "third" form of society, which is neither capitalist nor socialist. Urbans believe that precisely this is "state capitalism," identifying the soviet system with a fascist capitalism. In doing this he completely forgets a small difference: fascism aims in the highly developed productive forces in the framework of the national state, by cutting through the internationality of the Soviet system, even in its present form, imparts a rhythm to the development of the productive forces never before attained. This does not mean, however, to distinguish between what is historically progressive and what is arch-reactionary.

I see that you have nothing in common with Drahm's formulation. But you think that the Soviet bureaucracy, in its further development, will be able to adapt the forms of property, i.e., further forests to such a point that it becomes in reality a ruling class. You do not specify these new forms of property. You content yourself with the general statement that evolution is inexhaustible in its new forms and formations.

In this general form I find it as difficult to adopt as to reject the "third" society, because too many factors must be abstracted for that: in the first place those that are decisive for our revolutionary activity.

Now, forms of property are social forms par excellence. You cite examples moreover taken from the pre-capitalist epoch—where certain forms of property had no great significance. These examples only prove that it is necessary to distinguish the real from the supposed forms of property, i.e., from justifications (which are also a real function, but on a higher plane).

1935 was a year of "great" reforms for the U.S.S.R. In almost all fields of Soviet life, changes took place which remove the U.S.S.R. ever further from the conquests of October. The re-establishment of grades in the army and the reform, the reform of the family and finally the academic reform are landmarks on the road of the degeneration of the Soviet state. We must not be misled by the appearance on the academic reform, and by contrast with the academic reform put into effect by the October Revolution, show how in 1936 Stalin is liquidating one of the conquests of the revolution of 1917 in the academic field and approaching the model of the Czarist schools with its uniforms and respect for authority. . . . Just as we know even in the schools of the capitalist Nations of Europe.

Every government which does not support itself upon the broad masses of the toilers and the exploited must of necessity utilize as a guarantor of its power—just as it utilizes the police apparatus—the education of the youth in a spirit of submission by suppressing all free expression of opinion in the school. By creating a state police system of education with supervisors of classes, uniforms, marks, individual memorandums, the State has on the one hand in 1917 was a radical reform of the school.

The Revolutionary Reform

"Voluntary discipline, a spirit of mutual aid, the single school, autonomy on the basis of complete equality, the collective principle everywhere. . . that is the principle that will create a citizen 'new man.'" ("Basic Principles of the United School of Labor," Izvestia, No. 225, Oct. 16, 1918)

The extract quoted shows the complete incompatibility of the free and revolutionary school in a workers state with the old Czarist school.

The proletarian state does not fear the free citizen, it has no need of whips to assure its authority and

precisely the bourgeoisie has reduced the forms of property to their bare essence, the proletarian revolution nationalized capitalist property. The question therefore arises: cannot this nationalization itself degenerate into a form or another, returning to the new ruling class emerging from the bureaucracy?

Nationalized property stands or falls with planned economy. Thus, it is not a fiction, but a powerful reality. Nationalization, however, does not only signify that the productive forces are organized and directed according to a plan, but also in the interests of all. The bureaucracy prejudices the new system in these two ways. On the one hand, it reduces the efficiency of planned economy and on the other it consumes an enormous portion of its surplus.

If we speak of a "third" system, however, must we not ask the question as to whether it is a matter of the rights newly acquired by the bureaucracy to an ever larger party of the national income, which would be equivalent to the right of parasitism, or if what is involved is the virtual liquidation of planned economy. Only the second hypothesis would constitute a new social base. We must clearly understand that the abolition of planned economy, and by the same token also the nationalization of the productive forces, will inevitably and automatically lead to parasitism and degradation of the latter. We would then no longer have before us a progressive system, but one in decomposition, which would inevitably lead to fascist capitalism, or, at least in possible formations creates something original. But in the essence of the matter there would be no change.

