People's Front Moves to Cripple Strike Movement in France

NEWMILITARIT

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Workers Party Calls All Revolutionary Workers to Join the Socialist Party

HE 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 Oneals 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

The Question of War

War is the most crucial issue of this epoch. On this question the Social-Democracy foundered 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 imperialist war.

Alone of all the important parties in the Second International, the Socialist Party of America took a firm and courageous stand against capitalist government "sanctions." Alone 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 revo-

Statement of National Committee

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

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 towards 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

The Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party midst the rounded views of consistent revolutionary

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,

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.

lutionary 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

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

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 classcollaborationist 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 revolu-. tionary organization asserts itself in spite of all ob-

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

(JAMES P. CANNON (A. J. MUSTE ALL MAX SHACHTMAN, CHAIRMAN) Friday Evening, June 12, 1936 IRVING PLAZA HALL NEW YORK, N. Y.



ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE AGAIN

(Concluded in this issue) By KARANDASH

One year after Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, the gangs of reaction raised their razors and guns in Paris on February 6, 1934 against the "corrupt" Daladier government. On this day, attacks them for what they alleg- the Stream, pp. 145-146 Russian l'Humanite, the central organ of the French Communist Party, ap- telman, they are guilty of failing pealed for a demonstration in the very midst of the reactionary gangs, anti-war struggle. A serious charge, marks to have practically everyand with practically the self-same slogans, against the "corrupt" and "Fascist" Daladier. This was a repetition on a minor scale of the has put the following alternative his associates. The Marxists never Red Referendum in Germany, where to the advanced capitalist coun-approached the question of peace in ists, not to be distinguished from the Stalinists appealed to the work- tries: Either socialism—or a new ers to cast their votes against the series of imperialist wars. And est days of the war (at a time Socialist (social-fascist) govern- that therefore the central task of when the workers were certainly ment of Braun and Severing to- the struggle against war is the pro- "vitally interested in the maintengether with the Nazis. In France letarian revolution, the only means ance of peace," to use Bittelman's the Stalinists did not mix their of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. 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-Pleyel Committee whose particular specialty this is. A few changed

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

Bittelman devotes fully two-fifths 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 revonly too clear. It is hardly sur-central slogan!' . . . This is what of Nations." He forebears to menprising therefore that the Stalinists | the events have taught them. . . . | tion that he and his colleagues have should concentrate their efforts 'Not a Friedensidee but the Buer- now taken over this "traditional" upon trying to check any further gerkriegsidee!, one feels like shout- attitude. Thus, in the June 5 issue clarification or evolution of the So- ing to these great utopians who are of the Daily Worker, Gabriel Peri, bourgeoisie and so strengthen the cialists on these burning questions running around with such a petty while on the subject of the "Fight working class and its allies, that ful finale of the Field adventure

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

ists for what they say, Bittleman or it will cease to exist (Against edly fail to say. According to Bit- edition. Emphasis in original). to mention the central task of the indeed!

In the school of Marx and Lenin viks wrote on this subject apply we have been taught that history directly to citizen Bittelman, and

An American Austro-Marxist But Bittelman wants to instill in idea that "the central task in the between two imperialist wars. specific class character, cease to the minds of the Left Socialists the anti-war struggle today is the Peace under capitalism is an imstruggle for peace" (p. 27). Offer- perialist peace. Anyone who is for oppression, and therefore can be ing a balance of their unfortunate ing the foreign policy of Stalin-Litvinoff in place of revolutionary "The Communists propose to fight | perialist peace!, will tomorrow cry, instrument of class oppression, or Marxism, Bittelman insists that: against imperialist war under the the position of revolutionary Marx-could be utilized by the bourgeoisie of B. J. Field (who was expelled heart trouble. peace" (p. 28). This is the central ism. slogan not of Marxism but of Austro-Marxism. Bittelman, whether that the International was 'in the racy, then it has reached that stage later the "line" was he knows or not, is a true disciple nature of things an instrument of when a transition is possible, when of Max Adler.

pamphlet Prinzip oder Romantik the working class." This is the po The machinery of the state can be peace its central slogan, otherwise proletarian revolution, the Third system. socialism will cease to exist. Zino- International has been transformed viev, at that time closely collabo- by Stalin into an "instrument for rating with Lenin, replied to Adler peace," that is, of betrayal. as follows:

Zinoviev on Adler and Bittelman olutionary Marxist position. On other perspectives—the revolution- treachery, over which the Stalinists the other hand, the degeneration ary perspective of the transforma- unfailingly throw the usurped banand betrayal of the Third Interna- tion of the imperialist wars into ner of the October revolution. In tional stand out most sharply pre- civil wars-for them there is really his pamphlet, Bittelman patronizcisely in the struggle against Fas- no other way out. . . . 'Die Fried- ingly compliments the Socialists for cism and War. The Stalinist rec- ensidee zum Mittelpunkt.' "The breaking with the "traditional Soord and policy in this sphere are idea of peace must be made our cialist Party attitude on the League

utopia. Not the idea of peace-but The draft expresses the funda- the idea of civil war, citizen Adler! following to say: mental thesis of the Marxian posi- That is what must become the cen-

One need change only a few

names, places, and incidental rething that Lenin and the Bolshekept stressing that peace under morrow can only mean an interval peace under capitalism is in reality Those who today cry, Long live im-

New Converts for the League

Every day, almost every hour, "For those Socialists who see no brings added proof of the Stalinist for the Defense of Peace" has the

"It seems to us that France must tion on war: only the overthrow of tral point of our program. . . . We now declare: It is not the League capitalism can put an end to war. say to you: either socialism will of Nations that was defeated but Unable to criticize the Left Social- become the organizer of civil war the inadequacies and shortcomings the government that is set up by of the platform of the Oehler group

of the League. It is not that sanctions were defeated, but their sabotage and betrayal." This is printed in bold type, as the 'revolutionary' position on the League of Nations! In the Camp of Revisionism

In every sphere the Stalinists have taken over the views of the revisionists of Marxism, their precursors in betrayal. As is well known, 🤇 Bernstein and his associates proceeded by subtly altering the Marxian theory of the State. How do the Stalinists stand with regard to this mainspring of revisionism? The Stalinist theory of the state is a rehash of the views of revisionthe abstract. Writing in the dark- 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 interminology), Lenin and Zinoviev strument of class rule but in the capitalism "today" as well as to- the evolution of the state. At a and file workers who were misled certain stage the state can lose its serve as the instrument of class utilized to advance the interests of experiences and returning to our for peace with the bourgeoisie. other classes. The revisionists ranks. This process is especially never denied that the state was an noticeable among the youth. for its rule. But, said they, once from the Communist League for It was Karl Kautsky who insisted the state has evolved to a democ-

The Capitalist Transition

The Stalinists do not deny that ment of bourgeois rule either. But. "a number of fundamental revolutionary measures (control of production and of the banks, disbandment of the police and its replacement by an armed workers' militia.) . . . It would so weaken the the working class would become ready to make the proletarian revolution" (p. 8).

This remarkable government, acthe proletarian revolution, but a different kind of a "workers' and which is set up within the frameunited front government, a people's their next steps. front government, a workers' and farmers' government." Whose class nouncement is made by the "Revo-

and its allies!

What have we here if not the re-

revolutionary measures, etc....

emancipation? Left Is Anti-Stalinist

The only difference between the ther be resumed or finally broken above formulation of Bittelman off. We shall see what we shall see. and the classic formulation of the revisionists is that Bernstein government could proceed to "build "make a proletarian revolution." much more logical and consistent. as "revolutionary Marxism."

of Stalin must resort to their shab- life and labors, etc. Up to the moby "revolutionary" subterfuges to ment of going to press our reporter be able to continue using the prestige and the traditions of the October revolution in order to bulldoze workers away from the revolutionary traditions and policies of the October revolution. To go left is in the first instance to go away from Stalinism. To be charged with being a counter-revolutionist by a Stalinist is a well nigh infallible proof that one is learning to differentiate between the revolutionary program of Marx and Lenin and the revisionism of the Stalinist bureaucracv.

