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DEVOTED TO THE THEORY OF MARXISM

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PEOPLES FRONT CONTINUES OFFENSE AGAINST WORKERS

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Since the dissolution of the Council of Defense of Aragon, the CNT-FAI HAVE HAD ABSOLUTELY NO PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF ANY REGION, save perhaps Asturias which is fast sinking and therefor not to be taken into consideration as a serious factor in party politics. Every step taken by the CNT has been conditioned by the desire to get back into the governing coalition together with the Stalinist and other bourgeois forces. This greatly facilitates the work of the counter-revolution in its attacks on the anarchist organizations. Each time the bourgeoisie takes a blow at the workers, the CNT yields twice as much as the bourgeoisie itself expected it to. Result: the organization is ever in a weaker bargaining position, and the working class continues to lose one position after another. It is no longer a matter of losing the conquests of the revolution. It is being pushed beyond the July 19th point. Peasants collectives are being dissolved right and left, the land restored to the individual proprietors, wherever these latter are not declared fascists. This means in essence that the largest estates remain collectivized, or at worst, are threatened with division. The smaller estates are in many cases being returned.

LISTER BRIGADE FIGHT PROLETARIAT AND PEASANT

Refugees are pouring in here from Santander and the north. The unanimous verdict of those with whom I have spoken is that the Gov't does not want to save the north and that it has been a sell-out. The much heralded offensive in Aragon resulted in the taking of one small town (Belchite) and a few hamlets and hill tops. Belchite cost the anarchist Jover Division, 7,000 men. The Stalinists did not participate actively in that battle. Their Karl Marx division composed of unwilling conscript forces and PSUCists ran like chickens. The Lister International Brigade which had been brought up from Madrid, presumably for this offensive was too busy mopping up on the collectives in the rear, to worry about the front.

DANGER CNT-UCT NEW SELL OUT

To these attacks of the Stalinists the anarchist leadership replies by calling for "unity". The Revolutionary Youth Front between the Libertarian Youth (JJLL) and the POUM youth was dissolved some time ago. Now the JJLL has formed a "Youth Alliance" with the Stalinist youth. They agitate for the extension of this youth alliance to the adult organizations, which means nothing but the extension of the "formal" peoples front to include the CNT-FAI. The CNT-FAI pose as conditions the right to enter the Gov't. When the situation at the front reaches the stage of collapse and the proletariat commences to move, the bourgeoisie can be expected to grant the demands of the CNT and POUM leadership, for the establishment of a CNT-UCT Gov't, instead the workers must establish their own Soviet Power and drive out the capitalist agents and intensify the war against its fascist form.

REVOLUTIONISTS REMAIN IN JAIL

The "soy" charges against the POUM leaders appear to have been dropped and they are to be tried for participation in the May events. Trial is allowed to drag indefinitely. Apparently the Gov't realizes that the

POUM leaders can easily prove that they did not provoke but rather tried to crush the May movement. The anarchist comrades of Tortosa (Tarragona province) who had been sentenced to death and then retried for the May events, have been released. However, before the trial, the Valencia Gov't has ordered the confiscation of all the personal property of the POUM people on trial.

MAURIN IN LIVING

Maurin is alive and has been heard from. He was arrested in the Pyrenees while trying to escape through the fascist lines. He was going to be shot but claimed immunity because of his being a member of parliament. Is being held in Zaragoza and will probably be sent through with the next exchange of prisoners. He was allowed to write to Paris on this matter. This will be very important to us. Not having been here during the revolutionary period he bears none of the responsibility for the betrayals and "slips" of the leadership of the POUM. All indications are that he is a first class political person. Will he support the POUM's Left's countertheses and fight to win the party members to this line? Or will he support the opportunist line pursued by Nin and Co? He will have every opportunity of evaluating the situation. His personal prestige and energy may yank the whole party into line behind him no matter what he does. Santiago Pallacin, agrarian specialist of the POUM who is in the Model prison, has gone over to the PSUC. When the other prisoners of CNT and POUM discovered this they threw him off the gallery and all his junk with him. He now has to sleep with the fascists as the workers will not have him in their section, of the j