That planned economy remains basically intact,

that the productive forces continue in their own right, there will remain—in your hypothesis—nothing but the fact that the bureaucracy has succeeded in stabilizing, fortifying and consolidating parasitism, judicially, ideologically and politically (and why not religiously?). This perspective assumes that the great mass of the population patiently accepts the new yoke despite the raising of the level of economy and culture and endures it without offering any resistance, and forever. That is not at all probable. To a certain degree the progress of economy opens great sources of power to the bureaucracy. But this progress is more and more turning against its autocracy and its parasitism.

What perspective opens before us? Very probably a new revolution. This will not be a social revolution, but a political revolution. The bourgeoisie too, in the evolution of the "great" revolutions, i.e., social revolutions, and purely political revolutions which took place on the basis of already established property. The theoretical program of Marx and Lenin did not foresee, in any case, the possibility of the political revolution on the bases of property nationalized by the proletariat. But they did not also foresee the bonapartist degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship. Both these things belong to those stages, transitory forms, etc., in the formation of which history is so rich. The general laws of the evolution of capitalism to socialism, as they are established by Marxism, do not lose their force by these "episodes" (very disagreeable "episodes").

There are a few considerations on the subject of the interesting problem which you have posed to me—and which I send you in all haste.

January 1, 1936

When a worker abroad asks a question about the conditions of the workers in the U.S.S.R., he is not interested only in the material conditions of labor (wages, length of the working day) but also in the place of the workers in production. The most important conquest of October was the occupation of the factories by the working class. It had become proprietor of all the means of production. The factory committees had two extremely important tasks: the control of production, struggle for the improvement of the conditions of labor under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What is the role of the factory committees at the present time? Nothing remains of the role they played in the past. With the degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship, the trade unions, the factory committees have also undergone a transformation. Their role now is that of a superintendent, an aid to the economic organs, closely connected with the entire bureaucratic apparatus of the U.S.S.R. It is no longer the representative of the working class, controlled by the workers, but a group of functionaries under orders of the bureaucratic tops.

There is rarely any information in the Soviet press on the real life of the factory committees and their relation to the working class. Only when it is impossible for them to remain silent on some important fact does the bureaucracy itself go in for "self-criticism" and assume the role of seriously struggling against the "bureaucracy."

To allow the reader to form his own judgment on the real life of the factory committees I will cite several facts culled from the central organ of the Soviet trade unions.

Turd. These facts do not pretend to give a complete picture of the life of the factory committees but should however provide useful information.

(Jan. 1, 1936) gives the following report of the life of the factory committee of the textile corporation at Tashkent: "For the first time in three years, the working men and women of the corporation met in one factory to hear the report of the outgoing factory committee and to elect a new one. Out of the 19 members elected three years ago only one remained. All the other members of the committee were appointed."

It is clear that the workers learned nothing from the report of activity of the committee. During the discussion the indignation of the workers was expressed in the speeches of some 50 of those present. (The small number indicates the interest the workers have in conferences of this kind). What did they speak about? They told of 70 men in the apparatus of the committee who did nothing but were paid and that thousands of rubles were expended to maintain them. They told of the relations of the least of the paymaster section with the women workers: "When we came to him to obtain authorization for a sanitarium, he shamelessly proposed to us all the members of the committee in the evening at his home." When the workers pleaded with the president of the factory committee, he replied:

by laughing and mocking them for the prodigious amount. The social insurance funds were expended without any control. The president of the committee did not permit the workers to become delegates from the region to the insurance treatment. And the workers complained of many other things.

Finally, after the discussion, they passed over to the election of the new committee. It appears that half of the candidates were not even present at the conference, the workers did not want to elect the absentees. The chairman of the conference and the president insisted nevertheless on the election of all the candidates. Why? Because "the candidates have been endorsed by the party committee." Finally, the president obtained the election of all the candidates and even succeeded in "slipping into" the committee several members of the former committee whom the workers had demanded be expelled from the committee.