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Bound volumes of the NEW

The Anti-**Trotsky** Cliques Fold Up

The disintegration which has been taking place within the various public of the frightful decomposition and internal stagnation of assertion that there are stages in these bankrupt cliques. The rank letter to comrade Martin Abern, into these blind alleys on an ultra "revolutionary" program are draw-

pampnier Frinzip ouer romanism of sition of the social-patriots whom taken over by the majority of the "unity" by means of physical force. Stanley, had submitted a statement to the "National Committee" dethe democratic state is an instru- claring the organization to be "bankrupt" and announcing their the agrarian northwest in the U.S.) they say, under certain conditions intention to sever all relations with is being advertised. And two weeks (as laid down by Dimitroff) it is it. Thereupon, according to the ago the publishers wrote for perpossible to have extraordinary gov- statement, "the door was locked" mission to sell the language rights. ernments which can serve not the and "Stanley and Demby were at- on a 50-50 basis. interests of the bourgeoisie, but tacked, knocked to the floor and

those of its class enemies. Such a beaten about the head." Field par- from the U. S. but lately was un-"transitional" government on com- ticipated in the attack, his group able to read them and was too weak ing into power would carry through outnumbering the other members to have them read to him. His sisat the time. Eight out of the ter Delia spared nothing on him; twelve members of the group support the position of Demby and Stanley in severing relations with Field.

Simultaneously with the disgracecame the announcement of seces sions from the Oehler group, followwithdrawals. A total of ten comcording to Bittelman, would not be rades announced their repudiation and their intention to follow the farmers' government"—the kind ing the Socialist Party. Five other which is set up within the trame. Ochler group and returned to the munist Party for many years. He Isles, on which the famous film, of "the united and people's front W.P. Several others who have been was active during these many years Man of Aran, was made during the Meantime the world-shaking an-

interests would such a "workers' lutionary Workers League" (Oehler Chicago, official organ of the Com- After a time, he left the Aran Isles and farmers' government" serve? group) that the "disintegration of munist Party. He was on the staff and lived and labored in Dublin, Certainly not those of the bour- the entire group (of Field) makes of The Worker and later on the London and other place geoisie. How else could it intro-lit impossible to continue negotiaduce "a number of fundamental tions with the League for a Revorevolutionary measures, and "weak- lutionary Party (Field group), too, a special column in the Daily returned to the Aran Isles upon the the bourgeoisie while looking toward a fusion with it." "strengthening" the working class So that's off. But that is not all. The Oehlerites are very thorough-At a time when the bourgeoisie going people and when they start is no longer able to maintain a to break off negotiations they bestable parliamentarian regime and lieve in doing a complete job. The must resort to Fascism because the same statement which pronounces ruling class is no longer able to the doom of the Field group also provide the most miserly conces- announces suspension of the mosions to the oppressed classes in mentous negotiations with the "Italsociety, the Stalinists propose to ian Left Fraction of Communism" set up under capitalism a govern- in order to give the three members ment that would pass fundamental of the latter organization an opportunity "to conclude a discussion in their ranks in the U.S. and intervisionist myth that the machinery nationally over the class character of bourgeois oppression can be util- of the Soviet Union." It is to be ized by the working class for its inferred that if and when this "small point" is cleared up one way or another the negotiations will ei-

Diligent inquiry by our reporter failed to uncover any tangible inwould have insisted that such a formation about the present status and whereabouts, if any, of the a socialist society" instead of to "Communist League of Struggle" (Albert Weisbord). The cafeterias But Bernstein could afford to be are thick with rumors that Weisbord has departed for Chicago, that He did labor under the necessity of he has returned, that the bus broke palming off his revisionist garbage down on the way there or back, that he has retired into seclusion in Bittelman and the other flunkies order to write a book about his was unable to locate any authorized spokesmen who could deny or confirm any or all of these rumors. Sic transit gloria mundi.

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T. J. O'Flaherty Dead

great sorrow of the sudden death in Ireland of comrade T. J. O'Flaherty, an adherent of "Trotskyism" from the first days of the formation of the Left Opposition in the United States and a firm supporter to his dying day of the movement for the Fourth International. On common platform of fighting and to return to the States to func-"Trotskyism," had several open tion actively in the movement. He manifestations during the past Party of America upon its formaweek. In addition to open splits, tion and viewed it as the first step nist League (Opposition), anaccompanied by the most disgrace- in the process of unification of the ful episodes, information is made genuine revolutionary elements who herence to the cause of the Bolshebased themselves on the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky.

> His sister, Anna Johnson, in a writes from the Aran Isles, Ireland: Letter from His Sister

died on May 19 from heart trouble. and England. He was ill when he for these views: A statement made public last got back and got worse every day. "The Communists propose to ngnt Long live imperialist war! This is even that the democratic state week by a majority of the clique You know he always suffered from

"It as very pitiful to see him suffer and he wanted so to get well. statement, 'I have come to the contreachery during the Hotel strike), operating under the pretentious He lived those last months in New title of "The League for a Revolu- York and Chicago and was continpeace. . . The struggle for peace the state need no longer serve as thereby Workers Party," informs of ually with you. He talked to all Back in 1915, Max Adler wrote a is the international organization of the international organization of the international organization of the other members of the Party is the correct Leninist line and the other members of the Party therefore I associate myself with an attempt by Field to impose and tried to persuade me in the morning that he actually was there. (also in criticism of sectarians) Lenin and the Bolsheviks attacked. people, and legislation introduced This method of persuasion was re- You see, I had to be continually in which he advanced the idea that is the world to inaugurate a different social sorted to after representatives of with him night and day for the last the majority, F. L. Demby and S. five weeks. He was so nervous and was always fainting.

"It is now that his second book, 'Cliffmen of the West' (a book on

"Tom received papers regularly but it was no use; he was already far too ill when he returned home.' He was 47 years of age.

Founder of Communist Movement Comrade O'Flaherty was a revoing upon previous expulsions and States in 1912, immediately joining At the same time he was engaged lead of the Workers Party in join- founders of the Communist move- A little over two years ago he demembers had previously left the the Central Committee of the Com- home, on the wild spot, the Aran

> the band of Communists under in | brought the peace of death to him. dictment in the famous Bridgeman, Mich. case. He participated in that renowned underground C.P. convention as well as other convention gatherings of the revolutionary States, health greatly improved and movement. He participated in the be able to continue his revolutionwork of the International Labor ary activity more fully. He re-Defense, and was a delegate to the International Red Aid Congress (Labor Defense) in Moscow.

Expelled as Left Oppositionist When the Left Opposition was tionary stalwart.

The New Militant learns with | formed in November, 1928, upon the expulsion of three members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Cannon, Shachtman and Abern) for support of the position of the Russian Opposition, comrade O'Flaherty was one of the first to announce his unqualified support his death-bed all his thoughts and to the Left Opposition and to join interests were with his comrades it. He became a member of the in the United States and to the last Communist League of America and sectarian groups, which have made he had hopes to recover his health remained a firm supporter of the Fourth International movement led by L. D. Trotsky.

The December 15, 1928 issue of The Militant, organ of the Communounced comrade O'Flaherty's advik-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 "You will be surprised to hear years standing, has issued a statethat Tom has passed away. He ment setting forth his unconditional support of the Platform of the He came back here on January 15 Russian Opposition and his soliafter 18 months between Dublin darity with all comrades expelled

> "'After studying new material on the question of the Trotsky line in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern: said comrade O'Flahertv in his clusion that the line of the Russian Opposition led by comrade Trotsky is the correct Leninist line and the position taken by comrade Cannon and his associates in the Workers (Communist) Party of America. They were unjustly expelled for attempting to explain to 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.

