

RIGHT

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Incorporating THE RED FLAG

ORGAN of the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE, AFFILIATED to the BUREAU for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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ONE PENNY

"PEACE ALLIANCE" CAPTURES THE CO-OPS

Popular Front in Disguise

STALINISTS SUPPORT IMPERIALIST WAR

A MOVEMENT in favour of a United Peace Alliance of the Labour movement with all "who care for Peace and Democracy" is sweeping the working-class movement, particularly its co-operative sections. During the Easter week-end at Brighton the Co-operative Party capitulated to Popular Frontism and passed on the proposal for the sympathetic consideration of the National Executive. At Gloucester emergency resolutions in favour of the Peace Alliance were passed at the annual meetings of both the Mixed Co-operative Guilds and the Men's Guilds. In the case of the Mixed Guilds, the motion was passed without dissent; at the Men's Guild meeting a small group of revolutionaries refused the platform's request for a unanimous decision and constituted a small but vigorous minority.

Since the Peace Alliance plan was put forward in *Reynolds News* of March 20th, it has been given the support of many responsible people in the labour and co-operative movement. Such is the fear of war in the minds of the workers, that this pernicious and dangerous scheme has been seized upon as a way out of the present difficulties, despite the experience the movement has of such alliances in the past.

The Peace Alliance, as put forward by *Reynolds*, states that the present international crisis has been brought about by the intrigues and machinations of the "Cliveden Set"; only by Labour's taking a lead and bringing into being such an alliance of friends of democracy, including the Liberals and "intelligent Conservatives," can we hope to remedy the position. Ninety years after the Communist Manifesto, a well-informed member of the workers' movement can still talk of wars being the work of a clique—just as if war and capitalist crisis were the result of the whims of individuals. It was pointed out to the Men's Guild Conference, that wars are the inevitable result of capitalism, and the so-called "Cliveden set" represented a section of the ruling class whose capitalist interests compel them to adopt one form of diplomatic manoeuvres, while Mr. Eden represents other capitalist interests who desire a slightly different policy.

CONCESSIONS DEMANDED FROM LABOUR

The workers are not told this. They are doped with this nonsensical idea that it is all the fault of Mr. Chamberlain, while Messrs. Eden, Churchill, Lloyd George, etc., are progressive democrats with whom they should ally themselves to preserve peace. This policy is not new; it is as old as the class struggle. The Liberals have always sought the alliance of the workers, who by their courage and resolution bring about victory, only to be robbed by the Liberals, who always arrogate to themselves the fruits of victory and turn against their erstwhile allies. The working class cannot prevent the petty-bourgeois democrats from behaving like this, but they can take precaution and safeguard themselves by maintaining their own independent class organisations and policy.

It is here that the Peace Alliance advocates betray their reactionary character. The Peace Alliance seeks

as allies people whose interests lie in the preservation of the existing social order. It is, therefore, Labour that must make concessions. The foreign policy of the Alliance is to be one of Collective Security through the League of Nations, in joint action with other democratic powers, to guarantee the independence of Czecho-Slovakia, by force of arms if necessary.

The domestic policy of the Peace Alliance will be a programme which "every man and woman of goodwill can accept." It will include vigorous measures to prevent profiteering, full trade union recognition in the prosecution of the rearmament programme, slums to be swept away (because they cannot be made gas-proof), road and water services to be expanded, derelict land to be cultivated, the storage, production and distribution of food supplies to be undertaken, a complete scheme of air-raid precautions to be operated and a planned attack to be made on malnutrition. So in order to attract the "progressive elements" Labour must fling overboard the last vestiges of its policy in favour of a policy of preparation for war in the interests of British Imperialism.

BIG CAPITAL RULES. NOT PARLIAMENT

The advocates of this proposal imagine that if they can overturn the Chamberlain Government and replace it by the adherents of the Alliance they can then control the international policy of British Imperialism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Parliament represents but a section and by no means the most important section, of the state machine, and the bourgeois democratic state is an instrument for the preservation of capitalism and the suppression of the working class. War will come when it suits the interests of the dominant class. Mr. Eden and the peace-loving democrats will support

MAY DAY MANIFESTO

THE ENEMY IS
AT HOME

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that war, and the working class, if it allows itself to be duped by this kind of propaganda, will be itself lined up in support of that war.

STALINIST TREACHERY

At the Conferences where these matters were discussed, very few co-operators understood the real issue—to them the alliance seemed a genuine and honest means of preserving peace. Ignorance on the part of such misguided workers is excusable. Revolutionaries can only combat it by explaining the correct position. But both at Gloucester and Brighton there were people whose conduct cannot be excused. To consciously mislead the workers, when one has the knowledge of the correct position, is to commit the despicable crime of class treachery; of that crime we accuse the stalinists. The marxist analysis is known to these people. They know

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ARMS FOR SPAIN

WORKERS CAN STILL FORCE GOVERNMENT TO
RAISE ARMS BAN

But only by forming Councils of Action and bringing mass pressure to bear, in the
Factories and in the Streets.