In this note we see all the features of bureaucratism: a scornful, indifference towards the workers, the blind execution of orders "from above" and the reduction to zero of the most elementary principles of democracy. It is interesting to note that the only reaction of the editors of the paper in relating these facts is to add at the bottom of the article: "Must we say after this that the elections should be annulled?" No, it is not by voting that these facts can be changed! It is the entire bureaucratic system, where the lower ranks follow in the footsteps of their superiors, where the crushing of democracy is the principle of the system, which bears the responsibility for these revolting facts.

Naturally these committees do not interest themselves in working conditions in the factories which are often horrible. Listen to what the workers say in speeches at the C.C. of the Metal Workers trade unions (Trud, Dec. 26, 1935): "The children of the worker Menador (he has worked in the factory since 1911) cannot attend school. They have neither worn clothes nor shoes." In the chemical corporation "Mychislinsk" it is often horrible. Listen to what the workers say in speeches at the C.C. of the Metal Workers trade unions (Trud, Dec. 26, 1935): "The children of the worker Menador (he has worked in the factory since 1911) cannot attend school. They have neither worn clothes nor shoes." In the chemical corporation "Mychislinsk" it is often horrible. Listen to what the workers say in speeches at the C.C. of the Metal Workers trade unions (Trud, Dec. 26, 1935): "The children of the worker Menador (he has worked in the factory since 1911) cannot attend school. 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Blum and Stalinists Place Preservation of Capitalist Order Above Workers' Interests

One million French workers have occupied 300 key plants, about 400 mines and factories across the whole of France.

To end the spontaneous sit-down strike that paralyzed French industry, to stifle the tendencies which led workers in Northern France to set up their own flags over their factories, the Socialist Premier Leon Blum, supported by the French Socialist party and the General Confederation of Labor, has rushed through a "settlement" of their immediate demands which in the present state of French economy can have no reality.

While in a few plants, workers resumed or opened negotiations, the announcement of Blum's settlement was greeted with a new wave of strikes, including 150,000 miners in the north and 10,000 white collar employees that have struck the insurance company employes in Paris. The grand total rose over one million.

"We are facing a situation in which every hour counts," declared Blum, bringing laws to the Chamber to implement the settlement. The fundamental function of the "settlement" is to ward off the immediate threat of the workers' offensive. It will drag them into negotiations, break their solidarity and destroy their unity. In the meantime, the French bourgeoisie and its Fascist gangs will have ample time to prepare to take hold when the People's Front government of Leon Blum has served its purpose.

For the moment, the French bourgeoisie is heeding the urgent, piteous plea of the French Stalinists who on June 4, urged the workers to accept the settlement in the present international situation, a prolongation of their resistance is endangering the security of the country." (Daily Worker, June 5.)

Workers Take Possession
While Blum pleaded with the workers to end their strike, while Thorez-Cachin and Co. "unreservedly" supported Blum, workers in shop after shop laid down their tools and took possession, grimly ignoring the Socialist premier's plea for peace. They were determined to "preserve the capitalist order."

The tremendous strike movement of the last fourteen days hurls the workers to the forefront of the French proletariat who declare that the People's Front is not yet ripe for power. It was the great leftward swing of the masses which piled up the great People's Front in the recent elections. It was the same swing, moving way beyond the leaders of the two big parties and the unified labor federation, which produced the great strikes of the past fortnight.

Action Spontaneous
Neither the Socialist Party, coming to power in a bourgeois coalition government, nor the Stalinists who support that government, nor the trade union bureaucracy, issued any strike call. The workers' action came about without and despite all of them.

Not an industry was unaffected; steel, coal, munitions, automobiles, machine tool factories, paper, building, paper, press, department stores, trucking and transport. Germinating in sporadic strikes in scattered plants throughout the month of May, the movement spread to 300,000 workers in occupied factories on May 26. With a surge that came from the most profound depths of the working class, hundreds of thousands of workers in a time stopped most of the key wheels of French industrial life.

Their conscious demands were simple: for a 40-hour week; for increases in starvation wages; for a little as three francs (15c) a day; for collective contracts; for vacations with pay.