Wrote for The Militant Comrade O'Flaherty wrote for

the "Militant" from time to time and participated in other activities. Interested in the agrarian problems, he proceeded to function for some lutionist of many years standing. years in the Northwest and edited He participated in the Irish move- the farmers' publication, the Proment prior to coming to the United ducer's News (Plentywood, Mont.). the Socialist Party in Boston. He in literary efforts. He was ill durremained in the S.P. till the split ing all these years, particularly in 1919 when he joined with the with his heart, for which he was Left Wing and was one of the taking treatment for many years. ment in America, and a member of cided to pay a visit to his native ism, being one of the leading and all must live on this barren place. popular writers in the revolutionary During this time, he wrote and had press. He was the first editor of published his first book, "Aranmen the weekly, "Voice of Labor" in All," based on life on the Isles. Daily Worker, official organs of the Britain, contributing articles from Worker under the caption, "As We completion of his second book, 'Cliffmen of the West" where his Comrade O'Flaherty was one of persisting illness soon thereafter

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 mained a revolutionist, a Bolshevik, to the end, and all his friends and comrades, who are legion, are glad to honor the memory of a revolu-

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 Hedge on Committees; Explain Non-Revolutionary Aims of "the united and people's front against fascism and war ... a united front government a people's limited front government a people's their next steps. W.P. Several others who have been particularly in the field of journal-time. He lived the hard life that their next steps.

From Revolution (Paris)

On the morning after the elections, the "communists" declared as contact with the workers. that they were going to devote themselves to the organization of Rank and File Committees of the its readers: 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

. . . That is why our friend Thorez emphasized our action for the democratic election of Com-

reporters, Duclos stated:

mittees 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 neighborhoods and in the factories, and embracing not only members of organizations but the unorgan-

ized 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

That was enough for the entire Right and Radical Socialist press to set up a howl about the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviets, 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 po-

lice rule of the bourgeois state. Intransigeant and Jour published inflamed articles against the proposed Committees. The bourgeoisie has learned something since 1917.

that immediately all the famous they would have no part of it, just Radical blackmailers! The cardinal "Jacobins" of the Daladier stripe as they attacked the workers after task of the hour is: 1) democratic began to howl against the "dicta the events of Brest and Toulon, as election of the mass committees and torship of the clubs"! All these they will always attack every time 2) put the People's Front Governcapitalist democrats, who had just real action is taken against the ment on the spot to execute its lost 500,000 votes in the election, privileges of the bourgeoiste.

in effect revealed themselves as the who do not fear anything as much

Front, May 16, organ of the party of Deat and Paul Boncour, warned

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 fail to immediately adopt on this subject, we recommend the greatest circumspection to the secretaries of the groups. There will be enough difficulties for the republican government not to have to 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 prefers the salons to the workers'

"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 Sovietization of France is being organized."

Izard, deputy from Briey, undoubtedly thinks that the workers who elected him will defeat de Wendel with newspaper articles.

Stalinists Retreat Under Fire Confronted wth 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 Committees is not of substituting itself for the parties, nor of substituting itself for the regular government bodies. The only question for them—ardent defenders of democracy—is to actively second a government which is about to take office supplanting a ministry which in the last week has permitted the flight of three billions of goldin face of very heavy tasks and for which the action of the masses

should be of great assistance." In effect, Herriot, Daladier and ization of the committees! Let us But what was remarkable was Co. immediately made known that denounce the capitulations to the

Thorez declared in turn (l'Huhypocritical enemies of the people manite, May 19):

We want to bring about the collaboration of the people with as the program of the People's Organization stipulates. The Committees of the People's Front must "The latest discovery of the be developed, strengthened, improved."

Thorez offered the following explanations in his speech at Grangeaux-Belles:

". . . 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 us. What is involved, however, is to improve what already

exists. . . . "The bourgeois press pretends that this will be an intolerable control over parliamentary and governmental activity. . . . We, communists, think that only on the parliamentary and governmental 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 C.P. has shelved the mass Committees. But that was not enough for Messieurs the Radicals.

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

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

In other words, the bourgeoisie will be less free to carry through its maneuvers against the working class, will be less free to horsetrade, 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 organ

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Stalin Destroys Conquests of October Revolution

Enemy Granted New Rights

skyists" are unearthed by reading a simply arrived independently at telegram from Kazan printed in certain conclusions, is immaterial. the January 17 issue of Pravda under the following scarehead: The Trotskyist Calumny of Surevizer". It appears that during a Soviet government has abolished precisely this is "state capitalism," arises: cannot this nationalization eternalizing its parasitism, juridiplace of the workers in production. the factory to the insurance departdistrict membership meeting in all social restrictions in the sphere Bougulm, Surovtzev, the director of education. Henceforth children a fascist capitalism. In doing this property, under one form or an- (and why not religiously?). This October was the occupation of the of many other things. of the machine and tractor station of former noblemen, capitalists and criticized the party regime or, as kulaks will be accepted into the Pravda puts it, "he openly and bra- highest institutions of learning on zenly calumniated the party, deny- the same plane with the children ing that conscious discipline exists of workers and peasants. "Today by cutting short their further de-

Whether Surovtzev is actually a one another.

Workers Party Joins the

Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

cance of the day to day drudgery, knows very well

what a powerful aid to these tasks is the clarifying

word, the sharp arrow pointing out the road ahead.

Theory and practice go hand in hand in a healthy rev-

olutionary movement. Naturally, there are differ-

ences that arise at every crucial turning of the road.

These differences must be threshed out by free dis-

cussion among the membership, and not decided by

bureaucratic decrees of self-constituted Popes. A

party without democracy is not a party. The best and,

indeed, the only guarantee for a normal solution of

disputed questions is the fullest democracy in educa-

tional work and discussion, coupled with an attitude

of responsibility and discipline. There is only one cure

for the terrible blight of mental stultification which

Stalinism and Old Guardism have brought into the

labor movement: we must recapture, and make a liv-

ing part of the heritage of the revolutionary move-

ment, the Marxist principle that the free discussion

of ideas is the only method whereby the proletarian

vanguard can collectively hammer out the correct pro-

gram that it needs if it is to work out the salvation of

We are confident that in such an atmosphere of de-

mocracy and discipline, the Socialist Party will grow

as never before. Already, with the ousting of the Old

Guard in New York and the simultaneous influx of rex-

olutionary elements the party has taken a swift leap

forward in membership and activity. The party is still

in relation to the American working class, in its prac-

tical impact upon it, primarily a propaganda organi-

zation. But it is today the party that can, given the

correct developments within it, become the party of

the masses. We revolutionary Internationalists who

are called "Trotskyites" begin our work in the Social-

ist Party with the fullest confidence in the outlook for

We are not afraid of isolation. There are times

when the revolutionists, if they are to remain true to

their principles, have no other alternative. For more

than seven years we endured repression and slander,

contumely and physical assault, in an isolated struggle

for principle. We survived. We are proud of our

struggle. We retract nothing and repent nothing. We

are not afraid of isolation when circumstances impose

it. But no less courage is required to turn away from

isolation and move toward the mass party when con-

ditions open the way for such a step. It would be sec-

tarian folly to reject the opportunity to participate

in a broader movement, bringing to it all our heritage

and all our ideas, which have been confirmed by every

development in the international working class move-

ideas and traditions, we urge all revolutionary work-

ers to do likewise and to add their energies to the ef-

forts of the many thousands of socialist workers in a

common struggle to build a powerful party of revolu-

Joining the Socialist Party as we are, with our

the human race.

the future.

tionary Socialism.