FAI MOVING TOWARD A SPLIT

There is a very serious internal situation inside the FAI. The leadership is pushing through the reorganization in spite of the active opposition of a strong minority. Those who oppose the reorganization of the FAI as a centralized party (a step which would be organizationally correct if the policies and leadership were revolutionary) are generally speaking, the same groups that oppose governmental collaboration. The Friends of Durruti are trying to work together with these opposition forces. It is considered quite probable that the FAI will split over the reorganization question. Many local groups are not following instructions on reassignment of members etc. Am unable to give more detailed report on this matter at this time. The illegal paper "Anarquista" which was published during July and early August as a publication of the FAI, was suspended when the Regional Committee, considering an illegal organ more detriment than aid for its policies, cut off its funds and ordered its suspension from publication. Various local organs carry the voice of the opposition: IDEAS (Organ of the CNT of Hospitalet and lower Llobregat region) ESPUERZO (Organ of the Barcelona local JJLL) FRENTE Y RETAGUARDIA published by elements in the armed forces, and of course, EL AMIGO DEL PUEBLO, which does not appear very regularly.

CLASS WAR AND FOOD RIOTS CONTINUE IN LOYALIST SPAIN

The Stalinists are not faring so well in their management of the Commissariat of Provisions. Potatoes are plentiful in the countryside but none in the city. Melons are fed to the cows but prices are prohibitive to the workers of cities. Bread is again very scarce on the table but

the flour is still in the warehouses. There have been a number of food riots in the recent period. Two weeks ago, the women were pleasantly engaged in scratching out the eyes of a fish peddler in the San Antonio markets, for charging exorbitantly, the Assault Guards intervened and fired on the crowd, wounding two women. The women then demonstrated disorderly in front of the Generality palace. The past week has been marked by continual bread riots, crowds of women and children rush up and down the street crying "we want bread". They break into the bakeries and loot them of everything in sight. In many bakeries they have found sacks of stale or mildewed bread. Several people have been killed and many injured in these riots including at least one Assault Guard and one child. On Friday the 17th, the cavalry and machine guns were called out to control the mobs. No organization is giving leadership to these entirely spontaneous movements. The POUM is not in sight and the CNT even less so. The police statement of Friday's events, declares that there is evidence the fascist spies are organizing the disorder, stating that several of the women arrested had Spanish Phalanx membership cards. This is of course ridiculous as no sane person would carry a fascist membership card while fomenting street riots. The "Soli" echoes the police statement in its Sunday issue, accusing as fascists those who agitate the masses on the bread situation. Also on the 17th, a large band of women and children demonstrated around the Model Prison cheering the POUM, the FAI, the revolution, demanding bread and the release of the political prisoners of the working class. The prisoners threw their own bread out through the windows, and everybody sang Rijos del Pueblo, both inside and those outside.

ARMED CLASH OF SEPT 20th--BARCELONA

Several unions and workers headquarters of the Libertarian Youth etc have been raided for arms during the last few weeks. Usually no resistance is encountered and no arms are found. But not so on Sept 20--yesterday. At 4 AM the police attempted to enter the building known as the Escolapios which is located on the Ronda San Pablo near San Antonio market (an enclosing a diagram so that it can be better understood) This building occupies a city block and was formerly occupied by religious nuns or something. It was burnt in July and the shell taken over by the CNT. The Defense Committee of the Center was located here from early in the revolution until May, at which time it was an important workers stronghold. Since the dissolution of the Defense Committees by Government order the building was occupied by the Ateneo "faros de Distrito V" (Lighthouses of the fifth district). The Food Industries Industrial Union had just moved in there also from their headquarters in the Paseo de Gracia. This latter union is one of the most revolutionary and is influenced by the Friends of Durutti. At the time of the police raid there were about 25-30 comrades of "Faros" in the building standing guard. They received the police with hand grenades and apparently also rifle fire, but the cops were prepared. They blocked off the whole section of the city from Calabria to the Escolapios, from Campo Florido to the Baralalel and San Pablo. Street cars were stopped, artillery and armored cars were brought in, they lasted for awhile and then gave the comrades until ten to come out. Meanwhile the Regional Committee intervened, secured an extension of time, and finally convinced the workers to surrender, in the early afternoon the authorities took over the building, the comrades went to jail, about one thousand good rifles, three machine guns, and a supply of hand grenades were