Crisis Wracks France
But the unrealized implication underlying the great strike wave went far beyond these demands. French capitalism is in acute crisis. It has reached the end of its rope. Its government has been living from hand to mouth, has been unable to pay wages of its employees and its pensioners. The cost of living is prohibitive. The French monetary system is being strained beyond its capacity to endure. It was to change all this, to win security for themselves and their families, that workers of France have moved into the political arena in the last two years.

Their leftward surge, accompanied by a broad analogical trend of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, had bid by the crisis, forced the working parties into a new front. This united front, instead of leading the workers from struggle to struggle, against the bosses and their Fascist hired men, has sold out to the liberal bourgeoisie and dragged the workers into an alliance with their own bitter enemies. The workers' demand to have their own lives, their own bread. The spontaneous struggles at Brest and Toulon last August revealed their real attitude, as they set their path clear of the bourgeois state apparatus. Toulon and Brest were denounced by the Socialists and Stalinists as the acts of "provocateurs."

The Elections and After
In the elections, the workers and the petty bourgeoisie gave resounding evidence of the depth of the leftward trend. The parties of the center found themselves cut to shadows. The fundamental sectors of the French population were splitting in two diametric directions. On the left, which polled only 1,000,000 less votes than the left.

Stalinists incite Pogrom Against Revolutionists at Commune Rally

PARIS, May 25.—While last year the traditional demonstration at the Wall of the Federals at the Piere-Lachaise Cemetery, in commemoration of the victims of the Commune, took place under the cloud of the Stalin-Laval declarations, the Stalinists, depressed by the defeat of the workers of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the anarchists, etc., who shouted "Sac au doge" (soldier's pack on your shoulders) at them and danced a jig around them without any serious scuffles ensuing, this year the demonstration was turned into a veritable mass pogrom against the revolutionists.

From marching past the sacred wall, occupied by the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats together with the future Prime Minister, Leon Blum.

attacks the Stalinists worked hand in hand with the police who slugged together with them, without making any arrests. From a reactionary point of view, the proficiency of the Stalinist police superior to that of the state police: they can organize veritable mass pogroms and be more successful in repressing and removing the revolutionists from the masses, in digging a ditch between them. The Stalinists offer the government not only their parliamentary support but their fists. As long as the betrayers of the future Blum government does not disillusion broad masses, this support will retain its efficacy. The incidents of Sunday, May 24 are only a forerunner of what is being prepared against the revolutionists.

On May 9 the French Stalinist party officially pledged its unrestrained support to Leon Blum. "It is necessary to assure at any price the triumph of the experiment we are making." (L'Humanite, May 10. Emphasis in original).

"Those who voted Communist, perhaps did not vote for the Soviet system, but they voted for, and guaranteed, the security of the country. . . . Our people demand that the agonizing threat of the civil war leagues come to an end." (Thorez, L'Humanite, May 10).

And in the same article: "The Communist Party has reaffirmed its support of the Blum government."

"God forbid!"

"The capitalist press," adds the Daily Worker, "will, as usual, be silent or vague on what the workers are fighting for, and will attempt to misrepresent the strikes as being 'revolutionary.'"

And that would be the worst crime of all—to call these strikes "revolutionary" only to label a crime that the French workers would themselves commit if they went ahead and made their revolution.

"Order will ensure success," appealed L'Humanite on June 6. "We are sure that the people of France will preserve the magnificent mastery that might lead to its display for several weeks."

Jouhaux, the Bill Green of France, also, in a radio speech, "defended the strikers' movement" but warned them against any manifestation that might lead to conflict with opposition organizations.

All together they cheered Leon Blum in the Chamber on June 6 the hour of his decline and the hour of his death. "We shall govern as republicans. We shall guarantee the Republican order."

Strikes Continue

Socialist, Stalinist and C.G.T. appeals did not check the movement. The strikes mounted daily. The day Blum presented his government to the Chamber 150,000 workers joined the movement. They wanted action. Blum, Salengro, Jouhaux and the employers went into conference and emerged with the "settlement" for all parties, and the French bourgeois press most of all, as a happily peaceful termination of the movement that threatens to upset all the calculations of the preservation of the capitalist order.