It is possible to learn how "Trot-| conscious Bolshevik-Leninist

Privileges and Repressions

By means of a special decree, the there is no longer any need for The indignant correspondent these restrictions," announced Molstates in his telegram that "One otov at a session of the C.E.C. in would imagine that such a speech January, 1936. One would imagine would have met with harsh repudi- that these words as well as the ation". However, those present at privilege itself were to be underthe meeting listened to Surovtzev stood in the sense that the stabilwithout any protests. Taking into ized socialist society is no longer account the Stalinist regime this in need of an artificial defense implies that the meeting sided against the youth of bourgeois decompletely with Surovtzev. Not scent. The only thing to do would only the secretary of the District be to greet the new decree! But Committee but even the representa- against the background of liberal tive of the District Committee, i.e., measures of this sort, all the more the important party summit kept monstrous is the new flood of burmum, not daring evidently to pro- eaucratic viciousness against the ceed too much counter to the mood oppositionists, the savage represof the meeting. "Only towards the sions against the working class end of the meeting, as a conse- youth, the moment that the latter property. You content yourself equivalent to the right of parasit- prognoses of Marx and Lenin did quence of the indignation expressed raises a voice in criticism. As a by individual (!) Communists - matter of fact there is no contrareads the telegram-did the secre- diction here. The luxuriant growth tary of the District Committee of bourgeois relations in the sphere briefly remark that the criticism of the distribution of the articles of Surovtzev was incorrect and was of consumption, the re-establisha repetition of everything 'the ment of ranks in the army and the Trotskyists said in their time'". creation of a privileged stratum of The entire mechanism of the meet the "best people" on the basis of that are decisive for our revolution forces, will inevitably and automated etc., in the formation of which hising stands clearly revealed before personal performance open up the us. "The individual indignant com- possibility of a career for the selfmunists"-is, of course, the author seeking progeny of the bourgeoisie. of the correspondence himself, the On the other hand the self-same henchman of Pravda, i.e., of the manifestations of the bourgeoisifi-General Secretariat: it was only cation of the ruling summits enupon his direct insistence that the gender opposition on the part of secretary explained to the meeting the working class youth, and at the that the very same criticism of the same time make this opposition esparty regime received by those pecially dangerous and hated in the present with obvious sympathy, eyes of the bureaucracy. Thus the was nothing else than "Trotsky- removal of restrictions upon those ism". The secretary was unable to who emerge from the bourgeois mildo more. It ought to be added that ieu and the strengthening of the similar episodes occur at hundreds repressions against the working and thousands of party meetings. class youth naturally supplement

Bolsheviks Hounded; Class | The Class Nature of the Soviet State | Bureaucracy Strangles A Letter from Leon Trotsky

ly developed productive forces in cracy? the framework of the national state in its present form, imparts a rhythm to the development of the pro-

But you think that the Soviet bu- tion of its surplus. reaucracy, in its further developdo not specify these new forms of tional income—which would be lished property. . . . The theoretical its new forms and formations.

tionary activity.

amples—moreover taken from the tinguish the real from the supposed forms of property, i.e., from jurid- be hardly any change. ical fictions (which also have a real

the present Soviet system can give duced the forms of property to their in their rise, there will remain—in workers in the U.S.S.R., he is not surance funds were expended withway to a "third" form of society, barest expression. The proletarian your hypothesis—nothing but the interested only in the material con- out any control. The president of which would be neither capitalist revolution nationalized capitalist fact that the bureaucracy has sucnor socialist. Urbahns believes that property. The question therefore ceeded in stabilizing, fortifying and the working day) but also in the workers to become delegates from identifying the soviet system with itself degenerate into a fiction, real cally, ideologically and politically The most important conquest of ment. And the workers complained he completely forgets a small dif- other, returning to the new ruling perspective assumes that the great factories by the working class. It ference: fascism hems in the high- class emerging from the bureau- mass of the population patiently ac- had become proprietor of all the passed over to the election of the

falls with planned economy. Thus, culture and endures it without ofvelopment. The Soviet system, even it is not a fiction, but a powerful fering any resistence, and forever. duction, struggle for the improve- the workers did not want to elect ductive forces never before attained. ductive forces are organized and omy opens great sources of power tariat. Urbahns thus does not know how to directed according to a plan, but to the bureaucracy. But this very distinguish between what is his also in the interests of all. The progress is more and more turning torically progressive and what is bureaucracy prejudices the new against its autocracy and its parasystem in these two ways. On the sitism. one hand, it reduces the efficiency I see that you have nothing in of planned economy and on the us? Very probably a new revolucommon with Urbahn's formulation. other it consumes an enormous por- tion. This will not be a social rev-

ment, will be able to adapt the we must answer the question as to has known of "great" revolutions, forms of property to its own in- whether it is a matter of the rights i.e., social revolutions, and purely terests to such a point that it be- newly acquired by the bureaucracy political revolutions which took comes in reality a ruling class. You to an ever larger party of the na- place on the basis of already estabwith the general statement that ism, or if what is involved is the not foresee, in any case, the possiliving evolution is inexhaustible in virtual liquidation of planned econ-bility of the political revolution on omy. Only the second hypothesis the bases of property nationalized

possibility, because too the abolition of planned economy, generation of the proletarian dicmany factors must be abstracted and by the same token also the tatorship. Both these things belong for that: in the first place those nationalization of the productive to those stages, transitory forms, ically lead to paralysis and disin- tory is so rich. The general laws tegration of the latter. We would of the evolution of capitalism to Now, forms of property are social then no longer have before us a socialism, as they are established against the "bureaucracy." forms par excellence. You cite ex- progressive system, but one in de- by Marxism, do not lose their force composition, which would inevitably by these "episodes" (very disagreepre-capitalist epoch—where certain lead to fascist capitalism. It is able "episodes"). forms of property had no great conceivable that a development so significance. These examples only rich in possible formations creates on the subject of the interesting trail organ of the Soviet trade unions sence of the matter there would

Let us suppose that planned

What perspective opens before olution, but a political revolution. If we speak of a "third" system, The bourgeoisie too in its evolution In this general form, I find it as would constitute a new social base. by the proletariat. But they did

> problem which you have posed to me—and which I send you in all

function, but on a higher plane). economy remains basically intact, January 1, 1988 Czarist Methods Return in Schools

of October. The re-establishment school or anything else. of grades in the army, the monetary reform, the reform of the family the People's Commisariat of Educaand finally the academic reform tion" in 1917 said: are landmarks on the road of the olution, show how in 1936 Stalin 1917) is liquidating one by one the conthe model of the Czarist schools decrees opened a new era in the the following: with its uniforms and respect for education of the youth. Above all known even in the schools of the Czarist system.

capitalist Nations of Europe. Every government which does not ses of the toilers and is the governutilizes the police apparatus—the published May 31, 1918) education of the youth in a spirit of expression on the benches of the system of education with supervisors of classes, uniforms, marks, individual memorandums, the State has on the one hand the opportunhand it imbues the scholar with Labor of the R.S.F.S.R." the principles of discipline and mission before the class in power. bor." The bourgeois school has as its task | "12. The old form of discipline one of the guarantors of discipline and order in the state. Revolutionary parties have always understood the importance of the free school and struggle for this liberation of the school has always been an integral part of their programs. That is why it is quite natural that one of the first steps of the Russian proletariat in power 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 subject of "labor" in the spirit of pil for every quarter, his prizes and Soviet regime. The party is smashequality, the collective principle the Czarist-bourgeois state, but beeverywhere. . . that is the princi- comes an independent citizen, with ple that will create the citizen we the right to exercise his own initianeed." ("Basic Principles of the tive, his free thought and his will. 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 work- the struggle of Stalinism against pupils. They, better than the direcers state with the old Czarist Bolshevism, the struggle of the conschool.

fear the free citizen, it has no need ideas of October.

forms for the U.S.S.R. In almost above" is superfluous. On the contolerated any expression of free report of the outgoing factory comin their slippers on the damp floor; all fields of Soviet life, changes trary, the youth must develop free thought. It demands absolute sub- mittee and to elect a new one. Out it is very warm and close. New matook place which remove the U.S.S. | ly without the pressure of author- mission. This regime was similarly of the 19 members elected three chines have been placed in the rope-R. ever further from the conquests ity exercised by the family, by the introduced in the school. Autonomy years ago only one remained. All

"Pupils of the secondary schools We intend to pause here exclusive- themselves as children and to gov-

"Utilization of the system of marks for an estimate of the support itself upon the broad mas- knowledge or the conduct of a pupil is annulled in all cases in acment of a minority utilizes as a ademic practise." (No. 50 of the guarantor of its power-just as it collection of decrees and laws, N.38,

"The wearing of uniforms by. . published Feb. 21, 1918).