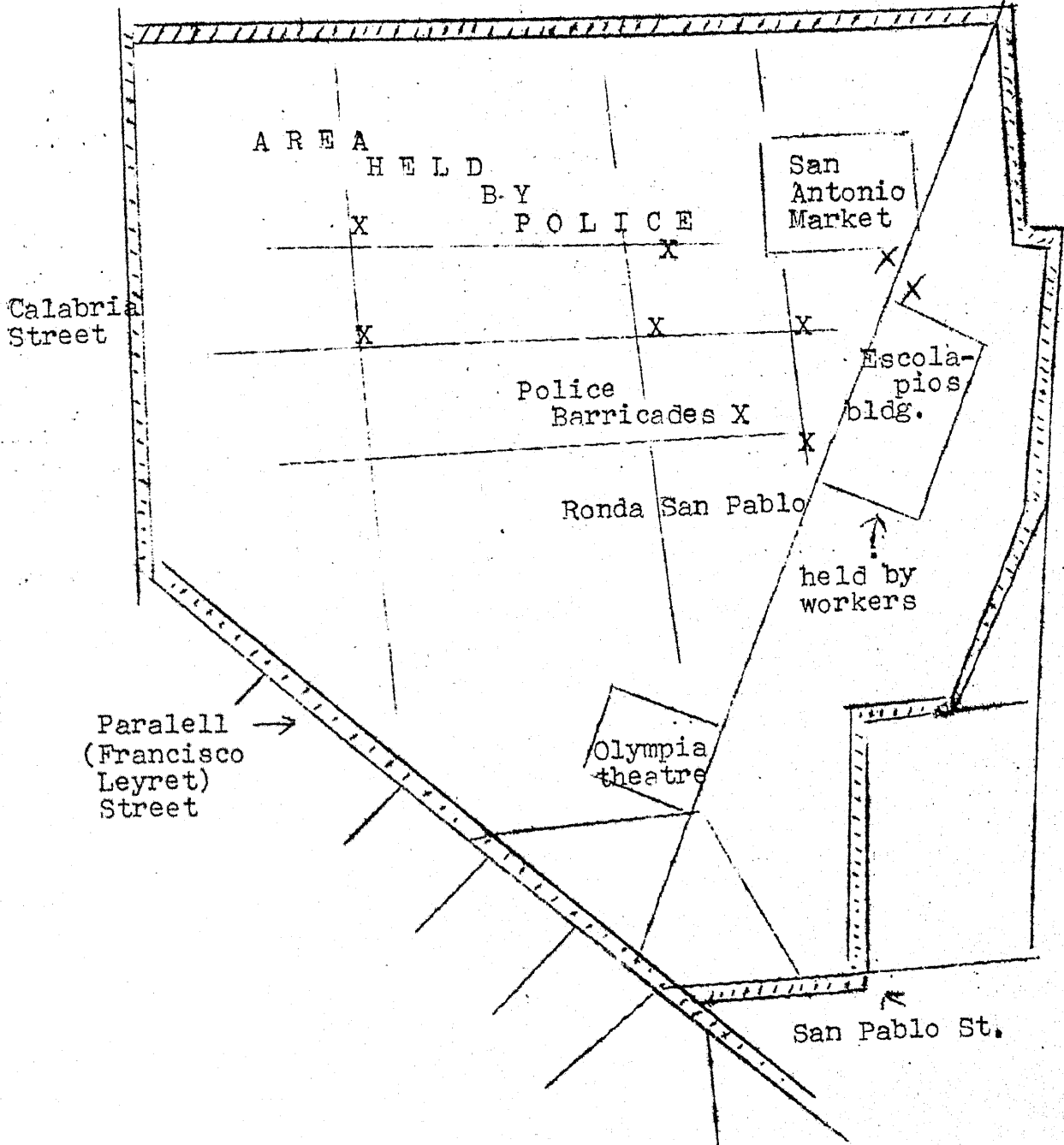
seized. This mornings "Soli", limits itself to printing without comment or attempt at comment, the police statement on the events. I spent a large part of the day, yesterday walking about through the disturbed area, listening to the discussions on streetcorners. Groups would form, anarchists and women would froth at the mouth and the cops would come and break it up. There was no violence. At one place, a lone stalinist attempted to defend the government policies in the food situation and if he had not left when he did they would have torn him to pieces.

