

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## U.S.S.R. Faces Crisis on Twentieth Anniversary of October Revolution

### Revolt Flares In Morocco; Arrest Heads

French Morocco is again seething with revolt. This time, against the People's Front Government. The People's Front Government is, of course, no more friendly to the idea of freedom of colonial peoples than was its predecessor.

A widespread movement has developed which expressed itself on October 23, in the demonstration of Moroccan Nationalists in the strategic northern town of Khemisset. Fighting broke out. It reached its peak when thousands of Arabs, armed with knives and guns attacked the barricades erected around the government buildings. The French People's Front Government responded by sending more troops from Rabat to "put down the disorders." The leaders of the group were arrested and given quick trials and sentences of from ten days to one year in the jail at Rabat. The People's Front Government has ordered "Imperial Maneuvers" of the French Air Force to take place in Northern Africa in order to demonstrate to the natives that they will tolerate no moves for independence in the future.

The French Minister of Colonies, Marius Moutet, claims to have uncovered a "plot" to unite all of the Arabs under one banner. The discovery of the alleged plot led to the arrest of four Arab Nationalist Leaders.

Numerous outbursts have taken place recently. The outbursts are more than of local significance, for they are linked up with similar demonstrations in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.

#### Stalinists Support Repressions

In France, the "disorders" are being met with quick action from the People's Front Government.

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### World Revolution Alone Can Save Workers State

Twenty years ago this week there took place the greatest event in the history of mankind. Led by those magnificent, firm, and clear-sighted men forged by Lenin into the Bolshevik Party, the workers of Petrograd, through their insurrection, began the era of the socialist revolution. At long last, mankind, after untold centuries of barbarism, violence, ignorance, brutality, oppression, was nearing its maturity. Men, grown conscious of their destiny, were launching the final conflict, to lift themselves out of the darkness of pre-history into the freedom and expansion of a truly human society.

No courage ever before witnessed was comparable to the courage of these workers and their leaders. Millions of their brothers and comrades lay dead on the vast battlefields of the War; and countless millions more lay wounded, ill, and dying. Starvation and exhaustion were universal. A backward, hopelessly inadequate industrial economy had broken to pieces; the primitive, disrupted agriculture was unable to supply food enough to eat. The terrible dead weight of generations of despotism, of habits of servility, of lack of culture and education, of social and moral corruption, pressed the Russian people to the earth.

Everything was against the workers. Thousands of years of traditions, habits, customs, with all the great power these have over men. Training, skill, authority. God, in the person of the decayed and vicious Orthodox Church of all the Russias, was against them. The world was against them: the money, resources, machines, guns, bullets, tanks, battleships of both sets of the imperialist powers.

But not everything. With all their boldness and audacity, they were not dreamers, visionaries, utopians, these men of the revolution. They knew that what was against them was not everything; that it seemed to be everything only to those whose eyes were still focussed on, whose minds were still circumscribed by, the old and dying world.

#### Fighting Against Odds

With them was the future of mankind. With them were the inescapable needs and requirements of the very productive mechanism which men have built in their age-long battle with an intractable nature. With them was the cry for justice burning

in the hearts of the oppressed and suffering. With them were the hopes and aspirations of the masses. With them was the great and only ideal which can lead men forward to the new world.

Upon the social needs, upon the masses and their hopes, upon their great ideal, the leaders of the revolution put their stake. Brushing aside the head-shaking wise-aces, the Philistines, the doubters, the betrayers, they held their course, and they won. There was not enough strength left in the old world, for all of its grandiose trappings. The storm of the revolution swept through the Russian workers, engulfed the myriad peasantry, burst the national boundaries, and spread throughout the world. Nothing could stand against it. The life-blood of the revolution nourished the masses, almost physically lifted them from their exhaustion, misery, starvation, and despair. Superiority of arms, of numbers, of material resources, were unavailing.

The revolution conquered. It conquered the hordes of the internal counter-revolution, the armies of imperialist intervention, the traitors in its own camp, it conquered its own weaknesses. Fiercely and relentlessly the revolution defended itself; often harsh and cruel in its justice, for it permitted itself no sentimental illusions; unsparing of itself. There was no time for idle debate and metaphysical speculation. The workers' power must be maintained; the enemies defeated; the path toward socialism blazed.

Simultaneously the revolution took the great measures to establish the foundation of the new social order. The factories, mines, railroads, means of communication,

(Continued on page 4)

### Most Gained by Bosses in A. L. P. Deal

The American Labor Party polled nearly a half million votes in the New York City elections, but got very little for its pains.

The fundamental objective of labor in an election, the demonstration of class strength, which brings real gains for labor even when no candidate is elected, was not achieved by the ALP. For the city-wide ALP vote went to capitalist candidates. In the ensuing haggling for the next electoral combination, much of this vote will be discounted with the argument that many of the votes wouldn't have gone to the ALP for an independent candidate.

The Bronx presidency and its seat in the Board of Estimate, the one important city office that was supposed to go to the ALP as its share in the deal with the Republican and Fusion parties, it didn't get. For there was a neat division of labor whereby the Bronx Republican machine refused to withdraw its own candidate and helped throw the election to the Democrat, Lyons. Fearful of injuring LaGuardia's Bronx vote by a sharp fight for the presidency against LaGuardia's Bronx Republican supporters, the ALP didn't take its gloves off. The ALP ran no other candidates for the Board of Estimate, the real seat of city power.

Votes for minor borough officers, where ALP candidates ran against both Republican and Democratic opponents, indicated that the ALP will poll at least twice as many votes for members of the new City Council as will actually count for ALP councilmen. For part of the ALP deal with Republican-Fusion involved withdrawing most of its council candidates.

## 20th Anniversary Celebration of the Russian Revolution

Celebrate the 20th anniversary of the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky!

For the international extension of the October Revolution!

Protest the suppression of workers' democracy!

Protest the bloody purges of Stalin and the extermination of the genuine revolutionists!

Protest the monstrous frame-ups against Leon Trotsky!

#### Speakers:

MANNY GARRETT

MAX SHACHTMAN

E. R. MCKINNEY, Chairman

Monday November 8, 1937 - 8:30 P. M.

Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.

ADMISSION 25c

# A Tragic Lesson

Ignace Reiss, Assassinated by the G. P. U., Was Only the First of the Militants in the Stalinist Camp Who Will Come Over to the Banner of the Fourth International.

By Leon Trotsky

In the death of Ignace Reiss there is an element of great tragedy.

By breaking with the Comintern and the G.P.U. Reiss gave proof of his courage as a revolutionist. He knew better than anybody else the danger that threatened his transfer of allegiance from the camp of the Thermidorian hellhounds to the camp of revolution. Reiss's conduct could have been dictated only by high ideological considerations, and thereby alone he has earned respect to his memory on the part of every thinking worker. Yet

an enigma still remains: why and wherefore did Reiss remain in the service of the G.P.U., during the recent years, when Thermidor had already conquered all along the line, and the bureaucracy had ceased to hesitate at any crime whatever?

## Why Reiss Broke

The corruption of Stalinism, the mendacity and perfidiousness of Stalin are matters of common knowledge. Member of the G.P.U. are least likely to cherish any illusions on this score. Ignace Reiss had behind him almost two decades of activity in the ranks of the party. Consequently he was not a novice. At the same time, Reiss's conduct during the last few months proves that he could not have been guided by considerations of personal comfort. Careerists do not join the ranks of the Fourth International, which represents today the most persecuted movement in world history.

War is approaching. New persecutions await the Internationalists. Reiss could not but have understood this. Through the years of Thermidor he must have succeeded in preserving the living spirit of a revolutionary fighter. But in that case, how could he have remained so long in the same camp with all the Yagodas, Yezhovs, Dimitrovs—and the Cain, Djughashvili?

To be sure, Reiss performed his work abroad, face to face with the capitalist world. This circumstance acted to facilitate psychologically his collaboration with the Thermidorian oligarchy. Nevertheless, that does not touch the nub of the question. Reiss could not but have been informed as to what was taking place in the U.S.S.R. Notwithstanding this, the monstrous Moscow trials were required, and not only the first but also the second to bring Reiss to the actual breaking point. We may assume with certainty that in the ranks of the bureaucracy there are quite a number who feel as Reiss did. They have contempt for their milieu. They hate Stalin. And, at the same time, they endlessly toil on and on.

## The Effects of Thermidor

The reason for an adaptation of this kind has its roots in the very character of Thermidor, as a gradual, snail-like and all-enveloping reaction. Slowly and insensibly, a revolutionist becomes drawn into the conspiracy against the revolution. Each passing year strengthens his ties with the apparatus and deepens his break with the working masses.

The bureaucracy, especially the bureaucracy of the G.P.U. lives in an artificial atmosphere, which it creates for itself. Each compromise with the revolutionary conscience prepares a graver compromise on the morrow and

thereby renders it more difficult to break away. Moreover, the illusion remains that everything is being done in the service of the "revolution." Men keep hoping for a miracle which will on the morrow switch the policy of the ruling clique back to the old rails—and in this hope they keep on toiling.

Again, it is impossible to overlook the enormous external difficulties. Even in the case of a complete inner readiness to break with the bureaucracy, there still remains a question, at first glance, insolvable: Where to go? Within the U.S.S.R. any sign of divergences with the ruling clique entails almost certain death. Stalin is besmirched with such horrible crimes that he cannot but see a mortal enemy in any one who refuse to assume responsibility for these crimes.

## Underground Work

Go underground? No other tendency in world history has had to conduct underground work under such difficulties as the Marxists in the U.S.S.R. today. Underground work is possible only when an active mass exists. Today, this condition is almost non-existent in the U.S.S.R. True, the workers hate the bureaucracy but they do not yet see the new road. A break with the bureaucracy therefore presents absolutely exceptional difficulties of a political and practical nature. That is the main reason both for the thunderous confessions as well as for the silent deals with one's own conscience.