The most complete collection of

"1. All schools go under a single "order," i.e. with an absolute sub- name—The United School of La-

not to create the free-citizen, but which corrupts the entire life of the the functionary, the engineer, the school and the untrammelled develdoctor, humble and loyal servants opment of the personality of the of the Government. Such was the child cannot be maintained in the school in Czarist Russia and so it School of Labor. The process of is in all capitalist countries. Dis- labor itself develops this internal cipline and order in the school is discipline without which collective and rational work is unimaginable." "17. The assignment of obligatory homework is forbidden."

"18. All punishment in school is forbidden.'

"19. All admission tests and tests for the graduation from one class to another at the end of the term -are annulled."

(These detailed extracts are necessary for us for a more complete comparison with the Stalinist decrees of 1936).

The Soviet pupil ceases to be a

The Stalinist Reform

servative clique of bureaucrats

of whips to assure its authority and | After having strengthened its

of the pupils is supplanted by the the other members of the commit-"The appeal to the scholars from police surveillance of adults—this tee were appointed." is to guarantee the state from the spirit of opposition.

degeneration of the Soviet state. must not, have no right to consider published by the Council of People's Comissars, Sept. 3, 1935 makes a the workers was expressed in the the factory committee: ". . . . In ly on the academic reform, and by ern their future according to the complete sweep of everything introcontrast with the academic reform orders of their parents and their duced by the October Revolution put into effect by the October reviteachers." (Izvestia, October 15 and returns to the methods of ed. put into effect by the October rev- teachers." (Izvestia, October 15, and returns to the methods of education established by Czarist The Government under Lenin ac-Russia. Let us examine this decree quests of the revolution of 1917 in complished a veritable revolution as published in Pravda, Sept. 4. the academic field and approaching in the academic system. A series of 1935, closer. The principal clause is

"Underlying the ruling on the uniforms. . . an institution un- their aim was the liquidation of the conduct of he pupils must be placed a strict and conscientious application of discipline, politeness in relation with teachers, comrades and adults."

What are the measures taken to ensure that the pupils apply this discipline?

"Instruct a commission. . . elaborate a draft of a ruling for submission by suppressing all free pupils... as also the distribution of every type of school. The ruling insignias and medals at the end of must have a categoric and absoluteschool. By creating a state police the term are annulled." (361 "Col- ly obligatory meaning for pupils as lection of decrees and laws" N. 28 well as for teachers. This ruling must be the fundamental document . . . which strictly establishes the all the principles of new education regime of studies and the basis for ity of controlling all the movements of the youth is the celebrated order in the school as well as the of the scholar and on the other "Charter of the United School of rules of conduct of pupils inside had annulled of the cursed heritage and outside of school."

> "To introduce in all schools a uniform type of pupils' report card 1918-strict discipline and "politeon which all the principal rules for ness" towards the adults in 1935. the conduct of the pupil is to be inscribed."

"Every director is instructed to

establish a personal record for every pupil." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935). "The People's Commissariat of Public Education has established new models for the pupils' report card and for the pupil's memorandum. Then, for the first time a personal record is to be established for every pupil. . . Every five days the chief instructor of a class will examine the memorandum, will mark cases of absence and tardiness in it and will demand the signature of the parent under all re-

marks of the instructor." "In the personal record there will be marked for the entire duration Revolution) is only a link in the of the studies, the marks of the puhis punishments." (Izvestia, Jan.

ist Youth organizers is to be in- uniform, dyed only in a new tint. stalled for the surveillance of the Thus is "Socialism being built in pupil inside and outside of school. They are to watch over the moral-With the death of Lenin began ity and the state of mind of the tors, the instructors and the parents will follow the internal life of The proletarian state does not against the representatives of the the adolescents. (Molodaia Guardia, N. 10)

To facilitate control outside of

the Factory Committees When a worker abroad asks a by laughing and mocking them for

You ask the question of whether Precisely the bourgeoisie has re- that the productive forces continue question about the conditions of the their prudishness. The social incepts the new yoke despite the means of production. The factory Nationalized property stands or raising of the level of economy and committees had two extremely important tasks: the control of proreality. Nationalization, however, That is not at all probable. To a ment of the conditions of labor undoes not only signify that the pro- certain degree the progress of econ- der the dictatorship of the prole-

> 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 party, the government, 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 a group of functionaries under orders of the bureaucratic tons.

There is rarely any information difficult to adopt as to reject the We must clearly understand that not also foresee the bonapartist de- of the factory committees and their relation to the working class. Only when it is impossible for them to facts does the bureaucracy itself go in for "self-criticism" and assume the air of seriously struggling

To allow the reader to form his own judgment on the real life of the factory committees I will cite facts. tend to give a complete picture of conditions in the factories which -Trud. These facts do not prethe life of the factory committees but should however provide useful information.

following report of the life of the corporation at Tashkent: "For the first time in three years, the working men and women of the corpora-

It is clear that the workers were paid and that thousands of sponsible tasks although they were rubles were expended to maintain very active members." them." They told of the relations of the leader of the paymaster secunshamedly proposed to us to call evening at his home." When the

Finally, after the discussion, they new committee. It appears that half of the candidates were not even present at the conference. the absentees. The chairman of the conference and the presidium 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, rude attitude towards the workers. working class, controlled by the the blind execution of orders "from workers in the factory, but rather 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 in the Soviet press on the real life 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?" remain silent on some repugnant No, it is not by voiding 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 regime, which bears the responsibility for these revolting

Naturally these committees do

not interest themselves in working 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 Trud (Jan. 1, 1936) gives the children of the worker Mezendinov (he has worked in the factory since factory committee of the textile | 1911) cannot attend school. They have neither worn clothes nor In the chemical corporashoes." 1935 was a year of "great" re- that is why all discipline "from power, the bureaucracy no longer tion met in conference to hear the damp, the workers remain standing walk, the amount of injurious secretions has increased and the workers have begun to contract eye-sicknesses." The lack of venlearned nothing from the report of tilation, the dampness causes rheu-The decree on academic reform, activity of the committee. During matism among the workers. Here the discussion the indignation of is the situation already known to the interest the workers have in comrade Bratchenko, coopted new conferences of this kind). What members to the plenum and redid they speak about? They told moved elected members from their of "70 men in the apparatus of the jobs. He did not call any meetings. committee who did nothing but not wanting to give them any re-

> These few facts present a partial picture of the real situation in tion with the women workers; the factories of the U.S.S.R. The "When we came to him to obtain working class of the U.S.S.R. works authorization for a sanitarium, he under extremely painful material and moral conditions because the for the authorizations . . . in the Soviet buraucracy sees in the workers only a force of labor whose workers pleaded with the president duty it is to execute the plan, to of the factory committee, he replied increase output and production.

school they decree:

"To establish one uniform for scholars." (**Pravda**, Sept. 4, 1935). In comparing the decree of 4-9-1935 with that of 1918, we see that all that the victorious revolution of the past, is now re-established.