NEED MARXIAN ORGANIZATION TO LEAD COMING UPRISING

The climax has not been reached yet. The situation is now very similar to that of April when a series of preliminary clashes heralded the May movement. A very small Marxist organization could accomplish a great deal here by independent activity. The spontaneity of the masses would take care of the rest and make possible a situation within which the Marxist force could grow. The women are beginning to weaken on the question of war or peace, not realizing that peace can be had only on the basis of a successful proletarian revolution which will drive fascism out of the Iberian Peninsula. One now hears many of them say that they want the struggle to cease on any basis. This of course plays into the hands of the stalinists, who are interested-as agents of imperialism-in preparing public opinion for an armistice. A few more silly struggles like that of Belchite, the complete crushing of Asturias with its revolutionary proletariat, and the stage will be set for armistice proposals. First the revolutionary forces must be crushed, Stalinism cannot accept an armistice until the CNT armed forces at the front and in the rear have been weakened still more. Then next armed struggle in the streets, which will probably take the form of a putsch, will very likely be the very opportunity that stalinism seeks to definitely crush the working class of Catalonia. On the other hand, I am convinced that only by coming out onto the streets, with or without their leaders, can the workers have a fighting chance of keeping from losing everything piecemeal. At any rate, once on the streets, we must push the struggle to the end. I fear the only possible chance, not for victory, but for a breathing spell that will permit the necessary and inevitable regroupment of forces. A CNT-UGT Govt would also give a breathing spell but of the wrong kind-on the basis of a further shift of the working class itself to the right.

The above document is part of a letter received from comrade L. Martin a Spanish revolutionist who is collaborating with our representative.

5
Campo Florido (Campo Sagrado) St.



Events of Sept, 20, 1937
X - armored cars

--- --police lines

(Several union halls in other parts of city (Graphic Arts, and Transports etc. also surrounded)

Map is section of Barcelona

THE ROAD TO POWER AND ULTRA-LEFTISM

The struggle against the position of "revolutionary defeatism",... the position presented by comrade Eiffel on the Spanish situation, is a misnomer. Our struggle with the ultra-left position of Eiffel is more fundamental than a mere argument over the question, as claimed by Eiffel; that the struggle in Spain is a pure and simple IMPERIALIST WAR, nothing more and nothing less. Our struggle is in reality a struggle over the ROAD TO POWER, against a position developed by Eiffel that touches the fundamental questions of Marxism. These questions are concealed behind the excellent phrase (for application in an imperialist war) that has nothing to do with the essence of our present disputes. Insofar as an imperialist war is concerned, no matter which side the Soviets Union is on, the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States works for the defeat of its "own" imperialist power and advocates this for the workers living under other imperialist powers. An imperialist war can be turned into civil war only through the policy of revolutionary defeatism.

The Spanish struggle is more than merely an Imperialist Conflict. In claiming it is merely an imperialist war, the ultra-lefts ignore some of the most important economic forces and class relations of present day society. It was not the imperialist who arbitrarily selected Spain as a country where they should bleed the workers white. It was the economic and political breakdown of Spanish society, as the weak link in world economy, that created the precondition for the IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION: a- the agrarian carryover and the need of the peasants gave revolutionary vigor to the struggle against the helpless bourgeois who tried to rule after King Alfonso fled. b- It was the national minorities and their demands that helped continue the internal strife, from the Catalans, to the Basques. c -It was the colonial unrest pushing against a second rate capitalist country like Spain that added disorder to the decaying Spanish structure. d- and above all it was the rising might of the proletariat that found life unbearable under several years of bourgeois rule that laid the basis for the Spanish Civil War of Classes. Upon this complicated pattern of a war of classes between Spanish exploiters the Imperialist conflict found ready soil.

Nowhere has Eiffel mentioned these little FACTS. Not to understand what an imperialist war is and what imperialism is proceeds together. Eiffel says "The more the capitalist system decays, and the more helpless the "solution" of the redivision of the earth becomes, the more the imperialist war becomes A WAR OF EXTERMINATION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY." Many errors are committed in this sentence. 1-The more the capitalist system decays and the more helpless the capitalist find the possibility to solve the INTERNAL CONTRADICTION between the nations productive forces and its national boundaries, (markets etc.) the more they must resort to open dictatorial measures (class struggle)(fascism, etc) to hold in check the proletariat. 2- and the more VIOLENT are the measures of expansion of those imperialist nations war in need of "the redivision of the earth". 3- because the imperialists are helpless to "solve" their needs they do not transfer their energies into a different field--to exterminate the proletariat and peasantry. The dynamics are entirely different. In the period of developing capitalism imperialist expansion took

place to a higher degree with less CLASS conflict, but in decay capitalism every move for expansion, as the outgrowth of the internal contradiction, is confronted to the highest degree, in the country, and within the invaded countries involved, by the CLASS STRUGGLE Aspect which drives toward the surface. If there is no vanguard to take advantage of this condition the class will be bled white. Instead of ONLY an imperialist war--the class aspect of the imperialist conflicts as well as the coming imperialist war is heightened instead of diminished--because it is decay capitalism. The Spanish prelude to the Imperialist war has all of these factors in embryo, but Eiffel is too blind to see them and too mechanical and non-dialectical to understand them.