For the Soviet functionaries abroad, the difficulties have a different but no less acute form. Agents engaged in secret work live as a rule on false passports, issued by the G.P.U. For them a break with Moscow implies not only that they will be left hanging in mid-air but that they will instantly fall victims to the foreign police, upon the denunciation of the G.P.U.

## A Difficult Problem

What to do? The G.P.U. utilizes precisely this hopeless situation of its representatives to extort ever newer crimes from them. In addition, the G.P.U. has abroad a huge agency of a secondary and tertiary order consisting nine-tenths of careerists in the Comintern, Russian White Guards, and in general various types of scoundrels ready at a sign to murder anybody pointed out to them, especially those who by their revelations might spoil their comfortable existence. No, it is not so easy to tear oneself free from the clutches of the G.P.U.!

But it would be a mistake to reduce the tragic event of September 4, near Lausanne, to merely external difficulties. The death of Reiss is not only a loss but a lesson. We would be disrespectful to the memory of a revolutionist, if we did not lay bare the political mistakes which made easier the work of the Kremlin butchers. In question are not the mistakes committed by the deceased comrade himself.

After he had torn himself away from the artificial milieu of the G.P.U. it was far too hard for him to orient himself immediately in the new situation. Involved here are our joint mistakes and weaknesses. We failed to establish connections with Reiss in time; we were unable to surmount the minor artificial barriers which were dividing him from us. And so, Reiss could find no one nearby at the critical moment who could have offered him correct advice.

## The Error of Reiss

In June of this year comrade Reiss had already resolved firmly to break with the Kremlin. He began by writing a letter to the Central Committee, which he forwarded to Moscow on July 17. Comrade Reiss deemed it necessary to bide his time until his letter reached its destination, before making it public. Gratuitous chivalry! The letter itself, principled in content and firm in tone, contained only the announcement of the break without specifying any facts or making any revelations, and, besides, bore only the signature of "Ludwig", a name which could not disclose a thing to anybody. In this way the G.P.U. had at its disposal ample time to prepare the murder. Meanwhile, the public opinion of the West remained in complete ignorance. The G.P.U. could not have desired more favorable conditions for itself.

The sole serious defense against the hired murderers of Stalin is complete publicity. There was no need of sending a letter to Moscow. It is impossible to exert any influence by means of principled letters upon Bonapartists, degenerated to the morrow of their bones. On the very day of the break, a political statement should have been issued to the world press. This statement should have dwelt not on one's passing over from the Third to the Fourth International (this question as yet interests only a tiny minority) but on one's past work in the G.P.U., the crimes of the G.P.U., the Moscow judicial frame-ups and the break with the G.P.U. Such a statement signed with his own name would have immediately placed Ignace Reiss in the center of wide public attention, and thereby alone would have rendered more difficult the butcher's work of Stalin.

In addition Reiss could have, and in our opinion, should have in the interests of self-defense surrendered himself to the French or Swiss police, supplying a description of all the circumstances in the case. His previous sojourn on a false passport would have probably led to Reiss's arrest. But he himself and his friends would have had little difficulty in establishing that involved here were only violations of formal regulations and that Reiss had been guided in his activities solely by political motives.

It is hardly likely that he ran the risk of a severe sentence. In any case his life would have been shielded. His courageous

# A Reply To A. McDowell

By Paul S. McCormick

Dear Comrade McDowell:

In reply to yours of Oct. 13, I wish to say that your proposal that I resign from the party seems preposterous. I challenge you to prove where I have violated one decision of the Chicago convention, whereas the national executive committee has a long record of betrayals of convention decisions culminating in the sell-out to the LaGuardia capitalist politicians. I have spent too many years in the party to be frightened every time a preacher like Norman Thomas or Roy Burt cracks his whip.

My first contact with the Socialist Party came on an occasion when Gene Debs stood up and publicly defied the forces of reaction at the height of the red scare. Since that time to the best of my ability I have carried on an uncompromising fight against all forms of reaction. Today within the Socialist Party is a clique of betrayers. You know who they are as well as I — Norman Thomas, Roy Burt, Jack Altman, Alfred Baker Lewis, the Wisconsin organization. In the United States they are preparing to play the same role played by Noske Scheidemann, and Ebert in Germany when they shot down revolutionary workers in the streets of Berlin, and by the Stalinists and the Popular Frontists in Spain when they killed revolutionary workers in Barcelona.

Because of the weak, vacillating policy of the Clarityite centrists, this clique is now in control of the Socialist Party and are attempting to liquidate it into a mass reformist movement of

which they imagine they will assume leadership. A necessary part of their program has been the expulsion of all revolutionary elements from the Socialist Party.

To ask me to take the loyalty oath and remain like a whipped dog within the party or to resign is nothing short of an insult. I shall stay in the Socialist Party until I am kicked out, but I shall not capitulate an iota. Nor shall I stop fighting against repressive measures until they are abolished and my fellow left wing comrades are reinstated and have full rights within the party to work for revolutionary socialism.

Debs said that while there was one soul in prison he would not be free. I feel that while there is one left wing comrade outside the party through action of the counter-revolutionary N.E.C., it is my duty to relentlessly fight the right wing until he is reinstated. Call upon the half-dead, the pre-war, the christian, the lethargic, the politically illiterate, the crack-pot, and the Stalinist party members to form a united front against the left wing.

Even though you technically expel us, you are actually expelling yourselves from the Socialist Party of revolutionary tradition. By the time this fight is over you won't have a single person on your side worthy to be called a socialist. But no doubt the Clarityite repeaters of revolutionary phrases prefer association organizationally with right wing reformists. There you will be permitted for a while to mutter left wing sentiments without being called upon to put any of them into practice.

Denver, Colo., Oct. 17, 1937.

# GET SUBS!

Week after week you read the Socialist Appeal and you read these appeals for subscriptions and contributions. You have not responded. Last week we warned you of an emergency, which if not met might delay or suspend the publication of the Appeal. The emergency still exists despite the fact that you have received this issue.

There is not much time to use the Appeal as a propaganda

organ for the dissemination of our program for Revolutionary Socialism. Each day brings war nearer and the suppression that goes with it. Let us utilize this comparative freedom of the press to the utmost to push our program, to reach more readers, to enlarge our paper and to make our Party a mass Party of Revolutionary Socialists.

Here is another blank. USE IT!

## Socialist Appeal

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break with the G.P.U. would have created for him the necessary popularity. A political goal would have been attained and personal security would have been assured insofar as it can be at all assured under current conditions.

Unfortunately, the mistakes committed in this case cannot be made good. Ignace Reiss was murdered at the very beginning of a new chapter of his political life. But Reiss is not alone. In Stalin's apparatus there are not a few who are wavering. The crimes of Kremlin lord and master are prodding and will prod them to take the path of breaking with a doomed regime of falsehood and corruption.

Ignace Reiss has set them a courageous example. At the same time, his tragic end teaches us the need of interposing in the future our serried ranks between the executioners and their intended victims. This can be done. The cup of G.P.U. crimes is filled to overflowing. Wide circles of workers in the West shudder with revulsion at the handiwork of Cain Djughashvili. Sympathies towards us are growing. All that is necessary is that we learn how to utilize them. Greater vigilance! Bind more firmly our mutual ties! Greater discipline in action! These are the lessons flowing from the tragic end of Ignace Reiss.

Coyoacan, September 21, 1937.

# Auto Unionists Face Vital Battle Against Big Motor Companies

By Auto Worker

The United Automobile Workers of America is the largest of the new unions of the C.I.O. and the most successful, in the business sense of the word. It is moreover, one of the few major unions of the C.I.O. which has developed its own independent leadership. In contrast, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is a synthetic affair; the leadership, primary and secondary, is the private property of the Mine Workers bureaucracy. The Textile Workers Organizing Committee leadership, the private property of Hillman and his friends. The A B C principles of democracy, common even in many of the American Federation of Labor unions, such as strike votes, strike committees, elected negotiating committees, have been blandly disregarded by these two organizations. The Auto Workers Union is unquestionably the "best" that the C.I.O. has so far produced.

Leaders an Obstacle

Eighteen months ago, the United Automobile Workers launched their organizing campaign. Objective conditions were highly favorable. The rank and file responded with energy and enthusiasm. Dillon and his reactionary crowd were ousted by an almost unanimous vote. A new, young and progressive leadership had been placed in office. In eighteen brief months, this truly progressive leadership has become a furiously reactionary, red-baiting clique, whose only thought is the perpetuation of its own existence and position. Personal prestige and standing overbalance very easily with them the interests of half a million men and women. The leadership has become a hindrance and an obstacle to the further progress of the organization.

Events move with such whirlwind rapidity today; the problems of a union organization have become so complicated and difficult in this era of capitalist decline, that it has become virtually impossible for a man to be consistently progressive in a union, without the guidance and direction and aid of a left wing workers' party. The evolution of Martin and his crowd is not accidental. Dalrymple, President of the Rubber Workers Union, a man of far greater personal honesty and integrity, has undergone an almost identical transformation and plays an almost identical role. The "heroic period" of the Auto Workers Union as of the C.I.O. is definitely over.

The September meeting of the National Executive Board of the Auto Workers Union was marked by retreat and reaction. The warning of the Milwaukee convention was ignored. General Motors was informed it could dismiss all employees guilty of violating union discipline and responsible for unauthorized stoppages. Thus, Knudsen and Sloan have become the new control commission in charge of enforcing the decisions of the union. In five minutes, the Martin Executive Board destroyed what the auto workers had fought ten weeks of furious battle to win. The convention revealed that delegates were possessed of too

much initiative and boldness, qualities none too welcome in the union today. The National Executive Board ruled that no local could issue its own newspaper and that all printed material was subject to the censorship of the National office. With another stroke, the Executive Board violated the decision of the Milwaukee convention and incidentally the basic democratic rights of the local union organizations.