Autonomy and independence in Abolition of the uniform in 1918 -re-estblishment of the uniform in

Abolition of marks and examinations in 1918—re-establishment of marks and examinations in 1936. Abolition of surveillance in 1918 -re-establishment of the uniform in

Of the "Charter of the United School of Labor" nothing remains, nothing remains of the school it-

We have dealt at length with the reform of 1918 and that of 1935-36. Thus the recent scholastic reform (annulling that of the October chain of the degeneration of the ed, all rights for the workers are suppressed and the Soviet pupil is A special apparatus of Communidressed in the pre-revolutionary

> PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D. DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D. 5 Washington Square North 1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

one country"!

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BLUM-THOREZ STRAIN TO HEAD OFF STRIKES

Blum and Stalinists Place Preservation of Capitalist Order Above Workers' Interests

occupied 500 key plants, shops, mines and factories across the whole of France.

To end the spontaneous sit-down the petty bourgeoisie gave resoundstrike that paralyzed French indus- ing evidence of the depth of the try, to stifle the tendencies which leftward trend. The Radicals and led workers in Northern France to the parties of the Center found raise red flags over their factories, themselves cut to shadows. The the Socialist Premier Leon Blum, fundamental sectors of the French supported by the French Stalinist population were splitting in two party and the General Confedera- diamentric directions. Huge gains tion of Labor, has rushed through on the left. Gains on the right, a "settlement" of their immediate which polled only 1,000,000 less demands which in the present state votes than the left. of French economy can have no

resumed or opened negotiations, the ple's Front government, openly anannouncement of Blum's settlement nounced that he was taking power, was greeted with a new wave of not to install a new order, but to strikes, including 150,000 miners in "revive French economy" and prethe north and 10,000 white collar serve the old order. The left vic-Insurance company employees in tory caused a stampede on the Paris. The grand total rose over Bourse and a steady flow of gold

which every hour counts," declared uate the franc and bear the brunt Blum, bringing laws to the Cham- of the widespread miseries that step

when the People's Front govern- line Radicals, to come into their ment of Leon Blum has served its new government.

bourgeoisie is heeding the urgent, This is proved by its spontaneity piteous plea of the French Stalin- and the difficulty which the Socialists who on June 4 "warned the ists, the Stalinists and the C.G.T. employers that in the present in- bureaucracy have had, in the words ternational situation, a prolongation of a bourgeois correspondent, in of their resistance is endangering trying "to get in front of the strike the security of the country." (Daily and lead it instead of being dragged Worker, June 5.)

Workers Take Possession

While 'Blum pleaded with the workers to end their strike, while Thorez-Cachin and Co. "unreservtools and took possession, grimly government of the People's Front. swept into power, grimly mistrustful of his avowed determination to "preserve the capitalist order."

The tremendous strike movement of the last fourteen days hurls the France, and order is being kept lie into the teeth of the creators of only because hundreds of thousands broke. Blum's appeal for calm was the People's Front who declare that of workmen are themselves quiet greeted with 254 new strikes within the French proletariat is not yet and orderly." (N.Y. Times, June 5). less than 25 hours. ripe for power. It was the great Roger Salengro, his Socialist Minis- He asked the strikers "to be pa leftward swing of the masses which ter of the Interior, had already set tient, to have confidence, to try to piled up the great People's Front the tone for the government's at obtain their demands by law. . . . majority in the recent elections. It titude: "This agitation is inadmis- To be effective, the government was the same swing, moving way sible. The People's Front must not must have public security. It would Stalinists continued unflinchingly to Stalinists since the election? 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 went into action without and despite all of them.

Not an industry was unaffected; steel, coal, munitions, automobiles, airplanes, textiles, gas, power, building, paper, press, department that came from the most profound tives of the Stalinists, who put fortime 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, now as 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 and peasants—and in Spain twenty hand to mouth, on loans, on revenues wrung from the meagre on the land—are just as badly off struggle has created a profound wages of its employees and its pensionaries. 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 the workers of France have moved into the political arena in the last two

the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, hard hit by the crisis, forced the working class parties into a united front. This united front, instead of leading the workers from struggle to struggle, against the bosses and their Fascist hired men, tacked itself on to the liberal bourgeoisie and dragged the workers into an alli- problems, the government is reance with their own bitterest ene- sorting more and more to the use mies. The workers strained to bat- of violence against the workers and tle for their own lives, their own peasants. A week ago in Albacete bread. The spontaneous struggles occurred a massacre of peasants by at Brest and Toulon last August the Civil Guard, seventeen peasrevealed their readiness to sweep ants being killed immediately, with state apparatus. Toulon and Brest wounds later. Deaths of workers ists. The Right wing-controlled estates by Socialist-led peasants; rible conflicts between the two fac- Thus Spain mirrors also the com-

One million French workers have and Stalinists as the acts of "provocateurs."

In the elections, the workers and After the electoral victory, Leon

Blum, leader of the Socialist Party While in a few plants, workers and premier-designate of the Peofrom the country, calculated to "We are facing a situation in force the new government to devalber to implement the settlement. | will entail for the lower strata of The fundamental function of the the population. Blum made sweep-"settlement" is to ward off the im- ing statements of "appeasement" mediate threat of the workers' of- The Bourse promptly recovered confensive. It will drag them into fidence in Blum. The workers benegotiations, hreak their solid front gan to lose it. During the long and destroy their unity. In the delay before Blum took power, their meantime, the French bourgeoisie confidence ebbed still further while and its Fascist gangs will have Blum, Faure, Lebas and Co. begged ample time to prepare to take hold Herriot, Boncour and all the old-

Out of this suspicion stemmed For the moment, the French the strikes that have swept France. along in its wake." (N. Y. Times, diminishing, spread . . ." (N. Y. June 6.)

Capitalist Order, Blum Demands

The workers of France struck for a new order. They want a comedly" supported Blum, workers in plete change. They want power. shop after shop laid down their They thought they had it in the ignoring the Socialist premier they This strike taught a different les-

Blum took over the government calm." "I hope the employers will "at a moment when all authority show the greatest possible considerseems to have disappeared in ation for the workers."

Stalinists Incite Pogrom Against The Elections and After Revolutionists at Commune Rally

PARIS, May 25.—While last year the traditional demonstration at the Wall of the Federals at the Pere-Lachaise Cemetery, in commemoration of the victims of the Commune, took place under the cloud of the Stalin-Laval declarations, the Stalinists, depressed or worried, had to suffer the jeers of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the anarchists, etc., who shouted "Sac au dos" (soldier's pack on your shoulders) at them and danced a pirouette around them without any serious scuffles ensuing, this year the demonstration was turned into a veritable mass

pogrom against the revolutionists. Thirsty for revenge, proud of their electoral victory and conscious of their role as policemen of the incoming government of the "People's Front," the Stalinists not only provoked brawls all along the line of march against the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the Internationalist Communist Party. and the anarchists, who formed a column of more than 1,000 people, but organized an ambush at the entry to the cemetery in order to prevent the revolutionists

People's Front stands for order"

Blum worked no miracles. "The

has decided on the utmost efforts to

conclude a rapid and happy (?) so-

Gov't Prepares Strikebreaking

Blum went to the radio to spread

the good word. He "appealed for

But even as he spoke new strikes

(N. Y. Times, June 4).

limes, June 5).

lution of the strike.'