But the troubles of the People's Front government have only begun. Its "settlement" was greeted with a new strike of 150,000 miners in the north of France and the building trades workers in Paris and other workers in Bordeaux in the South. Accepting the settlement because it is the only way out of the crisis for the moment, the employers served careful warning on Blum that his government would have to face all the consequences of the settlement, because French industry would be prone unable to carry the burden imposed upon it.

In the Chamber of Deputies Blum pleaded that "the occupation of factories by strikers (is) less dangerous than fighting in the streets."

People's Front Betrayal Everywhere
The People's Front wants at all costs to avoid "fighting in the streets." It offers the workers "settlements" which mean long-drawn-out negotiations which are only now being carried out. It seeks to drag out and dissipate the legitimate will of the workers to independent struggle in their own behalf, for their own power.

In Spain today there is also a great strike wave, involving 300,000 workers, and there can be plainly seen the People's Front in action at the next stage: the government of Casares is carrying out repression measures against working class organizations and declaring strikes illegal.

In Fascism in France the price the whole working class and the world proletariat must pay to explode the criminal treachery of those who preach "industrial peace," "national security," "class collaboration" in the form of the People's Front.

The Program of Victory

The coming period in France must provide the answer. The Casares is carrying out repression measures against working class organizations and declaring strikes illegal.

1. Immediate and full amnesty.
2. 40-hour week without pay cuts, collective contracts, unemployment insurance.
3. National control of production; nationalization of the big industries.
4. Fusion of all private banks into one (the Bank of France included); nationalization of credit to be distributed by the State to the workers, peasants and small business.
5. Political rights for soldiers; abolition of the 2-year military service; reduction of the war budget.
6. Arrest of the Fascist leaders; organization of a Workers' Militia; arming of the proletariat; abolition of the mass committees in shops, factories and localities to carry out the workers' own program.

be in a state of anarchy. The People's Front stands for order" (N. Y. Times, June 4).

Blum worked no miracles. "The strikes in the Paris district and throughout the country, instead of diminishing, spread . . ." (N. Y. Times, June 5).

The first cabinet meeting issued a communique: "The government has decided on the utmost efforts to conclude rapidly and happily (?) solution of the strike."

Gov't Prepares Strikebreakers
Blum went to the radio to spread the good word. He "appealed for calm." "I hope the employers will show the greatest possible consideration for the workers."

But even as he spoke new strikes broke. Blum's appeal for calm was greeted with 254 new strikes within less than 25 hours.

He asked the strikers "to be patient, to have confidence, to try to obtain the best results from the law." To be effective, the government must have public security. It would be paralyzed by an infringement of order, by any interruption in the vital services of the nation."

Blum appealed for "industrial peace." His appeal, in the Herald-Tribune on June 6, "was well received by the French bourgeoisie," but "failed to make any visible impression on the French strikes which continued to spread."

At the same time it was openly announced that the government was preparing to act as a strikebreaker. Salengro, the C.P. reported on June 5, was planning an emergency railway service in the event of a general transport strike.

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Andre Maurois, French bourgeois writer, described it in the N. Y. Times of May 31 in the following terms: "The program . . . of the Communist leaders is not at all revolutionary. It is a program of the Communists who seek the aid of France we have no desire to see France weakened by dissension."

This description was amplified on June 7 by no less a personage than Albert Sarraute, the Russian Stalinist slander of "Trotskyist provocateurs," eulogized Henaff and rejoiced in the fact that several "citizens were slightly maltreated" (Henaff) that is small compensation for the Stalinist cops, L'Humanite, on the other hand, maintained silence of the guilty.

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A BARRICADE OF SPANISH PEOPLES' FRONT

By ALFREDO ROJAS
At the moment that the Popular Front government begins to reign in France, it is highly instructive to draw the balance sheet of the regime of the Popular Front government in Spain.