Martin was too ill during the NEB meeting to give an organizational report. The question was tabled until after the Atlantic City conference. Martin recovered sufficiently two days later, however, to discharge fourteen International organizers. The reason: Economy. Martin forgot that his own Executive Board had increased organizers' salaries

by 25 per cent the day before.

**"Unity" Group Collapses**

What about the "Unity group" members of the Executive Board? How did they respond to these bureaucratic usurpations and to the policy of shameful surrender to General Motors? On these crucial questions the Executive Board voted favorably by a unanimous vote. On the key issues of democracy and the policy toward the corporations, Martin and the "Unity" people obviously see eye to eye.

When on top of the decisions at the Executive Board meeting fourteen organizers, including Victor Reuther and Robert Travis were fired, the membership really got riled up. Martin's hotel was picketed. Delegations started pouring in from Flint, Pontiac,

Detroit locals, protesting the bureaucratic action. Martin accused Walter Reuther and his local as the instigators of this revolt, of provoking "hooliganism." Reuther ducked from underneath the responsibility, disclaimed any connection with the revolt. No "Unity" meetings were called. No program offered the membership. The "Unity Group" played dead. A pall settled over Detroit. Explanation of the Communist Party: We must do nothing to disrupt the Unity of the Auto Workers while the elections are pending in Detroit. In other words, "there is more important business on hand right now." We have got to elect Walter Reuther and Maurice Sugar; the auto workers can wait.

The C.I.O. is today at a low point, both in morale and attractive power. The reaction to the ignominious defeat in "Little Steel" has not yet abated. A year ago, rank and file C.I.O. members would have opposed bitterly any negotiations between the C.I.O. and the American Federation of Labor Executive Council. Today, they are all hoping and praying that an agreement will be reached between the two organizations. As the '38 season is getting under way, the Auto Workers Union faces a crisis of the first order. After three months of negotiations, General Motors has still not offered a reply to

the contract submitted by the United Auto Workers. Chrysler is busy rebuilding the company union. It violates seigniority rights of union members daily, discriminates against union men and is actively heading for a break with the Union. The Ford organizing campaign is hopelessly bogged. Companies throughout the industry are stiffening their attitude and refuse to sign agreements with the union. Martin is maneuvering desperately to avoid a strike, a weapon he hates and fears.

**Strike Only Answer**

This background is Martin's Achilles' heel. He cannot stabilize his rule and supremacy, because General Motors and Chrysler are still determined to crush the Auto Union, because Ford is still unorganized. The membership, especially in General Motors' plants, is seething with dissatisfaction and impatience. The only way the Auto Union will extricate itself from its present numerous difficulties is to arouse the membership to the dangerous state of affairs, and prepare and organize for a battle with Chrysler and General Motors. If those corporations refuse to budge from their present stiff-necked attitude: **STRIKE!**

A progressive group will be reconstituted in the days to come on the firm basis of a fighting program of militant action and organization. The revolutionists in the Auto Union have the opportunity of playing a highly important role in this new movement—a movement that possesses gigantic scope and opportunity for the future.

## Stalinists Betray China Struggle by 'New Line'

### Shanghai Students Forget The Lessons Of 1925-27, Hail Imperialist Troops As "Our British Friends"

By Lucifer

When the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, ended the rule of the capitalists and landlords twenty years ago, they established not the prerequisites for building an isolated socialist society or one-sixth of the earth's surface, but a point of departure and support for the world-wide proletarian revolution. The October revolution afforded an exemplary inspiration not only for the toilers of the capitalist countries of the west, but also for the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies—above all China, where a youthful proletariat was striking out on the path of revolution.

The October tradition played no small part in the great Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, but the opportunist policies of the Chinese Communist Party, dictated to it by the dominant Stalin-Bukharin faction in the Comintern, brought the revolution to tragic disaster. Those same policies have been revived again today in China, but in a crasser and more monstrous form. The interests of the Chinese workers and peasants, if the "Communists" have their way, are to be wholly subordinated to the requirements of Soviet foreign policy.

**Kuomintang Gets Red Army**

What remains of the Chinese Communist Party has become almost an integral part of the bourgeois Kuomintang. The "Soviet Government of China" has been liquidated. The "Red Army" has been virtually dissolved and brought under the high command of Nanking. With almost un-

believable shamelessness, the Chinese Stalinists have abandoned the cause of the downtrodden peasantry and act as open strike-breakers against the workers.

All this has been and is being done in the interests of a "People's" Anti-Japanese United Front, just as in 1927 the Chinese revolution was betrayed and wrecked in the name of a "national united front." All the prestige of the October Revolution is being employed by the Stalinist epigones to strangle the beginnings of the new Chinese revolution by harnessing the Chinese workers and peasants to the chariot of the national bourgeoisie. Stalin needs an ally in the Far East against Japan. He wants China to fight Japan so that Japan will be unable to fight the Soviet Union. It is for this reason that Moscow ordered the liquidation of "Communism" in China. This was the price which Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese bourgeoisie demanded for a diplomatic deal with Moscow and "resistance" against Japan.

**Agents for Britain**

The new Stalinist line in China is already bearing poisonous fruit. Last week, three British soldiers were killed by Japanese gun-fire at Shanghai. At the subsequent funeral, according to press dispatches, "thousands of Chinese students lined the cemetery walls and later paraded through Shanghai streets carrying banners which read: 'Long live our British friends.'"

How short is human memory! On May 30, 1925, British police fired on demonstrating workers

and students in Shanghai, killing nine and wounding scores. A few short weeks later, British troops opened fire on a demonstration of Chinese students at Shameen, in Canton, killing 52 and wounding 117. In the following year there was the British naval bombardment of Wansien, Yangtze River port, resulting in heavy casualties. And in 1927, British warships, combining with American, Japanese and Italian naval units, poured shells into Nanking. But that was all 10-12 years ago. Imperialist Britain has since been promoted into the ranks of "peace-loving" powers. Hence, the British soldiers now at Shanghai, although sent for the sole purpose of "protecting British lives and property" (read British imperialist interests) are hailed by Stalinist-trained Chinese students as "our British friends."

**How Bolsheviks Defend China**

The new Stalinist-Kuomintang alliance, instead of promoting and assisting China's struggle for national independence against imperialism, will result in the betrayal of that struggle. The national struggle is closely bound up with the class struggle and cannot be separated from it. Any policy which hinders and betrays the class struggle militates against the national struggle. It was not so very long ago that the Stalinists themselves recognized this fact. Thus the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928 affirmed that "the Party must explain to the masses the impossibility of a radical improvement in their position, the impossibility of the overthrow

**NOTICE**

The New York District of the YPSL will conduct a torch-lite parade through the East Side on FRIDAY, NOV. 12, the day after Armistice Day. Mobilize at district headquarters between 7 and 7:30 P. M. and march to the new headquarters of the Lower East Side branch at 159 Rivington St. In case of rain, go directly to Rivington St., where a mass meeting will be held. Ernest Erber, who has just returned from a nation-wide tour, will speak.

of imperialist domination... without the overthrow from power of the Kuomintang and militarists and the creation of the rule of Soviets."

Much later, at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in December, 1933, Wang Ming, the Chinese representative declared that "the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime is a condition of the successful prosecution of the national-revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialisms."

Today, Wang Ming announces: "We, Chinese Communists, openly declare that we support the Kuomintang and the Nanking government, and will fight shoulder to shoulder with them against Japanese imperialism."

Revolutionists must of course support the struggle against Japanese imperialism, but the progressive character of the national war is no excuse for giving political support to Chiang Kai-shek. Any such support is a betrayal.

Stalinism thus becomes a prostitute agency of the national bourgeoisie, and by that measure a prostitute agency of imperialism. The revolutionary Marxists, in China as elsewhere, have the task of tearing the standard of the October Revolution, the great traditions of Bolshevism, out of the hands of these traitors and leading the workers and the oppressed peoples out onto the clear road of the proletarian revolution.



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### The Crisis in the Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

were taken from the hands of the exploiters and placed in the ownership and control of the revolutionary state. The land was given to the peasants who tilled it. The press and education were taken from liars and perverters who used them for their own corrupt ends, and made the enlightening instrument of the new order. During all the drawn-out and devastating crisis of the Civil War, step after step was steadfastly taken.

So well were the foundations laid in the early years, that in spite of all the poverty, backwardness, and exhaustion of the country, it was able, after the breathing space of the New Economic Policy, to march forward at a rate unprecedented in history, in the development of the productive plant, the elimination of illiteracy, the extension of social services and safeguards. The pattern of the new society had been drawn during those heroic years.

### The Isolation of the Revolution

Throughout the world, the electrifying effect of the revolution stirred the masses. In every country they arose in great struggles, to defend the revolution, to protect it against intervention, and to carry it through in their own country. In Poland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the workers stood on the threshold of power. The decisive advance of the international revolution was in the balance.

But the still remaining resources of capitalist imperialism, the exhaustion of the masses from the sufferings of the war, and above all the treachery of the workers' own leaders, proved for that stage an insurmountable obstacle. The revolution was thrown back at one after another salient on the international front. The reformist social-democracy, faced with the rising workers' power, joined with the bourgeoisie to slaughter the revolutionists and handed back the power to finance-capital. An ebb tide of the international revolution set in.

### Revolutionary Wave Recedes

As the revolutionary wave receded, the workers' regime within Russia found itself in an ever widening isolation. The revolution in the West, upon which the leaders of the Russian Revolution had relied in order to place at the disposal of socialism the machinery, resources, and skills of at least some sections of advanced European economy, had, at this stage, failed. The Soviet power was left with only the pitifully inadequate productive plant bequeathed to it by Tsarism and weakened by the effects of the Imperialist War and the Civil War; with the primitive, undeveloped agriculture; with the cultural and social backwardness of a people hounded and brutalized by centuries of reactionary despotism.