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

Before the supporters of the Fourth International arrived at the entry to the cemetery, the Stalinists and Henaff especially, had harrangued the crowd against them, spreading the rumor that the renegade Doriot was in their ranks, etc. Thereupon a crowd of more than a thousand threw themselves upon the revolutionists with the utmost savagery, throwing rocks and refuse at them, tearing down their four large red flags, destroying all the placards, among which was one which called for the liberation of the Bolshevik-Leninist prisoners of Stalin, which had especially aroused the ire of the Stalinists. The column was broken, the Stalinists succeeded in their job. Only a small detachment among whom were several women, braving the blows, succeeded in entering the cemetery and of marching with their banner before the Wall, shouting their indignation at Thorez and Co.

It is noteworthy that in their

Salengro, the U.P. reported on June

5, was planning an emergency rail-

peace." His appeal, reported the

well received by the French bourse,"

but "failed to make any visible im-

pression on the French strikes

"It is fully realized," said the

Times, "that the situation is filled

with danger and that the govern-

ment must act quickly to get con-

the electoral program of the Peo-

On Other Side of Barricades

Backing Blum to the hilt, the

ple's Front will be carried out."

which continued to spread."

vital services of the nation."

The first cabinet meeting issued way service in the event of a gen-

communique: "The government eral transport strike.

attacks the Stalinists worked hand in hand with the police who slugged together with them, without making any arrests. From a certain point of view the proficiency of the Stalinist police is superior to that of the state police: they can organize veritable mass pogroms and be more successful in separating 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 betrayals 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 foretaste of what is being prepared against the revolution-

The morning after, Populaire, organ of the future government for the first time took up the Stal-inist slander of "Trotskyist provocateurs," eulogized Henaff and rejoiced in the fact that several "citizens were slightly maltreated": that is small compensation for the Stalinist cops. L'Humanite, on the other hand, maintained silence of the guilty.

be in a state of anarchy. The be paralyzed by an infringement of play their assigned role. order, by any interruption in the

Andre Maurois, French bourgeois writer, described it in the N. Y. At the same time it was openly Times of May 31 in the following strikes in the Paris district and announced that the government was terms: "The program . . . of the throughout the country, instead of preparing to act as a strikebreaker. Communist leaders is not at all revolutionary. . . . The Russian Communists who seek the aid of France have no desire to see France weakened by dissension."

Blum appealed for "industrial This description was amplified on Herald-Tribune on June 6, "was Albert Sarraut, the outgoing prestrike, but what was more imporing trades workers in Paris and mier, who absolved the Communists tant, carried out one of the first other workers in Bordeaux in the of all responsibility for the strike: clearly political acts of the strike: South. Accepting the settlement be-"It could not be that Moscow, which desired to encourage the military strength of France in order Soir. They stormed the presses. that she might be an effective ally against Germany, would wish to see Worker, which had devoted inches face all the consequences of the disorder in the country, unless the to the strike where the big bour-Soviet Government is returning to geois papers were giving it columns try would prove unable to carry the trol of the strike by leading it and its early ideals of fomenting world and whole pages, announced in a weight imposed upon it. getting the workers' confidence that revolution, and indications are ra- headline: "Special Cable Spikes ther to the contrary" (N. Y. Times, June 8).

What has been the role of the

served support to Leon Blum. "It port of the Blum government." is necessary to assure at any price the triumph of the experiment we May 1. Emphasis in original).

"Those who voted Communist, system, but want to preserve peace and guarantee the security of the country. . . . Our people demand that the agonizing threat of the civil war leagues comes to an end." (Thorez, l'Humanite, May 10.)

The Communists called for Popuar Front committees but hastened o explain on May 15 that these committees "would in no sense be ntended to substitute for existing political parties or government institutions. It is only a question of actively seconding the government. .." (l'Humanite, May 15).

C.P. Urges Workers Return

On May 29, in the first stages of he strike, the United Press reported that "the responsible leaders of the labor unions and the Commu- with opposition organizations." nist Party were urging their members to go back to work."

nists were caught short by the guarantee the Republican order." strike movement. First they tried to hush it. Failing that, finally on June 4, they issued a statement Communist Party promised the Blum the Chamber 135,000 workers joined government its loyal support and the movement. They wanted action. pline in the People's Front. . . ." (Daily Worker, June 5).

appealing for "industrial peace," the Stalinists issued a special night happily peaceful termination of the edition of l'Humanite to announce that "the French Communist Party all the calculations of the preservfully supports the government's ers of "Republican order." announced legislative program." (Daily Worker, June 5).

Political Acts of Strike

They burned issues of the capital- cause it is the only way out of the ist papers, l'Intransigeant and Le crisis for the moment, the employ-On June 7, the Stalinist Daily

alarmist stories printed with the ous than fighting in the streets." aim of provoking disturbances." | People's Front Betrayal Everywhere

On May 9 the French Stalinist And in the same article: "The Comparty officially pledged its unre- munist Party has reaffirmed its sup-

God Forbid!

"The capitalist press," adds the are about to launch." (L'Humanite, Daily Worker, "will, as usual, be silent or vague on what the workers are striking for, and may even atperhaps did not vote for the Soviet tempt to misrepresent the strikes as being 'revolutionary.' '

And that would be the worst crime of all-to call these strikes "revolutionary" only less heinous a crime than 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 over itself which it has displayed 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

All together they cheered Leon Blum in the Chamber on June 6 Like the Socialists and Jouhaux when he flatly declared: "We shall and the trade unions, the Commu-govern as republicans. We shall

Strikes Continue

Socialist, Stalinist and C.G.T. appeals did not check the movement. "saluting" the strike. "At the same The strikes mounted daily. The day time the leading committee of the Blum presented his government to urged continued unity and disci- Blum, Salengro, Jouhaux and the employers went into conference and emerged with the "settlement" Following Blum's radio speech hailed by all parties, the French bourgeois press most of all. as a movement that threatens to upset

But the troubles of the People's Front government have only begun. Its "settlement" was greeted with On June 6 workers in Paris broke a new strike of 150,000 miners in June 7 by no less a personage than out into the first violence of the the north of France and the builders served clear warning on Blum that his government would have to settlement, because French indus-

> In the Chamber of Deputies Blum Fake Rioting Reports." "Calm and pleaded that "the occupation of facdiscipline reign everywhere, despite tories by strikers (is) less danger-

The People's Front wants at all costs to avoid "fighting in the streets." It offers the workers "settlements" which mean long-drawn negotiations which are only now to begin. It seeks to drag out and dissipate the legitimate will of the workers to independent struggle in

In Spain today there is also a great strike wave, involving 300,000 workers, and there can be plainly ganizations and declaring strikes illegal.

Is Fascism in France the price plode the criminal treachery of those who preach "industrial peace," "national security," "class collabo-

The Program of Victory

The coming period in France must provide the answer. The cent strength, their reserves and their readiness for the final strug-So far, the main body of the old | gle, must give that answer. To help Left Opposition has not broken them give it in favor of the revoluwith this sterile clique; but the de- tionary way out, the Bolshevik-Lenmust finally galvanize all those ation are tirelessly advancing the

1. Immediate and full amnesty.

2. 40-hour week without pay cuts, collective contracts, unemployment insurance.

3. Workers' 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 merchants.

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. 7. Formation of mass commit-

tees in shops, factories and localities to carry out the workers' own program.