After four months in power, the Spanish Popular Front government reveals itself as completely bankrupt. As we predicted when it came to power, it has not made the slightest beginning toward a solution of the problems of the Spanish masses. The Menshevik purifiers of the Stalinists, who put forward, among other absurdities, the idea that the government could solve the land question, has been exposed as demagogic fraud. The electoral pact of the People's Front included a specific repudiation by the republicans of the proposal to confiscate the landed estates; and, as the Stalinists themselves used to insist during the "third period" days of 1931, it is impossible for backward, impoverished Spain to make even a stab at purchasing the estates. Even the 1931 republicans, who had repudiated the Menshevik line, have not been re-instated. The result is that the land workers and peasants—and in Spain twenty out of the twenty-four millions live out of the land—are just as badly off as ever.

As the masses realize that they have been deluded, they are beginning to fight back. The last two weeks have seen the greatest strike wave in all Spanish history. Nothing under the first Republic compares to the present movement of the masses. In the Valencia province a hundred thousand agrarians are on strike; agrarian strikers are also paralyzing Seville and other provinces. The Asturias and Madrid are out. Barcelona and Madrid find dozens of trades walking out. In all there must be at least half a million out on strike today.

The Government Repression
Unable to solve Spain's economic problems, the government is resorting more and more to the use of violence against the workers and peasants. A week ago in Albacete occurred a massacre of peasants by the Civil Guard, seventeen peasants being killed immediately, with many others reported dying of wounds later. Deaths of workers and peasants at the hands of Civil

Guards are reported practically every day. All workers' centers were closed in Lebriz, the general strike there was arrested and the strikers were committed to prison. All syndicalist centers have been closed in Madrid, and sixty syndicalist leaders arrested, with the government threatening to outlaw the syndicalist regime. Consideration of labor if it did not cease its strikes. And now the government has declared that all general strikes are illegal, that strikes for political ends are illegal. In actual fact, there are now two separate Socialist parties in Spain.

The demagogy of the republicans has never thin. The government repeats all the elaborate mumbo-jumbo of the 1931 days: it draws up elaborate plans for building Spanish republicanism, it scolds the Catholics for their ultrarightist policies. The republic, it stages parliamentary struggle goes on against religious and other enemies. But this game cannot be repeated again. More and more the government has to resort to the use of open force against the masses.

Crisis in the Labor Movement
The intensification of the class struggle has created a profound crisis in the working class. The syndicalists, terribly discredited for their refusal in most places to join the government, have now regained much of their prestige, thanks to the opportunistic support given the Popular Front government by the Stalinists and Socialists. The syndicalists are now pressing their advantage, even gaining ground in Socialist-controlled Madrid; but their sporadic strike activity, coupled with no political perspective, is creating serious dissension in the socialist ranks and will undoubtedly lead to a complete split as an revolutionary re-groupment of forces becomes more apparent in the Spanish working class.

The split in the S.P.
The crisis in the working class is most acute in the ranks of the mass party of Spanish labor, the Socialists. The Right wing-controlled National Committee has postponed

the national convention, empowered its subsidiaries to expel the lefts and outlawed the left-wing party, "Claridad." When in response Caballero demands a new election of the National Committee, that august body responds with the declaration that Caballero's proposal is an unadmitted violation of party discipline! The rightist leaders are howled down at meetings, and their chief spokesman, Indalecio Prieto, accuses the left wing of an attempt to assassinate him. In actual fact, there are now two separate Socialist parties in Spain.

The Spanish Right-Wing Socialists are hardly to be differentiated from the "Left" Republicans of the stripe who now govern Spain. Prieto has bitterly attacked the strikes because they debilitate the country. He and his colleagues have a perpetual record of collaboration with the republican bourgeoisie. They wish to enter the government to form a coalition cabinet.