The Russian people themselves were reaching the end of their rope, physically, morally, spiritually. The imperialist war, the socio-economic crisis, the break-down of industry, the famines, the Civil War, had drained them to the bone. There were not sufficient moral resources left with which to face firmly the spectacle of temporary defeat of the international revolution, and to chart an unswerving course through the period of isolation in the light of the spirit and strategy of revolutionary internationalism.

### The Degeneration of the Revolution

The revolution retreated. Its retreat was worldwide; and the Soviet Union could not, did not, escape from the world movement. Out of the defeat of the revolution internationally, the economic, social, and cultural backwardness of Russia, and the exhaustion of the Soviet masses, arose Stalinism—the symbol, expression, and organizer of the degeneration of the revolution.

Basing themselves upon the defeats, the exhaustion, backwardness, prejudices, through their cynical and wholly reactionary "theory" of building

socialism in single, isolated Russia, and taking advantage of the lassitude of the masses, Stalin and his clique proceeded to entrench themselves in power. One by one, they destroyed the agencies of workers' and party democracy and control. Around themselves they solidified a totalitarian bureaucratic regime.

### The Corrupt Rule of the G. P. U.

The trade unions, the factory committees, the soviets, the revolutionary party, all are destroyed as organs of the working class, and remain only as puppets in the manipulating hands of the bureaucracy. The power of the bureaucracy is enforced by repression, lies, terror, exile, execution. The faintest opposition or suspicion of opposition is met by the torture-chambers and guns of the G.P.U. The aim of the bureaucracy has become exclusively the preservation and increase of its own power and privilege. History, education, science, art, law, are re-written and perverted in accordance with the bureaucracy's conception of its own interest. Corruption, spying, bribery, falsehood have become the rule and norm of social and political life.

In desperate and frantic adventures the bureaucracy attempts to correct the fissures in the internal economy which its own police regime make inevitable and cumulative. It re-introduces capitalist methods of speed-up; continually increases the wage differentials in the effort to raise production norms, and through the inequalities thereby created multiplies the sources of social conflicts; extends the free market, private property on the collectives, and partial rights of inheritance; punishes its own lack of efficiency and foresight by the imprisonment and execution of workers; arbitrarily and bureaucratically interferes with management, juggles administrators and technicians, re-arranges production and output schedules; falsifies statistics; resorts constantly to administrative and terrorist methods, to the G. P. U. to try to correct economic defect, thereby only increasing and deepening the defects.

### Differences in Social Rank

Similarly, the bureaucracy re-introduces and increases the differences in social rank and privilege, in the army and in society generally, hoping thereby to aid in the maintenance of its own power and privilege by a system of "rewards and punishments", but in practice only accentuating the impetus to the re-consolidation of a new bourgeoisie, a new ruling class, and the definitive restoration of capitalist exploitation.

The last year, the twentieth year of the Revolution, with its gigantic purge in which virtually every leader of the Revolution itself, every potential rallying point of opposition, has been executed or imprisoned, and with the shameful fraud of the new Constitution providing juridical sanction for the liquidation of the political power of the soviets and the workers' organs generally and for the bureaucratic monopoly of power, this last year brings the whole Stalinist system to a head.

### Stalinism and the Revolution

Stalinism poses as the inheritor of the Russian Revolution, the legitimate heir of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin; and in this picture it paints of itself it is supported by the entire reactionary and bourgeois press, as well as by the reformists, Mensheviks, anarchists, and the whole crew of deserters from Marxism and the road of the workers' revolution.

No lie could be more gross and vicious, nor more disastrous in the entire struggle for socialism.

Stalinism is the dregs of proletarian defeat, the scourge of the revolution, and the destroyer of the Bolshevik Party.

Stalinism was vomited to the surface by the weariness, exhaustion, disillusionment of the masses. It is the heavy, terrible price paid for the failure to extend the post-War revolution. It is the symbol and organizer of the defeats of the international proletariat and of the backwardness of Russian economy and culture. In every nerve and bone and sinew it is reactionary and corrupt.

Stalinism, solidified into a monolithic monster, has become absolutely incompatible with the revolution, whether with the Soviet Union or internationally. The course of the Stalinist military-bureaucratic dictatorship over the Russian masses is now in direct and irreconcilable conflict with the expansion of the socialized economy, and the social and political interests of the masses. This is the present crisis of the Russian Revolution.

One or the other must win; one or the other must be destroyed. Either the Russian masses, stimulated and aided by a renewed upsurge on

(Continued on page 6)

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

On October 4, the British Labour Party held its Conference at Bournemouth. The central point on the agenda was, of course, the question of war, masked by the cloak of "the defense of British Democracy." The military preparations of British imperialism demand the unconditional mobilization of the British workers, as an indispensable part of its war program. And it is an illuminating fact that prior to the Conference there was widespread concern, especially among the so-called liberal section of the capitalist press, about the possibility of "division" in the ranks of labor. That is to say there were some qualms in the ruling circles lest an opposition to their war plans might develop in the ranks of the Labour Party. The results of the Conference have left the British bourgeoisie positively gloating.

The social-patriots had a field day, after suppressing the pacifist "guinea-pigs." Here is how the Manchester Guardian, which was most concerned about the developments, summarizes the results: "The great mass of the Labour movement has moved to a position that even a year ago one would have thought it impossible for it to have taken up." (Manchester Guardian Weekly, Oct. 18.) By an overwhelming vote of 2,167,000 against 228,000 the Conference pledged allegiance to the next war slaughter. "Democracy Safer with An Armed Britain!"

The manner in which the "impossible" was achieved is likewise a source of gratification to the war-mongers. Mr. James Walker M. P., it is the general consensus of opinion, delivered a speech which "almost took the breath of the Conference away."

After pointing out that "it was the first big Labour Conference Speech for a generation that has struck the patriotic note", the Manchester Guardian comments gleefully as follows: "The words

[Walker's keynote speech] reveal the great change in the atmosphere of the party; they might have been used and cheered in a conservative meeting."

The thoroughness of the job is demonstrated by the fact that the minority vote included not more than 70,000 trade union votes, the rest representing those of local labor parties. Again hear the Manchester Guardian: "What seemed incredible a year ago has happened, and the Labour Party has achieved something like unity on defense."

It is a notable victory for British imperialism to have been able to achieve, even prior to its next war venture, that which in 1914 it could assure itself only in the actual course of the war. The international working class has suffered another major blow. Even though the British Stalinists find themselves spurned temporarily by the Labour Party, they can claim more than equal credit for the results attained.

Pravda, incidentally, carried glowing accounts of this Conference in its issues, and even claimed "success" for the partisans of the united front. Thus, in its issue for October 7 we find the following comment: "The acute struggle which flared up at the Conference of the Labour Party on the question of the united anti-Fascist front has terminated not quite in the manner desired by the right wing of the Laborites. To be sure, from a formal standpoint of the number of votes, victory was gained by this wing. But in reality the partisans of unity achieved great successes."

The revolutionary socialists have more than a fighting chance to avert a similar debacle in this country. Against the background of unfolding events, and the rapid approach of the second imperialist world slaughter, our coming Convention looms as a great historical sign-post.

### The Result of the Cantonal Election in France

By juxtaposing the results of the recent French election with those of 1931, we can obtain some indication of the processes through which the class struggle

has been passing in France. It should be borne in mind that the cantonal elections in 1931 were held prior to the outbreak of the crisis. Here are the key figures:

	1937	1931
The Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.)	1,657,088	574,614
The Communist Party (Stalinists)	1,090,552	175,162
Radical Socialists	1,608,793	939,817
Independent Socialists	63,089	148,435
The Center and Right Parties	2,813,053	1,554,160
Fascists (P.S.F.—de La Roque)	296,537	—
Fascists (P.P.F.—Doriot)	70,634	—

Thus, in 1931 the four parties which today enter into the People's Front polled a total of 1,838,028 as against 1,554,160 for the right while in 1937 they polled 4,319,763 as against 2,813,000 for the right and over one-third of a million for the Fascists. On the surface these figures appear imposing. But even a cursory analysis shows what a disastrous effect the People's Fronters have had on the masses. The Radical-Socialists, the traditional party of French imperialism, were able to pass through

the crisis with their strength unimpaired, thanks to the cover provided by the Stalinists and the Socialists. And if the social democracy and Stalinism have experienced a growth, the forces of reaction have consolidated themselves, and the Fascists are beginning to assume mass proportions. Above all it must be born in mind, that the crisis in France will not be solved on the parliamentary arena. The Fascists are stronger in France today than Mussolini was when he made his successful bid for power in Italy.

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# Left Wing Socialist Calls for Militancy at Ohio W.A.A. Confab

AKRON.—A year of Stalinist rule and ruin revealed its balance sheet at the third annual convention of the Ohio Workers Alliance, at the Akron Y.W.C.A., October 23-24.

Within one year, the financial report of the organization revealed, the Ohio Workers Alliance, until six months ago the largest organization of unemployed outside of New York City, has been reduced to less than 900 dues-paying members in September.

Though ninety percent of the 81 official delegates present (a miserable numerical representation in comparison with previous conventions) were Stalinists or Stalinized sympathizers, Herbert Benjamin, of the C.P. Central Committee, Arnold Johnson, embittered renegade from revolutionary socialism, Ben Gray, C.P. president of the O.W.A., and their lesser satellites, suffered from a violent attack of the jitters, carrying through the most comically complex and bureaucratic maneuvers to prevent the voice of the one revolutionary socialist present, Art Preis of Toledo, from being heard.