UNITY

But not with Duchesses, Baronets and Deans; they will sabotage any real Militancy.

Unity of British Workers with French Workers
To Help The Spanish Workers.

IT IS NEVER TOO EARLY
TO TELL THE PROLETARIAT
THE TRUTH ABOUT ITS OWN
CONDITION.

—LENIN.

CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE IN FRANCE

BLUM-THOREZ SHACKLE MILITANCY

THE Popular Front Government in France has fallen; its end was as inglorious and treacherous as its life had been. The last few months have witnessed a duel between the big capitalists and the workers in which the "socialist" and stalinist leaders have played the role of able seconds to the former. In the summer of 1936 the workers, not through the Popular Front, but by direct militant action, wrung from the capitalists far-reaching concessions—the 40 hour week, sliding scales of wages, holidays with pay, etc. The history of the Popular Front Governments has been the progressive withering away of these concessions, at first almost imperceptibly—for the capitalists had been deeply shaken by the great strikes—then, especially after Blum's notorious "pause" of last year, at an ever increasing rate as the capitalists regained confidence and realised that Blum, Thorez and Co. were hardly less anxious than they to check the workers' militancy.

The devaluation of the franc, the bloody massacre by the Popular Front police at Clichy, the unparalleled armaments budget, the report of the Popular Front commission on production which in substance recommended giving up all the concessions, the use of the Gardes Mobiles for breaking strikes and evacuating factories (Trousport, Guodrich), the speed up in the arms industries at the sacrifice of the 40 hour week—by these means did the Popular Front aid and abet the counter-offensive of the capitalists. By the beginning of this year the capitalists felt strong enough to do without the aid and cover of the Popular Front; they determined to have a "strong government" of their own which would be able to use its strength more openly against the workers.

BLUM PRAISED BY FASCISTS

The Socialist and Communist Parties did their best to assist and even to take part in this openly reactionary government. *L'Humanité* and *le Populaire* called loudly for a government of "National Union" which could the more easily dupe the workers into another war in defence of French imperialism. Certain sections of the Right even played with this idea, and M. de Kerillis, the erratic semi-fascist deputy, who later advanced the demand for a government of 5 or 6 strong men which would dissolve parliament for two years and liquidate the Trade Unions, showed his appreciation of Blum when, in answer to the latter's appeal to the parties of the Right for National Union, he exclaimed with emotion: "Vous êtes un bon français!" (you are a fine Frenchman!). It is difficult to imagine a more damning testimonial for Blum, Thorez and their counter-revolutionary policy.

The majority of the Right, however, were determined to be rid of the vacillations of the Popular Front. During the month of Blum's second Government (13th March to 10th April), they launched a fresh attack on the franc and deliberately provoked the series of strikes in the metallurgical industries connected with the armament programme. Blum asked for special powers to deal with the financial situation. The reactionary Senate refused. Blum yielded to the 200 families and resigned. His declaration on this occasion is of interest: "To have remained in power could have had but one purpose: the determination to oppose our plan to the Senate, to appeal to the working-class and republican forces. This was possible. We were in a favourable position. To have done so would have meant, I will not say to make the revolution, but at any rate to create a revolutionary situation, and to do so deliberately. We considered that it was not possible to create such a situation in the present state of France and of Europe, especially considering the gravity of the situation. Events of this kind would have been amplified in such a way that they would have provoked or advanced dangerous events in the world. France would have been launched upon an adventure of such a nature that we should not have been masters to direct and lead it. It was a determination before which we more than hesitated, and I think that the General Council (of the Socialist Party) will understand me."

Thus in the face of fascist aggression in Austria and Spain, Blum considered it impossible to resist the onslaught of the semi-fascist reaction in France, even though he was in a "favourable position" to do so! One would be tempted to ask when these persons ("socialists" and "communists"!!!) will think it possible to resist the reaction, if one did not know that, in fact, they consider victory impossible. By this policy the workers, disarmed, must go down before fascism without striking a blow. To smooth the path of the reaction, Blum resigned his place to Daladier who for two years had been shielding and protecting the army officers implicated in the plots of the "cagoullards"—the French counterparts of Franco and his gang. And to confuse and weaken the workers still further, the "socialists" and stalinists voted Daladier the confidence and the extraordinary powers for which he asked. A more complete betrayal it would be impossible to conceive.

But Blum, who kept calling for
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