"There is no fundamental difference between an "antifascist" war within a nation and one between several of them, BECAUSE IN EACH CASE THE MASSES FIGHT UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CLASS ENEMY AND OBJECTIVELY FOR ITS CLASS INTEREST, in spite of their beliefs to the contrary"--says Eiffel. To confuse the RISE OF FASCISM TO POWER WITHIN A NATION, and an imperialist war of a fascist imperialist nation is the height of political stupidity. Eiffel twists the question on a false axis. Of course it is wrong and treacherous to fight under the hegemony of the democratic bourgeois against the fascists bourgeois, not only in an imperialist war, but also in "an antifascist war within a nation". On this point Eiffel is correct. But that is not the issue. Our position is clear on this question. The question involved is to make a distinction between the rise of Fascism in Germany, and how you fight that, and Fascist Germany vs Peoples Front France. The latter is a clear cut imperialist war, and demands revolutionary defeatism, and the former a maturing revolutionary situation being taken over by a counter-revolutionary offensive. The former demands marching separately and striking together, which means a fight against the Fascists, and no support to the "democratic government". Neither can Eiffel distinguish the fight between openly reactionary bourgeois (fascists) in Spain vs the threatening proletariat revolution, the working class and its organizations and on the other hand the intervention of the fascists nations like Germany and Italy and the Blum Peoples Front and the Soviet Union, etc. These two elements make the Spanish struggle a Civil War of Classes and an imperialist conflict. To not understand the fundamental antagonism WITHIN SPANISH SOCIETY, between the reactionary (fascists) bourgeois vs the workers and peasants and their organizations, and the secondary struggle, between the democratic bourgeois as well as the struggle between the bankrupt democratic bourgeois and the working class vs the Fascists (landowners and reactionary bourgeois) is to make a joke of Marxian analysis of events.

In Eiffel's Plenum resolution (which we are quoting, and which appeared in the last Fourth International Supplement) we cannot find any quotations where the July revolutionary upsurge of 1936 has been decisively defeated--that made possible the transformation of the war into a PURE imperialist war. In the Plenum he gave us his version after we smoked him out. He said that the real decisive defeat came around the period of the February 1936 elections, and another decisive defeat was accomplished just after the July days. We asked, "what was the May uprising?" and he replied that this was a new upsurge and very promising. Here we have "Marxian" wisdom in a nutshell. To have th

decisive defeat in the February election period, and then six months later to have the July 1936 upsurge that defeated Fascism IN SPITE OF THE PEOPLES FRONT GOVERNMENT in over half of Spain is a new angle on DECISIVE DEFEATS OF REVOLUTIONS. And then after the second Decisive DEFEAT in July to have another upsurge in May, in ten months, is a new way of handling two DECISIVE DEFEATS. A class that is decisively defeated will not arise again in a period of a few months as did the Spanish Proletariat and Peasants in July and May. This has nothing in common with the FACTUAL aspects of the problem--what is a revolutionary situation, and what is a decisive defeat of the class. On both counts Eiffel knows nothing. But even worse, to speak of a decisive defeat in the February election period is to elevate the parliamentary struggle (the Feb Peoples Front election--which the RWL said was a Victory of the "democratic" bourgeois over the proletariat, and not a proletarian victory--this is not the concept of a decisive defeat) above the extra-parliamentary struggle of the class, is to revise Marxism on another of its basic questions on the ROAD TO POWER. To have a decisive defeat at the polls, lays the basis for a decisive victory at the polls. The ultra-left position today, is the ultra-right position tomorrow. Eiffel not only ignores the class antagonism between the proletariat and capitalists, and the antagonisms developing out of the agrarian carry over, the national liberation movement the colonial movement, and the struggle between the reactionary bourgeois and landowners vs the "democratic" bourgeois; he also ignores the difference between the "top" and the "bottom" of the forces that make up the camp of the "democratic" bourgeois. The Peoples Front Government has HEGEMONY over the majority of the workers and peasants through the REFORMIST AGENTS within the workers ranks. The Peoples Front Government and its Reformist agents although forced to fight Fascism CANNOT defeat Fascism; rather it paves the way for Fascism. But the "bottom", the workers and peasants and their organizations will be destroyed if Fascism takes power in Spain. That is the contradiction a Marxist policy takes into consideration, while fighting Fascism giving no support to the Peoples Front, preparing the way for the overthrow of the Peoples Front, as the workers attempted in May and will do again.