## Why They Were Afraid

But they had reason to be afraid. They had had trouble whipping into line a rank-and-file revolt of their own delegates, who wanted as officers of the organization members from the ranks who had actually worked to build the organization and had met with some success in Summit County (Akron). Several leading C.P. members of the Barberton local, Summit County, with second largest voting strength at the convention, privately confessed to this observer that, they had been literally blackmailed into supporting the Stalinist bureaucratic, class-collaborationist line by fear that the Stalinists would wreck their organization, which represents years of hard, earnest work. These workers were fearful of personal reprisals through the usual methods of personal slander and causing them to lose their jobs. In this fashion, the vile methods of the G.P.U. are being spread into every workers' organization. These rank-and-file workers, recent converts to Stalinism but still fundamentally honest, resent the fact that while they do all the work and try to build the organization, pie-card artists and paid "machine" men like Ben Gray and Arnold Johnson are given all the influential and desirable posts. The Stalinist higher-ups are so fearful of their political line that they are increasingly rejecting all except the most corrupt and venal functionaries.

## Real Voting Strength Analyzed

An analysis of the voting strength at the convention is revealing. Lucas County (Toledo) had almost 16,000 votes, based on yearly dues-stamp purchases. This was for the year during which Art Preis, a "Trotskyite," was chairman. 8000 of these votes resided in the Downtown Branch, Toledo, of which Preis is chairman. This one branch represented about twenty percent of the total voting strength at the convention! Summit County (Akron) had 12,000 votes, almost 8,000 in

the branch of the little town of Barberton. Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) had 7,500 votes approximately, or a total for the entire county less than either of the two aforementioned individual branches. It was revealed that a block of 1,000 stamps was purchased by the Cleveland Stalinists just before the voting strength was assigned. Cleveland is where the demon organizers and functionaries, Arnold Johnson and Ben Gray, draw down their pay. It has a population respectively five and seven times greater than Toledo and Akron.

Almost the entire first day's sessions were filled by lengthy two-hour reports and speeches by Ben Gray and Herbert Benjamin. Here was all the "We greet enthusiastically Roosevelt's Chicago speech," "Our Government," "Our Congressmen," "The People," "Peace-loving nations against war-loving nations," etc.... Not one word about militancy, class-consciousness, class-struggle, independent working class political action, the principles upon which the W.A.A. was funded.

Debate on any question was limited to five minutes per delegate, with opportunity to speak again only when no other delegate wanted the floor.

All voting was to be by "aye" and "no", or a show of hands of the delegates present, except when twenty percent of the delegates present voted for a roll-call. Twenty-one delegates from Cuyahoga County represented less real votes and membership than the two delegates from the Toledo Downtown Branch!

A motion was passed preventing additional nominations from the floor! The chair ruled that no resolution, not previously approved by the Resolutions Committee, could be read before the delegates except by a two-thirds vote of the convention!

## Plan Administration Deal

The most significant remark by Herbert Benjamin was a statement that the Workers Alliance must become a "responsible" organization that would command the "respect of the public", because the organization's heads were working for a written agreement with the W. P. A. This points the way to the coming sell-out of the organized unemployed to the administration.

Preis finally secured the floor for a brief five minutes and exposed the use of the terms "responsible" and "respectable" as being terms used by the capitalist class and boss press to designate the weak and sell-out type of leadership which the capitalists could effectively use to stifle militant organization.

## Preis Well Received

Despite all the attempts to slander and physically isolate him, Preis' words were greeted with a real round of applause. Benjamin hastily took the platform and for a half-hour tried with weasel words to undermine the effect of Preis' five minute talk.

Fearful of precipitating any discussion, the Stalinist resolution committee first brought in a resolution calling for a boy-

cott of Japan by the labor organizations, significantly leaving out their real line of calling on the American imperialist government to apply sanctions and a boycott.

Preis again secured the floor and pointed out the difference between working-class sanctions and imperialist sanctions. Although the latter was not included in the resolution, immediately a dozen Stalinists took the floor and began arguing in favor of imperialist sanctions.

Here again, surprisingly, delegates, rank-and-file independents, supported the revolutionary position. A bureaucratic motion to close debate was shoved over quickly.

# Fur Militants Unite Against C.P. Leaders

To the outside, world the Stalinists proclaim that a genuine united front exists today in the Furriers union. Those familiar with the actual situation know that this characterization is a bluff. True, they have managed to win over some right wing officials whom they promised jobs and put on their slates. It was these same right wing officials who, during the bloody period, were very often the object of the well-known "Spit-brigade" the dainty girls who spit in union on all those who would not succumb to the bureaucratic Stalinist rule. These right wing boys were then subject to the vilest insults, called scabs, racketeers, and gangsters. Today, when they fall in line and obey their drivers, the Stalinist fakers call them "honest, constructive and sincere socialists"!

These right wingers capitulated, many fur workers remained passive. But there is still a fine number of the rank and file who carry on the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for better conditions for the fur workers.

The opposition in the Furriers Union is a unity of all elements who are against Stalinist control, class collaboration, Peoples Frontism, and union bureaucracy, which the Stalinists carry through in order to betray the workers. One can imagine what it means to be an opposition in a Union where the Stalinists have complete control.

The opposition has great financial difficulties; it is, therefore, very hard for it to carry through a strong campaign. The opposition is a strong one. The fact is that in the last elections, the Stalinist vote-counters themselves gave 2000 votes to an opposition candidate.

The important thing is that in the leadership of the Opposition there are no prominent leaders, and yet the plain rank and filers who cannot swallow the Stalinist traitors, are ready to sacrifice themselves and fight to the end.

The Resolutions Committee then brought forth a one-line resolution to accept the state officers report. Preis again took the floor. He was repeatedly stopped by the chair and other Stalinists on points of order. Preis refused to yield the floor and forced the Stalinists to permit him to finish. Preis showed how the reactionaries and imperialists were behind the program advocated by the Stalinists, as proposed in this report; and, further, demanded an explanation for the concealing in the report of the true condition of the organization. The Stalinists did not attempt to answer these questions.

Ruth Fredricks, of Wood County, an independent Socialist and Dorothy Meagley, a "Clarity-ite," and also a Toledo Downtown Branch delegate, collaborated with Preis throughout the convention. This was done in the face of the threat that if they were seen even talking to Preis, they would be physically isolated from the rest of the delegates. It was these two workers who blocked an attempt in the Constitution Committee to write in a clause empowering the state president to reorganize on his own discretion any local of the organization.

## Bill's Column

### The Last Straw

The tottering Mahoney campaign was finally given the kiss of death by the endorsement of Matthew Woll.

### How to Win Friends and Influence People

Japanese style: Bomb them, shoot them, starve them... result—they love you. And you collect their customs taxes.

Roosevelt style: Feed them alphabet soup with all the possible permutations and combinations together with just enough cash to keep them alive, so Farley can tell them how to vote. If discontent still shows, increase relief? Not by a long shot! Appoint younger men to the judiciary. That wows the "radicals."

Russian style: Call them traitors; sabotegers, agents of foreign governments, purge, imprison or shoot them. Result: economic chaos. Then have Stalin make a speech for improved morale.

English style: Send George around to stutter a speech. That jolly well drives 'em gaga.

In France: The job is finished. Everybody is in one big happy People's Front family.

### The Butcher and the Cattle

Stalin appeals for confidence and cooperation in a talk to "leaders" who replaced those recently shot, purged or in prison. Reminding them of the fate of their predecessors, Stalin said: "Leaders come and leaders go." In other words, cooperation or else....

### A Rival for the C. P.

"The army is preparing to create a recruiting agency which could be relied upon in the event of war to enlist at least 500,000 volunteers in the first sixty days of hostilities."—N. Y. Times.

### "Search for Peace"

Roosevelt's Administration in its "patient search for peace" reached Brooklyn Navy Yards. Work was started on a \$62,000,000 super-super dreadnought. Could anyone ask more forceful proof of "our" peaceful intentions?

### Religion on the Wane

A recent survey of 10,000 representative citizens indicates that religion is losing ground... news item. A little more light might be shed on the picture by a glance over the sermons in New York last Sunday as reported in the Times. Reverend James M. Gilles: "I doubt that many of the so-called Christian leaders believe in a personal God... We can't even trust the people who go to Church every Sunday." Why "even?" The Reverend Dr. Wm. Ward Ayer: "The church ought always to take the side of manhood against the Moloch-money. But alas too many times her condemnations are hushed by the pleasant tinkle of gold." Very very sad! The Reverend Dr. Minot Simons was shocked by the sins of many well to do who have concern over hiring but none over firing "but their number grows less." Seek ye the C.I.O. and their number will dwindle to nothing. Yea verily! The Rev. Dr. Wentz: "Martin Luther's burning of the Pope's Bull in 1520 was the Boston Tea Party of the reformation." If Martin was only around now, what a fire he could start!

# "Anti-Fascist" Capitalists Gave Whole Northern Front to Franco

The "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie has betrayed all of Northern Spain to Franco. The story of his treachery is a terrible lesson in the fatal role of the People's Front.

Bilbao and the industrial towns and iron and coal mines surrounding it constituted a concentrated industrial area second only to Catalonia. For war purposes, it was even superior to the Catalan area, which had to build its metallurgical plants up out of nothing when the civil war began. Bilbao should have become the center of Spain's greatest munitions source. From this material base, the northern armies should have driven sharply south toward Burgos and east against Navarre (heart of the fascist movement), to effect a junction with the Aragon front troops. The strategy dictated was of the most elementary kind.

The Basque capitalists, however, were the masters in the Biscayan region. As an English sphere of influence for centuries, it had no enthusiasm for joining Franco and his Italo-German allies. Neither, however, had the Basque bourgeoisie any intention of fighting to the death against Franco. Thanks to the aid of the Socialist and Communist parties, the Basque capitalists had not had their factories seized by the workers after July 19, 1936. But they had no guarantee that a loyalist victory over Franco would not be followed by seizure of their factories also.