The program of the Bolshevik-Leninists is a program for a Workers'-Peasants' Government. It demands a decisive break with the bourgeoisie and all its representatives and lackeys in the Radical party and calls for the offensive toward the workers'

A BALANCE OF SPANISH PEOPLES' FRONT

By ALFREDO ROJAS

in France, it is highly instructive strike there was declared illegal, per, "Claridad." When in response ticles intransigently attacking Az-after their joining the Popular to draw the balance sheet of the and the strike committee arrested. Caballero demands a new election ana, by Javier Bueno, Socialist Front, breaking with, joining and regime of the Popular Front gov- All syndicalist centers have been of the National Committee, that leader of the Asturian rebellion; breaking again, thus losing any seen the People's Front in action at ernment in Spain.

ward, among other absurdities, the as an instrument of the proletariat The Spanish Right-Wing Socialdreds of thousands in a few days' idea that the government could altogether. solve the land question, has been the republicans of the proposal to elaborate plans for building Spanto insist during the "third period" public, it stages parliamentary de- They wish to enter the government for minimum wages for the peas- more the government has to resort The result is that the land workers out of the twenty-four millions live as ever.

ied by a broad analogous trend of paralyzing Seville and other prov- Stalinists and Socialists. The synthere must be at least half a million out on strike today.

The Government Repression

Unable to solve Spain's economic

electoral pact of the People's Front peats all the elaborate mumbo-jumincluded a specific repudiation by bo of the 1931 days: it draws up days of 1931, it is impossible for bates in which a furious verbal to form a coalition cabinet. backward, impoverished Spain to struggle goes on against religious make even a stab at purchasing the education, etc. But this game can-

Crisis in the Labor Movement

The intensification of the class crisis in the working class. The As the masses realize that they syndicalists, terribly discredited for have been deluded, they are begin- their refusal in most places to join ning to fight back. The last two the October, 1934 revolt, and their weeks have seen the greatest strike anarchistically negative attitude in wave in all Spanish history. Noth- February of this year toward the ing under the first Republic com- problem of overthrowing the semipares to the present movement of fascist regime, have now regained the masses. In Malaga province a much of their prestige, thanks to hundred thousand agarians are on the opportunistic support given the inces. The Asturian iron miners dicalists are now pressing their adare out. Barcelona and Madrid find vantage, even gaining ground in dozens of trades walking out. In all Socialist-controlled Madrid; but their sporadic strike activity, coupled with no political perspective, is creating serious dissension in the syndicalist ranks and will undoubtedly lead to an explosion as soon as a revolutionary re-groupment of forces becomes more apparent in the Spanish working class.

The Split in the S.P.

The crisis reveals itself most dewere denounced by the Socialists and peasants at the hands of Civil National Committee has postponed the terrific repercussions in the So- tions with dreadful consequences for ing events in France.

At the moment that the Popular every day. All workers' centers ed its subsidiaries to expel the to decline Azana's invitation to be-Front government begins to reign were closed in Lebrija, the general lefts and outlawed the left-wing pacome Premier; the speeches and arbeen for the Maurin-Nin group— All syndicalist centers have been of the National Committee, that leader of the Asturian repentor, serious standing as a firm political closed in Madrid, and sixty syndiaugust body responds with the dec-After four months in power, the After four months in power, the calist leaders arrested, with the laration that Caballero's proposal Madrid oganization which, despite tendency—was in their correctly Cesares is carrying out repressive Spanish Popular Front government government threatening to outlaw is an unparalleled violation of par- its confusion (for example, it says reveals itself as completely bank- the syndicalist-led Confederation ty discipline! The rightist leaders that the organ of the proletarian of the Socialist split. Now it is rupt. As we predicted when it came of Labor if it did not cease its are howled down at meetings, and dictatorship will be the Socialist clear the "Party of Marxian Unity" minating in sporadic strikes in sporadic strikes in to power, it has not made the scattered plants throughout the cliebtest bosining towards and now the government their chief spokesman, Indalecto Party) is a revolutionary program, is a sterile, doomed sect; it has scattered plants throughout the month of May, the movement flared.

Scattered plants throughout the month of May, the movement flared.

Statement flared plants throughout the movement flared.

Statement flared plants throughout the movement flared flared plants throughout the specious virtue of an large flared plants throughout throughout the specious virtue of an large flared plants throughout thr month of May, the movement flared. Some 60,000 workers occupied facmasses. The Menshevik perspec- political demands are illegal, and tual fact, there are now two separ- revolutionaries.

ists are hardly to be differentiated The demagogy of the republicans from the "Left" Republicans of the exposed as demagogic fakery. The has worn thin. The government restripe who now govern Spain. Prieto has bitterly attacked the strikes because they debilitate the country. He and his colleagues have a perconfiscate the landed estates; and, ish economy, it scolds the Catholics spective of decades of collaboration

extremely heterogeneous combinaestates. Even the 1931 regulations not be repeated again. More and tion. Certainly Caballero, though antry have not been re-instituted. to the use of open force against the is not its authentic spokesman. In one and 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 draining the energy of the proletariat in aimless strikes (and this is true enough), but the reason why the syndicalists are able to lead the workers in such strikes is that they do offer the workers some form of action, whereas Caballero, who heads the General Union of Workers, provides no leadership at all. He car-Front Government no less than the Prietos, and deludes the Spanish a movement half-Catalan national-than is the case in France; for in panacea.

Guards are reported practically the national convention, empower- cialist ranks, which forced Prieto the whole Spanish

Role of the Stalinists The Stalinists are playing a thor-

oughly 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 The idea of independent political French workers, with their magnifito discover that they have yet to utter a single word of criticism of the Spanish government! Capitulation can go no farther; it is, in The Left Wing Socialists are an fact, the most conscious kind of collaboration with the bourgeoisie veloping split in the Socialist Party inists of France in the present situ--for the bourgeoisie, you see, is for the League of Nations and pa- who are capable of thinking politi- following demands: tronizingly praises Russia as a peace-loving country. The promising Socialist youth movement is now in serious danger of permanent stultification; its leaders were taken to Moscow for conferences, in short, as one in which the and came back to effect the entry masses have lost all faith in the of the Stalinist youth into the So- government, and consequently have cialist youth. The very first doc- broken the link between governument issued by the "united" youth ment and the main body of the Somovement was a vicious attack on cialist proletariat; but the re-Trotskyism. Fortunately, the cor- groupment of the revolutionary ruption of the youth leadership has forces has not yet produced a leadnot prevented district organizations ership capable and ready to transfrom demanding a turn to struggle form the Spanish crisis into a against the government.

The Maurin—Nin Party

The "Party of Marxian Unity", ries on a coy flirtation with the fusion of the former Left Opposi- Left Wing Sociialists. It has a Stalinists, who support the Popular tion with the "Workers and Peasants Bloc" led by Joaquin Maurin, that is, more time is permitted it, workers with the slogan of unity ist, has been caught entirely un- Spain the forces of reaction are baof all workers' organizations as a awares by the split in the Socialist ranks. What is infinitely worse, Much more indicative of the it now pooh-poohs the significance chasm which separates the two So- of the split, the May 22 issue of its or reaction will triumph. The cialist tendencies are the hundreds organ, La Batalla, declaring that masses are in motion, they want of strikes led by Socialists; the all- there is no basic difference between to fight to the end; but a long peri-Socialist tickets put up in a num- Left and Right Socialists and even od of sporadic, aimless activity, cisively in the ranks of the mass ber of provinces during the Presi-sinking so far as to say that if the will exhaust their vitality, and their path clean of the bourgeois many others reported dying of party of Spanish labor, the Social-dential election! the occupation of split takes place it will lead to ter-leave the way open for reaction.

estimating the epochal significance measures against working class orintransigence. Maurin, who holds a firm majority in the organization, ration" in the form of the People's is like a little shopkeeper; he will Front? fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, upon Caballero at another, he will do anything-only let him keep his own little shop. intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is alien to such minds. cally.

Regroupment Still Waits

The present status of the Spanish Revolution may be described. struggle for power.

That leadership is in process of arising out of the ranks of the longer period in which to develop, sically very weak. But even in Spain the revolutionary leadership must arise within a limited tme,