In addition to the above fundamental points of difference with the ultra-lefts, Eiffel says the Central Committee has made two additional important errors: 1-The impossibility of utilizing or cooperating with or defending any part of the capitalist state apparatus, including its most democratic institutions as a step toward the emancipation of the proletariat." Such an accusation against the Central Committee is either ignorance or a lie. In the Spanish Civil War, in theory and in ACTION we have not given one ounce of support to the Peoples Front and its ARMY. We have consistently fought one bourgeois on two fronts. To attempt to pull a few words from a sentence, from a couple of paragraphs and claim this means support of the Peoples Army is fakery. In the past, when the workers had their Workers Militias, when they had independent control of the front we were for sending forces to the front. Now when the Peoples Front bourgeois forces have control we are opposed to having revolutionists join their ranks. Those workers who are drafted? who cannot escape the front? We tell them to carry on their revolutionary activity toward the end of reestablishing their Soldiers Soviets.

One cannot stop here in this question of the front. There is an even more important aspect, a theoretical aspect at the moment, but which will be decisive tomorrow and separate us from Eiffels mechanical position. If this were ONLY AN IMPERIALIST WAR and we took over the front we do not prosecute the war, we do not continue the imperialist war as Kerensky endeavored to do. But under the present condition of a civil war of classes and an imperialist conflict, if the workers take over the front, establish their Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Soviets WE PROSECUTE THE WAR AGAINST FASCISM. It is the Peoples Front Bourgeois force that sabotages the struggle against Fascism. It will be the Proletarian seizure of Power in Loyalist Spain that can destroy capitalism and drive its Fascists terror out of Spain.

Next Eiffel says, 2- "The indispensibility of the existence of a Communist Vanguard for the existence of a Revolutionary situation". Another new revision of Marxism. A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION is created by the objective factors, flowing out of the economic contradictions of capitalism. A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY is needed to transform the revolutionary situation into a SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION. The ultra-left of yesterday who was a member of the group that presents the spontaneity theory (denying the need of a party to take power) and then joined a Marxian organization, today in leaving Marxism, swings to the other extreme, makes a 180 degree turn and says there can be no revolutionary situation without a party. More than that, he denies that a party can be built in a period of decline, in a period of reaction, in a period of imperialist war. This theme which he presents in one form in his resolution was a constant song in the Political Committee which we rejected. In that period Eiffel did not take this difference outside the PC so an open fight on it was not concluded. Today it is possible to build a revolutionary Marxian organization in Spain. Eiffels position is not "revolutionary defeatism", it is defeatism, defeatism for the working class. It is a petty bourgeois, professors position that lends itself to mental exercises but has nothing to do with REALITY and with the class struggle. It is a position of capitulation. The real fight with Eiffel is not "revolutionary defeatism". The real fight is hidden behind this. It is a struggle over the question of the ROAD TO POWER TAKING IN MANY OF THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF FACTS AND THEORIES OF TODAY. The Revolutionary Workers League will burn this ultra-left position out of the organization, and after the preconvention discussion and the second Convention will emerge stronger than before.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE MOSCOW TRIALS

Both trials held in Moscow, from August 19-24, 1936, and from January 19-30, are frameups in which the alleged confessions of the accused have been proved a mass of lies.

These trials are necessary to the Stalinists for two main reasons: -

1. To compromise the communist opposition; demoralise the proletariat and retard the world revolution, thus preserving the privileges of the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats and their supporting strata; privileges which they defend under the guise of "Socialism in one country."
2. To arouse chauvinistic feelings among the Russian masses against Germany and Japan and thus to prove to their bourgeois allies and intended allies that their opposition to the fascist states is a national and not a class opposition and that therefore the allied governments need have no fear of the Soviet Union.