## Loss of San Sebastian

Its class interests determined the military conduct of the Basque regional government. This was seen as early as mid-September, 1936, when the fascists advanced on San Sebastian. Before the attack was well launched, the city was surrendered. Before the Basques retreated, they drove out of the city the CNT militiamen who wanted to destroy factory equipment and other useful materials to prevent them from falling into the hands of the fascists. As a further precaution, fifty armed Basque guards were left behind to protect the buildings. Thus the city was delivered intact to Franco. The bourgeoisie reasoned: destroyed property is gone forever; but if we eventually make peace with Franco, he may give us back our property.

When this happened, I wrote, on September 22, 1936, "The northern front has been betrayed." The anarchist ministers have since revealed that this was the opinion in the Caballero cabinet. What delayed the completion of outright betrayal for six months, however, was the stupidity of Franco's officers who took over San Sebastian. The fifty guards left behind to protect the buildings were shot. Bourgeois proprietors who had remained behind to make their peace with Franco were imprisoned, some of them executed. The inhabitants were terrorized. The Basque front stiffened—for a little while.

## Seek Armistice

By December, however, the Basque government was again feeling its way to an armistice. While Madrid still rejected all negotiations for exchange of prisoners, the Basque negotiated such an agreement and, in reporting this, Augur, the "unofficial" voice of the British Foreign Office said: "The British have been working to promote local armistices between the rebels and loyalists. The offer of the Basque

## Basque Government, Tool of Anglo-French Imperialists, Gave Up Cities Intact, Then Tried To Blame Their Treachery On Others

By Felix Morrow

government at Bilbao to conclude a Christmas truce was directly due to discreet intervention by British agents who hope this may lead to a complete suspension of hostilities" (New York Times, December 17, 1936). Nothing of this of course appeared in the loyalist press, where the censorship was in full blast.

### Suppress Workers

The Basque bourgeoisie simply had no basic stake in fighting fascism. If the struggle involved serious sacrifice, they were ready to withdraw. One of the factors which gave them pause, however, was the growing CNT movement in this region. Whereupon the Stalinists and right wing socialists, sitting in the regional government with the bourgeoisie (the CNT had been dropped when the Defense Junta of September, 1936 gave way to the government), facilitated the betrayal. On the flimsiest pretext imaginable—the Basque government had invited the CNT militiamen to join in celebrating Easter Week and the CNT Regional Committee and press had indignantly denounced the religious ceremonial—the whole regional committee and the editorial staff of CNT del Norte were imprisoned on March 26, and the printing presses turned over to the Stalinists!

### Role of Central Government

The loyalist government was of course aware of the danger, aware of Bilbao's failure to transform her plants for munitions purposes, aware of the criminal inactivity of the Basque front which enabled Mola to shift his troops southward to join the encirclement of Madrid. Why did the government do nothing about it? Because there was only one way to save the northern front: by confronting the Basque

bourgeoisie with a powerful united front of the proletarian forces in the region, ready to take power if the bourgeoisie faltered, and to prepare for this by ideological criticism of the Basque capitalists. That way, however, was alien to this government of reformists, Stalinists and bourgeoisie which, above all, feared to arouse the masses to political initiative.

As a government pledged to class collaboration even more completely than Caballero's, the Negrin government did nothing to counter the more and more brazen sabotage of the Basque bourgeoisie. This front was almost inactive, throughout the period from November 1936 to May, 1937, when the fascists moved to take it over altogether. The March coup against the CNT was followed by systematic repression of the workers, with public meetings prohibited. Thus the one force which might have prevented betrayal was crushed by the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc.

### Bilbao Betrayed

The loss of Bilbao was an open act of treachery. "Not even the insurgent heavy guns," wrote the New York Times correspondent, "could have destroyed some of these underground fortifications, with their three armored concrete tiers and block houses spaced about three miles apart all the way to the Biscay coast. The Insurgents themselves say that the 'iron ring' of fortifications would never have been taken had not the Basques been outmaneuvered." "Outmaneuvered," however was a fascist euphemism for betrayal. This fact was admitted by the Basque governmental delegation in Paris, which put the blame on an engineer in charge of building fortifications, who had fled to Franco with the plans. But the engineer had fled months before. Why was not the

intervening period utilized to redesign the fortifications? But the alibi was a subterfuge. For, as any tyro in military science knew, mere possession of plans could not have solved the fascist problem of breaking through the fortifications. They were let through the iron ring.

It is an elementary axiom of military science that no large city can be captured until its massive buildings have been razed to the point where they offer no further protection to beleaguered troops. But the bourgeoisie did not wait for the shelling of Bilbao at all! On June 19, they surrendered Bilbao as they had San Sebastian. The London Times (June 21) reported that Assault and Civil Guards and regular Basque troops had previously driven out the Asturian militiamen and prevented a last-ditch defense.

### Santander Falls

CNT and UGT press attempts to sound the alarm after Bilbao's fall were cut to ribbons by the censorship. The Basque general staff was permitted to remain in command of the retreating troops. When, within a few weeks, the fascists began a second offensive, the industrial town of Reinosa, key to Santander's defense collapsed, and once again the Basque made no attempt to defend the city itself.

### Basque Alibi

The Basque officials fled on a British warship. At Bayonne, they issued an amazing statement, part of which we quote:

"In a terrain composed of great mountains and deep gorges, Franco's troops advanced with incomprehensible velocity... This was an impossible or very difficult achievement and proves that the accidents of terrain were not

utilized for resisting Franco's army... The Santander army's organization was undone from the moment the offensive began. Neither communications nor the sanitary services functioned... Neither the general staff nor that of the Army of the North controlled the offensive at any moment... Reinosa was surrendered to the enemy without time for evacuating the population. The artillery factory fell into the hands of the rebels with its shops for naval construction almost intact, including 38 batteries of artillery.

"...the Basque army realized that it had been the victim of treachery... cannot explain in any reasonable way the fact that a terrain of eighty kilometers was lost in eight days..." Somebody committed treachery, but not we, was the sum and substance of this amazing document. But who, knowing anything of the CNT and Asturian militiamen, would imagine that they had not stood at their posts ready to fight to the death? On the other hand, the Basques could not name a battle in which they stood up to the last. The Basque document's alibi was threadbare. The bourgeoisie had been party to the treachery.

### Others Implicated

That others were also treacherous, we are ready to concede to the Basque capitalists. As in Bilbao, so in Santander, yesterday's "loyal" Assault and Civil Guards were patrolling the streets, disarming Asturian militiamen, etc., before the fascists had even arrived. These police were directly under the Stalinist, Moron, director-general of police of Spain, who had dissolved the councils of anti-fascist guards, organized for cleansing the police of dubious elements. The treachery also involves that Supreme War Council, the "real functioning" of which had been one of the Stalinist demands which, they said, could only be satisfied by Negrin's cabinet. More, what of the two Stalinist ministers in the Basque government, who had fled from Bilbao even before their

(Continued on Page 8)

## A POPULAR HANDBOOK OF THE TACTICS AND STRATEGY OF REVOLUTION! A CRUSHING INDICTMENT OF THE STALIN FRAME-UP REGIME!

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By Leon Trotsky

(Concluded from last issue)

Stalin's explanations of sabotage rest on the same level as his entire speech. "Why did our people fail to notice it?" he asks, putting a question which it is impossible to avoid. Here is his answer: "For the last few years our Party comrades have been entirely swallowed up by economic work and... forgot about everything else." This idea, as is Stalin's custom, is presented in ten different variations, without any proofs. Carried away by economic success, the leaders "simply paid no attention" to sabotage. They did not take note of it. They

were not interested. What kind of economic work was "swallowing up" these people, if they contrived to overlook the disruption of economic life? And just who should have "paid attention" to sabotage, when the pretended organizers of it were themselves the organizers of economy? Stalin does not even attempt to tie the threads together. In point of fact the idea he seeks to express is the following: Carried away by practical work, the economists "forgot" the higher interests of the ruling clique which demands framed-up accusations, even if to the injury of economy.

hem to do so."

Let us leave aside the wondrous portrayal of the relations existing within the Opposition—the pretended fact that old revolutionists dare not meet in the U.S.S.R. without special "permission" from Trotsky in distant exile!

This totalitarian-police caricature, which if anything reflects the spirit of the Stalin regime, does not interest us now. There is another point of greater importance: How are we to relate the general characterization of Trotskyism to that of the Fourth International? Trotsky "forbade"

information regarding espionage and sabotage to be given even to 30-40 tested Trotskyists in the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, the Fourth International, numbering many thousands of young members, consists "two-thirds of spies and diversionists". Does Stalin mean to say that while hiding his "program" from tens, Trotsky imparts it thousands? Truly, venom and cunning are bereft of reason. Behind the ponderous stupidity of this slander there lurks, however, a fixed and practical plan aimed at the physical extermination of the international revolutionary vanguard.

tivities in 'Uralvagonstroy.'

Here is how the commission formulated its general conclusions regarding 'Uralvagonstroy': "On acquainting ourselves with the 'Uralvagon' plant, we have arrived at the firm conviction that the wrecking work of Piatakov and Marusyan did not spread very far in the enterprise."

Molotov waxed indignant. Said he: "The political myopia of the commission is absolutely self-evident... Suffice it to say that this commission failed to cite a single instance of wrecking at the enterprise. It would appear that the notorious wrecker, Marusyan, and the other wrecker, Okudjava, had only vilified themselves." (Pravda, April 21, 1937. Our emphasis.) One can hardly believe one's eyes. These people have lost not only all sense of shame but all caution!