The Left Wing Socialists are an extremely heterogeneous combination. Certainly Caballero, who he rides the crest of its wave today, is not its authentic leader. He is the same breath Caballero declares that Lenin's prediction that Spain will be the second Soviet republic in Europe is about to be realized, and that he will not oppose the party's collaboration in the government if the convention so decides! He denounces the syndicalists for training the entry of the proletariat in aimless strikes (and this is true enough), but the reason why the syndicalists are so active is that they do offer the workers some form of action, whereas Caballero, who heads the General Union of Workers, offers no leadership at all. He carries on a close flirtation with the Stalinists, who support the Popular Front Government, and the Stalinists and detests the Spanish workers with the slogan of unity of all workers' organizations as a sham.

Much more indicative of the chasm which separates the two Socialist tendencies are the hundreds of strikes led by Socialists; the all-Spain tickets put up in a number of provinces during the Presidential election; the occupation of shops by Socialized peasants; the terrific repercussions in the So-

cialist ranks, which forced Prieto to decline Azana's invitation to become Premier; the speeches at Azaña, who is actually attacking Azana, by Javier Bueno, Socialist leader of the Asturian rebellion; the party program proposed by the Madrid organization, which despite its name, is a party of the proletariat dictatorship will be the Socialist Party is a revolutionary program. The split in the Socialist Party is a reflection of the deepening rift between reformists and revolutionaries.

Role of the Stalinists
The Stalinists are playing a thoroughly reactionary role. They continue to support the government, wholeheartedly. Azana is a "friend of the Soviet Union" and therefore inviolate. One need only look at the Stalinist press in any country to see that they have yet to utter a single word of criticism of the Spanish government! Capitalism can go no farther; it is, in fact, the most conscious kind of intervention by the bourgeoisie, who holds a firm majority in the government, is like a little shopkeeper; he will fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, and then, when the latter let him keep his own little shop. The idea of independent political intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is a vicious attack on the Spanish government! Capitalism can go no farther; it is, in fact, the most conscious kind of intervention by the bourgeoisie, who holds a firm majority in the government, is like a little shopkeeper; he will fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, and then, when the latter let him keep his own little shop. The idea of independent political intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is a vicious attack on the Spanish government! Capitalism can go no farther; it is, in fact, the most conscious kind of intervention by the bourgeoisie, who holds a firm majority in the government, is like a little shopkeeper; he will fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, and then, when the latter let him keep his own little shop. The idea of independent political intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is a vicious attack on the Spanish government!

Regroupment Still Walls
The present status of the Spanish Revolution may be described as follows: a period in which the masses have lost all faith in the government, and consequently have broken the link between government and masses. The main body of the Socialist proletariat; but the regroupment of the revolutionary forces has not yet produced a leadership capable of leading a transformation of the Spanish crisis into a struggle for power.

That leadership is in process of arising out of the ranks of the Left Wing Socialists. It has a longer period in which to develop, that is, more time is permitted it than in the case in France; for in Spain the forces of the bourgeoisie are very weak. But even in Spain the revolutionary leadership must arise within a limited time, or reaction will triumph. The masses are in motion, they want to fight to the end; but a long period of sporadic, aimless activity, socialistic, and aimless activity will leave the way open for reaction. Thus Spain mirrors also the conditions in France.

The whole Spanish working class! The only group here still might have been the Maurin-Nin group—after their joining the Popular Front, breaking with, joining and breaking again, thus losing any serious standing as a firm political party—was in their correctly estimating the epochal significance of the Socialist split. Now it is clear the "Party of Marxian Unity" is a sterile, dead sect; it has even the specious virtue of an apparently independent political course, but vacillates between opportunistic moves and gestures, and is a party of the bourgeoisie, who holds a firm majority in the government, is like a little shopkeeper; he will fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, and then, when the latter let him keep his own little shop. The idea of independent political intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is a vicious attack on the Spanish government! Capitalism can go no farther; it is, in fact, the most conscious kind of intervention by the bourgeoisie, who holds a firm majority in the government, is like a little shopkeeper; he will fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, and then, when the latter let him keep his own little shop. The idea of independent political intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is a vicious attack on the Spanish government!

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