The social explanation of this policy is to be found in the fact that the petty-bourgeois do not constitute an independent social force and must either lean on the proletariat or bourgeoisie, whichever class is stronger. The international proletariat having been weakened by defeat after defeat and the bourgeoisie strengthened, the struggle of the Russian petty-bourgeois bureaucracy for privileges at the expense of the proletariat and poor peasantry is accompanied by the necessity to go over more and more to the side of the international bourgeoisie on whom they now depend for their continued existence.

Two lesser needs were served by these trials.

First: the distraction of the attention of the Russian proletariat from the counter-revolutionary support given by Stalinism to the bourgeoisie in Spain.

Second: the conduct of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not a break with, but a continuation of their past. Having capitulated again and again to Stalin and served him in the most wretched fashion by betraying every revolutionary principle, the task of vilifying the communist opposition, in order to save their skins, was neither new nor difficult for them. For several years tools of Stalin, in this instance they were used for the last time. First morally and then physically destroyed, their end is a lesson showing where capitulation to Stalin leads.

Redek's show of independence, like the servility of Zinoviev and Kamenev, was dictated by self interest and not political principles.

"CAPITULATION TO STALIN DOES NOT PAY" The driving home of this lesson to the Russian workers by the communist opposition can be a big step on the road to the formation of a new Communist Party, the Russian section of the New Communist International, the reforming of the Workers Soviets and the triumph over Stalinist reaction.

2.

The only possible defendant of the communist-opposition and the only prosecutor of the Stalinist renegades will be the NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The final judge to whom the revolutionaries must appeal is the international proletariat.

THE ONLY WAY TO FIGHT REACTION? WHATEVER FORM IT MAY TAKE, IS TO BUILD A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, TO STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION. THIS IS THE SUPREME TASK OF THE REVOLUTIONARY.

"Leninist League"
Glasgow - July 1937

August - 1937

Dr. Negrin,
Prime Minister,
Valencia.

Sir:

The Popular Front, capitalist government of Spain, of which you are the Prime Minister, has, under the false charge of being agents of Fascism, incarcerated Nin, Andrade and other members of the P.C.U.M.

Also Jaime Balius, leader of the Anarchist grouping "Friends of Durruti";
Hugo Oehler, national secretary of the "Revolutionary Workers League" of America;
Wolf Kupinsky, member of the American "Socialist Party";
William Krehn of the Canadian "League for a Revolutionary Workers Party";
Shaban of the "Albanian Communist Group";
Vittez of the "Greek Archic-Marxist Party."

These comrades, many of whom hurried from the four corners of the earth to defend the workers rights against Fascist attack, are only a few of those who have disappeared into the Popular Front jails.

We denounce this action of your government, in which is clearly revealed the methods of Stalinism as used in the Moscow Trials, and in the name of the workers of Great Britain and the world we demand that these false charges be withdrawn and our comrades released.

signed

secretary, "Leninist League"

RUSSIAN QUESTION

1. In 1917-18 social revolution.
 - a. Bourgeois state overthrown.
 - b. New state Soviets established; proletarian democracy. Bourgeois democracy overthrown - proletarian democracy established.
 - c. Industry, banks, transport nationalized - state property. Bourgeois property relations overthrown.
 - ~~Work~~ Workers control of production instituted.
 - e. Workers militia created.
 - f. Land given to peasants - state property only juridically. Monopoly of foreign trade established.
 - h. Bolshevik party controlled state apparatus.
 - i. Foreign policy shaped to promote world revolution. Bureaucratic capitalist oppression of National Minorities overthrown and right of self determination of nations established.
2. New type of society and new type of state: dictatorship of the proletariat; term used in both senses. Society transitional between capitalism and socialism; capitalism not eliminated; present in every sphere of life side by side with the new.
3. These contradictions could be resolved only in struggle between their antagonistic parts, either by world revolution and socialism or by restoration of capitalism.
- ~~xx~~ 4. The civil war brought economy almost to the point of complete exhaustion. Its revival required a retreat in the direction of the accentuation of the bourgeois aspects through the NEP.
5. By 1924 the pressure of the bourgeois aspects of Soviet life strengthened by the defeats of the world proletariat and the revival of economy, and the pressure of the world bourgeoisie, reached serious proportions. The state and bureaucracy arising out of the working class emerged as a petty bourgeois stratum, as a definite force in Soviet life with distinct social interests which conflicted with those of the party and state. By 1935 a new retreat was necessary. The struggle against it for a Leninist state and party policy broke out and was led by the Moscow and later the Left Opposition.
6. This struggle culminated in the betrayal of the English workers in the general strike of 1926 and the Chinese revolution of 1925-7, in the split in the CPSU by the expulsion of the Marxist wing, the Left Opposition, the arrest and exile of thousands of leaders and members, its decimation as an organized force; in the endorsement and adoption of nationalism and revisionism as the program of the CI and the Soviet state at the Sixth World Congress of the CI by the adoption of the theory of Socialism in one country.