But why was it at all necessary to send out an investigating commission, after the defendants had been shot? The posthumous investigation of "facts relating to wrecking" was obviously made necessary because public opinion placed no credence either in the accusations made by the G.P.U. or in the confessions it extorted. Yet, the commission, under the guidance of Pavlunovsky, himself a former member of the G.P.U. for many years, failed to uncover a single fact relating to sabotage. An obvious case of "political myopia"! One must know how to uncover sabotage even under the mask of economic successes. "Even the chemical branch of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry", continues Molotov, "with Rataichak at its head, was able to overfulfill its plan for both 1935 and 1936. Does this mean to say, merrily quips the head of the Government, "that Rataichak is not Rataichak, that a wrecker is not a wrecker, and a Trotskyist not a Trotskyist?"

## Rataichak's Sabotage

The sabotage of Rataichak, who was shot in the Piatakov-Radek trial, consisted, this means, of over-fulfilling the plans. It is hardly surprising that the harshest commission is compelled to halt in impotence when confronted with facts and figures which refuse to harmonize with the "voluntary confessions" of Rataichak and others. In consequence, to use Molotov's expression, "it would appear" that the wreckers had "vilified themselves." Worse yet, it would appear that the Inquisition compelled many honest militants to besmirch themselves with despicable slander so as to facilitate for Stalin his struggle against Trotskyism. This is what "would appear" from the report of Stalin, supplemented by the report of Molotov. And they are two most authoritative figures in the USSR!

\* The speech as a whole is distinguished in style. There are "hundreds of thousands of cadres". The class struggle possesses extremities. An "extremity... operates". The defunct editors dare not point out his illiteracy to the "Leader". The style is not only the man, but also the regime.

## The Entire Old Guard Is Given the Name of Wreckers by Stalin

Years ago, continues Stalin, those engaged in wrecking were bourgeois technicians. But "in the intervening period we trained tens and hundreds of thousands of technically grounded Bolshevik cadres." (Hundreds of thousands of "cadres"?) "Nowadays the organizers of sabotage are not non-party technicians but wreckers who have accidentally got possession of a party card." Everything is stood on its head! In order to explain why highly paid engineers willingly reconcile themselves to "socialism" while Bolsheviks oppose him, Stalin is unable to do anything but proclaim the entire old guard of the party as "wreckers who have accidentally got possession of a party card", and who, evidently, got stuck in the party for several decades. But how could "tens and hundreds of thousands of technically grounded Bolshevik cadres" have overlooked sabotage by which industry was being undermined for a number of years? We have already heard the witty explanation that they were far too occupied with economic life to notice it was being destroyed.

However, for sabotage to succeed, a favorable social milieu is required. Whence could it arise in a society of triumphant socialism? Stalin's reply is: "The greater our progress... the more embittered will become the remnants of the smashed exploiting classes." Yet, in the first place, the impotent "embitterment" of some kind of "remnants", isolated from the people, would hardly suffice to convulse Soviet economy. In the second place, since when have Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin, Tomsy, Smir-

nov, Yevdokimov, Piatakov, Radek, Rakovsky, Mrachkovsky, Sokolnikov, Serebriakov, Muralov, Sosnovsky, Beloborodov, Eltsin, Mdivani, Okudjava, Gamarnik, Tukhachevsky, Yakir and hundreds of lesser known men—the entire old leading stratum of the party, the state and the army, become transformed into "remnants of the smashed exploiting classes"? Heaping frame-up on frame-up, Stalin has arrived at such a blind alley as makes it hard to find even a glimmer of sense to his answers. But the goal is clear: everything that stands in the path of the Bonapartist dictatorship must be slandered and massacred.

"It would be a mistake to think"—continues the orator—"that the arena of the class struggle is confined to the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. If one extremity of the class struggle operates within the framework of the USSR, the other extremity extends into the boundaries of the bourgeois states surrounding us." So, it turns out that the class struggle does not die out with the in-trenchment of socialism in one country but rather becomes more aggravated. And the most important reason for this unnatural phenomenon is the parallel existence of bourgeois states. Stalin, in passing and imperceptibly or himself, arrives at the admission of the impossibility of building a classless society in one country. But scientific generalizations have very little attraction for him. The whole method of reasoning is not of a theoretical but of a police-manufactured character. Stalin is simply in urgent need of extending abroad the "extremity" of his frame-up.

## The Secret Platform of the Trotskyists Which It Tells Only to the G.P.U.

"For example," he continues, "let us take the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist Fourth International, consisting two-thirds of spies and diversionists... Is it not clear that this International of spies will extrude cadres for the spying and wrecking work of the Trotskyists?" The Stalinist syllogism is as a rule a pure and simple tautology: an International of spies will extrude spies. "Is it not clear?" Far from it! On the contrary, it is absolutely unclear. To convince himself of this, the reader need only refer to the already familiar assertion of Stalin's that Trotskyism has ceased to be a "tendency in the working class" and has become a "narrow group of conspirat-

ors." The platform of the Trotskyists is such as precludes its being shown to anybody. The Trotskyists whisper it only in the ears of Yagoda and Yezhov. Hear Stalin again: "It is quite comprehensible that the Trotskyists could not but hide such a platform from the people, from the working class... from the Trotskyist rank and file, and not only from the Trotskyist rank and file but even from the Trotskyist leading tops, composed of a tiny handful of 30 to 40 people. When Radek and Piatakov asked Trotsky for permission (?) to call together a small conference of 30 or 40 Trotskyists to inform them about the nature of this platform, Trotsky forbade (!)

## An Appeal to the General Staffs for "Information" Against the Trotskyists

Even before this plan was put into execution in Spain, it was revealed with utter shamelessness in "La Correspondance Internationale", a weekly periodical of the Comintern (and the G.P.U.), almost simultaneously with the publication of Stalin's speech, March 20, 1937. In an article directed against the Austrian social democrat Otto Bauer, who, however he might gravitate toward Soviet bureaucracy, cannot bring himself to believe in Vyshinsky, we find, among other things, the following statement: "If any individual has at the present time an opportunity to obtain very authentic information about the negotiations between Trotsky and Hess—that man is Bauer. The French and English General Staffs are very well informed on this point. Thanks to the friendly relations which Bauer has with Leon Blum and Citrine (who, in turn, is friendly with both Baldwin and Sir Samuel Hoare), all he need do is turn to them. They would not refuse to provide him with any kind of confidential information for personal use."

Whose hand directed this pen? Whence does an anonymous journalist of the Comintern derive his knowledge of the secrets of the English and French General Staffs? Either the capitalist staffs opened their dossiers to the communist journalist; or, on the contrary, this "journalist" filled up the dossiers of the two

staffs with products of his own creation. The first conjecture is far too improbable. British and French General Staffs have no need to apply to Comintern journalists for assistance in the exposure of "Trotskyism". Only the second hypothesis remains, namely, that the GPU manufactured some kind of "documents" or foreign staffs.

In the Piatakov-Radek trial mention was made of my "interview" with German Minister Hess only indirectly and in passing. Piatakov, despite his (pretended) intimacy with me, made no attempts during his (pretended) meeting with me to find out any details whatsoever concerning my (pretended) meeting with Hess. Vyshinsky in this case as in all others passed over this glaring contradiction in silence. But later it was decided to elaborate on this theme. French and British General Staffs were apparently the recipients of some kind of "documents". There is firm knowledge of this fact among the staff of the Comintern. Neither Paris nor London, however, made any use of this precious material. Why? Perhaps because they mistrusted the source. Perhaps because Leon Blum and Daladier did not relish becoming partners of the Moscow executioners. Finally, perhaps because Messers. Generals are deserving the "documents" for a more auspicious occasion.

## The Leaders of Economic Life Did Not Even Know That It Was Being "Wrecked"

The resolution that was adopted after Stalin's report reads as follows: "The Trotskyists were as a rule exposed by the organs of N.K.V.D. [i.e. the G.P.U.] and by individual party members, acting as volunteers. But the organs of industry, and to a certain degree those of transportation, did not themselves manifest any activity nor, what is worse, any initiative therein! Moreover, some organs of industry even put a brake on this matter." (Pravda, April 21, 1937.) In other words, leaders of industry and transportation, despite being prodded from above with white-hot irons, could not discover acts of "sabotage" in their departments. A member of the Political Bureau, Ordjonikidze, was taken in by his assistant Piatakov. Another member of the Political Bureau, Kaganovich, overlooked the wrecking activities of his alternate, Livshitz. Only

the agents of Yagoda and the so-called "volunteers", i.e., provocateurs, measured up to the situation. True, Yagoda himself was presently exposed as an "enemy of the people, a gangster and a traitor". But this chance discovery did not resurrect those whom he had shot.

As if further to underscore the import of these scandalous self-exposures, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Molotov, gave a public account of the failure on the part of the government when it attempted to establish facts relating to sabotage, not through the provocateurs of the G.P.U., but through the civic organs of economic control. We quote from Molotov: "In February of this year (1937) a special plenipotentiary commission was sent out, upon the instruction of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry, to verify wrecking ac-

# The Crisis of the Russian Revolution Why Basques Lost the North

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the part of the international proletariat, will sweep aside the military-bureaucratic regime which is strangling them, re-conquer power and control of their own destiny, and head Soviet society as a whole once more on the path of socialism; or the continued rule of the bureaucracy, with its sabotage and disruption of the economy and the whole social order, and its cumulative undermining of the remaining socialist foundations of the economy, will result in the restoration of capitalist exploitation and capitalist rule. There is no middle road.

Stalinism has nothing in common with socialism, with Bolshevism, with the ideas or policies or methods of those who made the Revolution. The Stalinist Party, masquerading as the Communist Party, is the direct opposite of the Bolshevik Party of the Revolution. The Bolshevik Party the Party of Lenin and Trotsky, still lives within the Soviet Union, but it lives in hiding, in the prisons, the concentration camps, in exile, and in the hearts and memories of the workers.