- These events marked the victory of Stalinism over Marxism, of the representatives of the non-proletarian and anti-proletarian forces in the SU and of the world bourgeoisie over the representatives and interests of the proletariat; the political subordination of the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie in the alliance of those classes, and the precondition for the same in economy; the establishment of the precondition for the definite retrogression of Soviet society towards capitalism; the triumph of "bourgeois laws" over workers democracy in the Soviet state; the transformation of the CI into an instrument for checking and fighting proletarian revolution in the capitalist world, for the disorganization of the revolutionary workers, for their systematic confusion by the dissemination of revisionism for the liquidation of Marxism.
7. In the following period, the foreign policy of the Soviet state evolved into an outright opposition to revolutionary action by the world proletariat, the colonial masses and the oppressed nationalities. Internally the state was used by the victorious Stalinist party and state bureaucracy to destroy all control over the state and economy by the working class. Industry was expanded tremendously in the sphere of basic capital under the five year-plan; but because of the Stalinist policies and control of the state it resulted in an expansion of the bureaucracy and the elevation of their level of existence. Agriculture was collectivized which provided for an enormous expansion of the bureaucracy and on the basis of the development of agriculture, for the elevation of the level of the existence of this section of the bureaucracy as well as of that bourgeois stratum which arose from the ranks of the bureaucracy. While the bureaucracy had arisen from the proletariat and poor peasantry, the specific gravity of its social composition shifted far to the right to the newly risen urban petty bourgeoisie and rising bourgeois stratum.
8. The progressive development of these factors enabled the expanding bureaucracy to scrap the Soviet forms without altering the military-police character of the rule of the bureaucracy. This was accomplished through the new Stalin constitution. The constitution also established the juridical basis for the reintroduction of private property in land and also to a limited extent in industry. In the sphere of foreign policy, the Soviet state through the CI became a definite and open counter-revolutionary force. The institution of the new constitution marked the stage off the beginning of the destruction of the economic foundations of the dictatorship.
9. The Soviet Union stands now in the following position:
 Private property has been restored to an extent.
 Group private property has been established.
 Inheritance of wealth has been re-established.
 Appropriation of surplus value through interest and a disguised form of profits (enormous salaries) has been restored.

The state is in the hands of Stalinism, a political, industrial-bureaucracy of enormous proportions which oppresses the masses in its own interests and in the interests of the world bourgeoisie

This bureaucracy is not yet a distinct class, but is rapidly becoming, not a new class in society, but a new Russian division of the world bourgeoisie.

To complete its transformation it must overthrow state property and reintroduce private ownership and complete inheritance of wealth. It has attained this position and maintains it by violence, by violent suppression of the masses, which, because of the passivity of the workers has a prolonged intermittent character. This is also being extended to the suppression of the autonomy of the national minorities.

The channel by which the pressure of the world proletariat is exerted on the Soviet state is the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

In short, the Soviet Union still stands on the economic foundations of 1917-18 but these are largely fictive and are being destroyed. The dictatorship of the proletariat stands, but on its last legs.

11 Stalinism as a movement in the ranks of the international proletariat is a new historic form of reformism. Its basis is the degeneration of the first proletarian dictatorship. It is an open counter-revolutionary force. Under its control, the Soviet state is used as an instrument for counter-revolutionary force. While the proletarian dictatorship stands on its last legs, we must remember that it stands. The property forms and the traditions of the October revolution in the consciousness of the masses are objective factors of great value in the struggle to restore the Soviet Union to the path of Socialism.

12 This must be the platform for the creation of a new communist party in the Soviet Union. It will have to take power by mass struggle and armed insurrection. It will take power to preserve the property relations established in 1917, re-establish Soviets, and restore the Soviet State to the path of Socialism. It will have to function illegally. It will have to fight for workers democracy, in the unions, co-operatives, collectives, etc. etc. for the right to legal existence.

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