The totalitarian nature of the Stalinist military-bureaucratic dictatorship over the masses, and its complete reliance upon the suppression of all opposition and upon the guns of the G.P.U. have excluded the possibility of the legal and peaceful reform of the regime. By his own acts and his own system, Stalin has left the masses only the one resort of political revolution to re-establish their power.

The defense of the Russian Revolution, of the greatest victory of the working class, thus imposes as an inescapable duty the unremitting struggle against, and the overthrow of, Stalinism—the deadly and irrevocable enemy of that Revolution.

## The Defense of the Revolution

No greater witness could be brought to the immeasurable strength of the socialist revolution, and the inexhaustible sources of development which it opens up, than the fact that all of the defeats of the international working class, the weariness and disillusionment of the masses, and all the crimes of Stalinism, have not yet succeeded in altogether destroying the conquests of the revolution.

In the still nationalized industry of the Soviet Union, the workers have a weighty and invaluable foundation from which, once they have regained control of the political regime, they could leap forward toward socialism. This great conquest, the immediate and direct result of the October Revolution twenty years ago, belongs to the workers of the entire world. They must and will defend it against all of its enemies.

They will defend it against the hidden or open attacks of world imperialism. In the case of war, they will unite firmly and unwaveringly in the military struggle against the imperialist aggressors, whose victory would guarantee at once the destruction of the nationalized economy, and the restoration of capitalism. And ceaselessly also they will defend the conquests of October against the fatal hand of the bureaucracy, whose enduring victory would no less certainly guarantee the destruction of the economy and the restoration of capitalism.

The defense of the Revolution is the solemn and imperative duty of all workers, and above all of all revolutionists. In the fulfillment of this duty, there go hand in hand the two necessarily related tasks of the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against Stalinism. This, and this alone, is the defense of the Revolution.

## The Attack on the Revolution

As in its first days twenty years ago, so now the revolution is under attack from every side. Capitalist imperialism, both bourgeois and fascist, and all of its servants, plots and prepares constantly for the definitive destruction of the revolution, for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union,

for the regaining within it of the rights of capitalist exploitation.

The Stalinist bureaucracy suffocates and strangles the revolution, its course is the sure and certain road to its final defeat.

The social democracy, reformism, reinforced now by the Stalinist reversion to the offal and refuse of reformism, as always is ready to act as the lackey of imperialism, rejoices at the degeneration of the revolution, and is prepared to gloat over its bones.

All the tribe of cowards and weaklings, unable to stand up under the blows of historic events, in despair and retreat before advance of reaction and at the spectacle of the temporary triumph of Stalinism, today grub around in an effort to repudiate and undermine the foundations of the revolution itself. In the nooks and crannies of events, they seek shabby proofs of their pitiful thesis that "Stalinism is the heir of Bolshevism", that the degeneration of the Soviet Union was determined by the strategy and policies of Lenin and Trotsky and the other leaders of October.

Their thesis is the thesis of cowardice and despair. They wish to solve the problem of the revolution by a magic phrase, and imagine that purity of heart alone, and not enduring determination and struggle, will wash away the accumulated debris of the long centuries of exploitation and oppression.

We reject with scorn the weaklings and the cowards. The birth pangs of the new world are not easy. Who but a dreamer or a dolt could expect otherwise? The task of the revolution is to remake mankind, to rebuild society in man's image and under his conscious control, to provide the means whereby every man may find the free and full development of all of his resources and talents. It is not a task for the timid, for babies or idlers. Firmness, determination, courage, sacrifice, struggle, intelligence, heroism—these are needed to achieve it. And the strength of these must endure, not bending and shaking to the changing winds of defeat and advance.

The degeneration of the Russian Revolution, the hollow and transitory victory of Stalin, these have in no slightest way weakened our confidence in the revolution itself. Rather, by teaching us more, by showing the endless resources of the revolution in the face of the vast might of reaction, they confirm and renew our confidence.

In this twentieth year, we gladly and proudly reaffirm our allegiance and our faith. We reassert our loyalty to the Russian Revolution, and to the men and the policies that made it. Their way, the way of October, of the Bolshevik Party, of Lenin and Trotsky, is our way, and the only way.

## The Extension of the Revolution

In the next great advance of the international revolution, the advance which events are even now preparing, which is maturing in the very defeats and losses, the whole tribe of weaklings and doubters and traitors will be thrust aside like chaff before the surging wave of the masses. Stalinism and its blighting influence will go down into the shameful grave which history has already dug for it. The victorious masses will not take time to argue at length with the cowards and the traitors.

Throughout the world, the preparation of the advance goes on. In every country, the Fourth Internationalists, the inheritors of the traditions and ideas of the October Revolution, defend and preserve that tradition and those ideas against their traducers, and train men who under the guidance of that tradition will march forward with the masses to new and lasting conquests. The banner of the Fourth International is the banner of the October Revolution. Out of the ruins of the Second International, the international of betrayal to the imperialist war, and of the Stalinist International, the international organizer of defeat and degeneration, arises the Fourth International: the international of victory, of the world socialist revolution.

## REVOLT IN MOROCCO

(Continued from page 1) which has the support of the Communist party. The National Defense Ministers held a hurried meeting and decided to ask for special funds to send more troops into the French colonies. In the French Cabinet the ministers of War, Navy, Air, and Colonies recommend the taking of stern steps to further suppress the colonies.

The role of the Communist Party in this is rank treachery to

colonial peoples. They support the suppression of the colonial peoples, by supporting the People's Front Government. Stalinists, who now wholeheartedly belong to and support the French imperialist Army, shoot down the Arab workers who are seeking freedom from French exploitation. Funds to carry on the colonial campaign are voted by the Stalinist members of the French Chamber of Deputies.

Their whole outlook is toward the goal of maintaining the

status quo. After the Franco-Soviet Pact they must show the French imperialists that they are nice respectable people. They don't want any revolutions in any country.

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colleagues? It is a fact that their having existed cannot be discovered from the Stalinist press!

## Stalinist Alibi

The Stalinists attempted to unload all blame onto the Basque bourgeoisie, in a statement of the CP Political Bureau in mid-September. But La Pasionaria's speech in the Cortes, October 1, —the Basque deputies were there, most of them coming from Paris and immediately afterward returning there—said not a word about the treachery of the Basque bourgeoisie. Instead, she said:

"We know that the salaries which the workers earn are not sufficient to take care of their homes... In this sense, we have the example of what can occur, when the workers are not satisfied; we have the example of (Basque) Euzkadi, where the workers continued with the same salaries because the same capitalist establishments continued."

## Blames Workers

No other conclusion could be drawn from these words, except that the dissatisfied workers had lost the military struggle. The only blame of the bourgeoisie was that they hadn't given the workers better salaries! If the pseudo-radical reference to "the same capitalist establishments" were anything but demagoguery, why did not Pasionaria go on to demand that the other capitalist establishments in remaining Spain be given to the workers? On the contrary, the cabinet is systematically taking factories and land away from the workers and giving them back to the old proprietors.

## Asturians Fight On

The Asturian and Santander militiaman—largely CNT and left socialist—bitterly contested every foot of ground. The terrain here was even more favorable to the defense than the hilly Santander region. The Asturian dynamiters were still unshakably holding their grip on Oviedo's suburbs, immobilizing the garrison there since July, 1936. All told, nearly 140,000 armed troops were in the loyalist north.

The striking contrast between the fighting methods of the Asturians and of the Basque nationalists was indicated by the fact that not a village was given up before it was destroyed. "The retreating Asturians seem determined to leave only smoking ruins and desolation behind them when they are finally forced to abandon a town or a village," wrote the New York Times (October 19).

## But Are Betrayed

Then something happened. Not in the Oviedo region, where the

militia held firm. Not among the forces which, after retreating from Cangas de Onis, had established new lines. But in the coastal region east of Gijon, where the Basque troops were, and which was under the direct command of the general staff stationed in Gijon. The fascist Navarrese advanced twenty-eight miles here through towns and villages in three days. Even so, the chief insurgent forces were fifteen miles east of Gijon when the city surrendered, on October 21!

In the preceding days, the government officials and army officers had fled. But the masses of course could not flee: they were left to the mercy of Franco. No measures had been taken in the months intervening to purge the officialdom, or to create worker-patrols to cleanse the city of the hidden fascists, nor were the Civil and Assault Guards sifted. As a result, once more, the Civil and Assault Guards joined with civilian fascists to take control and the fascist troops merely marched in. Again, a city had fallen intact, with all its factories ready to work for Franco.

## The Government of Defeat

The "government of victory", Pasionaria had christened the Negrin cabinet on its birth. Six months have demonstrated the grotesque ludicrousness of that christening. The one conceivable justification for its repressions against the workers and peasants might have been its military victories. But precisely from its reactionary politics flowed its disastrous military policies. Whether Spain remains under this terrible yoke and goes down to the depths, or yet frees herself from these organizers of defeat and goes forward to victory, whatever happens, history has already stamped the government of Negrin-Stalin with its true title: the government of defeat.

## UNSER WORT

The attention of comrades familiar with the German language is called to "Unser Wort", the official paper of the German Section of the 4th International.

Comrades wishing to subscribe to the paper, or to receive bundle orders should use the following address for communications:

Jean Meichler, B. P. 14  
248 Rue des Pyrenees  
Paris (20e), France

## MARXIST SCHOOL

Tuesday Evening, Nov 9, 7 P. M.—THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND FARMER LABORISM.—Maurice Spector.

Tuesday Evening, Nov. 9, 8:45 P. M.—THE EPOCH OF STALIN OR THE SOCIAL-PATRIOTISM OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.—Max Shachtman.

Friday Eve., Nov. 12, 7 P. M.—THE TASKS OF MARXISTS IN THE TRADE UNIONS.—James P. Cannon.

(Monday lectures have been postponed one week in view of the Russian Revolution celebration).